

## **Studies of nature (Volume 3).**

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STUDIES  
OF  
NATURE.

BY  
JAMES-HENRY-BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE.

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.....MISERIS SUCCURRERE DISCO.

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TRANSLATED BY  
HENRY HUNTER, D. D.  
MINISTER OF THE SCOTS CHURCH, LONDON-WALL.

WITH THE ADDITION OF NUMEROUS  
ORIGINAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,  
BY BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON, M. D.  
President of the Philadelphia Linnean Society, and Professor of Materia Medica, Natural History,  
and Botany, in the University of Pennsylvania.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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ST. JOHN

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THE FIRST OF JANUARY

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British Empire in the

present Situation

# STUDIES OF NATURE.

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## PAUL AND VIRGINIA.

### PREFACE.

I HAVE proposed to myself an object of no mean importance in composing this little Work. I have endeavoured to paint in it, a soil, and vegetables different from those of Europe. Our Poets have long enough composed their lovers to rest, on the banks of the rivulets, in the flowry meads, and under the foliage of the beech-tree. My wish is to seat mine on the shore of the Sea, at the foot of rocks, under the shade of cocoa-trees, bananas, and citrons in blossom. Nothing is wanting to the other hemisphere of the Globe, but a *Theocritus*, or a *Virgil*, in order to our having pictures at least as interesting as those of our own Country.

I am aware that travellers, of exquisite taste, have presented us with enchanting descriptions of several of the islands of the South-Sea; but the manners of their inhabitants, and still more those of the Europeans which frequent them, frequently mar the landscapes. It was my desire to blend with the beauty of Nature between the Tropics, the moral beauty of a small Society. It was likewise my purpose, to place in a striking light certain truths of high moment, and this one in particular: That human happiness consists in living conformably to Nature and Virtue.

It was not necessary for me however to compose a romance, in order to exhibit a representation of happy families. I declare



in the most solemn manner, that those which I am going to display have actually existed, and that their History is strictly true, as to the principal events of it. They were authentically certified to me by many respectable Planters with whom I was acquainted in the Isle of France. I have connected with them only a few indifferent circumstances ; but which, being personal to myself, have on that very account the same merit of reality.

When I had formed, some years ago, a very imperfect sketch of this species of Pastoral, I besought a fine Lady, who lived very much in the Great World, and certain grave personages who mingle very little with it, to hear it read over, in order to acquire some pre-sentiment of the effect which it might produce on readers of a character so very different: I had the satisfaction of observing that it melted them all into tears. This was the only judgment which I could form on the matter, as indeed it was all that I wished to know. But as a great vice frequently walks in the train of mediocrity of talents, this success inspired me with the vanity of giving to my Work the title of, *A Picture of Nature*. Happily for me, I recollected to what a degree the nature of the climate in which I received my birth was strange to me ; to what a degree, in countries where I have contemplated the productions of Nature merely as a passenger, she is rich, various, lovely, magnificent, mysterious ; and to what a degree, I am destitute of sagacity, of taste, and of expression, to know and to paint her. On this I checked my vanity, and came to myself again. I have therefore comprehended this feeble essay under the name, and placed it in the train, of my *Studies of Nature*, to which the public has granted a reception so gracious ; in order that this title, recalling to them my incapacity, may likewise preserve an everlasting recollection of their own indulgence.



## PAUL AND VIRGINIA.

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ON the Eastern declivity of the mountain which rises behind Port-Louis, in the Isle of France, are still to be seen, on a spot of ground formerly cultivated, the ruins of two little cottages. They are situated almost in the middle of a bason formed by enormous rocks, which has only one opening turned toward the North. From that opening, you perceive on the left, the mountain known by the name of Mount-Discovery, from which signals are repeated of vessels steering for the island; and at the bottom of this mountain, the city of Port-Louis; to the right, the road which leads from-Port Louis to the quarter of Pamplemousses; afterwards the church of that name, which rises with it's avenues of bamboos, in the middle of a great plain; and beyond it, a forest which extends to the farthest extremities of the island. You have in front, on the brink of the Sea, a view of Tombay: a little to the right Cape Misfortune, and beyond that the boundless Ocean, in which appear, on a level with the water's edge, some uninhabited little isles, among others Mire-Point, which resembles a bastion in the midst of the waves.

At the entrance of this bason from whence so many objects are distinguishable, the echoes of the mountain incessantly repeat the noise of the winds which agitate the neighbouring forests, and the roaring of the billows, which break at a distance upon the shallows; but at the very foot of the cottages, no noise is any longer to be heard, and nothing to be seen around except great rocks, as steep as the wall of a house. Tufts of trees grow at their bases, in their clefts, and up to their very summits, on which the clouds settle. The rains which are attracted by their peaks frequently paint the colours of the rainbow on their green and dusky sides, and constantly supply, at the



bottom, the sources of which the small river of the *Lataniers* is formed. A profound silence reigns through this inclosure, where all is peace; the air, the waters, and the light. Scarcely does the echo there repeat the murmuring sound of the palmists, which grow on their elevated stalks, and whose long arrow-formed branches are seen always balanced by the winds. A mild light illuminates the cavity of this bason, into which the rays of the Sun descend only at noon-day; but from the dawning of Aurora, they strike upon the brim of it, the peaks of which, rising above the shadows of the mountain, present the appearance of gold and purple on the azure of the Heavens.

I took pleasure in retiring to this place, where you can enjoy at once an unbounded prospect, and a profound solitude. One day, as I was sitting by the platform of these cottages, and contemplating their ruins, a man considerably advanced into the vale of years happened to pass that way. He was dressed, conformably to the custom of the ancient inhabitants, in a short jacket and long trowsers. He walked bare-footed, and supported himself on a staff of ebony wood. His hair was completely white, his physiognomy simple and majestic. I saluted him respectfully. He returned my salute, and having eyed me for a moment, he approached, and sat down on the hillock where I had taken my station. Encouraged by this mark of confidence, I took the liberty of addressing him in these words: "Can you inform me, Father, to whom these two cottages belonged?" "My son," replied he, "these ruins, and that now neglected spot of ground, were inhabited about twenty years ago by two families, which there found the means of true happiness. Their history is affecting: but in this island, situated on the road to India, what European will deign to take an interest in the destiny of a few obscure individuals? Nay, who would submit to live here, though in happiness and content, if poor and unknown? Men are desirous of knowing only the history of the Great, and of Kings, which is of no use to any one." "Father," replied I, "it is easy to discern from your air, and your style of conversation, that you must have acquired very extensive experience. If your leisure permits, have the goodness to relate to me, I beseech you, what you know of the an-



“cient inhabitants of this desert ; and be assured that there is  
“no man, however depraved by the prejudices of the World,  
“but who loves to hear of the felicity which Nature and Vir-  
“tue bestow.” Upon this, like one who is trying to recollect  
certain particular circumstances, after having applied his hands  
for some time to his forehead, the old man related what follows.

In the year 1735, a young man of Normandy, called *De la Tour*, after having to no purpose solicited employment in France, and looked for assistance from his family, determined to come to this island in the view of making his fortune. He brought along with him a young wife whom he passionately loved, and who returned his affection with mutual ardour. She was descended from an ancient and opulent family of her Province ; but he had married her privately, and without a portion, because her relations opposed their union on account of the obscurity of his birth. He left her at Port-Louis, in this island, and embarked for Madagascar in the hope of there purchasing some negroes, and of immediately returning hither, for the purpose of fixing his residence. He disembarked at Madagascar during the dangerous season, which commences about the middle of October, and soon after his arrival died of the pestilential fever, which rages there for six months of the year, and which always will prevent European Nations from forming settlements on that Island.

The effects which he had carried with him were embezzled after his death, as generally happens to those who die in foreign countries. His wife, who had remained in the Isle of France, found herself a widow, pregnant, and destitute of every earthly resource except a negro woman, in a country where she was entirely unknown. Being unwilling to solicit assistance from any man, after the death of him who was the sole object of her affection, her misfortunes gave her courage. She resolved to cultivate with the help of her slave, a small spot of ground, in order to procure the means of subsistence.

In an island almost a desert, the soil of which was unappropriated, she did not choose the most fertile district of the country, nor that which was the most favourable for commerce ; but looking about for some sequestered cove of the mountain, some hidden asylum, where she might live secluded and unknown.



she found her way from the city to these rocks, into which she slunk as into a nest. It is an instinct common to all beings possessed of sensibility, under the pressure of calamity, to seek shelter in places the wildest and the most deserted ; as if rocks were bulwarks against misfortune, or as if the calmness of Nature could compose the troubles of the soul. But Providence, which comes to our relief when we aim only at necessary comforts, had in store for *Madame de la Tour* a blessing which neither riches nor grandeur can purchase ; and that blessing was a friend.

In this place for a year past had resided a sprightly, good, and sensible woman, called *Margaret*. She was born in Brittany, of a plain family of peasants, by whom she was beloved, and who would have rendered her happy, had she not been weak enough to repose confidence in the professions of love of a man of family in the neighbourhood, who had promised to marry her ; but who, having gratified his passion, abandoned her, and even refused to secure to her the means of subsistence for the child with which he had left her pregnant. She immediately resolved for ever to quit the village where she was born, and to conceal her frailty in the Colonies, far from her country, where she had lost the only dowry of a poor and honest young woman, reputation. An old black fellow, whom she had purchased with a poor borrowed purse, cultivated with her a small corner of this district.

*Madame de la Tour*, attended by her black woman, found *Margaret* in this place, who was suckling her child. She was delighted to meet with a female, in a situation which she accounted somewhat similar to her own. She unfolded, in a few words, her former condition, and her present wants. *Margaret*, on hearing *Madame de la Tour's* story, was moved with compassion, and wishing to merit her confidence rather than her esteem, she confessed to her without reserve the imprudence of which she had been guilty : " For my part," said she, " I have " merited my destiny, but you, Madam ....., virtuous and " unfortunate !" Here, with tears in her eyes, she tendered to the stranger the accommodations of her cottage, and her friendship. *Madame de la Tour*, deeply affected with a reception so tender, folded her in her arms, exclaiming, " I see that GOD



“ is going to put an end to my sufferings, since he has inspired  
“ you with sentiments of greater kindness to me, an entire  
“ stranger, than I ever received from my own relations.”

I had the felicity of *Margaret's* acquaintance ; and though I live at the distance of a league and a half from hence, in the woods, behind the long mountain, I looked upon myself as her neighbour. In the cities of Europe, a street, a simple partition, separates the members of the same family for years ; but in the new Colonies, we consider as neighbours those who are only separated from us by woods and by mountains. At that time particularly, when this island had little commerce with India, neighbourhood alone was a title to friendship, and hospitality to strangers was considered as a duty and a pleasure.

As soon as I learnt that my neighbour had got a companion I went to see her, in order to offer to both all the assistance in my power. I found in *Madame de la Tour* a person of a very interesting figure ; majestic, and melancholy. She was then very near her time. I said to these two ladies, that it would be better, for the sake of the interests of their children, and especially to prevent the establishment of any other settler, to divide between them the territory of this bason, which contains about twenty acres. They entrusted me with the care of making this division ; I formed it into two portions nearly equal. The one contained the upper part of that enclosure, from yonder point of the rock covered with clouds, from whence issues the source of the river of the *Lataniers*, to that steep opening which you see at the top of the mountain, and which is called the Embrasure, because it actually resembles the parapet of a battery. The bottom of this spot of ground is so filled with rocks and gutters, that it is scarcely possible to walk along. It nevertheless produces large trees, and abounds with fountains and little rivulets. In the other portion, I comprized all the lower part of the enclosure, which extends along the river of the *Lataniers*, to the opening where we now are, from whence that river begins to flow between two hills toward the Sea. You there see some stripes of meadow-ground, and a soil tolerably smooth and level, but which is very little better than the other ; for in the rainy season it is marshy, and in drought stiff as lead. When you wish in that case to open a trench, you are obliged to cut it with a hatchet.



After having made these two divisions, I persuaded the ladies to settle their respective possessions by casting lots. The upper part fell to the share of *Madame de la Tour*, and the lower to *Margaret*. They were both perfectly satisfied; but requested me not to separate their habitations, "in order," said they to me, "that we may always have it in our power to see, to converse with, and to assist each other." It was necessary however that each of them should have a separate retreat. The cottage of *Margaret* was built in the middle of the bason, exactly upon the boundary of her own domain. I built close to it, upon that of *Madame de la Tour*, another cottage; so that these two friends were at once in the vicinity of each other, and on the property of their families. I myself cut palisadoes in the mountain, and brought the leaves of the *Latanier* from the sea-side, to construct these two cottages, which now no longer present either door or roof. Alas! there still remains but too much for my recollection. Time which destroys, with so much rapidity, the monuments of empires, seems to respect in these deserts those of friendship, in order to perpetuate my affliction to the last hour of my life.

Scarcely was the second of the cottages completed, when *Madame de la Tour* was delivered of a daughter. I had been the god-father of *Margaret's* child, who was called *Paul*. *Madame de la Tour* begged me to name her daughter also, in conjunction with her friend, who gave her the name of *Virginia*. "She will be virtuous," said she, "and she will be happy: I knew calamity only in ceasing to be virtuous."

When *Madame de la Tour* was recovered of her lying-in, these two little habitations began to wear the appearance of comfort, with the assistance of the labour which I occasionally bestowed upon them; but particularly by the assiduous labour of their slaves: that of *Margaret*, called *Domingo*, was an Iolof Black, still robust though rather advanced in life. He possessed the advantage of experience and good natural sense. He cultivated, without distinction, on the two districts, the soil which appeared to him the most fertile, and there he sowed the seeds which he thought would thrive the best in it. He sowed small millet and Indian corn in places where the soil was of an inferior quality, and a little wheat where the ground was good. In marshy



places he sowed rice, and at the foot of the rocks were raised *giraumonts*, gourds, and cucumbers, which delight in climbing up their sides: in dry places, he planted potatoes, which there acquire singular sweetness; cotton-trees on heights, sugar-canes on strong land; coffee plants on the hills, where their grains are small, but of an excellent quality; along the river, and around the cottages, he planted bananas, which all the year round produce large supplies of fruit, and form a beautiful shelter; and finally, some plants of tobacco, to soothe his own cares and those of his good mistresses. He went to cut wood for fuel in the mountain, and broke down pieces of rock here and there in the plantation, to smooth the roads. He performed all these labours with intelligence and activity, because he performed them with zeal. He was very much attached to *Margaret*, and not much less so to *Madame de la Tour*, whose slave he had married at the birth of *Virginia*. He passionately loved his wife, whose name was *Mary*. She was a native of Madagascar, from whence she had brought some degree of skill, particularly the art of making baskets, and stuffs called *pagnes*, with the grass which grows in the woods. She was clever, cleanly, and what was above all, incorruptibly faithful. Her employment was to prepare the victuals, to take care of some poultry, and to go occasionally to Port-Louis to sell the superfluity of the two plantations; this however was very inconsiderable. If to these you add two goats, brought up with the children, and a great dog that watched the dwellings during the night, you will have an idea of all the possessions, and of all the domestic economy, of these two little farms.

As for the two friends, they spun cotton from morning till night. This employment was sufficient to maintain themselves and their families; but in other respects they were so ill provided with foreign commodities, that they walked bare-footed when at home, and never wore shoes except on Sundays when they went to mass early in the morning, to the church of *Pamplémousses* which you see in the bottom. It is nevertheless much farther than to Port Louis; but they seldom visited the city, for fear of being treated with contempt, because they were dressed in the coarse blue linen cloth of Bengal which is worn by slaves. After all, is public respectability half so valuable



as domestic felicity? If these ladies were exposed to a little suffering when abroad, they returned home with so much more additional satisfaction. No sooner had *Mary* and *Domingo* perceived them from this eminence, on the road from Pamplemousses, than they flew to the bottom of the mountain, to assist them in re-ascending it. They read in the eyes of their slaves the joy which they felt at seeing them again. They found in their habitation cleanliness and freedom, blessings which they owed entirely to their own industry, and to servants animated with zeal and affection. As for themselves, united by the same wants, having experienced evils almost similar, giving to each other the tender names of friend, companion and sister, they had but one will, one interest, one table. They had every thing in common. And if it sometimes happened that former sentiments, more ardent than those of friendship, were re-kindled in their bosoms, a pure and undefiled Religion, assisted by chaste manners, directed them toward another life, like the flame which flies off to Heaven when it ceases to find nourishment on the Earth.

The duties of nature were besides an additional source of happiness to their society. Their mutual friendship redoubled at the sight of their children, the fruits of a love equally unfortunate. They took delight to put them into the same bath, and to lay them to sleep in the same cradle. They frequently exchanged their milk to the children; "My friend," said *Madame de la Tour*, "each of us will have two children, and each of our children will have two mothers." Like two buds which remain upon two trees of the same species, all the branches of which have been broken by the tempest, produce fruits more delicious, if each of them, detached from the maternal stock, is grafted on the neighbouring stem; thus these two little children, deprived of their relations, were filled with sentiments toward each other more tender than those of son and daughter, of brother and sister, when they were exchanged at the breast by the two friends who had given them being. Already their mothers talked of their marriage, though they were yet in the cradle, and this prospect of conjugal felicity, with which they soothed their own woes to peace, frequently terminated in a flood of tears; the one recollecting the miseries which she had



suffered from having neglected the forms of marriage, and the other from having submitted to it's laws; the one from having been raised above her condition; and the other from having descended below hers; but they consoled themselves with the thought that the day would come, when their children, more fortunate than themselves, would enjoy at once, far from the cruel prejudices of Europe, the pleasures of love and the happiness of equality.

Nothing indeed was to be compared with the attachment which the babes betimes testified for each other: If *Paul* happened to complain, they shewed *Virginia* to him; at the sight of her he smiled and was pacified. If *Virginia* suffered, you were informed of it by the lamentations of *Paul*; but this amiable child immediately concealed her pain, that her sufferings might not distress him. I never arrived here, that I did not see them both entirely naked, according to the custom of the country, scarcely able to walk, holding each other by the hands, and under the arms, as the constellation of the Twins is represented. Night itself had not the power of separating them; it frequently surprized them, laid in the same cradle, cheek joined to cheek, bosom to bosom, their hands mutually passed round each other's neck, and asleep in one another's arms.

When they were able to speak, the first names which they learned to pronounce was that of brother and sister. Infancy, which bestows caresses more tender, knows of no names more sweet. Their education only served to redouble their friendship, by directing it toward their reciprocal wants. Very soon every thing that concerned domestic economy, cleanliness, the care of preparing a rural repast, became the province of *Virginia*, and her labours were always followed by the praises and caresses of *Paul*. As for him, ever in motion, he digged in the garden with *Domingo*, or with a little hatchet in his hand followed him into the woods; and if in these rambles a beautiful flower, a delicious fruit, or a nest of birds, came in his way, though at the top of the highest tree, he scaled it to bring them to his sister.

When you chanced to meet one of them, you might be certain the other was not far off. One day that I was descending from the summit of this mountain, I perceived *Virginia* at the ex-



tremity of the garden ; she was running toward the house, her head covered with her petticoat which she had raised behind, to shelter her from a deluge of rain. At a distance I thought she had been alone ; and having advanced to assist her, I perceived that she held *Paul* by the arm, who was almost enveloped in the same covering ; both of them delighted at finding themselves sheltered together under an umbrella of their own invention. These two charming heads, wrapt up in the swelling petticoat, reminded me of the children of *Leda* enclosed in the same shell.

All their study was to please and to assist each other ; in every other respect they were as ignorant as Creoles, and neither knew how to read or write. They did not disturb themselves about what had happened in former times, and at a distance from them ; their curiosity did not extend beyond this mountain. They believed that the world ended at the extremity of their island, and they could not form an idea of any thing beautiful where they were not. Their mutual affections and that of their mothers engaged every feeling of their hearts : never had useless science caused their tears to flow ; never had the lessons of a gloomy morality oppressed them with languor. They knew not that it was unlawful to steal, every thing with them being in common ; nor to be intemperate, having always at command plenty of simple food : nor to utter falsehood, having no truths that it was necessary to conceal. They had never been terrified with the idea that GOD has in store dreadful punishments for ungrateful children ; with them filial duty was born of maternal affection : they had been taught no other religion than that which instructs us to love one another ; and if they did not offer up long prayers at church, wherever they were, in the house, in the fields, or in the woods, they raised toward Heaven innocent hands and pure hearts, filled with the love of their parents.

Thus passed their early infancy, like a beautiful dawn which seems to promise a still more beautiful day. They already divided with their mothers the cares of the household : as soon as the crowing of the cock announced the return of *Aurora*, *Virginia* rose, went to draw water at the neighbouring fountain, and returned to the house to prepare breakfast : soon after, when the sun had gilded the peaks of that enclosure, *Margaret* and her son went to the dwelling of *Madame de la Tour*, where they



immediately began a prayer, which was followed by their first repast; this they frequently partook of before the door seated on the grass, under a bower of bananas, which furnished them at the same time with ready-prepared food, in their substantial fruit, and table-linen in their long and glittering leaves.

Wholesome and plentiful nourishment rapidly expanded the bodies of these young persons, and a mild education painted in their physiognomies the purity and contentment of their souls. *Virginia* was only twelve years old; already her person was more than half formed; a large quantity of beautiful flaxen hair ornamented her head; her blue eyes and coral lips shone with the mildest lustre on the bloom of her countenance: they always smiled in concert when she spoke, but when she was silent, their natural obliquity toward Heaven gave them an expression of extreme sensibility, and even a slight tendency to melancholy. As for *Paul*, you might already see in him the character of a man, possessing all the graces of youth; his figure was taller than that of *Virginia*, his complexion darker, and his nose more aquiline: his eyes, which were black, would have possessed a certain degree of haughtiness, if the long eye-lashes which surrounded them, and which resembled the fine strokes of a pencil, had not given them the greatest sweetness. Though he was almost continually in motion, the moment his sister appeared he became tranquil, and seated himself beside her; their meal frequently passed without a word being uttered: their silence, the simplicity of their attitudes, the beauty of their naked feet, would have tempted you to believe that you beheld an antique groupe of white marble, representing the children of *Niobe*: but when you beheld their looks, which seemed desirous to meet each other, their smiles returned with smiles still sweeter, you would have taken them for those children of Heaven, those blessed spirits, whose nature is love; and who have no need of thought to make their feelings known, nor of words to express their affection.

In the mean time, *Madame de la Tour* perceiving that her daughter advanced in life with so many charms, felt her uneasiness increase with her tenderness: she used to say sometimes to me, "If I should chance to die, what would become of *Virginia*, dowerless as she is?"



She had an aunt in France, a woman of quality, rich, old, and a devotee, who had refused her assistance in a manner so unfeeling, when she married *de la Tour*, that she resolved never to have recourse to her again, to whatever extremity she might be reduced. But now that she was become a mother, she no longer dreaded the shame of a refusal : she acquainted her aunt with the unexpected death of her husband, the birth of her daughter, and the embarrassment of her affairs ; being destitute of support, and burdened with a child. She however received no answer ; but, being a woman of exalted character, she no longer feared humiliation, nor the reproaches of her relation, who had never forgiven her for having married a man of low birth, though virtuous. She continued therefore to write to her aunt by every opportunity, in the hope of raising in her breast some favourable emotions toward *Virginia* : many years however elapsed before she received from her any token of remembrance.

At length, in the year 1746, on the arrival of *M. de la Bourdonaye*, Madame *de la Tour* was informed that their new Governor had a letter to deliver to her from her aunt. She immediately ran to Port-Louis, for this once entirely indifferent about appearing in her coarse habit ; maternal love raising her above respect to the World. *M. de la Bourdonaye* delivered her aunt's letter, which insinuated that she merited her condition, for having married an adventurer, a libertine ; that the passions always carried their punishment along with them ; that the untimely death of her husband was a just chastisement of GOD ; that she had done well to remain in the island, instead of dishonouring her family by returning to France ; and that after all she was in an excellent country, where every body made fortunes, except the idle. After having thus reproached her, she concluded with making her own elogium ; to avoid, she said, the almost inevitable evils which attend matrimony, she had always refused to marry : the truth was, that, being very ambitious, she had refused to unite herself to any except a man of rank ; but although she was very rich, and that at Court every thing is a matter of indifference, fortune excepted, yet no person was found willing to form an alliance with a woman homely to



the last degree, and at the same time possessed of a most unfeeling heart.

She added, by way of postscript, that everything considered, she had strongly recommended her to *M. de la Bourdonaye*: she had indeed recommended her, but, conformably to a custom but too prevalent at this day, which renders a protector more to be dreaded than a declared enemy, in order to justify to the Governor her severity to her niece, in feigning to pity she had calumniated her.

*Madame de la Tour*, who could not be seen by the most indifferent person without interest and respect, was received with the greatest coolness by *M. de la Bourdonaye*, thus prejudiced against her. To the account which she gave of her own situation, and that of her daughter, he answered only by harsh monosyllables; "I shall enquire,"...."we shall see,"...."in time,"...."there are many unhappy people,"...."why offend so respectable an aunt?"...."you are certainly to blame."

*Madame de la Tour* returned to the plantation, her heart oppressed with grief, and full of bitterness; on her arrival she sat down, threw her aunt's letter on the table, and said to her friend, "Behold the fruits of eleven years patience." But as no one of the society knew how to read except *Madame de la Tour*, she took up the letter again and read it to all the family, Scarcely had she concluded, when *Margaret* said to her with vivacity, "What need have we of thy relations? Has GOD forsaken us? He only is our father; have we not lived happily until this day? Why then should you afflict yourself? You have no fortitude." Perceiving that *Madame de la Tour* was much affected, she threw herself on her bosom, folded her in her arms and exclaimed, "My dear friend, my dear friend!" her own sobs quite choaked her voice. At this sight, *Virginia* melting into tears, alternately pressed the hands of her mother, and of *Margaret*, to her lips, and to her heart; whilst *Paul*, his eyes inflamed with rage, exclaimed aloud, clenched his fists, stamped with his feet, not knowing how to vent his rage. At the noise which he made, *Domingo* and *Mary* ran in, and nothing but exclamations of distress were heard in the cottage: "Ah, Madam!"...."My good mistress!"...."My dear mother!"...."Do not distress yourself." Such tender marks of



affection soon dissipated the anguish of *Madame de la Tour*: she embraced *Paul* and *Virginia*, and said to them with a look of satisfaction, "My dear children, you are the cause of my tears, but you are also the source of all the happiness I enjoy: Oh, my children, misfortune attacks me only from afar, felicity is ever around me." *Paul* and *Virginia* did not comprehend what she said, but as soon as they saw that she was composed they smiled and caressed her. Thus was peace restored, and the past scene was only like a stormy cloud in the midst of Summer.

The good dispositions of these children were unfolding themselves from day to day. One Sunday about sun-rise, their mothers having gone to the first mass at the church of *Pamplemousses*, a fugitive negro-woman made her appearance, under the bananas which surrounded their plantation. She was as meagre as a skeleton, and without a bit of clothing except a shred of tattered canvas about her loins. She threw herself at *Virginia's* feet, who was preparing the family-breakfast, and thus addressed her: "My dear young lady, take pity on a miserable runaway slave: for more than a month past I have been wandering about these mountains, half-dead with famine, and frequently pursued by the huntsmen and their dogs. I have fled from my master, who is a wealthy planter on the Black River: he has treated me in the manner you see."

In saying these words, she shewed her body deeply furrowed by the strokes of the whip which she had received; she added, "I had thoughts of drowning myself, but knowing that you lived here, I thus reflected; perhaps there are still some good white people in this country, I must not die yet." *Virginia*, much affected, replied, "Take comfort, unfortunate creature! eat, eat." Upon which she gave her the breakfast which she had prepared for the family. The slave in a few moments devoured the whole of it. *Virginia*, seeing her refreshed, said to her: "Poor wretch! I have a great desire to go to your master and implore your pardon: at the sight of you he must be touched with compassion: will you conduct me to him?"—"Angel of GOD!" replied the negress, "I will follow you wherever you lead me." *Virginia* called her brother, and entreated him to accompany her: the fugitive slave conducted them by narrow paths to the



middle of the woods, across high mountains over which they scrambled with difficulty, and great rivers, which they forded. At length, toward noon, they arrived at the bottom of a mountain on the banks of the Black River. They there perceived a well-built house, considerable plantations, and a great number of slaves engaged in different occupations. The master was walking in the midst of them, with a pipe in his mouth, and a ratan in his hand. He was a very tall, lean man, of an olive complexion, with his eyes sunk in his head, his eye-brows black and meeting each other. *Virginia*, quite petrified, holding *Paul* by the arm, approached the man, and entreated him for the love of GOD to pardon his slave, who was a few paces behind them. The master, at first, did not pay much attention to these two children, who were but meanly clad; when however he had remarked the elegant form of *Virginia*, her beautiful flaxen hair, which appeared from under a blue hood, and when he had heard the sweet tones of her voice, which trembled as well as her body while she implored his forgiveness, he took the pipe from his mouth, and raising his ratan toward Heaven, declared with a terrible oath that he would pardon his slave, not for the love of GOD, but for the love of her. *Virginia* immediately made a sign for the slave to advance toward her master, and then ran away, with *Paul* running after her.

They scrambled together up the steep declivity of the mountain, by which they had descended in the morning, and having arrived at it's summit, they seated themselves under a tree, exhausted with fatigue, hunger and thirst. They had travelled from the rising of the Sun, more than five leagues without having tasted food: *Paul* addressed *Virginia* thus: "Sister, it is  
"past mid-day, you are hungry, you are thirsty; we shall find  
"no refreshment here, let us again descend the mountain, and  
"request the master of the slave to give us something to eat."  
—"Oh, no! my friend," replied *Virginia*, "he has terrified me  
"too much already. Do you not remember what mamma has  
"often said; *the bread of the wicked fills the mouth with gra-*  
"*vel?*"—"What shall we do then?" said *Paul*, "these trees  
"produce only bad fruits: there is not so much as a tamarind,  
"or a lemon to refresh you."—"GOD will have pity on us,"  
returned *Virginia*, "he hears the voice of the little birds which



“call to him for food.” Scarcely had she pronounced these words when they heard the bubbling of a fountain which fell from a neighbouring rock: they immediately ran to it, and after having quenched their thirst with water more clear than the crystal, they gathered and eat a few of the cresses which grew upon it’s banks. As they were anxiously looking about from side to side, to see if they could not find some more substantial food, *Virginia* perceived among the trees of the forest a young palm-tree. The colewort which is inclosed in the leaves that grow on the top of this tree is very good to eat; but though it’s trunk was not thicker than a man’s leg, it was more than sixty feet high. The wood of this tree indeed is only formed of a bundle of filaments, but it’s pith is so hard that it resists the edge of the keenest hatchet, and *Paul* had not so much as a knife. The idea occurred to him of setting fire to the palm-tree, but here again he was at a loss; he had no steel; and besides in this island, so covered with rock, I do not believe that a single flint stone is to be found. Necessity produces industry, and the most useful inventions are frequently to be ascribed to the most miserable of mankind. *Paul* resolved to kindle a fire in the same manner that the blacks do. With the sharp point of a stone he bored a little hole in the branch of a tree that was very dry, which he mastered by pressing it under his feet: he then, with the edge of this stone, made a point to another branch equally dry, but of a different species of wood. Afterwards he applied this piece of pointed wood to the little hole of the branch which was under his feet, and spinning it round with great rapidity between his hands, as you trundle round the mill with which chocolate is frothed up, in a few moments he saw smoke and sparks issue from the point of contact. He then gathered together some dry herbage, and other branches of trees, and applied the fire to the root of the palm-tree, which presently fell with a terrible crash. This fire likewise assisted him in peeling off from the colewort it’s long, ligneous and prickly leaves. *Virginia* and he ate a part of his cabbage raw, and the other part dressed upon the ashes, and found them equally savoury. They enjoyed this frugal repast with the highest satisfaction, from the recollection of the good action which they had performed in the morning; but their joy was greatly damped, by the uneasiness which they had not a doubt



their long absence must have occasioned to their parents. *Virginia* recurred frequently to this subject, while *Paul*, who now felt his strength restored, assured her that it would not be long before they got home to quiet the anxiety of their mothers.

After dinner they found themselves much embarrassed, for they had no longer a guide to direct them homewards. *Paul*, who was disconcerted at nothing, said to *Virginia*, "Our cottage looks toward the noon-day Sun, we must therefore pass as we did this morning, over that mountain which you see below with it's three peaks. Come, let us walk on, my friend." This mountain is called the Three Paps,\* because it's three peaks have that form. They descended then the gloomy declivity of the Black River toward the north, and arrived, after an hour's walking, at the banks of a considerable river which barred their progress. That large portion of the island, entirely covered with forests, is so little known even at this day, that many of it's rivers and mountains are still without a name. The river, upon the banks of which they were, flows impetuously over a bed of rocks. The noise of it's waters terrified *Virginia*; she durst not venture to put her feet into it for the purpose of fording over. *Paul* upon this took *Virginia* on his back; and thus laden passed over the slippery rocks of the river, in spite of the tumult of the waves. "Be not afraid," said he to her, "I feel my strength renewed, having the charge of you. If the planter of the Black River had refused to your entreaties the pardon of his slave, I should have fought with him." "How!" exclaimed *Virginia*, "with that man, so large, and so wicked? To what have I exposed you? My God! how difficult a thing it is to act properly! Evil alone is performed with facility!"

When *Paul* had arrived on the farther side he was desirous of continuing the journey, laden as he was with the weight of his sis-

\* There are many mountains, the summits of which are rounded into the form of a woman's breast, and bear that name in all languages. They are indeed real paps; for from them issue multitudes of brooks and rivers, which diffuse abundance over the face of the Earth. They are the sources of the principal streams which water it, and furnish them with a constant supply, by continually attracting the clouds around the peak of the rock, which overtops them at the centre, like a nipple. We have indicated these wonderful provisions of Nature in the preceding Studies.



ter, and he flattered himself that he should be able thus to ascend the mountain of the Three Paps, which he saw before him at the distance of a league and a half, under the same burden with which he had crossed the river; but his strength very soon failed, and he was obliged to set her on the ground, and repose himself by her side. *Virginia* then said to him, " Brother, the day is declining fast, you have still some strength remaining, but mine entirely fails; suffer me to remain here, and do you return alone to our cottage to restore tranquillity to our mothers." " Oh no!" said *Paul*, " I will never leave you. If the night should surprize us in these woods, I will light a fire, I will fell these palm-trees, you shall eat the colewort, and I will make of it's leaves an ajoupa to shelter you." *Virginia* however being a little revived, gathered from the trunk of an old tree which grew upon the edge of the river, long leaves of the scolopendra, which hung down from it's boughs. She made of these a species of sandals, which she put on her feet; for they were wounded to bleeding by the sharp stone which covered the road. In her eagerness to do good she had forgot to put on shoes. Feeling herself relieved by the freshness of these leaves, she broke off a branch of bamboo, and proceeded on her journey, resting one hand on this reed, and the other on her brother. They thus walked slowly on through the woods; but the height of the trees, and the thickness of their foliage, soon made them lose sight of the Three Paps, to which they were directing their course, and even of the Sun, which was near setting. After some time they strayed, without perceiving it, from the beaten path which they had hitherto pursued, and found themselves in a labyrinth of trees, of lianes, and of rocks which had no outlet.

*Paul* made *Virginia* sit down, and ran about quite distracted, in quest of a road that might lead them out of this maze, but he fatigued himself in vain. He scrambled to the top of a large tree, with the hope of discovering at least the mountain of the Three Paps, but he could perceive nothing around him except the summits of trees, some of which were gilded by the last rays of the setting Sun. In the mean time the shadow of the mountains had already covered the forests in the valleys; the wind was hushed, as it usually is at the setting of the Sun; a profound silence reigned in these solitudes, and no other sound was to be



heard but the braying of the deer, which came to seek a place of repose for the night in these wild retreats. *Paul*, in the hope that some huntsman might hear his voice, then called out with all his might; "Come, come to the relief of *Virginia*:" but the only answer he received was from the solitary echoes of the forest, which repeated at intervals, "*Virginia! Virginia!*"

*Paul* at length descended from the tree, oppressed with fatigue and vexation; he meditated on the means of passing the night in this place; but there was neither fountain nor palm-tree to be found in it; nor even so much as branches of dry wood proper to kindle a fire. He then felt from experience the inefficacy of his resources, and began to weep. *Virginia* said to him, "Do not distress yourself, my friend, if you would not wish to see me overwhelmed with grief. It is I who am the cause of all your sufferings, and of those which our mothers now endure. We ought to do nothing without consulting our parents, no, not even what is right. Oh! I have been very imprudent!" Thus saying, she burst into tears. In the meantime she said to *Paul*, "Let us pray to GOD, my brother, and he will take compassion on us." Scarcely had they finished their prayer when they heard a dog bark. "It is," said *Paul*, "the dog of some huntsman, who comes of an evening to kill the deer in their retreat." A short time after the barking of the dog redoubled. "I have an idea," said *Virginia*, that it is Fidèle our cottage dog: yes, I recollect his voice: Is it possible that we should be so near our journey's end, and at the foot of our own mountain?" In truth, a moment afterwards, Fidèle was at their feet, barking, howling, groaning, and loading them with caresses. Before they had recovered from their surprize they perceived *Domingo*, who was running toward them. At the sight of this worthy negro, who wept with joy, they also shed tears, without being able to say one word. When *Domingo* had a little recovered himself: "Oh, my young masters," said he to them, "what distress your mothers are in! how astonished they were at not finding you on their return from mass, whither I had accompanied them! *Mary*, who was at work in a corner of the plantation, could not tell whither you were gone: I wandered about the grounds, not knowing myself where to seek you: At length, I took the old clothes



“ which you used to wear ;\* I made Fidèle smell to them ; and  
 “ as if the poor animal had understood me, he immediately set  
 “ off to trace your steps. He conducted me, always wagging  
 “ his tail, to the Black River. There I was informed by a plan-  
 “ ter that you had brought a fugitive slave back to him, and  
 “ that he pardoned her at your intercession. But what a par-  
 “ don ! he showed her to me, fastened with a chain round her  
 “ foot to a log of wood, and an iron collar with three rings round  
 “ her neck. From thence, Fidèle following the scent, conducted  
 “ me to the Mount of the Black River, where he again stopped,  
 “ and barked as loud as he was able. It was on the brink of a  
 “ fountain near a palm-tree which had been levelled, and a fire  
 “ not quite extinguished ; at length he conducted me to this  
 “ place. We are at the foot of the mountain of the Three Paps,  
 “ and it is still four good leagues from our dwelling. Come on,  
 “ eat and recruit your strength.” He then presented to them a  
 cake, some fruit, and a large gourd bottle filled with a liquor  
 compounded of water, wine, lemon-juice, sugar, and nutmeg,  
 which their mothers had prepared to strengthen and revive  
 them. *Virginia* sighed at the recollection of the poor slave, and  
 at the distress of their mothers. She repeated several times,  
 “ Oh, how difficult it is to do good !”

While *Paul* and she were refreshing themselves *Domingo*  
 lighted a fire, and looking about among the rocks for a crooked  
 billet, which we call round-wood, and which burns even in the  
 sap, throwing out a very bright flame, he made a flambeau of  
 it, and set it a-burning ; for it was now quite dark. But he had  
 to encounter a much greater difficulty. When all was ready  
 for proceeding forward, *Paul* and *Virginia* were absolutely in-  
 capable of walking any farther ; their feet being swelled and  
 raw all over. *Domingo* was completely puzzled ; he could not  
 determine whether it would be more advisable for him to ram-  
 ble about in quest of assistance, or to prepare for passing the  
 night with them where they were. “ Whither has the time  
 “ fled,” said he to them, “ when I carried you both at once in  
 “ my arms ? But now you are increased in stature, and I am

\* This trait of sagacity in the black *Domingo*, and his dog Fidèle, very much  
 resembles that of the savage *Tewenissa* and his dog Oniha, mentioned by M.  
*de Crevecoeur*, in his humane Work, entitled, *Letters of an American Farmer*.



"old." While he was reduced to this state of perplexity, a company of run-away negroes appeared, about twenty paces distant. The leader of the troop, approaching *Paul* and *Virginia*, thus addressed them: "Good little Whites, be not afraid: we saw you this morning passing along in company with a negress of the Black River; you were going to solicit her pardon of a cruel master; out of gratitude we will carry you home upon our shoulders." Upon this he made a sign, and four of the stoutest black fellows immediately formed a litter with boughs of trees and lianes, placed *Paul* and *Virginia* upon it, hoisted them upon their shoulders, and, *Domingo* marching before them with his flambeau, they took the road amidst the joyful acclamations of the whole company, who loaded them with benedictions. *Virginia*, quite overcome, whispered to *Paul*: "Oh, my dear friend! GOD never permits a good action to go unrewarded."

About midnight they arrived at the bottom of their own mountain, the ridges of which were illumined with various fires. Scarcely had they got to the top, when they heard voices calling aloud: "Is it you, my children?" The blacks and they replied together: "Yes, yes, here we are!" and presently they perceived their mothers and *Mary* coming to meet them with flaming torches. "Unhappy children!" exclaimed *Madame de la Tour*, "Whence come you? Into what agonies have you thrown us!" "We come," replied *Virginia*, "from the Black River, whither we went this morning to implore the pardon of a poor fugitive negress, to whom I likewise gave the family breakfast, for she was just perishing with hunger; and here, the black run-aways have carried us home again." *Madame de la Tour* tenderly embraced her daughter, utterly deprived of the power of speech; and *Virginia*, who felt her own face moistened with her mother's tears, said to her: "How you repay me for all that I have suffered!" *Margaret*, transported with delight, locked *Paul* in her arms, saying: "And thou too, my son, thou hast performed a good action!" Being arrived at their cottage with the children, they gave a plentiful supper to the black guides, who returned to the woods expressing a thousand good wishes for their prosperity.



Every succeeding day was to these families a day of happiness and tranquillity. They were strangers to the torments of envy and of ambition. They coveted not, from abroad, that vain reputation which is purchased by intrigue, and which the breath of calumny destroys. It was sufficient for them to be in the place of witness and of judge to each other. In this island where, as in all the European Colonies, no curiosity is expressed except in hunting after malicious anecdotes, their virtues, nay their very names, were unknown. Only, when a passenger happened to ask on the road to Pamplemousses, of one of the inhabitants of the plain: "Who lives in yonder cottages on the top of the hill?" the answer returned, without pretending to any farther knowledge of them, was: "They are good people." Thus the violets, from under the prickly shrubbery, exhale at a distance their fragrant perfume, though they remain unseen.

They had banished from their conversation the practice of evil-speaking, which under an appearance of justice, necessarily disposes the heart to hatred or to falsehood; for it is impossible to refrain from hating men if we believe them to be wicked; or to live with the wicked unless you conceal your hatred of them under false appearances of benevolence. Evil-speaking, accordingly, lays us under the necessity of being upon bad terms with others, or with ourselves. But without sitting in judgment on men, in particular, they entertained one another only in devising the means of doing good to all in general; and though they possessed not the power, they had an invariable disposition this way, which animated them with a benevolence at all times ready to extend itself in an outward direction. By living therefore in solitude, so far from degenerating into savages, they had become more humane. If the scandalous history of Society did not supply them with matter of conversation, that of Nature replenished their hearts with transports of wonder and delight. They contemplated with rapture the power of that Providence which, by their hands, had diffused amidst these barren rocks abundance, gracefulness, pleasures pure, simple and perpetually renewing themselves.

*Paul*, at the age of twelve, more vigorous and more intelligent than Europeans in general are at fifteen, had embellished what the Negro *Domingo* only cultivated. He went with him to the



adjoining woods, to take up by the roots the young plants of lemon and orange-trees, of the tamarinds, whose round head is of such a beautiful green, and of the *attier*, whose fruit is stored with a sugary cream which emits the perfume of the orange-flower. He planted these trees, after they had attained a considerable stature, all around this enclosure. He had there sown the grains of such trees as, from the second year and upward, bear flowers or fruits, as the *agathis*, from which depend circularly, like the crystal pendants of lustre, long clusters of white flowers; the Persian lilach which raises straight into the air it's gray, flaxen girandoles; the *papayer*, whose branchless trunk, formed like a column, bristled all over with green melons, carries aloft a chapter of broad leaves resembling those of the fig-tree.

He had likewise planted in it the kernels and the nuts of the *badamier*, of the mango, of the *avocatier*, of the *goyavier*, of the *jacqs*, and of the jamrose. Most of these trees already yielded to their young master both shade and fruit. His industrious hand had diffused fecundity even over the most sterile spot of the enclosure. Aloes of various kinds, the raquet, loaded with yellow flowers striped with red, the prickly tapers arose on the dusky summits of the rocks, and seemed desirous of mounting up to the *lianes*, garnished with blue or scarlet flowers, which hung down here and there along the precipices of the mountain.

He had disposed these vegetables in such a manner that you could enjoy the sight of them by a single glance of the eye. He had planted in the middle of the bason, the herbage, which grows to no great height, after that the shrubbery, then the trees of small stature, and last of all the great trees which garnished it's circumference; so that this vast enclosure appeared, from it's centre, like an amphitheatre of verdure, of fruits and flowers, containing pot-herbs, stripes of meadow-ground, and fields of rice and corn. But in subjecting thus the vegetable kingdom to his plan, he had not deviated from the plans of Nature. Directed by the indications which she vouchsafes to give, he had placed in elevated situations the plants whose seeds are volatile, and by the side of the waters those whose grains are adapted to floating. Thus each vegetable grew in it's proper site, and each site received from it's vegetable it's natural dress.



The streams, which descended from the summit of these rocks, formed below in the valley, here fountains, there broad and capacious mirrors, which reflected in the midst of the verdure, the trees in bloom, the rocks, and the azure of the Heavens.

Notwithstanding the great irregularity of the soil, these plantations were for the most part as accessible to the foot as to the eye. In truth, we all assisted him with our advice, and with our exertions, in order to accomplish his purpose. He had traced a path which winded round the bason, and of which several ramifications converged from the circumference to meet at the centre. He had availed himself of the most rugged places of his domain, and united, by a harmony the most delicious, facility of walking with the asperity of the soil, and domestic with forest trees. Of that enormous quantity of rolling stones, which now obstruct these roads as well as mar the greatest part of the surface of this island, he had formed in various places huge pyramids, in the layers of which he had mixed with earth, and the roots of rose-trees, the *poincillade* and other shrubs, which take pleasure in the rocks. In a very short time, these gloomy and inanimate piles were covered with verdure, or with the dazzling lustre of the most beautiful flowers. The cavities worn by the torrent in the sides of the mountain, bordered with aged trees inclined toward each other, formed arched subterraneans inaccessible to the heat, to which they retired for coolness during the sultry ardor of the meridian Sun. A narrow path conducted into a thicket of wild trees, at the centre of which grew, sheltered from the winds, a household-tree loaded with fruit. There was a cornfield whitening to the harvest; here an orchard. Through this avenue you could see the houses; through that the inaccessible summits of the mountain. Under a tufted grove of *tatamaques*, interlaced with *lianes*, no one object was distinguishable even in the brightness of noon-day. On the point of that great rock adjoining, which juts out of the mountain, you could discern all those contained within the enclosure, with the Sea at a distance, on which sometimes appeared a vessel arriving from Europe, or returning thither. On this rock it was that the two families assembled of an evening, and enjoyed in silence the coolness of the air, the fragrance of the



flowers, the bubbling of the fountains, and the last harmonies of light and shade.

Nothing could be more agreeable than the names imposed on the greatest part of the charming retreats of this labyrinth. The rock of which I have just now been speaking, from whence they could discern my approach at a considerable distance, was called FRIENDSHIP'S DISCOVERY. *Paul* and *Virginia*, in their sportiveness, had planted a bamboo upon it, on the summit of which they hoisted a small white handkerchief, as a signal of my arrival as soon as they perceived me ; in imitation of the flag which is displayed on the neighbouring mountain on seeing a vessel at Sea. I took a fancy to engrave an inscription on the stem of this reed. Whatever pleasure I may have enjoyed in the course of my travels, in contemplating a statue, or a monument of Antiquity, I have enjoyed still more in perusing a well-conceived inscription. It seems to me, in that case, as if a human voice issued out of the stone, made itself audible through the mighty void of ages, and addressing itself to Man in the midst of deserts, told him that he was not alone ; and that other men, in these very places, had felt, thought, and suffered like himself. Should it happen to be the inscription of some ancient Nation, which subsists no longer, it conveys our soul into the regions of infinity, and communicates to it the sentiment of it's own immortality, by shewing that a thought has outlived the ruins even of an Empire.

I inscribed then on the little mast which carried the flag of *Paul* and *Virginia*, these verses of *Horace* :

.....Fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,  
Ventorumque regat Pater,  
Obstrictis aliis, præter lapyga.\*

“ May the brothers of *Helen*, stars radiant like yourselves,  
“ and may the Ruler of the winds direct your course ; binding  
“ up every ruder blast, and filling your sails only with the breath  
“ of the Zephyr.”

\* Thus imitated :

May *Helen's* brothers, stars so bright,  
And *Æolus* guide your course aright,  
That, safe from every ruder gale,  
Zephyrs alone may swell the sail.



I engraved the following line from *Virgil*, on the rind of a *tatamaque*; under the shade of which *Paul* sometimes sat down to contemplate from afar the agitated Ocean :

Fortunatus & ille deos qui novit agrestes !

“ Happy too is he in knowing no deities but those who make the plains their care !”

And that over the door of Madame *de la Tour*'s cottage, which was the place of general rendezvous :

At segura quies, & nescia fallera vita.

“ Peace undisturb'd, and hearts devoid of guile.”

But *Virginia* did not approve of my Latin ; she said that the inscription which I had placed below her weathercock, was too long and too learned. I should have rather preferred this, added she : ALWAYS AGITATED, BUT EVER CONSTANT. That device, replied I, is still better adapted to virtue. My observation excited a blush in her cheek.

These happy families extended their benevolent dispositions to all that surrounded them. They bestowed the most tender appellations on objects apparently the most indifferent. To an inclosure of orange-trees and bananas, planted in form of a circle round a portion of mossy ground, in the middle of which *Paul* and *Virginia* sometimes used to dance, they gave the name of THE CONCORD. An ancient tree, under the shade of which Madame *de la Tour* and *Margaret* related to each other their misfortunes, was called THE TEARS WIPED AWAY. They gave the names of BRITTANY and NORMANDY to small spots of ground where they had planted corn, strawberries, and pease. *Domingo* and *Mary*, wishing after the example of their mistresses, to call to remembrance the places of their birth in Africa, denominated two pieces of ground where that grass grew of which they made baskets, and where they had planted a great gourd, ANGOLA and FOULLEPOINTE. Thus, by those productions of their own climates, these exiled families cherished fond ideas of their native country, and soothed their sorrows in a foreign land. Alas ! I have seen the trees, the fountains, the rocks, of this spot, now so changed, animated by a thousand charming appellations ; but in



their present state, like a Grecian plain, they only present to view ruins and heart-affecting inscriptions.

Of the whole enclosure however no spot was more agreeable than that which went by the name of VIRGINIA'S REST. At the foot of the rock named THE DISCOVERY OF FRIENDSHIP, is a hollow place whence issues a fountain, which forms from it's source a little lake, in the middle of a meadow of fine grass. When *Margaret* had brought *Paul* into the World, I made her a present of an Indian cocoa-nut which had been given me. She planted this fruit on the borders of the lake, intending that the tree which it should produce might serve one day as an epocha of her son's birth. *Madame de la Tour*, after her example, planted another there likewise, with a similar intention, as soon as she was delivered of *Virginia*. From these nuts grew two cocoa-trees, which formed the whole archives of the two families; one was called the tree of *Paul*, the other that of *Virginia*. They both grew in the same proportion as their young master and mistress, of a height rather unequal, but which surpassed at the end of twelve years that of the cottages. Already they interwove their branches, and dropped their young clusters of cocoas over the bason of the fountain.

This plantation excepted, they had left the cavity of the rock just as nature had adorned it. On it's brown and humid sides radiated, in green and dusky stars, large plants of maiden hair; and tufts of the scolopendra, suspended like long ribands of greenish purple, waved at the pleasure of the winds. Near to that grew long stripes of the periwinkle, the flowers of which nearly resemble those of the white gilly-flower, and pimentos, whose blood-coloured husks are brighter than coral. Round about these the plants of balm, with their leaves resembling a heart, and basilicons, with a carnation smell, exhaled the sweetest of perfumes. From the summit of the rugged precipices of the mountain hung the *lianes*, like floating drapery, which formed on the sides of the rocks large festoons of verdure. The sea-birds, attracted by these peaceful retreats, flocked thither to pass the night. At sun-set you might see the rook and the sea-lark fly along the shores of the Sea; and high in air the black frigate and the white bird of the tropics, which abandon, together with the orb of day, the solitudes of the Indian Ocean.



*Virginia* delighted to repose herself on the borders of this fountain, decorated with a pomp at once magnificent and wild. Thither did she often resort to wash the linen of the family, under the shade of the cocoa-trees : and sometimes she led her goats to pasture there. While she prepared cheeses of their milk, she took delight to see them browse on the maiden-hair which grew on the steep sides of the rock, and suspend themselves in the air on one of it's cornices as on a pedestal.

*Paul*, perceiving this to be the favourite retreat of *Virginia*, brought thither from the neighbouring forest the nests of all kinds of birds. The parents of these birds followed their young ones, and established themselves in this new colony. *Virginia* scattered among them from time to time grains of rice, of maize and of millet. As soon as she appeared, the whistling black birds, the bengali whose warbling is so sweet, and the cardinal with his flame coloured plumage, left the bushes ; the paroquets, as green as the emerald, descended from the neighbouring lataniers ; the partridges ran nimbly along the grass : all hastened in variegated groups to her very feet, like little chickens, while *Paul* and she amused themselves with transport, at their playfulness, their appetites, and their loves.

Amiable children, thus did you pass your early days, in perfect innocence, and employing yourselves in acts of virtue ! How many times, in that spot, did your mothers, folding you in their arms, give thanks to Heaven for the consolation which you were preparing for their old age, and at seeing you enter into life under auspices so happy ! How many times under the shadow of these rocks, have I partaken with them your rural repast, by which no animal was deprived of life ! Gourds filled with milk, fresh eggs, cakes of rice served up on the leaves of the banana-tree, baskets filled with potatoes, mangoes, oranges, pomegranates, bananas, *attés*, and pine-apples, presented at once the most nourishing aliment, the gayest colours and the most agreeable juices.

Their conversation was as sweet and as innocent as the repast. *Paul* frequently talked of the labours of the day past, and of those of to-morrow ; he was always meditating something which would be subservient to the general good : here the paths were not commodious ; there they were indifferently seated ; these young bow-



ers did not give a sufficient shade ; *Virginia*, would be more comfortable in another place.

In the rainy season, in the day-time, they assembled all together in one of the cottages, masters and servants, and employed themselves in weaving mats of the herbage, and baskets of bamboo. You saw displayed, in the most perfect order, along the boards of the wall, rakes, hatchets, spades ; and close by these instruments of agriculture, the productions which were the fruit of them, bags of rice, sheaves of corn, and rows of Bananas. Delicacy was there ever blended with abundance. *Virginia* assisted by the instructions of *Margaret* and her mother, amused herself with preparing sherbets and cordials, with the juice of the sugar-cane, of citrons, and of *cedrats*.

When night arrived, they supped by the glimmering light of a lamp ; after which *Madame de la Tour*, or *Margaret*, related the histories of travellers who had lost their way by night, in the forests of Europe infested by robbers ; or of the shipwreck of some vessel driven by the tempest on the rocks of a desert island. On hearing melancholy details of this kind the hearts of these sensible young folks caught fire. They implored of Heaven the grace to put in practice, one day, the duties of hospitality to unhappy persons in such circumstances. Afterwards the two families separated to enjoy the gift of sleep, but in the ardor of impatience to meet again next morning. Sometimes they were lulled to rest by the noise of the rain rushing down in torrents on the roof of their cottages ; or by the roaring of the winds, conveying to their ears the distant murmuring of the billows which broke upon the shore. They united in giving thanks to GOD for their personal security, the sentiment of which was heightened by that of danger remote.

*Madame de la Tour* from time to time read aloud to the company some interesting portion of the History of the Old or New Testament. They reasoned sparingly on the subject of those Sacred Books ; for their theology consisted wholly in sentiment, like that of Nature ; and their morality, wholly in active benevolence, like that of the Gospel. They had no days destined some to mirth others to melancholy. Every day was to them a season of festivity, and every thing that surrounded them a divine Temple, in which they incessantly admired an Intelligence infinite, omnipotent, and graciously disposed toward Man. This sentiment



of confidence in the Power Supreme filled them with consolation respecting the past, with fortitude for the present, and with hope for the time to come. Thus it was that those females, constrained by calamity to fall back into Nature, had unfolded in themselves, and in their children, those feelings which are the gift of Nature, to prevent our sinking under the pressure of calamity.

But as there sometimes arise in the best regulated spirits clouds to disturb it's serenity, when any member of this society had the appearance of pensiveness, all the rest felt attracted toward that one, and dissipated the bitterness of thought rather by feelings than by reflections. Each exerted, to this effect, their particular character: *Margaret*, a lively gaiety; *Madame de la Tour*, a mild theology; *Virginia*, tender caresses; *Paul* frankness and cordiality. Nay *Mary* and *Domingo* contributed their share of consolation. When they beheld affliction they were afflicted; when they saw tears shed they wept. Thus the feeble plants interlace their boughs, in order to resist the violence of the hurricane.

When the weather was fine they went every Sunday to mass to the church of Pamplemousses, the tower of which you see below in the plain. The wealthy planters resorted thither in their palanquins; and made many efforts to form an acquaintance with these happily united families, and invited them to partake of their parties of pleasure. But they uniformly declined accepting such tenders, civilly and respectfully, under the conviction that persons of consequence court the obscure, only for the pleasure of having compliant hangers-on, and that it is impossible to be complaisant but by flattering the passions of another, whether they be good or bad. On the other hand they shunned, with no less circumspection, all intimacy with the lower settlers, who are for the most part jealous, back-biters, and vulgar. They passed, at first, with one of those sets, for timid; and with the other for haughty; but their reserved behaviour was accompanied with marks of politeness so obliging, especially to persons in distress, that they imperceptibly acquired the respect of the rich, and the confidence of the poor.

When mass was over, they were frequently sought unto, for the interposition of some gracious office or another. It was a person in perplexity who applied to them for their kind advice;



or a child importuning them to visit a sick mother in one of the adjoining hamlets. They always carried about them some receipts adapted to the diseases incident to the inhabitants, and they administered their prescriptions with that good grace which communicates such a value to small services. They succeeded particularly in curing the maladies of the mind, so oppressive in a state of solitude, and in an infirm state of body. Madame *de la Tour* spoke with so much confidence of the DEITY, that the sick person, listening to her discourse, felt the impression of his presence. From these visits *Virginia* frequently returned with her eyes bathed in tears, but her heart overflowing with joy; for she had been blessed with an opportunity of doing good. She it was who prepared, beforehand, the medicines necessary to the sick, and who presented them with a grace ineffable.

After those visits of humanity, they sometimes extended their walk by the valley of the long mountain, as far as my habitation, where I expected them to dinner, on the banks of the little river which flows in my neighbourhood. I provided myself for such occasions with some bottles of old wine, in order to enliven the gaiety of our Indian repasts by those pleasant and cordial productions of Europe. At other times we had our rendezvous on the shore of the Sea, at the mouth of some other small rivers, which in this part of the World can hardly be called any thing more than a larger kind of brook. Thither we carried from the plantation various kinds of vegetable provision which we added to the abundant supplies furnished by the Ocean. We fished along the shore for cabots, polypuses, lobsters, roaches, shrimps, crabs, urchins, oysters, and shell-fish of every kind. Situations the most terrible frequently procured us pleasures the most tranquillizing. Sometimes seated on a rock under the shade of a velvet-tree, we contemplated the billows from the main rolling on, and breaking under our feet with a tremendous roar. *Paul*, who, besides his other qualities could swim like a fish, now and then advanced upon the shallows to meet the surge, then, as it approached, fled toward the shore, pursued by it's vast, foaming and raging swell, a considerable way up the strand. But *Virginia*, as often as she saw this, screamed aloud, and declared that such kind of amusement terrified her exceedingly.



Our meals were followed up by the singing and dancing of these too young people. *Virginia* chanted the felicity of a rural life, and the wretchedness of sea-faring men, whom avarice prompts to encounter a furious element, rather than to cultivate the earth, which confers so many benefits in peace and tranquillity. Sometimes, after the manner of the negroes, *Paul* and she performed a pantomime. Pantomime is the first language of Man ; it is practised among all Nations. It is so natural and so expressive, that the children of the whites quickly learn it, from seeing those of the blacks thus amuse themselves. *Virginia*, recollecting the histories which her mother used to read, those especially which had affected her the most, exhibited the principal events of them with much natural expression: Sometimes, to the sound of *Domingo's* tam-tam, she made her appearance on the downy stage, bearing a pitcher on her head. She advanced with timidity, to fill it with water at the source of a neighbouring fountain. *Domingo* and *Mary*, representing the shepherds of Midian, obstructing her passage, and feigned to repel her. *Paul* flew to her assistance, beat off the shepherds, filled the pitcher of *Virginia*, and placing it upon her head, at the same time bound around it a garland of the scarlet flowers of the periwinkle, which heightened the fairness of her complexion. Then, taking a part in their innocent sports, I assumed the character of *Raguel* and bestowed *Paul* my daughter *Zipporah* in marriage.

At another time, she represented the unfortunate *Ruth*, who returns to her lamented husband's country a widow, and in poverty, where she finds herself treated as a stranger, after a long absence. *Domingo* and *Mary* acted the part of the reapers. *Virginia* appeared, gleaning up and down after them, and picking up the ears of corn. *Paul*, imitating the gravity of a Patriarch, interrogated her ; she, trembling, replied to his questions. Moved with compassion, he immediately granted an asylum to innocence, and the rights of hospitality to misfortune. He filled *Virginia's* apron with provisions of every kind, and brought her before us, as before the elders of the city, declaring that he took her to wife, notwithstanding her extreme indigence. At this scene, *Madame de la Tour*, calling to remembrance the state of desertion in which she had been left by her own rela-



tions, her widowhood, the kind reception which *Margaret* had given her, now succeeded by the hope of a happy union between their children, could not refrain from tears; and this blended recollection of good and evil, drew from the eyes of us all the tears of sorrow and of joy.

These dramas were exhibited with such a truth of expression, that we actually imagined ourselves transported to the plains of Syria or of Palestine. There was no want of decorations, of illuminations, and of orchestras, suitable to this spectacle. The place of the scene usually was at the cross-paths of a forest, the openings of which formed around us several arcades of foliage. We were at their centre sheltered from the heat, all the day long: but when the Sun had descended to the horizon, his rays, broken by the trunks of the trees, diverged into the shades of the forest in long luminous emanations, which produced the most majestic effect. Sometimes his complete disk appeared at the extremity of an avenue, and rendered it quite dazzling with a tide of light. The foliage of the trees, illumined on the under side with his saffron-coloured rays, sparkled with the fires of the topaz and of the emerald. Their mossy and brown trunks seemed to be transformed into columns of antique bronze, and the birds, already retired in silence under the dark foliage for the night, surprized by the sight of a new *Aurora*, saluted all at once the luminary of day, by a thousand and a thousand songs.

The night very often surprized us regaling ourselves with these rural festivities; but the purity of the air, and the mildness of the climate, permitted us to sleep under an ajoupa in the midst of the woods, free from all fear of thieves either at hand or at a distance. Every one returned next morning to his own cottage, and found it in the same state in which it had been left. There reigned at that time so much honesty and simplicity in this un-commercial island, that the doors of many houses did not fasten by a key, and a lock was an object of curiosity to many Creoles.

But there were certain days of the year celebrated by *Paul* and *Virginia* as seasons of peculiar rejoicing; these were the birth-days of their mothers. *Virginia* never failed, the evening before, to bake and dress cakes of the flour of wheat, which she



sent to the poor families of whites born in the island, who had never tasted the bread of Europe, and who, without any assistance from the blacks, reduced to live on maize in the midst of the woods, possessed, toward the support of poverty, neither the stupidity which is the concomitant of slavery, nor the courage which education inspires.

These cakes were the only presents which *Virginia* had it in her power to make, from the affluence of the plantation; but they were bestowed with a grace which greatly enhanced their value. First, *Paul* himself was desired to undertake the charge of presenting them to those families, and they were invited on receiving them, to come on the morrow and pass the day at the habitation of *Madame de la Tour* and *Margaret*. There arrived, accordingly, a mother with two or three miserable daughters, yellow, meagre, and so timid that they durst not lift up their eyes. *Virginia* presently set them all at their ease: she served them with a variety of refreshments, the goodness of which she heightened by some particular circumstances which, according to her, increased it's relish. That liquor had been prepared by *Margaret*; this by her mother; her brother himself had gathered that fruit on the summit of the tree. She prevailed on *Paul* to lead them out to dance. She never gave over till she saw them content and happy. It was her wish that they should become joyful in the joy of the family. "No one," said she, "can find happiness for himself but in promoting the happiness of another." On taking their leave to return home, she pressed them to carry away any thing which seemed to have given them peculiar satisfaction, veiling the necessity of accepting her presents, under the pretext of their novelty, or of their singularity. If she remarked their clothes to be excessively tattered, she, with the consent of her mother, selected some of her own, and charged *Paul* to go by stealth and deposit them at the door of their cottages. Thus she did good, after the manner of the DEITY; concealing the benefactress and shewing the benefit.

You gentlemen of Europe, whose minds are tainted from your early infancy by so many prejudices incompatible with happiness, you are unable to conceive how Nature can bestow so much illumination, and so many pleasures. Your souls, circumscribed within a small sphere of human knowledge, soon



attain the term of their artificial enjoyments ; but nature and the heart are inexhaustible. *Paul* and *Virginia* had no time-pieces, nor almanacks, nor books of chronology, of history or of philosophy : the periods of their lives were regulated by those of Nature. They knew the hour of the day by the shadow of the trees ; the seasons, by the times when they produce their flowers, or their fruits ; and years, by the number of their harvests. These delightful images diffused the greatest charms over their conversation. " It is dinner-time," said *Virginia* to the family, " the shadows of the bananas are at their feet ;" or else, " night approaches, for the tamarinds are closing their leaves." " When shall we see you ?" said some of her companions of the vicinity to her ; " at the time of the sugar-canes," replied *Virginia*, your visit will be still sweeter and more agreeable at " that time," returned these young people. When enquiries weremade respecting her own age and that of *Paul*, " My brother," said she, " is of the same age with the great cocoa-tree of the fountain, and I, with that of the small one. The mango-trees have yielded their fruit twelve times, and the orange trees have opened their blossoms twenty four times, since I came into the World." Like Fauns and Dryads their lives seemed to be attached to those of the trees. They knew no other historical epochs but the lives of their mothers ; no other chronology but that of their orchards ; and no other philosophy but universal beneficence, and resignation to the will of GOD.

After all, what occasion had these young creatures for such riches and knowledge as we have learnt to prize ? Their ignorance and their wants were even a farther addition to their happiness. Not a day passed in which they did not communicate to each other some assistance, or some information ; I repeat it, information ; and though it might be mingled with some error, yet man in a state of purity has no dangerous error to fear. Thus did these two children of Nature advance in life : hitherto no care had wrinkled their foreheads, no intemperance had corrupted their blood, no unhappy passion had depraved their hearts ; love, innocence, piety, were daily unfolding the beauties of their soul in graces ineffable, in their features, in their attitudes, and in their motions. In the morning of life they had all the freshness of it : like our first parents in the garden of Eden, when, proceed-



ing from the hands of their Creator, they saw, approached, and conversed with each other, at first, like brother and sister. *Virginia*, gentle, modest and confident like *Eve*; *Paul* like *Adam*, with the stature of a man, and all the simplicity of a child.

He has a thousand times told me, that sometimes being alone with her, on his return from labour, he had thus addressed her :  
“ When I am weary the sight of thee revives me ; when from  
“ the mountain’s height I descry thee at the bottom of this valley, thou appearest like a rose-bud in the midst of our orchards ;  
“ when thou walkest toward the dwelling of our mothers, the  
“ partridge which trips along to it’s young one’s, has a chest less  
“ beautiful, and a gait less nimble than thou hast. Although I  
“ lose sight of thee through the trees, there is no occasion for  
“ thy presence in order to find thee again ; something of thee,  
“ which I am unable to express, remains for me in the air through  
“ which thou hast passed, and on the grass upon which thou hast  
“ been seated. When I approach thee all my senses are ravished ; the azure of the Heavens is less radiant than the blue  
“ of thine eyes ; the warbling of the bengali is less sweet than  
“ the tone of thy voice ; if I touch thee only with the tip of my  
“ finger, my whole body thrills with pleasure. Dost thou remember that day on which we passed across the pebbly bed  
“ of the river of the mountain of the Three Paps ; when I arrived on it’s banks I was very much fatigued, but as soon as I  
“ had taken thee on my back, it seemed as if I had gotten wings  
“ like a bird : Tell me, by what charm thou hast been able thus  
“ to enchant me : Is it by thy understanding ? Our mothers have  
“ more than either of us : Is it by thy caresses ? Our mothers  
“ embrace me still oftener than thou dost : I believe it is by thy  
“ benevolence ; I shall never forget that thou walkedst bare-foot  
“ as far as the Black River, to solicit the pardon of a wretched  
“ fugitive slave. Receive, my much loved *Virginia*, receive  
“ this flowery branch of the lemon-tree, which I have gathered  
“ for thee in the forest : place it at night by thy pillow : eat this  
“ morsel of honey-comb, which I took for thee from the top of a  
“ rock. First however repose thyself upon my bosom, and I  
“ shall be again revived.”

*Virginia* replied, “ Oh, my brother ! the rays of the rising  
“ Sun on the summits of these rocks afford me less delight than



“thy presence : I love my own mother dearly ; I love thine ;  
“but when they call thee, Son, I love them still more. The  
“caresses which they bestow on thee are felt more sensibly by  
“me than those which I myself receive from them. Thou ask-  
“est me, Why thou lovest me ? But those that are reared to-  
“gether always love each other : behold our birds, brought up  
“in the same nest, they love like us, like us they are always to-  
“gether : hearken how they call and reply to each other from  
“bush to bush : in like manner, when the echoes bring to my  
“ear the airs which thou playest on thy flute from the moun-  
“tain-top, I repeat the words of them at the bottom of this val-  
“ley : thou art most dear to me, but above all, since that day on  
“which thou wert determined to fight the master of the slave  
“for my sake : since that period I have said to myself a thou-  
“sand times : Ah ! my brother has an excellent heart : but for  
“him I should have died with terror. I daily implore the bles-  
“sing of the Almighty on my own mother, and on thine, on  
“thyself, and on our poor domestics : but when I pronounce  
“thy name my devotion seems to glow, I so earnestly intreat  
“the Almighty that no evil may befall thee. Why dost thou  
“go so far off, and climb to such heights, to find me fruits and  
“flowers ? Have we not enough in the garden ? How fatigued,  
“and in what a heat thou art just now ?” Then with her little  
white handkerchief she wiped his forehead and his cheeks,  
and gave him a thousand kisses.

Nevertheless for some time past *Virginia* had felt herself dis-  
turbed with an unknown malady. Her fine blue eyes were  
tinged with black, her colour faded, and an universal languor  
weakened her body. Serenity no longer sat upon her forehead,  
nor smiles upon her lips : all at once might be seen in her, gaiety  
without joy, and sadness without sorrow. She withdrew her-  
self from her innocent amusements, from her sweet occupations,  
and from the society of her much-loved family. She wandered  
here and there in the most solitary places of the plantation, seek-  
ing rest and finding none. Sometimes, at the sight of *Paul*,  
she ran up to him in a playful manner ; when all of a sudden,  
as she was on the point of coming in contact with him, an unac-  
countable embarrassment seized her ; a lively red coloured her  
pale cheeks, and her eyes no longer dared to fix themselves on



his. *Paul* thus addressed her : " These rocks are covered with  
" verdure, the birds warble when they see thee : all is gay  
" around thee, and thou alone art sad." Thus, with embraces,  
did he endeavour to re-animate her ; but she, turning away her  
head, flew trembling to her mother. The unhappy girl felt  
herself discomposed by the caresses of her brother. *Paul* was  
quite ignorant of the cause of caprices so new and so strange.

Misfortunes seldom come singly. One of those Summers  
which desolate from time to time the lands situated between  
the Tropics, happened to extend it's ravages here also. It was  
toward the end of December, when the Sun, in Capricorn,  
scorches with his vertical fires the whole Isle of France, for  
three weeks together : the south-east wind, which reigns there  
almost all the year round, now blew no longer. Huge whirl-  
winds of dust raised themselves from the high-ways, and hung  
suspended in the air. The earth was cleft asunder in all parts,  
and the grass entirely burnt up ; ardent exhalations issued from  
the sides of the mountains, and most of the rivulets were dried  
up. No cloud arose out of the sea ; during the day-time, only  
red vapours ascended above it's surface, and appeared at sun-set  
like the flames of a great conflagration. Even the night season  
diffused no coolness over the burning atmosphere. The bloody  
disk of the moon rose, of an enormous size, in the hazy horizon ;  
the languid flocks, on the sides of the mountains, with their  
necks stretched out toward Heaven, and drawing in the air with  
difficulty, made the valleys resound with their mournful cries :  
even the *cafre* who conducted them lay along the ground, en-  
deavouring to cool himself in that position. Every where the  
soil was scorching hot, and the stifling air resounded with the  
buzzing of insects, which sought to quench their thirst with  
the blood of men and of animals.

One of those parching nights *Virginia* felt all the symptoms  
of her malady redouble. She got up, she sat down, she return-  
ed to bed, but in no attitude could she find either sleep or re-  
pose. She rambled by the light of the moon toward the foun-  
tain ; she perceived it's source, which, in defiance of the drought,  
still flowed in silver fillets over the dusky sides of the rock.  
Without hesitation she plunged herself into it's bason ; at first  
the freshness re-animated her ; and a thousand agreeable re-



collections presented themselves to her mind. She remembered how, in the days of infancy, her mother and *Margaret* amused themselves with bathing *Paul* and her in that very stream, and how *Paul* afterwards, appropriating this bath solely to her use, had deepened it's bed, covered the bottom with sand, and sowed aromatic herbs around it's brink. On her naked arms, and on her bosom, she perceived the reflexes of the two palm-trees, which had been planted at the birth of her brother and at her own, and which now interwove their green boughs, and their young cocoas, over her head. She called to remembrance the friendship of *Paul*, sweeter than perfumes, purer than the water of the fountain, stronger than united palm-trees, and she heaved a sigh. She then reflected that it was the night season, and that she was in solitude; a consuming fire enflamed her breast. Immediately she hastened in dismay, from these dangerous shades, and from waters more ardent than the suns of the Torrid Zone: she hurried to her mother to seek refuge from herself. A thousand times, wishing to disclose her anguish, she pressed the maternal hands between her own: a thousand times she was on the point of pronouncing the name of *Paul*, but her heart was so full as to deprive her tongue of utterance, and reclining her head on the bosom of her mother, she bedewed it with a shower of tears.

Madame de la Tour plainly perceived the cause of her daughter's disorder, but even she herself had not the courage to speak to her about it. "My child," said she to her, "address yourself to the Almighty, who dispenses health and life according to his good pleasure. He makes trial of your virtue to-day, only in order to recompense you to-morrow; consider that the chief end of our being placed on the Earth is to practise virtue."

In the mean time, those excessive heats raised out of the bosom of the Ocean an assemblage of vapours, which like, a vast parasol, covered the face of the island. The summits of the mountains collected these around them, and long furrows of flame from time to time issued out of their cloud-capt peaks. Presently after tremendous thunder-claps made the woods, the plains, and the valleys, reverberate the noise of their explosions. The rain in cataracts gushed down from the Heavens. Foam-



ing torrents precipitated themselves down the sides of this mountain; the bottom of the bason was transformed into a Sea; the platform on which the cottages were raised into a little island; and the entrance into the valley had become a sluice, out of which rushed, with awful impetuosity, by the force of the roaring waters, the earth, the trees, and the rocks.

The whole family, seized with trembling, addressed their prayer to GOD in *Madame de la Tour's* cottage, the roof of which cracked dreadfully by the fury of the tempest. Though the door and the outside window-shutters were closely barred, every object was clearly distinguishable within through the joining of the boards, so bright and so frequent were the flashes of lightening. The intrepid *Paul*, attended by *Domingo*, went from the one cottage to the other, notwithstanding the raging of the elements, here securing a wall by a cross beam, and there by driving in a stake; he went in only now and then, to comfort the family with the hope of the speedy return of fine weather. In reality, towards evening the rain ceased; the Trade-wind from the South-east resumed it's usual current; the stormy clouds were driven to the North-west, and the setting Sun appeared in the horizon.

The first wish which *Virginia* expressed was to revisit the place of her repose: *Paul* approached her with a timid air, and offered her his arm to assist her in walking thither. She accepted it with a smile, and they set out together from the cottage: the air was cool and sonorous: clouds of white smoke arose on the ridges of the mountains, furrowed here and there by the foam of the torrents, which were now drying up on every side. As for the garden, it was entirely destroyed by deep gutters; most of the fruit trees were torn up by the roots; immense heaps of sand covered the stripes of meadow-ground, and completely choked up *Virginia's* bath: the two cocoa-trees however were still standing, and in full verdure: the bowers and the grassy turfs were no more, and the ear was no longer charmed with the warbling of the birds, except a few bengalis on the summit of the neighbouring rocks, which deplored with plaintive notes the loss of their young.

At sight of this desolation *Virginia* said to *Paul*, "You brought the birds hither, and the hurricane has destroyed



“ them ; you planted this garden, and it is now no more : every  
“ thing on earth perishes ; Heaven alone is unchangeable.”  
*Paul* replied : “ Oh ! then, that it were in my power to bestow  
“ some gift of Heaven upon you ! but alas ! I possess nothing  
“ now, even on the Earth.” *Virginia* with a blush, returned :  
“ You have certainly the portrait of *St. Paul*, that you can call  
“ your own.” Scarcely had she pronounced these words, than  
*Paul* flew to his mother’s cottage to seek for it. This portrait  
was a small miniature representing *Paul* the hermit. *Margaret*  
regarded it with singular devotion : while a girl she wore it long  
round her own neck ; but when she become a mother she sus-  
pended it round the neck of her child. It happened that when  
pregnant of him, and abandoned by all the World, from merely  
contemplating the image of this blessed Recluse, the fruit of her  
womb contracted a strong resemblance to it ; this determined  
her to bestow the same name on him ; and likewise to give him  
for a patron, a Saint who had passed his life far from Man, by  
whom he had been first abused and then deserted. *Virginia*  
on receiving this small portrait from the hands of *Paul*, said,  
with much emotion : “ My brother, while I live this shall ne-  
“ ver be taken from me, and I shall always remember that you  
“ gave me the only possession you had in the World.” On hear-  
ing those tones of cordiality, on this unexpected return of fami-  
liarity and tenderness, *Paul* was going to clasp her in his arms ;  
but as nimbly as a bird she sprung away, leaving him quite con-  
founded, and totally unable to account for a conduct so extra-  
ordinary.

Meanwhile *Margaret* said to *Madame de la Tour* : “ Why  
“ should we not marry our children ? Their passion for each  
“ other is extreme ; my son, indeed, is not yet sensible of it ;  
“ but when Nature shall have begun to speak to him, to no pur-  
“ pose will we employ all our vigilance over them ; every thing  
“ is to be feared.” *Madame de la Tour*, returned : “ They are  
“ too young, and too poor ; what anxiety would it cost us should  
“ *Virginia* bring into the World unhappy children, whom per-  
“ haps she would not have strength to rear. *Domingo* is very  
“ much broken ; *Mary* is infirm ; I myself, my dear friend for  
“ these last fourteen years feel my health very much impaired.  
“ A person soon grows old in these hot countries, especially



“ when that period is so greatly accelerated by sorrow. *Paul* is  
“ our only hope ; let us wait till age has strengthened his con-  
“ stitution, and till he is able to support us by the labour of his  
“ hands. At present you well know we have hardly any thing  
“ more than a scanty supply from day to day. But if we send  
“ *Paul* to India for a short space of time, commerce will supply  
“ him with the means of purchasing some slaves. On his return  
“ hither we will marry him to *Virginia* ; for I am well assured  
“ that no one can make my beloved daughter so happy as your  
“ son *Paul*. Let us mention the matter to our neighbour.”

These ladies accordingly consulted me, and I approved of their plan. “ The seas of India are delightful,” said I to them ;  
“ if we chuse a favourable season for going from hence to that  
“ country, the voyage outward is but six weeks at most, and as  
“ long to return ; we will make up a small assortment of goods  
“ for *Paul* ; for I have some neighbours who are very fond of  
“ him ; were we but to provide him with a parcel of raw cotton,  
“ of which we can here make no use for want of mills to dress  
“ it ; some ebony wood which is so common here that we use  
“ it for fuel ; and several sorts of rosin, which go to waste in  
“ these woods ; all of those commodities will find a market in  
“ India, though they are of no value at all here.”

I took upon myself the charge of *M. de la Bourdonaye*’s permission for this embarkation ; but I thought it necessary, beforehand, to open the business to *Paul*. How was I astonished however when that young man said to me, with a good sense far above his years : “ Why would you have me quit my family  
“ for a visionary project of fortune ? Can there be a more ad-  
“ vantageous commerce in the World than the cultivation of a  
“ field, which sometimes yields fifty and a hundred fold ? If we  
“ wish to engage in trade, can we not do so by carrying our superfluities from hence to the city, without the necessity of my  
“ rambling to the Indies ? Our parents tell me that *Domingo* is  
“ old and worn out ; but I am young, and daily acquiring fresh  
“ vigour. What if any accident should befall them during my  
“ absence, more especially to *Virginia* who even now suffers  
“ very severely ? Ah ! no ! no ! I can never bring myself to the  
“ resolution of quitting them.”



His answer greatly embarrassed me ; for *Madame de la Tour* had not concealed from me *Virginia's* condition, and the desire which she herself had of deferring their union till they were of a more mature age, by separating them from each other. I durst not as much as hint to *Paul* that such were her motives.

Whilst these transactions were going on, a vessel newly arrived from France brought a letter to *Madame de la Tour* from her aunt. The fear of death, without which obdurate hearts would never soften, had appalled her. She had just recovered from a dangerous disorder, which produced a deep melancholy, and which age rendered incurable. She requested her niece to return to France : or if the state of her health were such as to prevent her taking so long a voyage, she enjoined her to send *Virginia* thither, on whom she intended to bestow a good education, a place at Court, and a bequest of all her possessions : the return of her favour, she added, depended entirely on compliance with these injunctions.

No sooner had this letter been read than it spread universal consternation in the family ; *Domingo* and *Mary* began to weep ; *Paul*, motionless with astonishment, seemed ready to burst with rage ; *Virginia*, her eyes stedfastly fixed on her mother, dared not to utter a syllable. " Can you bring yourself to the resolution of quitting us ?" said *Margaret* to *Madame de la Tour*. " No, my friend, no, my children," replied *Madame de la Tour* ; " I will never leave you ; with you I have lived, and with you I mean to die : I never knew what happiness was till I experienced your friendship : if my health is impaired, ancient sorrows are the cause : my heart has been pierced by the harshness of my relations, and by the loss of my beloved husband : but since that period I have enjoyed more consolation and felicity with you, in these poor cottages, than ever the riches of my family gave me reason to expect, even in my native country." At these words tears of joy bedewed the cheeks of the whole household : *Paul*, folding *Madame de la Tour* in his arms, exclaimed : " And I will never, never quit you, nor go from hence to the Indies ; you shall experience no want, my dear mother, as long as we are able to work for you." Of all the society, however, the person who testified the least joy, and who nevertheless felt it the most, was *Virginia*.



A gentle cheerfulness appeared in her the remainder of the day, and the return of her tranquillity redoubled the general satisfaction.

Next morning at sun-rise, as they were offering up their accustomed matin prayer which preceded breakfast, *Domingo* informed them that a gentleman on horseback was approaching the plantation, followed by two slaves. It was *M. de la Bourdonaye*. He entered the cottage where the whole family were at table : *Virginia* was serving up, according to the custom of the country, coffee and boiled rice ; there were likewise hot potatoes and fresh bananas : the only dishes which they had were the halves of a gourd ; and all their table-linen consisted of the leaves of the plantain. The Governor at first expressed some surprize at the meanness of their dwelling ; then, addressing himself to *Madame de la Tour*, he said that his public situation sometimes prevented him from paying attention to individuals, but that she however had a title to claim his more immediate regard. “ You have, madam,” added he, “ an aunt “ at Paris, a lady of quality and very rich, who designs to bestow her fortune upon you, but at the same time expects that “ you will attend her.” *Madame de la Tour* replied, that her unsettled state of health would not permit her to undertake so long a voyage. “ Surely then,” cried *M. de la Bourdonaye*, “ you cannot without injustice, deprive your young and beautiful daughter of so great an inheritance : I will not conceal “ from you, that your aunt has employed authority, to secure “ your daughter’s compliance with her wish. The minister has “ written to me on the subject, authorizing me, if necessary, to “ exercise the hand of power ; but my only aim in employing “ that, is to promote the happiness of the inhabitants of this “ colony ; I expect therefore that you will, with cheerfulness, “ submit to the sacrifice of a few years, on which depend the “ establishment of your daughter, and your own welfare for the “ remainder of life. For what purpose do people resort to “ these islands ? Is it not in the view of making a fortune ? “ Surely however it is far more agreeable to return, and obtain “ one in our native country.”

As he said these words, he placed upon the table a large bag of piastres, which one of his slaves had brought. “ This,” ad-



ded he "is what your aunt has remitted, to make the necessary "preparations for the voyage of the young lady your daughter." He then concluded with gently reproaching *Madame de la Tour* for not having applied to him in her necessities : at the same time applauding the noble firmness which she had displayed. *Paul* upon this broke silence, and thus addressed the Governor : " Sir, my mother did apply to you, and your reception was unkind to the last degree." " Have you then another "child?" said *M. de la Bourdonaye* to *Madame de la Tour* : " No, Sir," replied she ; " this is the son of my friend ; but he "and *Virginia* are our common property, and equally beloved "by both." " Young man," said the Governor, addressing himself to *Paul*, " when you shall have acquired experience "of the World, you will learn to what distresses people in place "are exposed ; you will discover how easy it is to prejudice "them, and how often intriguing vice obtains from them what, "in justice, should be bestowed on concealed merit."

*M. de la Bourdonaye*, on the invitation of *Madame de la Tour*, seated himself by her at the table. He breakfasted, as the Creoles do, upon coffee mixed with boiled rice. He was charmed with the order and neatness of the little cottage, with the union of the two happy families, and even with the zeal of their old domestics. " Here," said he "is no furniture but "what the woods supply, but I see countenances serene, and "hearts of gold." *Paul*, delighted with the familiarity of the new Governor, said to him : " I desire your friendship, for "you are an honest man." *M. de la Bourdonaye* received this mark of insular cordiality with pleasure. He embraced *Paul*, and pressing him by the hand, assured him that he might rely upon his friendship.

After breakfast he took *Madame de la Tour* apart, and informed her that a favourable opportunity just now offered of sending her daughter into France, by means of a vessel on the point of sailing ; and that he would recommend her to the care of a lady, a relation of his own who was going passenger in it ; representing at the same time that it would be very wrong to sacrifice the prospect of an immense fortune, to the pleasure of her daughter's company for a few years. " Your aunt," added he, as he was departing, " cannot hold out more than two years



“ longer ; her friends have assured me of it : consider the matter  
“ therefore seriously, I pray you ; consult your own mind ; surely  
“ every person of common sense must be of my opinion.” *Madame de la Tour* replied : “ As I desire nothing henceforward  
“ but the welfare of my daughter, the voyage to France shall  
“ be left entirely to her own disposal.”

*Madame de la Tour* was not sorry at finding an opportunity of separating *Paul* and *Virginia* for a short time ; but it was only in the view of securing their mutual happiness at a future period. She accordingly took her daughter aside, and said to her : “ My dear child, our domestics are growing old ; *Paul* is  
“ still very young ; age is stealing upon *Margaret*, and I myself  
“ am already infirm : should I happen to die, what will become  
“ of you in the midst of these deserts ? You will be left entirely  
“ alone with no person to assist you, and you will be obliged to  
“ procure yourself a livelihood by labouring incessantly in the  
“ ground, like a hireling : such an idea overwhelms me with  
“ grief.” *Virginia* thus replied : “ GOD has doomed us to  
“ labour : you have taught me how to work, and to offer up daily  
“ thanksgiving to Him. Hitherto He has not abandoned us,  
“ nor will He abandon us now. His providence watches with  
“ peculiar care over the unhappy ; you have told me so a thou-  
“ sand times, my dear mother ! Oh, I shall never have resolution  
“ to quit you.” *Madame de la Tour*, much affected, returned,  
“ I have no other intention than that of rendering you happy,  
“ and of uniting you one day to *Paul*, who is not your brother :  
“ Consider likewise that his fortune now depends entirely on  
“ you.”

A young girl in love thinks that every one is ignorant of it. She spreads the same veil over her eyes which she wears on her heart ; but when it is removed by the hand of a beloved friend, immediately the secret torments of her love transpire, as through an opened barrier, and the gentle expansions of confidence succeed to the mysterious reserve in which she had enveloped herself. *Virginia*, sensibly alive to the new testimonies of her mother's kindness, freely related the many struggles which she had experienced within herself, and of which GOD alone had been the witness ; that she perceived the hand of his providence in the consolation administered by a tender mother, who approved



of her inclination, and who would direct her by wholesome counsel; and that now, resting entirely on her support, every thing operated as an inducement to remain where she was, without uneasiness for the present, or anxiety for the future.

Madame *de la Tour*, perceiving that her confidence had produced an effect entirely different from what she had expected, said to her: "My dear child, I have no wish to constrain your inclinations; consider the matter at your leisure; but conceal your love from *Paul*: when the heart of a young woman is gained, her lover has nothing more to ask of her."

Toward the evening, while she was alone with *Virginia*, a tall man dressed in a blue cassock came in. He was an ecclesiastical missionary of the island, and confessor to Madame *de la Tour* and *Virginia*, and had been sent thither by the Governor. "My children," said he, as he entered, "there is wealth in store for you now, thank Heaven! You have at length the means of gratifying your benevolent feelings, by administering assistance to the wretched. I well know what the Governor has said to you, and also your reply. My good madam, the state of your health obliges you to remain here; but as for you, young lady, you have no excuse. We must obey the will of Providence, in respecting our aged relations, however unjust they may have been to us. It is a sacrifice, I grant, but it is the command of the Almighty. He devoted himself, for us, and it is our duty to devote ourselves for the welfare of our kindred. Your voyage into France will finally come to a happy issue: Can you possibly, my dear child, have any objection to go thither?" *Virginia*, with her eyes cast down, and trembling as she spake, replied: "If it is the command of GOD that I should go, I have nothing to say against it; the will of GOD be done," said she, bursting into tears.

The missionary took his departure, and gave the Governor an account of the success of his embassy. Madame *de la Tour* however sent a message to me by *Domingo*, intreating me to come over, and consult about *Virginia's* departure. It was my firm opinion that she ought not to be permitted to go. I maintain, as infallible principles of happiness, that the advantages of Nature ought always to be preferred before those of fortune; and that we should never seek from abroad those blessings which



we can find at home. I extend these maxims to all cases, without a single exception. But of what avail could my moderate counsels prove, against the illusions of an immense fortune, and my natural reason against the prejudices of the world, and against an authority held sacred by *Madame de la Tour*? This lady consulted me only out of politeness, for she no longer deliberated in her own mind after the decision of her confessor. Even *Margaret* who, in spite of the advantages which she thought her son might derive from *Virginia* fortune, had warmly opposed her departure, no longer made any objections. As for *Paul*, entirely ignorant of the resolutions which might be formed, and alarmed at the secret conversations of *Madame de la Tour* and her daughter, he abandoned himself to a gloomy sadness: "Surely," said he, "they are contriving some mischief against me, from the mysteriousness of their conduct toward me."

A report meanwhile being soon circulated in the island, that fortune had visited these solitudes, merchants of every description might be seen scrambling up hither: they displayed, amidst these poor cottages, the richest stuffs of India; the superfine dimities of Goudelour; the handkerchiefs of Poulicat and Mazulipatam, and the muslins of Decca, plain, striped, embroidered, and transparent as the day; the baftas of Surat, so beautifully white, and chintzes of all colours, and of the rarest sort, with a sable ground and green sprigs. They unrolled the magnificent silks of China; lampas pinked into transparency; satiny-white damasks; some of a meadow-green, others of a dazzling red; rose-coloured taffetas, satins in whole bales, Pekins soft as wool, white and yellow nankeens, and even the stuffs of Madagascar.

*Madame de la Tour* gave her daughter permission to purchase whatever pleased her, carefully examining however the quality of the goods and their prices, lest the merchants should impose upon her. *Virginia* made choice of what she thought would be agreeable to her mother, to *Margaret*, and to *Paul*. "This," said she, "will be useful for furniture, that for *Domingo* and *Mary*." In short, the bag of piastres was expended before she thought of her own wants. It became necessary to cull her por-



tion out of the presents which she had distributed among the household.

*Paul*, overwhelmed with sorrow at the sight of these gifts of fortune, which presaged the departure of *Virginia* came to my house a few days afterwards; he said to me with a melancholy air: "My sister is going to leave us; preparations are already made for her departure. Come over to our habitation I entreat you, and make use of your influence on the minds of her mother and of mine." I accordingly yielded to his importunity, though well assured that my representations would be ineffectual.

If *Virginia* had appeared beautiful to me in her dress of blue Bengal cloth, with a red handkerchief tied round her head, how was she improved when I saw her habited like the ladies of this country! She was dressed in white muslin, lined with rose coloured taffeta: her stays displayed to great advantage her elegant and majestic shape; and her beautiful flaxen hair, in long double tresses, adorned her virgin head: her fine blue eyes had assumed a cast of melancholy, and the agitation which her heart endured, by struggling with a smothered passion, gave a glowing tint to her complexion, and tones full of emotion to her voice. The very contrast of her elegant dress, which she seemed to wear against her will, rendered her languor still more affecting. No one could see or hear her without being moved. *Paul's* sadness was increased by it. *Margaret*, afflicted at her son's situation, took him apart, and thus addressed him: "Why, my son, do you feed yourself with false hopes, which only serve to render the disappointment of them more bitter? It is now time to disclose to you the secret of your life, and of my own. *Mademoiselle de la Tour* is related by her mother's side to a person of immense wealth, and of high rank. As to yourself, you are only the son of a poor low-born woman; and, what is still worse, you are a bastard."

The word bastard greatly surprized *Paul*; he had never heard it made use of before, and he asked his mother the meaning of it: she replied, "you had no legitimate father; when I was a girl, love betrayed me into a folly, of which you are the fruit. My frailty deprived you of the family of your father, and my repentance of that of your mother. Unfortunate boy! I am



“ the only relation you have in the World.” She concluded by bursting into a flood of tears. *Paul*, folding her in his arms, exclaimed: “ Alas! my mother, since I have no other relation “ but you, I will love you still the more: but what a secret have “ you just divulged to me! I now plainly perceive the reason “ why *Mademoiselle de la Tour* has for these two months shunned me, and which has at length determined her to take her “ departure. Alas? without doubt she despises me!”

However, the hour of supper came; each of the guests took a place at table, agitated with different passions; they ate little, and did not utter a single syllable. *Virginia* retired first, and came and seated herself on the spot where we now are: *Paul* soon followed, and placed himself by her side: a profound silence ensued for some time. It was one of those delightful nights, so common between the Tropics, and whose beauty baffles all description. The moon appeared in the middle of the firmament, enveloped with a cloudy curtain, which was gradually dissipated by her rays. Her light insensibly diffused itself over the mountains of the island, and over their peaks, which glittered with a silvery verdure. Not a breath of wind was to be heard. In the woods, at the bottom of the valley, and at the top of these rocks, the soft warblings and gentle murmurings of the birds, which were caressing each other in their nests, delighted with the beauty of the night, and the tranquillity of the air, stole on the ear. All, even to the very insects, were humming along the grass; the stars, twinkling in the Heavens, reflected their trembling images on the surface of the Ocean. As *Virginia* was surveying, with wandering eyes, the vast and gloomy horizon, distinguishable from the shores of the island by the red fires of the fishermen, she perceived, at the entrance of the port, a light fixed to a large dark body; it was the lanthorn on the vessel in which she was to embark for Europe, and which, ready to set sail, only lay at anchor till the breeze should spring up. At this sight she was so deeply affected that she turned her head aside, lest *Paul* should perceive her tears.

*Madame de la Tour*, *Margaret* and I, were seated a few paces from them, under the shade of the banana trees; and, owing to



the stillness of the night, we distinctly heard their conversation, which I shall never forget.

*Paul* said to her : “ I understand, madam, that you are to “ take your departure hence in three days : have you no apprehension at the thought of exposing yourself to the dangers “ of the Sea.....the Sea at which you used to be so terrified ? ” “ It is my duty, you know,” replied *Virginia*, “ to obey the “ commands of my relations.” “ You are going, then,” said *Paul*, “ to quit our society for a female relation who lives far “ from hence, and whom you have never seen ! ” — “ Alas ! ” returned *Virginia*, “ had I been permitted to follow my own inclination I should have remained here all my life long ; but “ my mother is of a contrary opinion, and my confessor has told “ me it is the will of GOD that I should depart ; that life is a “ state of probation..... Alas ! how severe that probation is ! ”

“ How,” replied *Paul*, “ so many reasons to determine thee “ to leave us, and not one to induce thee to remain ! Ah ! of the “ former there is still one which you have not mentioned : the “ attractions which wealth holds out are powerful. You will “ soon find, in a world entirely new to you, another person on “ whom to bestow the name of brother, by which you now no “ longer address me : you will find this brother among your “ equals, and such as have riches and high birth, which I can “ never offer you. But, whither can you go to be more happy “ than where you are ? On what land can you set your foot “ dearer to you than that which gave you being ? Where can “ you find a society more amiable than that one of which you “ are entirely beloved ? How can you exist without the caresses “ of your mother, to which you have been so long accustomed ? “ What will become of your mother herself, already far advanced in life, when she no longer sees you by her side, at “ her table, in the house, and in her walks, where you used to “ be her support ? To what a state will my parent be reduced, “ who is as fondly attached to you as your own ? What can I “ say to give them consolation, when I see them mourning your “ absence ? Cruel girl ! I say nothing of myself ; but, What “ shall become of me, when in the morning I no longer enjoy “ your company, and when night comes on, without bringing “ us together again : and when I shall behold these palm-trees,



“planted at our birth, and which so long have been the witnesses of our mutual affection. Ah! since a new destiny attracts you; since you will seek other countries far from the spot where you was born, and other possessions than those which the labour of my hands has procured for you, allow me to accompany you in your voyage; I will encourage you during those tempests which caused such apprehensions in you while on shore. Thy head shall repose upon my bosom; I will clasp thee to my breast; and, in France, whither thou art going in quest of fortune and of greatness, I will follow thee as thy slave; in the palaces where I shall behold thee served and adored, I will rejoice at thy happiness; even then I shall be rich enough to offer thee the greatest of sacrifices, by dying at thy feet.”

His voice was entirely stifled with sobbing; we presently heard that of *Virginia*, who addressed him in these words, frequently interrupted by sighs.....“It is for thy sake that I go away.....for thee, whom I have daily seen bowed down to the ground, labouring to support two infirm families. If I have embraced this opportunity of acquiring wealth, it is only to return a thousand fold the good which thou hast done to us all. Can there be a fortune worthy of thy friendship? Why mention thy birth to me? Ah! were it even possible that another brother should be offered to me, could I choose any but thee? Oh, *Paul! Paul!* thou art far dearer to me than a brother. What a struggle hath it cost me to keep thee at a distance! I even wished thee to assist me in separating me from myself, till Heaven could bless our union. But now, I remain! I depart! I live! I die! Do what thou wilt with me: Oh, irresolute girl that I am! I had fortitude to repel thy caresses, but thy sorrow quite overpowers me.”

At these words *Paul* took her in his arms, and holding her closely embraced, exclaimed with a terrible voice: “I am resolved to go with her, nor shall any thing shake my resolution.” We immediately flew toward him, and *Madame de la Tour* addressed him in these words: “My son, should you go away what is to become of us?”

He repeated these words, shuddering: My son, my son!.....“Dost thou,” cried he, “act the part of a mother, thou, who



“separatest brother and sister? We both were nourished by thy  
“milk; we both were nursed upon thy knees; from thee too  
“we learnt to love each other; we have said so to each other  
“a thousand times; yet now you are going to remove her from  
“me; you are not only sending her to Europe, that barbarous  
“country which denied thyself shelter, but even to those cruel  
“relations who abandoned you. You may say to me, You have  
“no authority over her, she is not your sister: Yes she is every  
“thing to me, my riches, my family, my birth, my all; I know  
“no other blessing; we were brought up under the same roof,  
“we reposed in the same cradle, and the same grave shall con-  
“tain us. If she goes, I am resolved to follow. The Governor  
“will prevent me! Can he prevent me from throwing myself  
“into the Sea? I will swim after her; the Sea cannot be more  
“fatal to me than the dry land. As I cannot live near her, I  
“shall at least have the satisfaction of dying before her eyes, far,  
“far from thee. Barbarous mother! pitiless woman! Oh, may  
“that Ocean, to the perils of which thou art going to expose  
“her, never give her back to thy arms! May these billows bear  
“my body back to thee, and casting it, together with her’s, on  
“this rocky shore, cause an eternal melancholy to settle on thee,  
“by presenting to thy view the unhappy fate of thy two chil-  
“dren.”

While he spake I seized him in my arms, for I perceived that despair had overpowered his reason: his eyes sparkled; large drops of sweat ran down his inflamed countenance; his knees trembled, and I felt his heart beat with redoubled violence in his burning bosom.

*Virginia*, terrified, said to him: “Oh, my friend, I swear,  
“by the pleasures of our early age, by thy misfortunes and  
“my own, and by all that ever could unite two unfortunate  
“wretches, that if I remain here I will only live for thee; and  
“if I depart I will one day return to be thine. I call you to  
“witness, all ye who have watched over my infant steps, you  
“who have the disposal of my life, and who now behold the tears  
“which I shed: I swear it, by high Heaven, which now hears  
“me; by that Ocean which I am going to brave: by the air  
“which I breathe, and which hitherto I have never polluted  
“with a falsehood.”



As the heat of the Sun dissolves and precipitates an icy rock from the summit of the Appenines, so did the impetuous rage of this young man subside at the voice of the beloved object. His lofty head drooped down, and a torrent of tears gushed from his eyes. His mother, mingling her own tears with his, held him locked in her arms, without the power of utterance. Madame de la Tour, quite distracted, said to me : “ I can contain myself no longer: my soul is torn with contending passions. This unfortunate voyage shall not take place. Do, my dear neighbour, endeavour to persuade my son to accompany you homewards : eight days have elapsed since any of us have enjoyed a single moment of sleep.”

I accordingly said to *Paul*: My good friend, your sister shall remain with us ; to-morrow we will mention the matter to the Governor ; meanwhile leave your family to repose, and come and pass the night at my habitation. It is late, it is midnight : the cross of the South is directly over the horizon.”

He allowed me to conduct him in silence. After a very restless night he rose at day-break, and returned to his own home.

But wherefore should I continue the recital of this melancholy story to you any longer? There is only one agreeable side to contemplate in human life. Like the Globe on which we revolve, our rapid career is only that of a day, and part of that day cannot receive illumination till the other be involved in darkness.

“ Father,” said I to him, “ I must entreat you to finish the account of what you have begun in a manner so affecting. Images of happiness delight the fancy, but the recital of misfortunes conveys instruction to the mind. I am anxious to learn what become of the unfortunate *Paul*,”

The first object which struck *Paul*, on his return to the plantation, was the negress *Mary*, who, mounted on a rock, had her eyes stedfastly fixed on the main Ocean. The moment that he perceived her he exclaimed : “ Where is *Virginia* ? ” *Mary* turned her head toward her young master and burst into tears. *Paul*, in delirium, turned round, and flew to the port. He there learned that *Virginia* had embarked at day-break, that the vessel had set sail immediately, and was now no longer in sight.



He directed his steps back to his place of habitation, and walked up and down in profound silence.

Although this enclosure of rocks appears almost perpendicular behind us, those green flats which subdivide their heights are so many stages, by which you arrive, by means of some intricate paths, at the foot of that inclining and inaccessible cone of rocks, which is called the THUMB. At the bottom of this rock is an esplanade, covered with great trees, but so lofty and so steep that they appear like a large forest in the air, surrounded with fearful precipices. The clouds which the summit of the THUMB attracts continually around it, incessantly feed several cascades of water, which are precipitated to such a depth into the bottom of the valley, situated at the back of this mountain, that when you are at it's top you no longer hear the noise of their fall. From this place a great part of the island is perceptible, as well as the peaks of several of it's mountains; among others, those of Piterboth, and of the Three Paps, and their valleys covered with forests; then the open Sea, and the Island of Bourbon, which is forty leagues to the westward. From this elevation *Paul* perceived the vessel which bore away *Virginia*. He descried it at more than ten leagues distance, like a black speck in the middle of the vast Ocean. He spent a considerable part of the day in contemplating it, and though it had actually disappeared from his sight, he still imagined that he perceived it; and when he had entirely lost it in the thick vapour of the horizon, he seated himself in this desolate spot, which is always agitated by the winds which blow incessantly on the tops of the palm-trees, and of the tatamaques. Their loud and hollow murmurs resemble the deep tones of an organ, and inspire a profound melancholy.

There I found *Paul*, his head leaning against the rock, and his eyes rivetted to the ground. I had been seeking him since sun-rise, and it was with much difficulty that I could prevail on him to descend, and re-visit his family. At length however I brought him back to his habitation; but the moment he cast his eyes on *Madame de la Tour*, he began to reproach her bitterly for having so cruelly deceived him. She informed us, that a breeze having sprung up about three in the morning, and the vessel being in full trim to depart, the Governor, attended by his



principal officers and the missionary, came with a palanquin to carry off *Virginia*; and in spite of her expostulations, her tears and those of *Margaret*, all of them exclaiming that it was for their interest, had hurried away her daughter, who was almost expiring. "Alas!" exclaimed *Paul*, "if I had only enjoyed the satisfaction of bidding her farewell, I should now have been happy. I would have said to her; *Virginia*, if during the time that we have lived together, I have made use of any one word which may have given you offence, tell me that I have your forgiveness, before we part forever. I would have said; Since Fate has decreed an eternal separation, adieu my dear *Virginia*, adieu; may you live, far from hence, contented and happy." Perceiving *Madame de la Tour* and his mother weeping: "Go," said he to them, "go, and seek some other hand than mine to wipe away your tears." He then hastened from them, sighing deeply, and wandered up and down through the plantation. He went over all those places which had been the most favourite retreats of *Virginia*. He said to her goats, and to the kids, which followed him bleating: "What do you ask of me? Alas! you will never more see in my company the person whose hand used to feed you." He then wandered to *Virginia's* Rest, and at sight of the birds which fluttered around him, he exclaimed: "Unhappy songsters! No longer will you fly to meet her from whom you received your nourishment." Perceiving *Fidèle* following the scent up and down, and ranging around, he sighed, and said to him: "Alas! thou wilt never find her more!" At length he went and seated himself on the rock where he had spoken to her the evening before; and, at sight of the Sea where he had perceived the vessel disappear, he wept bitterly.

We followed him however step by step, fearing lest the agitation of his mind should take some fatal turn. His mother and *Madame de la Tour* entreated him, by the most tender appellations, not to aggravate their affliction by his despair. At length the latter calmed him in some degree, by lavishing upon him the names which were most calculated to revive his hopes. She called him her son, her dear son, her son-in-law, the only person on whom she intended to bestow her daughter. She at length persuaded him to return to the house and take some nou-



ishment. He seated himself at table with us, near the spot where the companion of his infancy used to place herself; and as if she had still occupied it, he addressed himself to her, and tendered that food which he knew was most agreeable to her; but, perceiving his error, he burst into tears. For some days following he collected every thing which she was accustomed to keep for her particular use; the last nosegay which she had worn, and a cup made of the cocoa-nut out of which she usually drank: and as if these reliques of his friend had been the most precious treasures in the World, he kissed them, and put them in his bosom. The ambergris does not shed so sweet a perfume as those things which have been touched by a beloved object. But *Paul* at length perceiving that his dejection only augmented that of his mother, and of *Madame de la Tour*, and likewise observing that the necessities of the family called for continual labour, he began with *Domingo's* help to repair the garden.

In a short time this young man, before as indifferent as a Creole about what was passing in the World, entreated me to teach him to read and to write, that he might be able to keep up a correspondence with *Virginia*. He afterwards seemed eager to be instructed in geography, in order to form an idea of the country whither she was steering, and in history, that he might learn what were the manners of the people among whom she was going to live. Thus did he attain to perfection in agriculture, and in the art of disposing in order the most irregular spot of ground, merely by the sentiment of love. Doubtless, it is to the delights of this ardent and restless passion, that men must ascribe the origin of the generality of arts and sciences; and it is from it's privations, that the philosophy derives it's birth, which teaches us to console ourselves for every loss. Thus Nature, having made love the bond of union to all created beings, has rendered it the grand moving principle of Society, and the principal source of our illuminations and of our pleasures.

*Paul* did not greatly relish the study of geography, which, instead of unfolding the nature of each country, only presents it's political divisions. History, and especially modern history, did not interest him much more. It only presented to his mind general and periodical misfortunes, the reason of which it was



impossible for him to penetrate; wars without a cause, and with no object in view; contemptible intrigues; nations destitute of character, and sovereigns without a principal of humanity. He even preferred to such reading, that of romance, which having only in view the feelings and the interests of Man, sometimes displayed situations similar to his own. Accordingly, no book delighted him so much as *Telemachus*, from the pictures which it delineates of a country life, and of the passions which are natural to the human heart. He read to his mother and to Madame *de la Tour*, those passages which affected him the most: at times, mournful recollections striking his mind, he lost the power of utterance, and tears gushed from his eyes. He thought he could trace the dignity and the wisdom of *Antiope*, together with the misfortunes and the tenderness of *Eucharis* in his beloved *Virginia*. On the other hand, he was quite shocked at reading our fashionable romances, so full of licentious maxims and manners; and when he understood that these romances displayed a real picture of European nations, he feared, and not without reason, that *Virginia* might be there corrupted, and cast him from her remembrance.

In truth near two years had elapsed before Madame *de la Tour* heard any intelligence of her aunt, or of her daughter: she had only been informed by the report of a stranger, that the latter had arrived safely in France. At length however she received, by a vessel on her way to India, a packet, together with a letter in *Virginia's* own hand-writing; and, notwithstanding the circumspection of her amiable and gentle daughter, she apprehended her to be very unhappy. This letter so well depicted her situation and her character, that I have retained it in my memory almost word for word:

“ *My dear and much-loved Mother,*

“ I have already written to you several letters, in my own  
“ hand; but as I have received no answer, I must suspect that  
“ they have never reached you. I hope this will be more for-  
“ tunate, both from the precaution which I have taken to send  
“ you news of myself, and to receive your's in return.

“ Many tears have I shed since our separation, I, who scarce-  
“ ly ever before wept, except at the misfortunes of another! On



“ my arrival, my grand-aunt was much surprized when on ques-  
“ tioning me concerning my attainments, I informed her that I  
“ could neither read nor write. She asked me what I had been  
“ doing then since I came into the World ; and when I told her  
“ that my whole study had been the care of a family, and obe-  
“ dience to you, she replied, that I had received the education  
“ of a menial servant. The day following, she placed me as a  
“ boarder in a large convent near Paris, where I had masters  
“ of every description : among other things, they instructed me  
“ in history, in geography, in grammar, in mathematics, and in  
“ horsemanship ; but my inclination for all these sciences was  
“ so faint, that I profited very little by the lessons of the gentle-  
“ men who taught them. I feel that I am a poor creature, and  
“ of little spirit, as they interpret the word here. My aunt’s  
“ kindness however does not diminish : she is continually giving  
“ me new dresses, according to the season : I have two women  
“ to attend me, who are habited as elegantly as ladies of quality.  
“ She has likewise made me assume the title of Countess, but  
“ has obliged me to relinquish the name of LA TOUR, which  
“ was as dear to me as to yourself, from the troubles which you  
“ have told me my poor father underwent, to obtain you in  
“ marriage. She has substituted your family name in it’s place,  
“ which I likewise esteem, because it was your’s when a girl.  
“ As she has raised me to a situation so exalted, I entreated  
“ her to send you some supply : How can I repeat her answer ?  
“ You however have always commanded me to speak the truth ;  
“ this then was her reply, that a small matter would be of no  
“ use to you ; and that, in the simple style of life which you  
“ lead, a great deal would only embarrass you.

“ At first I attempted to communicate to you tidings of my  
“ situation, by the hand of another as I was incapable of writ-  
“ ing myself ; but not being able to find, since my arrival here,  
“ a single person on whose fidelity I could rely, I applied my-  
“ self night and day to the means of learning how to read and  
“ write ; and by the assistance of Heaven I accomplished this  
“ in a very little time. I entrusted the ladies who attend me  
“ with the dispatch of my former letters, but I have reason to  
“ suspect that they delivered them to my grand-aunt. On the  
“ present occasion, I have had recourse to one of my friends,



“ who is a fellow-boarder ; and under her address, which I have  
“ subjoined, I must beg you to convey an answer. My grand-  
“ aunt has prohibited all foreign correspondence, which might,  
“ as she alleges, oppose insurmountable obstacles to the splendid  
“ views which she entertains with regard to me. The only per-  
“ son, beside herself, who visits me at the grate, is an old noble-  
“ man of her acquaintance, who she informs me has taken a  
“ great liking to my person. To say truth, I have not the least  
“ for him, even were it possible I should conceive a partiality  
“ for any one whatever.

“ I live in the midst of gaudy wealth, and have not the dis-  
“ posal of a single farthing. They tell me that if I had the  
“ command of money, it might lead to dangerous consequences.  
“ My very gowns are the property of my waiting-women, who  
“ are disputing which shall have them even before I have left  
“ them off myself. In the very bosom of riches I am much  
“ poorer than when I was with you, for I have nothing to give  
“ away. When I found that the many magnificent accomplish-  
“ ments which I was destined to acquire, were not to procure  
“ me the power of doing the smallest good, I had recourse to  
“ my needle, in the use of which by good fortune, you had in-  
“ structed me. I accordingly send you some pairs of stockings, of  
“ my own manufacture, for yourself and my mamma *Margaret* ;  
“ a cap for *Domingo*, and one of my red handkerchiefs for *Ma-*  
“ *ry* : I enclose you, likewise, in this packet, the kernels of the  
“ fruits of which our deserts are composed, together with the  
“ seeds of all kinds of trees, which I gathered during my hours  
“ of recreation in the garden of the convent. To these I also  
“ add the seeds of the violet, the daisy, the butter-flower, the  
“ poppy, the blue-bottle, and the scabious, which I have picked  
“ up in the fields. In the meadows of this country the flowers  
“ are far more beautiful than in ours, but no one pays any regard  
“ to them. I am very well assured, that you and my mamma  
“ *Margaret* will be much better pleased with this bag of seeds  
“ than with the bag of piastres which was the cause of our separa-  
“ tion, and of the tears which I have since shed. I shall feel the  
“ greatest pleasure, if one day you have the satisfaction of seeing  
“ apple-trees growing beside our bananas, and beech-trees mix-



“ing their foliage with that of the cocoas : you will fancy yourself in Normandy again, which you still love so much.

“ You enjoin me to communicate to you my joy and my sorrows : joy I can never experience when at a distance from you ; and as for my sorrows, I soothe them by reflecting that I am in a situation where you thought proper to place me, in obedience to the will of Heaven. My most cruel mortification is that not a single person here mentions your name to me, and that I am not allowed to talk of you to any one. My waiting-women, or rather those of my grand-aunt, for they are her's more than mine, tell me, when I attempt to converse about those objects which are so dear to me : Madam, remember that you are now a Frenchwoman, and that you must forget the country of savages. Ah ! I shall sooner forget myself than forget the place where I was born, and where you still live ! It is the country where I am, which to me is the country of savages, for I live alone, without a single person to whom I can communicate that love for you which I shall carry with me to the grave.

“ Dear and much-loved mother, I remain your obedient and affectionate daughter.

“ VIRGINIA DE LA TOUR.”

“ I recommend to your kindest regards *Mary* and *Domingo*, who took such care of my infancy : stroke *Fidèle* for me, who found me again when I was lost in the woods.”

*Paul* was much surprized that *Virginia*, had not made the least mention of him ; she who had not even forgotten the house-dog : he was entirely ignorant that be the letter of a female as long as it may, the fondest idea always comes in last.

In a postscript *Virginia* particularly recommended to *Paul* two kinds of seeds, those of the violet and of the scabious. She gave him some information respecting the characters of these plants, and about the places in which it was most proper to sow them. The violet, she told him, produced a small flower of a deep purple hue, which delights to hide itself under the bushes, but is soon discovered by it's delicious perfume. She desired him to plant it on the brink of the fountain, at the foot of her cocoa-tree. “ The scabious,” added she, “ bears a pretty flower



“ of a pale blue, and it's bottom is black, interspersed with white spots. One would think it to be in mourning: it is likewise for this very reason called the widow's flower. It flourishes best in places rugged and agitated by the winds.” She requested him to sow it on the rock where she had talked with him by night, for the last time, and to give that rock, for her sake, the name of ROCK-FAREWEL.

She had inclosed these seeds in a little purse, the embroidery of which was very simple, but which appeared inestimable to *Paul*, when he perceived a P and a V interwoven in it, and formed of hair, which he knew from it's beauty to be that of *Virginia*.

The letter of this sensible and virtuous young lady drew tears from the whole family. Her mother replied in the name of the rest, desiring her either to remain or return as she thought best, but assuring her that they had all lost the greatest portion of their happiness since her departure, and that for herself in particular she was quite inconsolable.

*Paul* wrote her a very long letter, in which he assured her that he would render the garden worthy to receive her; and in like manner as she had interwoven their names in her purse, so would he mingle the plants of Europe with those of Africa. He sent her some of the fruit of the cocoa-trees of her fountain, which had now arrived to perfect maturity. He added, that he would not send her any of the other seeds of the island, that the desire of seeing it's productions once more might determine her to return thither immediately. He importuned her to do this without delay, and thus gratify the ardent wishes of their family, and his own more particularly, as henceforward he could taste no joy at a distance from her.

*Paul* planted with the greatest care those European grains, and above all, those of the violet and of the scabious, the flowers of which seemed to have some analogy with the character and the situation of *Virginia*, who had so particularly recommended them to him: but whether they had been corrupted on their passage, or whether, which is more probable, the climate of that part of Africa was not favourable to them, only a very small number of them sprung, and even these never attained to a state of perfection.



Envy meanwhile which frequently even outruns the happiness of man, especially in the French Colonies, soon circulated reports all over the island which gave *Paul* the greatest uneasiness. The people belonging to the vessel which had brought *Virginia's* letter asserted, that she was on the point of marriage; they went so far as to name the nobleman who was to obtain her hand; nay some even declared that the affair was over, and that they had been witnesses of it. *Paul* at first despised these rumours, conveyed by a trading-vessel which often brings false reports from the places which it touches at on its passage; but as many of the inhabitants of the island, from a perfidious pity, officiously interposed to condole with him on this event, he began to give some credit to it. Besides in some of the romances which he had read he saw treachery treated with pleasantries, and as he knew that these books exhibited a faithful picture of the manners of Europe, he was apprehensive that the daughter of *Madame de la Tour* might have become corrupted, and have forgotten her earlier engagements. The light which he had acquired made him anticipate misery, and what gave a finish to his suspicions was, that several European vessels had arrived within the year, without bringing any news whatever of *Virginia*.

That unfortunate young man, abandoned to all the agitations of a heart in love, came frequently to see me, in order to confirm or to dissipate his uneasiness, by my experience of the World.

I live, as I have told you, about a league and a half from hence, on the bank of a small river which flows by Long Mountain. There I pass my life in solitude, without a wife, without children, and without slaves.

Next to the rare felicity of finding a female partner perfectly suited to a man, the least unhappy situation is that of living alone. Every one who has had much reason to complain of Mankind seeks for solitude. Nay it is very remarkable, that all nations rendered miserable by their opinions, their manners, or by their governments, have produced numerous classes of citizens entirely devoted to solitude and to celibacy. Such were the Egyptians in their decline, and the Greeks of the Lower Empire; and such are in our own days the Indians, the Chi-



nese, the modern Greeks, the Italians, and the greatest part of the eastern and southern Nations of Europe. Solitude, in some degree, brings Man back to his natural state of happiness, by removing the misfortunes of social life. In the midst of our societies, torn asunder by so many prejudices, the soul is in a state of perpetual agitation; it is continually revolving within itself a thousand turbulent and contradictory opinions, by which the members of an ambitious and miserable society are aiming at mutual subjection; but in solitude it lays aside those extraneous illusions which disturb it, and resumes the simple sentiment of itself, of Nature, and of it's AUTHOR. Thus the muddy water of a torrent, which lays waste the country, spreading itself into some little bason remote from it's current, sinks the miry particles to the bottom of it's bed, recovers it's former limpidness, and having again become transparent, reflects, together with it's own banks, the verdure of the Earth and the light of the Heavens.

Solitude restores the harmony of the body as well as that of the soul. It is among solitary classes of people that we find persons who live to the greatest age, as among the Bramins of India. In short, I believe it so necessary to happiness, even in the commerce of the World, that I conceive it impossible to taste a durable pleasure in it, be the sentiment what it may, or to regulate our conduct by an established principle, unless we form an internal solitude, from which our own opinion seldom takes it's departure, and into which that of another never enters. I do not however mean to assert that it is the duty of man to live entirely alone, for by his necessities he is united to the whole human race; he for that reason owes his labour to Mankind, but he owes himself likewise to the rest of Nature. As GOD has given to each of us organs exactly suited to the elements of the Globe on which we live, feet to the soil, lungs to the air, eyes to the light, without the power of interchanging the use of these senses: He, who is the author of life, has reserved for himself alone the heart, which is it's principal organ.

I pass my days then remote from men, whom I have wished to serve, and who have repaid me with persecution. After having travelled over a great part of Europe, and several regions of America and of Africa, I am now settled in this island, poorly inhabited as it is, seduced by the mildness of the air,



and by it's enchanting solitudes. A cottage, which I have built in the forest at the foot of a tree, a little field cleared for cultivation by my own hands, and a river which flows before my door, are fully adequate to all my wants, and all my pleasures. I add to these enjoyments a few good books, which teach me to become better: they even make the World, which I have quitted, still contribute to my happiness, by presenting me with pictures of those passions which render it's inhabitants so miserable; and by the comparison which I make between their condition and my own, they procure for me a negative felicity. Like a man saved from shipwreck, seated on a rock I contemplate in my solitude, the storms which are raging in the rest of the World; nay my tranquillity is increased by the fury of the distant tempest. Since men stand no longer in my way, and as I am no longer in theirs, I have ceased to hate, and now I pity them. If I meet with any unfortunate wretch, I try to assist him by my counsels: as one passing along the brink of a torrent stretches out his hand to an unhappy creature drowning in it. I however have found innocence alone attentive to my voice. Nature to no purpose allures to herself the rest of mankind; each one forms in his mind an image of her, which he invests with his own passions. He pursues, through the whole of life, the vain phantom which still misleads him; and he then complains to Heaven of the illusion which he had practised upon himself. Amongst a great number of unfortunate wretches whom I have endeavoured to bring back to Nature, I have not found a single one who was not intoxicated with his own miseries. They listened to me at first with attention, in hopes that I was going to assist them in acquiring either glory or fortune, but perceiving that I only meant to teach them to do without such things, they looked upon me myself as a miserable wretch, because I did not pursue their wretched felicity: they condemned the solitary style of life which I led, pretended that they alone were useful to Mankind, and endeavoured to draw me into their vortex. But though my heart is open to all the World, my opinions are biassed by no one. I frequently find enough within my own breast to make me serve as a lesson to myself. In my present calm I make a second passage through the agitations of my own past life, which I once prized so high-



ly ; the protections, the fortune, the reputation, the pleasures and the opinions, which maintain a constant conflict all the World over. I compare those successive tribes of Men, whom I have seen contending with so much fury about mere chimeras, and who are now no more, to the little waves of my rivulet, which dash themselves foaming against the rocks of it's bed, and then disappear never more to return. For my own part, I quietly commit myself to the river of time, to be borne down toward the ocean of futurity, which is circumscribed with no shores, and by contemplating the actual harmonies of Nature I raise myself toward it's AUTHOR, and thus console myself with the expectation of a destiny more happy, in the World to come.

Although the multiplicity of objects which from this elevation now strike our view, are not perceptible from my hermitage, which is situated in the centre of a forest, still the harmonies of that spot are very interesting, especially for a man who like me prefers retiring into himself to ranging abroad. The river which flows before my door passes in a straight line across the woods, so that my eye is struck with a long canal, overshadowed with trees of variegated foliage ; tatamaques, the ebony-tree, and what is here called apple-wood, olive-wood, and the cinnamon ; groves of palm trees here and there raise their long and naked columns more than a hundred feet high ; on their tops clusters of palms grow, while they appear like one forest piled above another. There are likewise lianes of different coloured leaves, and which, shooting their branches from one tree to another, form here arcades of flowers, and there long festoons of verdure. Aromatic odours issue from most of these trees and their perfumes attach themselves so strongly to the very clothes, that the smell adheres to a person who has crossed the forest for several hours afterwards. In the season when their flowers are in full bloom, you would think them half covered with snow. At the end of Summer several kinds of foreign birds come, by an unaccountable instinct, from unknown regions beyond the boundless Ocean, to pick up the seeds of the vegetables which this island produces, and oppose the brilliancy of their colours to the verdure of the trees, embrowned by the Sun. Among others, different kinds of parroquets, and blue



pigeons, which are here called the pigeons of Holland. Monkeys, the domesticated inhabitants of these forests, amuse themselves among the dusky branches, from which they detach themselves by their gray and greenish hair, with their faces entirely black; some suspend themselves by the tail, balancing themselves in the air; others leap from branch to branch, carrying their young ones in their arms. Never has the murderous fusil scared these peaceful children of Nature. Here nothing is heard but sounds of joy, the unknown warblings and the chirping of some southern birds, which repeat the echoes of these forests from afar. The river, which flows bubbling over a rocky bed through the trees, reflects here and there in it's limpid stream, their venerable masses of verdure and of shade, as well as the gambols of the happy inhabitants: about a thousand paces from hence, it precipitates itself down different stories of the rock, and forms in it's fall a smooth sheet of water as clear as crystal, which rolling down, breaks itself amidst billows of foam. A thousand confused noises proceed from these tumultuous waters, and when dispersed by the winds of the forest, they sometimes fly to a distance, and sometimes they rush on the ear all at once, and produce a stunning sound like that of the bells of a cathedral. The air, continually refreshed by the motion of this stream, keeps up upon the banks of the river, notwithstanding the burning heats of Summer, a verdure and a coolness, which are seldom found in this island even on the mountain tops.

At some distance from thence there is a rock, remote enough from the cascade to prevent your being deafened with the noise of it's waters, and yet sufficiently near for you to enjoy the sight of their fall, their freshness, and their murmuring. During the excessive heats, *Madame de la Tour*, *Margaret*, *Virginia*, *Paul*, and I, sometimes dined under the shade of this rock. As *Virginia* always employed her minutest actions for the benefit of others, she never ate a fruit in the country without planting it's seed or it's kernel in the earth. "Trees," said she "will spring from these, which may one day give their fruits to some traveller, or at least to some bird." Accordingly, once, when she had been eating part of a papaya at the foot of this rock, she planted the seeds of the fruit; there soon afterwards several



papayas grew up, among which was a female plant, that is, one which bears fruit. This tree, at *Virginia's* departure, was not so high as her knee, but as it's growth is very rapid, it attained three years after to the height of twenty feet, and the higher part of it's trunk was surrounded with several rows of ripe fruit. *Paul* having by chance wandered to this place, was greatly delighted at beholding such a large tree, grown from a seed which he had seen planted by the hand of his friend; but at the same time he sunk into a profound melancholy, on observing this testimony of her long absence. By objects which we habitually behold, we are unable to perceive with what rapidity our life passes away; they as well as ourselves grow old, with an imperceptible decay: but those which we suddenly see again after several years absence, admonishes us of the swiftness with which the stream of our days flows on. *Paul* was as much surprized, and as sorrowful, at the sight of this large papaya loaded with fruit, as a traveller is, who on his return to his native country after a long absence, finds those who were his contemporaries to be no more, and sees their children, whom he had left at the breast, themselves become fathers of families. Sometimes he was going to cut it down, as it made him too sensible of the length of time which had elapsed since *Virginia's* departure; at other times, considering it as a monument of her beneficence, he kissed it's trunk, and addressed to it these words, dictated by love and regret: "O tree, whose posterity still exists in our woods, I view thee with more concern and veneration than the triumphal arches of the Romans! May Nature, which is daily destroying the monuments of the ambition of Kings, multiply, in these forests, those of the beneficence of a young and unfortunate girl."

It was at the foot of this papaya-tree that I was certain of seeing *Paul* whenever he came to my habitation. I one day found him there plunged in melancholy, and I held a conversation with him, which I will repeat to you, unless I tire you by my long digressions; they however are pardonable in a person of my age, and more so as they have a reference to my last friendship. I will relate it in form of a dialogue, that you may judge of the excellent natural sense of this young man, and it



will be easy for you to discover who is the speaker, by the meaning of his questions and by my answers.

He said to me:

“ I am very low spirited. *Mademoiselle de la Tour* has been gone these three years and a half; and for a year and a half past she has sent us no tidings of herself. She is rich, and I am poor: she has certainly forgotten me. My inclination prompts me strongly to embark for France; I will enter into the service of the King; I will make a fortune, and the grand-aunt of *Mademoiselle de la Tour* will give me her niece in marriage when I shall have become a great Lord.”

*Old Man.*—“ My good friend, have you not told me that your birth is ignoble?”

*Paul.*—“ So my mother has told me; for my own part I do not so much as know the meaning of the word Birth. I never discovered that I was more deficient there than another, or that any other person possessed it more than I do.”

*Old Man.*—“ Deficiency in point of birth will, in France, effectually exclude you from any distinguished employment; what is more, no corps of any distinction will admit you.”

*Paul.*—“ You have often informed me that one of the chief causes of the present greatness of France was, that the lowest subject might obtain the highest posts; and you have given me many instances of celebrated men, who rising from a low condition, had done honour to their country. Do you mean to damp my courage?”

*Old Man.*—“ My son nothing is farther from my intention: I told you the truth, but it related to times past. The face of affairs in France is at present greatly altered; every thing there is now become venal; all is the hereditary property of a small number of families, or is divided among incorporated associations. The King is a luminary surrounded by the nobility, and by different corps, as by so many clouds, and it is hardly possible that one of his rays should fall upon you. Formerly, in an administration less complicated, such phenomena were to be seen. Then talents and merit were disclosed on every side, as the fresh grounds, which have just been cleared, are productive with all their rich juices. But great Kings, who know Mankind, and how to make choice among them,



“are very rare. Kings in general allow themselves to be biased by the grandees, and by the associations which surround them.”

*Paul.*—“But probably I shall find one of those great men, who will take me under his protection.”

*Old Man.*—“The protection of the great is to be obtained only by serving either their ambition or their pleasure. You can never succeed with them, for your birth is mean, and your probity is untainted.”

*Paul.*—“But I will perform actions so daring, I will keep my promises so inviolate, I will so punctually fulfil the duties of my situation, I will be so zealous and so constant in my friendships, as to merit adoption from some of them, which I have seen frequently to be the case in those ancient histories which you gave me to read.”

*Old Man.*—“Ah, my good friend! among the Greeks and Romans, even in their decline, the higher orders of men always paid respect to virtue; we have indeed a great number of celebrated personages of all descriptions starting up from among the common people, but I do not know of a single one who has been adopted into a family of rank. Were it not for our Kings, Virtue would in France be condemned to an eternal Plebeianism. As I have often told you, they sometimes honour virtue when they perceive it; but in the present day, the distinction which in justice it ought to obtain, is to be purchased only with money.”

*Paul.*—“In case then I do not procure support from the Great, I will endeavour to render myself useful to some corps. I will adopt it's spirit and it's opinions entirely; I will make myself to be beloved.”

*Old Man.*—“You will act then like other men! you will sacrifice your integrity to purchase fortune:”

*Paul.*—“Oh, no! the search of truth shall be my only aim.”

*Old Man.*—“Instead of making yourself to be beloved, you will most probably expose yourself to hatred. Beside, incorporated associations interest themselves very little in the discovery of truth. To the ambitious every opinion is indifferent, provided they domineer.”



*Paul.*—"How unfortunate am I! I am discouraged on every side. I am doomed to pass my life in labour and obscurity, far from *Virginia*." And he heaved a deep sigh.

*Old Man.*—"Let the Almighty be your only patron, and the human race your corps; be firmly attached both to the one and to the other. Families, Associations, Nations and Kings, have their prejudices and their passions, and vice must often be committed, in order to serve them as they desire. But to serve GOD and the human race, we have occasion to exercise virtue only.

"But why do you wish to be distinguished from the rest of Mankind? It is an unnatural sentiment, for if it were universal every man would be at war with his neighbour. Satisfy yourself with fulfilling the duties of that station in which Providence has placed you: rejoice in your destiny, which allows you to maintain your integrity pure, and does not oblige you, in imitation of the great, to place your happiness in the opinion of the lower ranks; nor, in imitation of the lower, to cringe to superiors, in order to procure the means of subsistence. You are in a country, and in a situation, where you can find a living without any occasion to deceive, to flatter, or to debase yourself, as the generality of those are obliged to do who pursue fortune in Europe; in a situation, where your condition does not prohibit your exercising any virtue where you can with impunity be good, faithful, sincere, intelligent, patient, temperate, chaste, indulgent, pious; and where no malignant sneer will interpose to blast your wisdom, which is still only in the bud. Heaven has bestowed on you liberty, health, a good conscience, and friends: Kings, whose favour you are so ambitious of obtaining, are not near so happy."

*Paul.*—"Alas! *Virginia* is still wanting to me: without her I have nothing; with her I should possess every thing. She alone is my birth, my glory, and my fortune: but her aunt must no doubt have bestowed her in marriage on a man of high reputation! By means of books and study however men may become learned and celebrated: I will acquire knowledge, by dint of intense application: I will render a useful service to my country by my superior illumination, and



“ will neither offend any one, nor be dependent on him : my  
“ fame will be illustrious, and the glory which I may obtain will  
“ be entirely my own.”

*Old Man.*—“ My son, talents are still more rare than either  
“ birth or riches ; and doubtless they are the most invaluable  
“ possessions, because nothing can deprive us of them, and be-  
“ cause they universally conciliate public esteem. But they  
“ cost a man dear ; they are to be obtained only by privations  
“ of every kind ; by an exquisite sensibility, which renders us  
“ unhappy both at home and abroad, from the persecution of  
“ our contemporaries. In France, the lawyer does not envy  
“ the glory of the soldier, nor the soldier that of the sailor, but  
“ every body will thwart you there, because every body piques  
“ himself on his understanding. You will serve Mankind, you  
“ say. But the person who produces them a single sheaf of  
“ corn from the ground, does them a far more profitable ser-  
“ vice than he who gives them a book.”

*Paul.*—“ Oh ! she who planted this papaya has given the in-  
“ habitants of these forests a much more useful and delightful  
“ present, than if she had given them a library :” and as he  
spoke he took the tree in his arms, and kissed it with transport.

*Old Man.*—“ The best book that ever was written, which in-  
“ culcates only the doctrines of friendship, equality, humanity  
“ and concord, namely the Gospel, has served, for many ages  
“ past, as a pretext for the ravages of European cruelty. How  
“ many public and private tyrannies are daily practized on the  
“ Earth in it’s name ! After that who can flatter himself with the  
“ hope of being useful to Mankind by a book ? Call to mind  
“ what has been the fate of most of those Philosophers who  
“ preached up wisdom to Man. *Homer*, who clothed it in ver-  
“ ses so beautiful, was reduced to beg his bread all his life long.  
“ *Socrates*, who gave to the Athenians such excellent lessons of  
“ it, both by his discourses and by his manners, was condemn-  
“ ed to swallow poison, by the sentence of a court of justice.  
“ His sublime disciple, *Plato*, was doomed to slavery by order  
“ of the very Prince who protected him ; and before their time,  
“ *Pythagoras*, who extended his humanity even to the brute  
“ creation, was burnt alive by the Crotonians. What do I say ?  
“ The greatest part of these illustrious names have descended



“ to us disfigured by some traits of satire which characterize  
“ them ; for human ingratitude delights to lay hold on these :  
“ if however among the crowd, the glory of any one hath reach-  
“ ed our ears, pure and untainted, it must have been such as  
“ have lived far from the society of their contemporaries ; like  
“ those statues which are extracted entire out of the fields of  
“ Greece and Italy, and which, by being buried in the bosom of  
“ the earth, have escaped the fury of barbarians.

“ You see, then, that to acquire the tempestuous glory of li-  
“ terary fame, it is necessary to exercise much virtue, and to  
“ be ready to sacrifice life itself. Besides, do you imagine that  
“ this glory interests wealthy people in France ? they greatly  
“ caress literary men, whose learning does not raise them to  
“ any dignity in their country, nor to any situation under go-  
“ vernment, nor procure them admission at Court. Persecu-  
“ tion is little practized in this age, so indifferent as it is to eve-  
“ ry thing except fortune and pleasure ; but knowledge and  
“ virtue seldom raise a person there to a distinguished rank,  
“ because every thing in the state is to be procured with money.  
“ Formerly these qualities were sure of meeting a recompense,  
“ by places either in the church, in the magistracy, or in the  
“ administration ; but at present they are only good for mak-  
“ ing books. This fruit, however, so little prized by the men  
“ of the World, is ever worthy of it's celestial origin. It is to  
“ these very books that the honour is reserved, of bestowing  
“ lustre on obscure virtue, of consoling the unfortunate, of en-  
“ lightening Nations, and of declaring the truth even to Kings.  
“ It is undoubtedly the most sacred office with which Heaven  
“ can invest a mortal on this Earth. Where is the man who  
“ has it not in his power to console himself for the injustice, or  
“ the contempt, of those who have the disposal of fortune, when  
“ he reflects that his work will be handed down from age to age,  
“ from nation to nation, and will serve as a barrier against er-  
“ ror and tyranny ; and that, from the bosom of the obscurity  
“ in which he has lived, a glory may issue which shall eclipse  
“ that of the greatest part of Kings, whose monuments sink into  
“ oblivion in spite of the flatterers who reared, and who extol  
“ them ?



*Paul.*—"Ah! I should covet this glory, only to diffuse it's lustre over *Virginia*, and to render her dear to all the World. But you, who have so much experience, tell me whether we shall ever marry. I wish to be a scholar, at least to know what I am to expect in future."

*Old Man.*—"Who would wish to live, my son, if he knew what was to befall him hereafter? A single foreseen calamity occasions a thousand vain anxieties: the certain prospect of a heavy affliction would embitter all the days which might precede it. Indeed it is not proper to enquire too deeply even into surrounding objects; Heaven, which bestows reflection upon us that we may foresee our necessities, has also given us necessities to set bounds to our reflection."

*Paul.*—"You tell me that in Europe, dignities and honours are to be purchased with money. I will go and acquire wealth in Bengal, and then direct my course toward Paris and espouse *Virginia*. I will go and embark immediately."

*Old Man.*—"How! will you leave her mother and your own?"

*Paul.*—"Why you yourself advised me to go to India."

*Old Man.*—"When I gave you that advice *Virginia* was here but at present you are the only support of your mothers."

*Paul.*—" *Virginia* will send them the means of subsistence from the bounty of her rich relation,"

*Old Man.*—"Rich people assist those only who pay homage to them in the World. They have relations much more to be pitied than *Madame de la Tour*, and who for want of support from them, sacrifice their liberty for the sake of bread, and pass their lives shut up in a convent."

*Paul.*—"What a dreadful country Europe is! Oh! *Virginia* must return hither. What occasion has she for a rich relation? How happy she once was under these lowly roofs, how beautiful and how charming, when her head was adorned with a red handkerchief, or a wreath of flowers! O, *Virginia*! return, leave thy palaces and thy greatness; return to these rocks, to the shade of these woods, and to our cocoa-trees. Alas! perhaps at this very moment thou art miserable."—Saying this, he burst into tears. "Father," cried he, "conceal nothing from me; if you are unable to tell me whether I shall



“ ever marry *Virginia*, inform me at least whether she still  
“ loves me, though surrounded by great men who talk to the  
“ King, and who visit her?”

*Old Man*.—“ Yes, my friend, I am convinced by many rea-  
“ sons that she loves you, but principally by this, that she is vir-  
“ tuous.” At these words he clasped me round the neck, trans-  
ported with joy.

*Paul*.—“ But do you believe European women to be so incon-  
“ stant as they are represented on the stage, and in those books  
“ which you have lent me?”

*Old Man*.—“ In those countries where men tyrannize the wo-  
“ men are always inconstant. Violence ever produces deceit.”

*Paul*.—“ How is it possible for a man to exercise tyranny  
“ over a woman?”

*Old Man*.—“ By forcing women into a marriage without any  
“ regard to their own inclinations; a young girl to an old man,  
“ a woman of feeling to a man of insensibility.”

*Paul*.—“ Why do they not rather unite those together who  
“ are more suitable to each other; the young with the young,  
“ and lovers with those on whom their affections are fixed?”

*Old Man*.—“ The reason is, that in France the generality of  
“ young men have not sufficient fortune to enable them to mar-  
“ ry, and that they seldom acquire a competency till they are ad-  
“ vanced in years. In youth they seduce the wives of their neigh-  
“ bours, and when old they are unable to secure the affections of  
“ their own wives. When young they deceived others, and when  
“ old, are in their turn themselves deceived. It is one of the  
“ re-actions of that universal justice which governs the World :  
“ one excess always balances another. Thus most Europeans  
“ pass their lives in a twofold disorder, and this disorder is in-  
“ creased in a society proportionably as riches are accumulated  
“ on a smaller number of individuals. The State resembles  
“ a garden, in which small trees are unable to arrive at perfec-  
“ tion if others too great overshadow them; but there is this  
“ manifest difference, that the beauty of a garden may result  
“ from a small number of large trees, but the prosperity of a  
“ State ever depends on the multitude and equality of the sub-  
“ jects, and not on a small number who monopolizes it's wealth.”

*Paul*.—“ But why is want of money a hindrance to marriage?”



*Old Man.*—"Because after a man has entered into that state, he wishes to pass his days in abundance, without the necessity of labouring."

*Paul.*—"And why not labour? I myself work very hard."

*Old Man.*—"The reason is, that in Europe manual labour is deemed dishonourable: It is there called mechanical labour: nay that of cultivating the ground is esteemed the most despicable of all. There the artisan holds a far higher rank than the peasant."

*Paul.*—"How! the art which supplies man with food despised in Europe! I do not understand you."

*Old Man.*—"Oh! it is impossible for a man educated in a state of Nature, to comprehend the depravity of a state of Society. Though such a one is able to form in his own mind an exact idea of order, he cannot form one of disorder. Beauty, virtue and happiness have proportions: deformity vice and misery have none."

*Paul.*—"The rich then are very happy; no obstacle lies in their way; and on the objects of their love they can bestow pleasures without end."

*Old Man.*—"They are for the most part insensible to any pleasure because the attainment of it costs them no trouble. Does not experience teach you that the enjoyment of repose is purchased by fatigue; that of eating, by hunger; that of drinking, by thirst? In like manner, that of loving, and of being beloved, is only to be obtained by a multitude of privations and sacrifices. Their wealth deprives rich people of all these pleasures, by outrunning their necessities. Add, besides, to the disgust which always follows satiety, that pride which springs from their opulence, and which the least privation wounds, even when the greatest enjoyments have ceased to flatter it. The perfume of a thousand roses only pleases for a single moment; but the pain inflicted by one of their thorns lasts a long time after the wound is received. To the rich, one misfortune in the midst of many enjoyments is a thorn surrounded by flowers; but, on the contrary, to the poor, one pleasure in the middle of many calamities, is a flower surrounded on every side by thorns. They find a poignant relish in their enjoyments. Every effect is heightened by it's con-



“trast; Nature has balanced all things equally. Every thing  
“considered then, Which state do you conceive to be preferable,  
“that of having almost nothing to hope for and all to fear, or  
“that of having nothing to fear and every thing to hope? The  
“first of these states is that of the rich; the second that of the  
“poor. These extremes however are equally difficult to be sup-  
“ported by man, whose happiness consists in mediocrity and  
“virtue.”

*Paul.*—“What do you understand by the word virtue?”

*Old Man.*—“My son, you who support your parents by the  
“labour of your hands have no occasion for a definition of it.  
“Virtue is an effort made upon ourselves, for the good of  
“others, in the view of pleasing GOD only.”

*Paul.*—“O, how virtuous then is *Virginia*! Virtue was her  
“aim when she wished to become rich, that she might exercise  
“beneficence; virtue made her leave this island, and virtue will  
“restore her to us.” The idea of her speedy return kindling  
the young man’s imagination, all his disquietude vanished in an  
instant. *Virginia* had not written because she was on the point  
of returning: so little time was necessary to sail from Europe,  
with a fair wind. He enumerated instances of vessels which  
had made this voyage of more than four thousand five hundred  
leagues in less than three months. The vessel in which she had  
embarked would not take more than two. The builders of the  
present day were so skilful, and the mariners so alert. He talk-  
ed of the arrangements which he would make for her recep-  
tion; of the new habitation which he intended to build; and of  
the pleasures and the agreeable surprize which he would contrive  
for her every day, when she became his wife; his wife.....The  
idea ravished his senses. “As for you, father,” said he to me,  
“you in future shall do nothing but enjoy yourself. *Virginia*  
“possesses wealth, and we can purchase plenty of Negroes,  
“who will work for you. You shall be with us always, and  
“nothing shall employ your mind but amusement and plea-  
“sure.” Immediately he flew like one distracted, to commu-  
nicate to his family the joy with which he himself was intoxi-  
cated.

Excessive fears soon succeeded the most sanguine hopes.  
Violent passions always plunge the soul into contrary extremes.



Frequently on succeeding mornings *Paul* came to see me, overwhelmed with grief. He said to me, "*Virginia* has not written to me: Had she left Europe she would certainly have informed us of it. Ah! the reports which have been circulated concerning her are but too well founded: her aunt has certainly married her to some nobleman. The love of wealth has corrupted her, as is the case with so many others. In those books which so well describe the character of the female sex, virtue is merely a subject for romance. Had *Virginia* really possessed virtue she would not have quitted her own mother and me. While I pass my life, with my thoughts entirely fixed on her, she has cast me from her remembrance. I am tormenting myself, and she is lost in dissipation. Ah! that thought plunges me into despair. All labour disgusts me, and society becomes a burthen. Would to GOD that war would break out in India, I would hasten thither, and throw myself into the jaws of death."

"My son," replied I, "that courage which makes us rush on to meet death, is the courage of only a single moment. It is often excited by the vain applause of man. There is a species of courage more rare, and still more necessary, which enables us daily to support the misfortunes of life, without a witness, and without praise; what I mean is patience. It rests not on the opinion of another, nor on the impulse of our own passions, but on the will of GOD. Patience is the courage of virtue."

"Ah then," cried he, "I have no virtue! every thing overwhelms me and sinks me into despair." "Virtue," replied I, "always equal, constant, and invariable, is not the portion of Mankind. In the conflict of so many passions by which we are agitated, our reason is troubled and obscured; but there are pharoses by which we can rekindle the flame; I mean Letters."

"Letters, my son, are an assistance sent to us from Heaven. They are rays of that wisdom which governs the Universe, and which Man, inspired by a celestial art, has learned to establish upon this Earth. Like the rays of the Sun, they enlighten, they comfort, they warm: it is a flame altogether divine. Like fire, they direct all Nature to our use. By means



“ of them, we unite around us, men and things, times and places.  
 “ By them we feel ourselves recalled to the rules of human  
 “ life. They calm the passions ; they repress vice ; they rouse  
 “ virtue by the sacred example of those great men whom they  
 “ celebrate, and whose honoured images they habitually pre-  
 “ sent to us crowned with respect. They are the daughters of  
 “ Heaven, who descend to Earth to soothe the misfortunes of  
 “ the Human Race. The great Writers whom they inspire,  
 “ have always appeared in times the most difficult for human  
 “ Society to subsist, the times of barbarism and of depravity.  
 “ My dear son, letters have afforded consolation to an infinite  
 “ number of men, far more miserable than you are ; *Xenophon*,  
 “ banished from his country after having brought back to it ten  
 “ thousand Greeks ; *Scipio Africanus*, exhausted with the re-  
 “ lentless calumny of the Roman people ; *Lucullus*, sickened  
 “ with their cabals ; and *Catinat*, stung with the ingratitude of  
 “ a French Court. The ingenious Greeks assigned the several  
 “ governments of our various intellectual powers to the several  
 “ Muses, who preside over Letters : We ought therefore to  
 “ resign to them the government of our passions, that they  
 “ may direct and curb them. They ought, with regard to the  
 “ faculties of the soul, to perform the same functions, with the  
 “ Hours, which yoked and guided the horses of the Sun.

“ Apply yourself then, my son, to the study of books. Those  
 “ wise men who have written before us, are travellers who have  
 “ preceded us in the paths of calamity, who stretch out the  
 “ hand toward us, and invite us to join their society, when  
 “ every body else has abandoned us. A good book is a good  
 “ friend.

“ Ah !” cried *Paul*, “ I had no occasion to know how to read  
 “ when *Virginia* was here : she had studied no more than I  
 “ had done, but when she looked upon me, calling me her friend,  
 “ it was impossible for me to know what sorrow meant.”

“ Doubtless,” said I to him, “ there can be no friend so  
 “ agreeable as a mistress who loves reciprocally. There is be-  
 “ sides in woman a lively gaiety, which dissipates the pensive-  
 “ ness of man. Her graces make the dark phantoms of re-  
 “ flection to fly away. On her countenance are depicted the  
 “ gentle attraction of confidence. What joy is not heightened



“ by her joy ? What forehead is not smoothed when she smiles ?  
“ What wrath can repel her tears ? *Virginia* will return with  
“ more philosophy than you possess ; she will be greatly sur-  
“ prized at not finding the garden entirely restored, she, whose  
“ thoughts are fixed on embellishing it, in spite of the perse-  
“ cutions of her relation, while far from her mother, and far  
“ from you.”

The idea of the approaching return of *Virginia* renovated the courage of *Paul*, and brought him back to his rural occupations. Happy in the midst of his perturbation, in proposing to his exertions an end congenial to his predominant passion.

One morning at day-break, it was the 24th of December, 1752, *Paul* on rising perceived a white flag hung out on Mount Discovery. This flag was the signal that a vessel was descried at sea. He immediately flew to the city, to learn if it brought any intelligence of *Virginia*. He remained there till the return of the pilot of the port, who, according to custom, had gone out to reconnoitre her. This man did not come back till the evening. He reported to the Governor, that the vessel which they had hailed was the *Saint-Gerard*, of about seven hundred tons burthen, commanded by a captain named *M. Aubin* ; that she was four leagues distant at most, and that she could not come to her moorings off Port-Louis, till the next day in the afternoon, if the wind was fair. It was then a dead calm. The pilot then delivered to the Governor the letters which the vessel had brought from France. Among others there was one in *Virginia's* hand-writing for *Madame de la Tour*. *Paul* seized it immediately, and having kissed it with transport, he put it in his bosom, and flew to the plantation. As soon as he could perceive the family from afar, who were waiting his return on Rock-Farewel, he raised the letter into the air, without the power of uttering a syllable : immediately the whole family assembled round *Madame de la Tour* to hear it read.

*Virginia* informed her mother that she had experienced very harsh treatment from her grand-aunt, who had attempted to force her into marriage, had afterwards disinherited her, and then turned her away, at a time which would not permit her to arrive at the Isle of France till the hurricane season : that she had to no purpose endeavoured to soften her, by representing



what she owed to her mother, and to the connections of her early life; that she had been treated by her as a girl whose head was turned with reading romances; that at present her only wish was once more to see and embrace her dear family, and that she would have gratified this ardent wish that very day, if the captain would have allowed her to embark in the pilot-boat, but that he had opposed her departure, on account of the distance of the shore, and of a heavy swell at sea in the offing, notwithstanding the stillness of the wind.

No sooner was this letter read, than the whole family transported with joy, cried out: "*Virginia* is arrived." Masters and servants embraced each other by turns. Madame *de la Tour* said to *Paul*: "My son, go and inform our neighbour of *Virginia's* arrival." *Domingo* immediately lighted a flambeau of round-wood, and then in company with *Paul* directed his course toward my habitation.

It might be about ten o'clock at night: I had just extinguished my lamp, and had lain down to sleep, when I perceived through the pallisades of my cottage a light in the woods. Soon after I heard the voice of *Paul* calling me by name. I immediately arose, and was scarcely dressed, when *Paul*, almost distracted and breathless, clasped me round the neck, saying: "Come, come along, *Virginia* is arrived. Let us hasten to the port, the vessel will anchor there by day-break."

We immediately bent our course thitherward. As we were crossing the woods of the Long-Mountain, and already on the road which leads from Pamplémousses to the port, I heard the sound of some one walking behind us. It was a negro hurrying on with his utmost speed. As soon as he had overtaken us, I asked him whence he came, and whither he was going with such expedition: He replied: "I come from that quarter of the island which is called Gold-Dust, and am dispatched to inform the Governor, that a vessel from France has just cast anchor under Amber Island. She is firing guns in token of distress, for the sea is very boisterous." The man, having thus spoken, immediately hastened forwards.

I then said to *Paul*: "Let us go toward Gold-Dust, to meet *Virginia*; it is only three leagues from hence." We accordingly directed our steps toward the northern part of the island.



The heat was stifling: the moon had just arisen; three black circles surrounded her. A frightful darkness overspread the whole face of Heaven. By the frequent flashes of lightning we discovered long streamers of thick clouds, gloomy and lowering at no great height, piled one above another toward the middle of the island, which rushed from the sea with an amazing rapidity, although on land not the least breath of wind was stirring. Hastening onwards, we thought we heard the roaring of thunder, but on listening more attentively we discovered it to be the report of cannon, reverberated by the echoes. The noise of the distant firing, joined to the tempestuous appearance of the Heavens, made me shudder. I had no doubt that it was a signal of distress from some vessel on the point of foundering. About half an hour afterwards the first ceased, and this silence struck me as much more awful than the mournful sounds which had preceded it.

We quickened our pace without saying a word, not daring to communicate our uneasiness to each other. Toward midnight we arrived in a violent heat on the sea-shore, at the quarter called Gold-Dust. The waves dashed themselves against it with a fearful noise. The foam, of a dazzling whiteness, and sparkling like fire, covered the rocks and shores. Notwithstanding the darkness, we could distinguish, by these phosphoric lights, the canoes of the fishermen, which they had long before drawn a great way up on the strand.

At some distance from thence, at the entrance of the wood, we descried a fire, round which several of the planters were assembled. We went thither to rest ourselves, and to wait for the return of day. Whilst we sat by the fire, one of the planters told us, that the preceding afternoon he had seen a vessel at sea, borne toward the island by the currents; that the shades of night had concealed her from his view, and that two hours after sun-set he had heard the firing of cannon, as a signal calling for assistance, but that the sea ran so high, no one could send out a boat to her relief: that soon after, he could perceive their lanterns lighted up, and in that case he was afraid the vessel having come so near the shore, might have passed between the main land and the little Isle of Amber, mistaking the latter for Mire-Point, near which the vessels arriving at Port-Louis are accus-



tomed to pass; that if it were so, which however he could not absolutely affirm, the vessel must be in the greatest danger. Another planter then spake, and told us that he had several times passed through the channel which separates the Isle of Amber from the coast; that he had sounded it, and found that the mooring and anchoring ground were excellent; and that the vessel would be as safe there as in the most secure harbour. "I would risk my whole fortune in her," added he, "and could sleep as soundly as if I were on dry land." A third person asserted that it was impossible for a vessel of that size to enter the channel, as even boats could with difficulty navigate it. He said that he had seen her anchor beyond the Isle of Amber, so that if the breeze sprung up in the morning, she would have it in her power either to put to sea again, or to gain the harbour. Other planters delivered various opinions.

Whilst they were disputing among themselves, as is very customary with idle Creoles, *Paul* and I kept a profound silence. We remained there till peep of dawn, but then there was too little light in the Heavens to admit of our distinguishing any object at sea, which besides was covered with a thick fog; we could only descry to windward a dusky cloud, which they told us was the Isle of Amber, situated at a quarter of a league's distance from the coast. We perceived no object by this gloomy light but the point of land where we were, and the peaks of some of the mountains of the interior of the island, appearing from time to time in the midst of the clouds which floated around them.

About seven in the morning we heard the sound of drums in the woods; it was the Governor, *M. de la Bourdonaye*, who came on horseback, attended by a detachment of soldiers armed with muskets, and by a great number of planters and negroes. He drew up the soldiers on the beach, and ordered them to fire a volley. Scarcely had they done so, when we perceived on the sea a flash of light, almost immediately succeeded by the report of a cannon. We concluded that the vessel was at no great distance from us, and we all flew to that quarter where we had seen her signal. We then discerned through the mist the hull and sail-yards of a large vessel. We were so close to her that notwithstanding the roaring of the sea, we distinctly heard the



boatswain's whistle, and the voices of the sailors, who gave three cheers of *LONG LIVE THE KING*: for this is the exclamation of Frenchmen, when in extreme danger, as well as amidst their greatest rejoicings; as if they meant to call their Prince to their assistance in perilous seasons, or as if they intended even then to declare, that they were ready to meet death for his sake.

From the moment that the *Saint-Gerard* perceived we were within reach of giving her assistance, she went on firing a gun every three minutes. *M. de la Bourdonaye* ordered large fires to be kindled here and there along the strand, and sent to all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood in quest of provisions, planks, cables, and empty casks. A multitude soon arrived, accompanied by their negroes, loaded with provisions and cordage, who came from the plantations of Gold-Dust, the quarter of the Marsh, and from Rampart River. One of the oldest of those planters approached the Governor, and thus addressed him: "Sir, deep sounds have all night long been heard in the mountain. In the woods the leaves are violently agitated, though there is not a breath of wind stirring. The sea birds are flocking in crowds to take refuge on the land; surely all these signs announce the approach of a hurricane." "Well, my friend," replied the Governor, "we are well prepared for it, and surely the vessel is so likewise."

In truth the whole appearance of Nature presaged an approaching tempest. The clouds distinguishable in the zenith, were at their centre awfully black, and their edges of a copper colour. The air resounded with the screams of the pailleur, the frigate, the water-cutter, and a multitude of other fowls, which notwithstanding the gloom of the atmosphere flocked from all points of the horizon, to seek a shelter in the island.

Toward nine o'clock in the morning, fearful noises were heard from the sea, as if torrents of water, mingled with the roaring thunder, were rushing from the mountain-tops. The whole company exclaimed: "There's the hurricane!" and at the same moment, an awful whirlwind carried off the fog which overspread the Isle of Amber and its channel. The *Saint-Gerard* was then plainly descried, her deck crowded with people, her yards and round-tops lowered, her flag hoisted, four cables on her fore-castle, and one to keep her fast a-stern. She had an



chored between the Isle of Amber and the main land, within the shelvy enclosure which surrounds the Isle of France, and which she had weathered through a channel that no vessel had ever passed before. She presented her bows to the billows, which rolled on from the main Ocean ; and at every surge which forced it's way into the channel, her prow was elevated to such a height that her keel was perceptible in the air ; but by this motion her stern, plunging downward, disappeared from view to it's very carved work, as if it had been entirely swallowed up. In this situation, in which the winds and the waves were driving her toward the shore, it was equally impossible to return through the track by which she had entered, or by cutting her cables, to run a-ground upon the shore, from which she was separated by a deep bottom, sown thick with shelving rocks. Every billow which broke against the coast, rushed on roaring to the very bottom of the bay, and tossed the pebbles more than fifty feet up the shore ; then retiring backwards discovered a great part of it's bed, the stones of which were dashed backward and forward with a rough and horrible noise. The sea, swelled by the winds, increased every moment, and the whole channel between this island and the Isle of Amber, appeared to be an immense sheet of white foam, hollowed into deep and dusky waves. This foam collected itself at the bottom of the creeks to the height of more than six feet, and the winds, which brushed along it's surface, carried it beyond the steep cliffs of the shore more than half a league into the island. At sight of these innumerable white flakes, which were driven in a horizontal direction to the very foot of the mountains, you would have thought that hills of snow were rushing from the Sea. The horizon presented every symptom of a lengthened tempest : the Heavens and the Sea seemed to be confounded in it with each other. There were incessantly detached from it clouds of a fearful appearance, which flew along the zenith with the velocity of birds ; whilst others appeared in it immovable like enormous rocks. Not a single spot of azure was perceptible in the whole firmament ; a pale and olive-coloured glare was all that illuminated the objects on the Earth, on the Sea, and in the Heavens.



By the violent straining of the vessel, what we feared at length took place. The cables on her bows snapped ; and as she then rode by a single hawser, she was dashed upon the rocks half a cable's length from the shore. One scream of grief burst from every breast. *Paul* was hastening to throw himself into the sea, when I seized him by the arm. " My son," said I to him, " are you determined to destroy yourself ?" " Oh ! let me go to her assistance," cried he, " or let me die !" As despair had overpowered his reason, *Domingo* and I, to prevent his destruction, tied round his middle a long cord, one of the extremities of which we held fast. *Paul* then advanced toward the Saint-Gerard, sometimes swimming, sometimes walking on the shallows. Sometimes he had the hope of getting on board, for the sea, in these irregular movements, left the vessel nearly dry, so that you might almost walk round and round her : but presently returning with renovated fury, it covered her with enormous arches of water, which carried away the whole forepart of her bottom, and dashed the unhappy *Paul* a great way up the shore, his legs bleeding, his chest bruised, and himself half-drowned. Scarcely had this young man recovered the use of his senses, when he got up again, and returned with redoubled ardor toward the ship, which the sea meanwhile had torn asunder with unremitting attacks. Upon this, the whole crew, despairing of safety, threw themselves in crowds into the sea ; some on masts, on planks, on hen-coops, on tables, and on casks. Then appeared an object worthy of eternal regret ; a young lady was seen on the stern-gallery of the Saint-Gerard, stretching out her arms toward him who was making so many fruitless efforts to join her. It was *Virginia*. She soon discovered her lover by his intrepidity. At sight of this amiable girl, exposed to perils so dreadful, we were overwhelmed with sorrow and despair. As for *Virginia*, with a noble and dignified air she waved her hand toward us, as if to bid us an eternal farewell. The sailors had all thrown themselves into the Ocean. One alone remained on the deck, who was entirely naked, and strong as a *Hercules*. He approached *Virginia* respectfully : we saw him throw himself at her knees, and even endeavour to persuade her to pull off her clothes ; but she, repelling him with dignity, turned her face the other way. The air resound-



ed with these redoubled cries of the spectators : " Save her ! " oh, save her ! do not, do not quit her !" But at the same moment, a mountain of water of an enormous size, engulfed itself between the Isle of Amber and the coast, and advanced roaring toward the vessel, which it menaced with it's dusky sides and foaming summits. At this awful spectacle, the sailor flung himself alone into the sea, and *Virginia* perceiving death inevitable, placed one hand on her clothes, and the other on her heart ; then raising her placid eyes toward Heaven, she seemed an angel going to take flight toward the celestial regions.

Oh, day of horror ! Alas ! all was swallowed up. The surge dashed far up the shore a part of the spectators, whom an emotion of humanity had prompted to advance toward *Virginia*, as well as the sailor who had attempted to preserve her by swimming. This man, escaped from almost certain death, kneeled down upon the strand, saying : " Oh, my GOD, thou hast preserved my life ; but I would have sacrificed it willingly to save that of the excellent young lady, who, with all my persuasion, would not be prevailed on to undress herself as I did." *Domingo* and I drew out from the waves the unfortunate *Paul*, entirely deprived of recollection, whilst the blood gushed from his mouth and ears. The Governor put him under the care of surgeons, while he traversed the sea-shore to see whether the billows had not borne the body of *Virginia* thither ; but the wind having suddenly changed, as is very customary in the case of hurricanes, we had the mortification of reflecting that we should not have it in our power to render to this unfortunate young woman even the rites of sepulture. We hastened from the spot overwhelmed with sorrow, our minds entirely engrossed with the loss of one person, in a shipwreck where so many had perished ; the greater part doubting, from an end so disastrous befalling a young woman of such exalted virtue, whether a Providence existed at all ; for there are calamities so dreadful, and so unmerited, that the confidence even of the wisest is frequently staggered.

Meanwhile they had placed *Paul*, who now began to recover the use of his senses, in an adjoining house, till his situation permitted him to be carried to his own home. As for me, I was



returning with *Domingo*, in order to prepare *Virginia's* mother, and her friend, for this calamitous event, when on our arrival at the entrance of the valley of the river of the *Lataniers*, some negroes informed us, that the sea was driving a great deal of the wreck of the vessel up the opposite bay. We descended thither, and one of the first objects which we descried upon the shore was the body of *Virginia*. It was half covered with sand, and in the very attitude in which we had seen her perish. There was no sensible alteration in her features. Her eyes were closed, but serenity sat upon her forehead; only the pale violet of death blended itself upon her cheeks with the rose of modesty. One of her hands lay upon her clothes; the other, which clung to her heart, was firmly closed and stiff. I disengaged from it, with much difficulty, a little casket; but how was I astonished when I perceived in it the portrait which *Paul* had given her, and which she had promised him never to part with while she lived. At this last token of the constancy and the love of this unhappy maid, I wept bitterly. *Domingo*, beating his breast, pierced the air with his mournful cries. We then carried the body to a fisherman's hut, where we gave it in charge to some poor Malabar women, who washed it carefully.

Whilst they were performing this sad office we ascended trembling toward the plantation. We there found *Madame de la Tour* and *Margaret* at prayer, in expectation of news concerning the vessel. As soon as the former perceived me she exclaimed: "Where is my daughter? my beloved *Virginia*? "my child?" As my silence and my tears but too well informed her of the calamity which had happened, she was suddenly seized with a suffocation and agonizing spasms; her voice could be distinguished only in sighs and sobbing. *Margaret* exclaimed: "Where is my son? I do not see my son;" and fainted away. We hastened to her, and having brought her to herself I assured her that *Paul* was alive, and that the Governor had taken proper care of him. She recovered the use of her senses only to devote her attention to the assistance of her friend, who from time to time fell into long fainting fits. *Madame de la Tour* passed the night in these cruel paroxysms, and by the length of their duration I have judged that nothing equals the sorrow of a mother. When she recovered her reason, she fixed



her mournful eyes steadfastly toward Heaven. In vain did *Margaret* and I press her hands between ours, in vain did we address her by the most tender appellations; to all these testimonies of our ancient affection she appeared totally insensible, and nothing but deep groans proceeded from her oppressed bosom.

The next morning they brought *Paul* home, stretched along in a palanquin. Reason has resumed it's empire, but his voice was entirely lost. His interview with his mother and *Madame de la Tour*, which at first I had been apprehensive of, produced a better effect than all the care which I had hitherto taken. A ray of comfort beamed on the countenances of these two unhappy mothers. They both approached him, clasped him in their arms, kissed him; and those tears which had been till then restrained through excess of sorrow, now began to flow. *Paul* soon mingled his with theirs. Nature being thus disburdened in these three unhappy beings, a languid oppression succeeded to the convulsions of their grief, and procured for them a lethargic repose, which bore in truth a strong resemblance to death.

Meanwhile *M. de la Bourdonaye* sent a messenger to me privately, informing me that the body of *Virginia* had by his order been conveyed to the city, and that from thence he meant to have it carried to the church of *Pamplemousses*. I immediately went down to *Port-Louis*, where I found the inhabitants assembled from all parts to assist at the funeral, as if the island had lost the most precious treasure which it contained. In the port, the ships had their sail-yards laid across, their flags half hoisted up, and they were firing minute guns. The grenadier company opened the funeral procession. They carried their arms inverted. Their drums, covered with long pieces of crape, emitted only sounds of woe: grief sat strongly depicted on the countenances of those warriors, who had a thousand times braved death in the field with undaunted courage. Eight young ladies of the most considerable rank in the island, clothed in white, and holding palm-boughs in their hands, bore the body of their virtuous companion, strewed over with flowers. A choir of little children followed it chanting hymns: then after them the officers of higher rank, and the principal inhabi-



tants of the island, and last of all the Governor himself, followed by a crowd of the common people.

Thus far had Government interposed, in ordering that some honours might be rendered to the virtues of *Virginia*. But when the body had arrived at the foot of this mountain, at the sight of those very huts the happiness of which she had so long constituted, and which her death had filled with sorrow, the whole funeral ceremony was deranged; the hymns and the chanting ceased; nothing was now to be heard in the plain but sighs and sobs. Crowds of young girls, belonging to the neighbouring plantations, hastened to spread over the coffin of *Virginia* handkerchiefs, chaplets, and wreaths of flowers, invoking her as if she had been a saint. Mothers prayed Heaven to bestow on them daughters like her; the young men mistresses as constant; the poor a friend as affectionate, and the slaves a mistress as kind.

When they had arrived at the place destined for her interment, the negresses of Madagascar, and the Cafres of Mosambique, placed baskets of fruit around her body, and suspended pieces of stuff on the neighbouring trees, according to the custom of their country. The Indians of Bengal, and those of the coast of Malabar, brought cages of birds, which they set at liberty over her corpse; to such a degree does the loss of a beloved object interest all Nations, and such a power does unfortunate virtue possess, seeing it attracts and unites all religions around it's tomb.

It was necessary to place a guard near her grave, to keep back some of the daughters of the poor inhabitants who were rushing to throw themselves into it, declaring that in this World their sorrow would admit of no consolation, and that nothing now remained for them but to die with her who had been their only benefactress. She was interred near the church of Pamplemousses, on it's western side, at the foot of a tuft of bamboos, where in going to mass with her mother and *Margaret*, she delighted to repose, seated by the side of him whom she then used to call brother.

On returning from the funeral ceremony, *M. de la Bourdonaye* ascended this mountain, followed by a part of his nume-



rous retinue. He tendered to Madame *de la Tour* and her friend all the assistance in his power. He expressed himself in few words, but with great indignation, against her unnatural relation: approaching *Paul*, he said every thing which he thought could have a tendency to console him. "I was anxious to contribute to your happiness, and that of your family," said he; "Heaven is witness of my sincerity. My friend, you must go to France; I will procure your employment there. During your absence I will take as much care of your mother as if she were my own." At the same time he held out his hand to him; but *Paul* drew back his, and turned his head aside that he might not see him.

As for myself, I remained in the dwelling of my unfortunate friends, to administer to them, as well as to *Paul*, all the assistance I could. At the end of three weeks he was able to walk; but mental depression seemed to increase in proportion as his body grew stronger. He was insensible to every thing; his looks were languid, and he did not answer a syllable to all the questions which were put to him. Madame *de la Tour*, who was in a dying condition, frequently said to him: "My son, so long as I see you, I think I behold my dear *Virginia*." At the name of *Virginia* he started up and hastened from her, in spite of the entreaties of his mother, who called him back to her friend. He wandered alone to the garden, and seated himself at the foot of *Virginia's* cocoa-tree, with his eyes steadfastly fixed on her fountain. The Governor's surgeon who had taken the greatest care of him and of the ladies, told us, that in order to remove the gloomy melancholy which had settled on his mind, we ought to allow him to do every thing that he pleased, without contradicting him in any respect; for this was the only means of vanquishing that silence which he so obstinately preserved.

I resolved to follow his advice. As soon as *Paul* felt his strength in some degree restored, the first use which he made of it was to retire from the plantation. As I did not wish to lose sight of him, I walked behind, and desired *Domingo* to bring some provisions, and to accompany us. In proportion as the young man descended from this mountain, his joy and his strength seemed to revive. He at first bent his course towards



Pamplemousses, and when he had arrived at the church, in the bamboo-alley, he went directly to the spot where he saw the earth had been newly dug up : there he kneeled down, and raising his eyes to Heaven offered up a long prayer. This action appeared to me a happy presage of returning reason, as this mark of confidence in the Supreme Being was a proof that his soul began to resume it's natural functions. *Domingo* and I fell down on our knees after his example, and prayed with him. At length he arose and walked to the northern part of the island, without paying much attention to us. As I knew that he was entirely ignorant, not only where the body of *Virginia* was deposited, but also whether or not it had been saved from the Sea, I asked him why he had been praying to GOD at the foot of the bamboos : he replied : " We have been there together so often !"

He continued his journey to the entrance of the forest, where night overtook us. There I persuaded him by my example to take some nourishment ; we then reposed ourselves upon the grass at the foot of a tree. The next day I was in expectation that he would direct his steps homewards again. In truth, he fixed his eyes for some time from the plain, on the church of Pamplemousses, with it's long rows of bamboos, and made some movements to return thither ; but he suddenly buried himself in the forest, always directing his course toward the North. I penetrated his intention, and in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from it. We arrived about mid-day at Gold-Dust. He hastily descended to the sea-shore, exactly opposite to the place where the *Saint-Gerard* had perished. At sight of the Isle of Amber and it's channel, then as smooth as a mirror, he exclaimed : "*Virginia!* oh, my beloved *Virginia!*" and then fell down in a swoon. *Domingo* and I carried him to the interior of the forest, where we with much difficulty brought him to himself. When he had recovered his senses, he was preparing to return to the sea-shore ; but I entreated him not to renew his own grief and ours by such cruel recollections, and he took another road. In short, for eight days together he rambled to all those places which he was accustomed to frequent with the companion of his infancy. He wandered along the path through which she had gone to ask pardon for the slave of the Black



River : he then visited the borders of the river of the Three Paps, where she sat down when unable to walk any farther, and that part of the wood in which she had been lost. Every place that recalled to his mind the inquietudes, the sports, the repasts, and the beneficence of his much-loved *Virginia* ; the river of the Long-Mountain, my little habitation, the neighbouring cascade, the papaya which she had planted, the mossy ground where she delighted to run, and the cross-paths of the forest where she loved to sing, each by turns caused his tears to flow : the very echoes which had so often repeated the sounds of their mutual joy, now resounded with nothing but these mournful cries : *Virginia ! Oh, my beloved Virginia !*"

In this wild and wandering way of life, his eyes grew hollow, his colour faded, and his health gradually, but perceptibly, declined. Being firmly persuaded that the sentiment of our misfortunes is redoubled by the remembrance of the pleasures which we once enjoyed, and that solitude only gives an edge to the passions, I resolved to remove my unfortunate friend from the places which excited the recollection of his loss, and to convey him to some part of the island where there were objects to dissipate his melancholy. For this purpose I conducted him to the inhabited heights of William's-quarter, where he had never been before. Agriculture and commerce then spread much bustle and variety over this island. There were many companies of carpenters who squared the trees into logs, and others, who were sawing them into planks : carriages came and went along the roads : large flocks of oxen and horses fed in the extensive pastures, and the fields were filled with habitations. The depth of the soil, in several places, admitted of the cultivation of many kinds of European vegetables. You might see here and there harvests of corn in the plain, beds of strawberries in the openings of the woods, and hedges of rose-trees along the highway. The coldness of the air, by giving tension to the nerves, was even favourable to the health of the whites. From these heights, situated in the middle of the island, and surrounded with thick woods, you can discover neither the Sea, nor Port-Louis, nor the church of Pamplémousses, nor any thing which could recal to *Paul's* mind the remembrance of *Virginia*. The very moun-



tains, which present different branches on the side of Port-Louis, offer nothing to view on the side of William's-Plain but a long promontory, in a straight and perpendicular line, out of which many lofty pyramids of rocks elevate themselves, and collect the clouds around their peaks.

It was to these plains accordingly that I conducted *Paul*. I kept him continually in action, walking with him in sun-shine and in rain, by day and by night, leading him into the woods, and over the fresh ploughed ground and the fields, in order to amuse his mind by the fatigue of his body; and to deceive his reflections by ignorance of the place where we were, and of the road which we had left. But the mind of a lover finds every where traces of the beloved object. The night and the day, the calm of solitude and the noise of habitation, nay time itself, which erases so many recollections, brought no relief to his mind. Like the needle touched by the magnet, which is to no purpose agitated, for as soon as it recovers a state of rest, it points to the Pole which attracts it: so when I asked *Paul*, as we wandered about in William's-Plain, "Whither shall we go now?" he turned toward the North, and said: "These are our mountains, let us return thither."

I clearly perceived, that all the methods by which I had endeavoured to divert his mind, were ineffectual, and that the only resource now left was to attack the passion in itself, by employing to this purpose the whole strength of my feeble reason. I accordingly replied: "Yes, these are the mountains where you beloved *Virginia* once lived, and there is the portrait which you gave her, and which in death she pressed to her heart, the last emotions of which were devoted to thee." I then presented to *Paul* the little portrait which he had given *Virginia* on the banks of the fountain of the cocoa-trees. At sight of this a gloomy joy overspread his countenance. He eagerly seized the portrait with his feeble hands, and pressed it to his lips. Immediately his breast became oppressed and to his blood shot-eyes the tears started, but were unable to flow.

I said to him: "My son, attend to the words of one who is your friend, who was so to *Virginia*, and who, in the ardor of your expectations, has frequently endeavoured to fortify your reason against the unforeseen calamities of human life.



“ What is it you deplore with so much bitterness of soul? Is it  
“ the misfortune which has befallen yourself? Is it that which  
“ has befallen *Virginia*?”

“ The misfortune which has befallen yourself—yes, I grant  
“ you it has been very severe. You have lost the most amiable  
“ of young women, who would have made the most virtuous of  
“ wives, she had sacrificed her own interests to your’s, and pre-  
“ ferred you to fortune, as the only recompense worthy of her  
“ virtue. But how do you know whether the object, from  
“ whom you expected happiness so pure, might not have prov-  
“ ed to you the source of sorrows innumerable? She was dow-  
“ erless and disinherited. You would have nothing in future  
“ to share with her, but what the labour of your hands produ-  
“ ced. Rendered more delicate by her education, and more  
“ courageous by her very misfortunes, you would have seen her  
“ daily sinking under the weight of the fatigues which she ex-  
“ erted herself to divide with you. In the event of bringing  
“ you children, her troubles and your own would have been  
“ greatly increased, by the difficulty of supporting with you  
“ alone, your aged parents, and a growing family.

“ You may tell me the Governor would have assisted us: but  
“ how do you know whether, in a colony which so often changes  
“ it’s rulers, you would have always found such men as *M. de*  
“ *la Bourdonaye*? Whether some Governor might not have  
“ been sent hither, unpolished and unprincipled? Or whether  
“ your wife, to obtain some miserable pittance, might not have  
“ been obliged to cringe to such a man? Either she would have  
“ become frail, and you would have been an object of pity, or  
“ she would have maintained her honour, and you must have  
“ remained under the pressure of poverty: happy if, on account  
“ of her beauty and virtue, you had not been persecuted by those  
“ very persons from whom you solicited protection.

“ You may say, I might have enjoyed happiness independent  
“ of fortune, by protecting the beloved object who was attached  
“ to me, in proportion to her very weakness; by consoling her  
“ with my own inquietudes, by making her rejoice even in my  
“ dejection, and thus causing our love to increase by our mu-  
“ tual sorrows. Doubtless virtue and love do delight in these  
“ bitter pleasures. But she is now no more; there still remains



“ to you however what next to yourself she loved most, namely  
“ her own mother and your’s, whom by your inconsolable affliction, you are bringing down to the grave. Make it your happiness to succour them, as it was her’s. My son, beneficence  
“ is the happiness of virtue ; there is none greater or more certain on the Earth. Projects of pleasures, of repose, of enjoyments, of abundance, and of glory, are not made for feeble  
“ Man, who is only a traveller and a passenger through this  
“ World. Behold how a single step toward fortune has precipitated us from one abyss into another? You opposed it, I  
“ grant ; but who of us did not believe, that the voyage of *Virginia* would terminate in her own happiness and in your’s?  
“ The invitations of a rich and old relation ; the advice of a sensible Governor ; the approbation of a whole colony ; the  
“ exhortations and the authority of an ecclesiastic, have all concurred in deciding the fate of *Virginia*. Thus we rush on to  
“ our own destruction, deceived by the very prudence of those  
“ who govern us. It would doubtless have been better had we  
“ not believed them, nor trusted to the opinions and the expectations of a deceitful World. But after all, of so many  
“ men whom we see thus busily employed in these plains ; of  
“ so many others who go in quest of fortune to the Indies, or  
“ who, without leaving their own homes, enjoy at their ease in  
“ Europe the fruit of the labours of the people here, there is  
“ not so much as one but who is destined to lose, some day, that  
“ which he holds most dear ; greatness, fortune, wife, children,  
“ friends. Most of them have superadded to their loss the reflection of their own imprudence. But as for you, when you  
“ retire within yourself, you find nothing to reproach yourself  
“ with. You have maintained unshaken fidelity ; in the flower  
“ of youth you have possessed the prudence of a sage in not  
“ departing from the sentiment of Nature. Your views alone  
“ were perfectly legitimate, because they were pure, simple and  
“ disinterested, and because you had sacred rights over *Virginia*, which no fortune could compensate. You have lost  
“ her, but it is not your imprudence, nor your avarice, nor your  
“ false wisdom, which occasioned that loss ; it is GOD himself,  
“ who has employed the passions of another to deprive you of  
“ the object of your love ; that GOD from whom you receive



“ every thing, who sees what is proper for you, and whose wisdom has not left you in any place for the repentance and despair which ever follow in the train of those evils which we have brought upon ourselves.

“ This is what you can say to yourself, under the pressure of your affliction : I have not merited it. Is it then the misfortune which hath befallen *Virginia*, her end, her present condition, that you deplore ? She has submitted to the decision reserved for birth, for beauty, and even for empires themselves. The life of Man, with all its projects, rears itself like a little tower, to which death applies the finishing stroke. The moment she was born she was condemned to die. Happy in having resigned her life before her mother, before your’s, and before yourself ; that is, in not having suffered many deaths before the final one.

“ Death, my son, is a blessing to all Mankind. It is the evening of that restless day which we call life. It is in the sleep of death that the diseases, the griefs, the vexations, and the fears, which incessantly agitate unhappy mortals, repose for ever.

“ Examine those men who appear the most happy, and you will find that they have purchased their pretended enjoyments very dearly ; public respectability by domestic distresses ; fortune by the loss of health ; the real pleasure of being beloved by continual sacrifices ; and, often, at the close of a life devoted to the interests of another, they see nothing around them but false friends, and ungrateful relations. But *Virginia* was happy to the last moment of her’s. She was so whilst among us, by those blessings which Nature bestows ; at a distance from us by those of virtue : even in that dreadful moment when we saw her perish, she was still happy ; for whether she cast her eyes on a colony in which she was going to cause universal desolation, or upon you, who rushed with such intrepidity to her assistance, she clearly perceived how dear she was to us all. She was prepared to meet the future, by reflecting on the innocence of her past life, and she then received the reward which Heaven reserves for virtue, a courage superior to danger. She encountered death with a serene countenance.



“ My son, the Almighty has decreed to virtue the power of  
“ supporting all the events of human life, to let us see that it  
“ alone can make the proper use of them, and find in them fe-  
“ licity and glory. When He reserves for it an illustrious re-  
“ putation, he elevates it on a great theatre, and sets it a con-  
“ flicting with death: then it's courage serves as an example,  
“ and the remembrance of it's misfortunes receives a tribute of  
“ tears from posterity which lasts for ever. This is the immor-  
“ tal monument reserved for it, upon a globe where every thing  
“ passes away, and where even the memory of the generality  
“ of Kings is speedily buried in everlasting oblivion.

“ But *Virginia* exists still. Observe, my son, how every thing  
“ on the Earth changes, and yet that nothing is lost: no hu-  
“ man skill can annihilate the smallest particle of matter; and  
“ could that which was rational, sensible, susceptible of love,  
“ virtuous, religious, have perished, when the elements with  
“ which it was invested are not liable to destruction: Ah! if  
“ *Virginia* enjoyed happiness once in our society, how much  
“ more does she enjoy now! There is a GOD, my son; all Na-  
“ ture announces it; there is no occasion to prove it to you.  
“ Nothing but the wickedness of men could make them deny  
“ a justice which they contemplate with terror. A sentiment of  
“ Him is in your heart, just as his works are before your eyes.  
“ Can you believe then that He will leave *Virginia* without a  
“ recompense? Can you believe that the same Power which  
“ clothed a soul so noble, in a form so beautiful, in which such  
“ divine skill was clearly perceptible, was not able to have sav-  
“ ed her from the waves? that He, who has arranged the ac-  
“ tual happiness of Man by laws of which you are entirely ig-  
“ norant, could not prepare another for *Virginia*, by laws equal-  
“ ly unknown to you? Before we were created, if we had pos-  
“ sessed the faculty of thinking, could we have formed any idea  
“ of our future being? And now that we are in this dark and  
“ fugitive existence, can we foresee what is beyond death,  
“ through which we must make our transition from it? Has  
“ the Almighty occasion, like Man, for this little globe of Earth,  
“ to serve as the theatre of his wisdom and goodness, and is he  
“ capable of propagating human life only in the plains of death?  
“ There is not a single drop of water in the Ocean but what is



“ filled with living creatures, which have all a reference to us ;  
“ and does nothing exist for us among all those stars which  
“ revolve over our heads ! What, is there no supreme Intelli-  
“ gence and divine Goodness in any spot but precisely that  
“ where we are ; and in those radiant and innumerable globes,  
“ in those vast plains of light which surround them, and which  
“ are never obscured by darkness or tempest, do you believe  
“ there is nothing but empty space, and an eternal non-exis-  
“ tence ! If we, who could give nothing to ourselves, durst set  
“ bounds to that Power from whom we have received every  
“ thing, we might believe ourselves to be stationed here upon  
“ the limits of his empire, where life is ever struggling with  
“ death, and innocence with tyranny.

“ Without doubt there is somewhere a place in which vir-  
“ tue receives it's reward. *Virginia* now is happy. Ah ! if  
“ from the abode of angels she could communicate to you her  
“ thoughts, she would say, as she did in her last farewell : Oh,  
“ *Paul*, life is only a state of probation. I have been found  
“ faithful to the laws of Nature, of love, and of virtue. I cros-  
“ sed the seas in obedience to my relations ; I renounced riches  
“ to preserve my fidelity ; and I have preferred death to the  
“ violation of modesty. Heaven has decreed that the career of  
“ my earthly existence has been sufficiently filled up. I have  
“ for ever made escape from poverty, from calumny, from tem-  
“ pests, and from the painful spectacle of the woes of others.  
“ None of those ills which terrify Mankind can ever in future  
“ affect me ; and yet you still pity me ! I am pure, and unsus-  
“ ceptible of change, as a particle of light ; and you wish to  
“ recal me to the gloomy night of life ! Oh, *Paul* ! Oh, my  
“ friend ! call to mind those days of happiness, when in the  
“ morning we enjoyed the beauty of the Heavens, rising with  
“ the Sun on the peaks of these rocks, and diffusing itself with  
“ it's radiations over the bosom of our forests. We experienced  
“ a felicity the cause of which we were unable to comprehend.  
“ In our innocent desires, we wished to be all eye, in order to  
“ enjoy the rich colours of *Aurora* ; all smell, to inhale the  
“ perfume of our flowers ; all ear, to listen to the warbling of  
“ our birds ; all gratitude, to acknowledge these blessings.



“ Now at the source of beauty, whence flows all that is delightful on the Earth, my soul immediately tastes, hears, touches, what it could then perceive only through feeble organs. Ah ! what language is capable of describing these regions of an eternal morning which I inhabit for ever. Every thing that Omnipotence and celestial Goodness could create, in order to administer consolation to an unfortunate being ; all the harmony which the friendship of an infinite number of beings partaking of the same felicity, mingles in our common transports, I now experience without alloy. Support thyself then in thy state of probation, that thou mayest increase the happiness of thy *Virginia*, by a love which knows no bounds, and by a marriage the torches of which can never be extinguished. There, I will calm thy sorrows ; there, I will wipe away thy tears. Oh, my friend ! my young husband ! elevate thy soul toward infinity, in order to support the miseries of a moment.”

My own emotion entirely stifled my voice. As for *Paul*, regarding me stedfastly he exclaimed : “ She is no more ! she is no more ! ” A long languid oppression succeeded these mournful words ; then, returning to himself, he said : “ Since death is a blessing, and *Virginia* is happy, I will die also that I may again be united to her.” Thus the consolation which I endeavoured to administer, only served to aggravate his despair. I was like a person who wishes to save his friend when sinking to the bottom of a river, without his making any effort to swim. Sorrow had entirely overwhelmed him. Alas ! the misfortunes of our early age prepare man for entering into life, and *Paul* had never experienced them.

I conducted him back to his habitation, and I there found his mother and Madame *de la Tour* in a very languishing state, which had greatly increased since I left them. *Margaret* was the most broken down. Lively characters, over whom slight troubles slide easily away, are the least able to withstand heavy calamities.

She said to me : “ Oh, my kind neighbour ! I dreamt to-night that I saw *Virginia*, clothed in white, in the midst of bowers and delicious gardens. She said to me : I enjoy a



“felicity greatly to be envied. Then she approached *Paul* with  
“a joyful air, and carried him away with her. As I was en-  
“deavouring to retain my son, I felt as if I was quitting the  
“Earth myself, and that I followed him with a pleasure inex-  
“pressible. Upon that I wished to bid farewell to my friend,  
“but I perceived her coming after us, accompanied by *Mary*  
“and *Domingo*. But what is still more singular, *Madame de*  
“*la Tour* has had this very night a dream attended with exact-  
“ly similar circumstances.”

I replied: “My friend, I believe that nothing happens in  
“the World without the permission of GOD. Dreams some-  
“times announce truth.”

*Madame de la Tour* related to me a dream entirely resem-  
bling this, which she had that same night. I never observed  
that these two ladies were in the least inclined to superstition.  
I was therefore struck with the coincidence of their dreams,  
and I had not the least doubt in my own mind that they would  
soon be realized. The opinion, that truth is sometimes convey-  
ed to us in sleep, is universally propagated over all the Nations  
of the Earth. The greatest men of antiquity have adopted it;  
among others, *Alexander*, *Cesar*, the *Scipios*, the two *Catos*, and  
*Brutus*, who were none of them men of weak minds. The Old  
and New Testament have furnished us with many instances of  
dreams which were verified. For my own part, I have no oc-  
casion for any higher proof on the subject than my own expe-  
rience; and I have found, oftener than once, that dreams are  
sometimes warnings, which give us information very interest-  
ing to ourselves. But if any person shall pretend to attack or  
defend by argument, things which transcend the powers of hu-  
man understanding, he undertakes an impossibility. However,  
if the reason of Man is only an image of that of the Almighty;  
since Man is capable of conveying his thoughts to the extremi-  
ties of the World by secret and concealed means, why should  
not that Intelligence which governs the World, employ similar  
methods of accomplishing the same purpose? One friend con-  
soles another by a letter, which travels through a multitude of  
kingdoms, which circulates amidst the hatred of Nations, and  
communicates joy and hope to one single individual; Why then



may not the Sovereign Protector of innocence come, by some secret means, to the relief of a virtuous soul which reposes confidence in him alone? Has he occasion to employ any exterior sign to execute his will; He who acts continually in all his works by an internal impulse?

Wherefore doubt of the intimations given in dreams? Life, filled with so many vain and transitory projects, what is it but a dream!

However that may be, those of my unfortunate friends were soon realized. *Paul* died two months after his beloved *Virginia*, whose name he incessantly repeated. *Margaret* expired eight days after her son, with a joy which it is bestowed only on virtue to taste. She took the most tender farewell of *Madame de la Tour*, "in the hope," said she, "of a sweet and eternal reunion. Death is the greatest of blessings," added she, "it is highly desirable. If life be a punishment we ought to wish for it's termination; if it be a state of probation, we ought to wish it shortened."

Government took care of *Domingo* and *Mary*, who were no longer in a condition for service, and who did not long survive their mistress. As for poor *Fidèle*, he drooped to death nearly about the same time with his master.

I conducted *Madame de la Tour* to my habitation; she supported herself, in the midst of losses so terrible, with a greatness of soul altogether incredible. She administered consolation to *Paul* and *Margaret* to the very last moment, as if she had no distress but theirs to support. When they were no more, she spake to me of them every day, as if they had been beloved friends still in the neighbourhood. She survived them however only a month. With regard to her aunt, far from reproaching her with these misfortunes, she prayed GOD to forgive her, and to appease the dreadful horrors of mind with which, we heard, she had been seized immediately after she had dismissed *Virginia* with so much barbarity.

This unnatural relation soon met with the punishment due to her cruelty. I heard, by the successive arrival of several vessels, that she was tormented by the vapours, which rendered life and death equally insupportable. Sometimes she reproached



herself with the premature death of her grand-niece, and that of her mother which soon followed it. At other times she applauded herself for having discarded two unhappy wretches who had disgraced her family by the meanness of their inclinations. Frequently flying into a passion at sight of the great number of miserable people, with which Paris is filled, she exclaimed: "Why do they not send these idle wretches to perish in our Colonies?" She added, that the ideas of virtue, of humanity, and of religion, adopted by all Nations, were nothing but the political inventions of their Princes. Then, suddenly plunging into the opposite extreme, she abandoned herself to superstitious terrors, which filled her with mortal apprehensions. She ran about, carrying with her vast sums, which she bestowed on the rich monks who were her ghostly directors, and entreated them to appease the DEITY by the sacrifice of her fortune; as if that wealth, which she had denied to the miserable, could be acceptable to the Father of Mankind! Her imagination was frequently haunted by deluges of fire, burning mountains, or hideous spectres wandering before her, and calling her by name, with horrible screams. She threw herself at the feet of her directors, and formed, in her own mind, the tortures and punishments which were preparing for her; for Heaven, just Heaven, sends fearful visions to harrow up the souls of the unmerciful.

Thus she passed several years, by turns an atheist and a devotee, equally in horror of life and death. But what terminated an existence so deplorable was the very thing to which she had sacrificed the sentiments of Nature. She had the mortification to reflect, that her riches would, after her death, descend to relations whom she hated. In order to prevent this she endeavoured to alienate the greatest part of her fortune; but they, availing themselves of the frequent paroxysms of spleen to which she was subject, had her shut up as a lunatic, and her estates were put in trust for her heirs. Thus her very riches put the finishing stroke to her destruction; and as they had hardened the heart of her who possessed them, so they, in like manner, extinguished natural affection in the breasts of those who coveted them. She accordingly died; and what filled up the measure of her wo, with so much use of her reason left, as to know



that she had been plundered and despised by those very persons whose opinion had directed her all her life long.

By the side of *Virginia*, and at the foot of the same bamboos, her friend *Paul* was laid ; around them, their tender mothers and their faithful servants. No marble raises itself over their humble graves ; no engraved inscriptions, recording their virtues : but their memory will never be effaced from the hearts of those whom they had laid under obligations to them. Their shades have no need of that lustre which they shunned all their life-time ; but if they still interest themselves in what is passing on the Earth, they doubtless take delight in wandering under the straw covered roofs, where industrious virtue resides ; in consoling poverty discontented with it's lot ; in encouraging in youthful lovers a lasting flame, a relish for the blessings of Nature, a love of labour, and a dread of riches.

The voice of the people, which is silent respecting the monuments reared to the glory of Kings, has bestowed on several parts of this island names which still eternalize the loss of *Virginia*. You may see, near the isle of Amber, in the middle of the shelves, a place called THE SAINT-GERARD'S PASS, from the name of the vessel which perished there in returning from Europe. The extremity of that long point of land, which you see about three leagues from hence, half covered with the waves of the Sea, which the Saint-Gerard could not double the evening of the hurricane, in order to make the harbour, is named CAPE MISFORTUNE ; there, just before you, at the bottom of this valley, is TOMB-BAY, where the body of *Virginia* was found buried in the sand, as if the Sea had intended to bear her back to her family, and to render the last duties to her modesty, upon the same shores which she had honoured with her innocence.

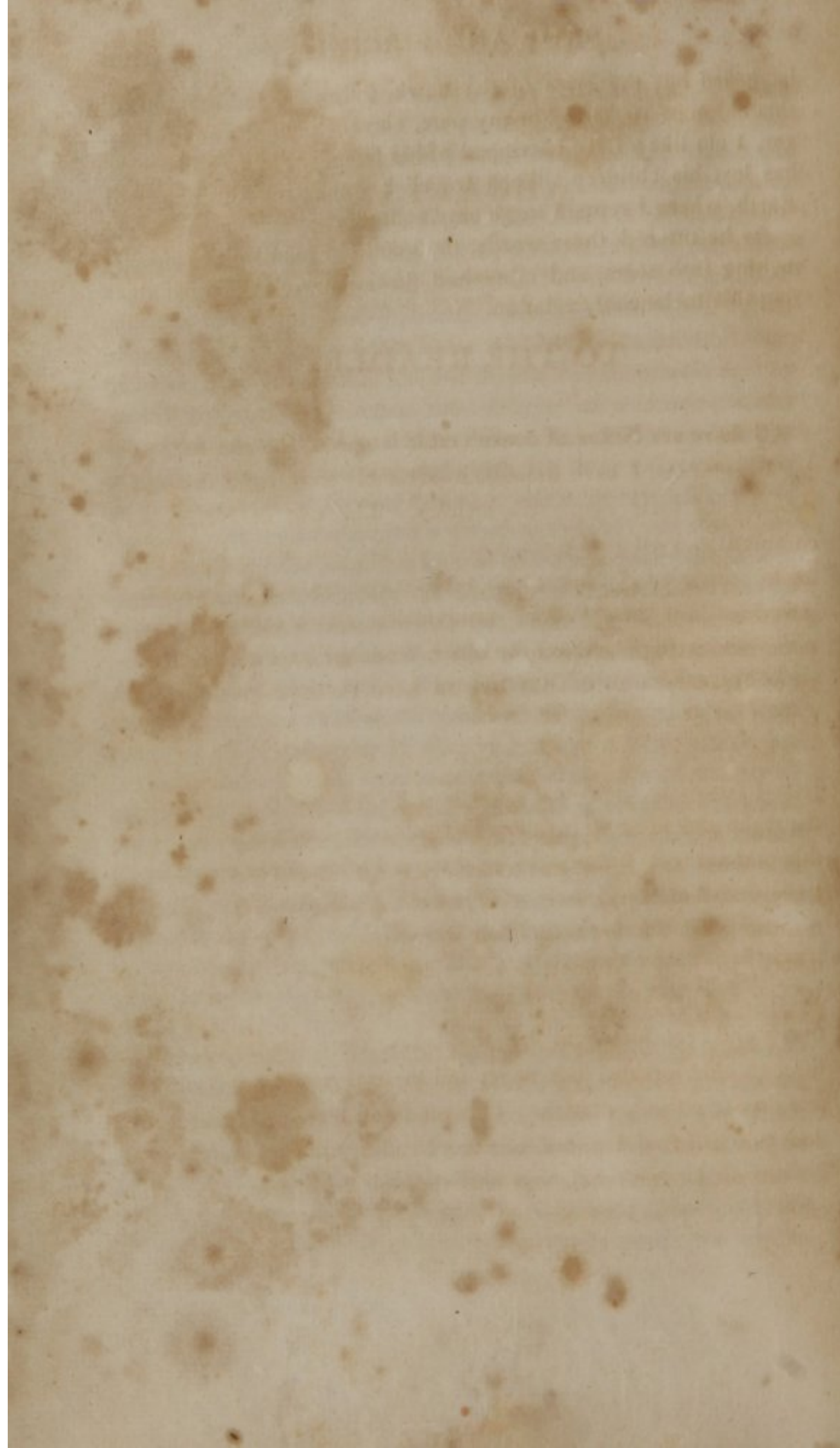
Young people so tenderly united ! Unfortunate mothers ! Dearly beloved family ! These woods which gave you shade, these fountains which flowed for you, those rocks upon which you reposed together, still lament your loss. No one after you has dared to cultivate this desolate spot, nor rear again these humble cottages. Your goats have become wild ; your orchards are destroyed ; your birds have flown away ; nothing is now to



be heard but the cries of the hawk, flying around the top of this bason of rocks. For my part, since I behold you no longer, I am like a friend stripped of his friends, like a father who has lost his children, like a traveller wandering through the Earth, where I remain in gloomy solitude.

As he uttered these words, the good old man walked away, melting into tears, and mine had flowed more than once during this melancholy relation.







## ARCADIA.

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### TO THE READER.

AS there are Notes of considerable length to the two following Fragments, I have thought it advisable to transfer them to the end of their respective articles. The use of Notes, so common in modern Books, arises, on the one hand, from the unskilfulness of Authors, who feel themselves at a loss how to introduce into their Works observations which they conceive to be interesting; and on the other, from the excessive delicacy of Readers, who do not like to have their progress interrupted by digressions.

The Ancients, who wrote much better than we do, never subjoined Notes to their text; but they stepped aside from it, to the right and to the left, according as occasion required. In this manner wrote the most celebrated Philosophers and Historians of Antiquity, such as *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Tacitus*, the good *Plutarch*..... Their digressions, if I may be permitted to judge, diffuse a very pleasing variety over their Works. They shew you a great deal of the country in a little time; and conduct you by the lakes, over the mountains, through the forests; but never fail to lead you to the mark, and that is no easy matter. This mode of travelling however does not suit the Authors, nor the Readers, of our times, who are disposed to find their way only through the plains. To save others, and especially myself, some part of the intricacies of the road, I have composed Notes, and separated them from the



Text. This arrangement presents a farther accommodation to the Reader ; he will be spared the trouble of perusing the Notes if he grows tired of the Text.\*

\* I have taken the liberty, in this Edition, to insert the notes on the corresponding pages of the text, to save the Reader the trouble of turning from one part of the book to another ; but such is the veneration I have for my Author, that I could not think of suppressing even the above short notice, as it stands.—H. H.



# FRAGMENT,

BY WAY OF

## PREAMBLE TO THE ARCADIA.

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..... AS soon as they perceived that after an experience of Mankind so vexatious my heart panted only for a life of solitude ; that I had embraced principles from which I could not depart ; that my opinions respecting Nature were contrary to their systems ; that I was not a person disposed to be either their puffer, or to court their protection ; and that, in a word, they had embroiled me with my patron, whom they frequently abused to me in the view of alienating me from him, and to whom they assiduously paid their court ; they then became my enemies. A great many vices are imputed to the Great ; but I have always found many more in the Little who study to please them.

These last were too cunning to attack me openly with a Personage to whom I had given, in the very height of my misfortunes, proofs of a friendship so disinterested. On the contrary, in presence of that gentleman, as well as before myself, they passed high encomiums on my principles, and on some very simple acts of moderation which had resulted from them ; but they employed terms so artfully exaggerated, and appeared so uneasy about the opinion which the World would entertain of the matter, that it was easy to discern their great object was to induce me to renounce it, and that they commended my patience so extravagantly only to make me lose it. Thus they calumniated me under the guise of panegyric, and destroyed



my reputation in feigning to pity me ; like those sorceresses of Thessaly, mentioned by *Pliny*, who blasted the harvests, the flocks, and the husbandmen, by speaking good of them.

I separated myself therefore from those artful men, who continued to justify themselves at my expense, in representing me as a person of a mistrustful disposition, after having abused my confidence in so many different ways.

Not but that I consider myself as reprehensible for a sensibility, too acute, to pain, whether physical or moral. A single prickle gives me more uneasiness than the smell of a hundred roses gives pleasure. The best company in the World appears to me intolerable, if I meet in it a single self-important, envious, evil-speaking, malignant, perfidious person. I am well aware that people of very great worth associate every day with persons of all these descriptions, support them, nay flatter them, and turn them to their own account ; but I am well aware at the same time that these same people of worth bring into Society nothing but the jargon of the World ; whereas I, for my part, always pour out my heart ; that they pay deceivers in their own coin, and I with all I have, that is to say with my sentiments. Though my enemies may represent me as of a mistrustful character, the greatest part of the errors of my life, especially as far as they are concerned, arose from an excess of confidence ; and after all I would much rather have them complain that I mistrusted them without a cause, than that they should have had themselves any reason to be mistrustful of me.

I endeavoured to make friends of the men of an opposite party, who had expressed an ardent inclination to attract me thither, before I joined it, but who, the moment I came over, no longer put any value on my pretended merit. When they perceived that I did not adopt all their prejudices ; that I aimed at nothing but the discovery of truth ; that, disposed to malign neither their enemies nor my own, I was not a fit person to be employed in cabal and intrigue ; that my feeble virtues, which they once so highly extolled, had procured me nothing lucrative ; and that they were incapable of doing harm to any one ; in a word, that I no more belonged to their side than to that of their antagonists ; they neglected me entirely, and even persecuted me in their turn. Thus I found by experience that in a selfish



and corrupted age, our friends measure their consideration of us only by that which their own enemies entertain respecting us, and that they court us just in proportion as we can be useful, or render ourselves formidable to them. I have every where seen confederacies of various sorts, and I have always found in them the same species of men. They march it is true under standards of different colours; but they are always those of ambition. They have but one and the same object in view, namely to domineer. Nevertheless, the interest of their corps excepted, I never met with two of them whose opinions did not differ as much as their faces. What is a source of joy to the one sinks the other into despair: to the one, evidence appears to be absurdity; to the other, downright absurdity is evidence. What do I say? In the exact study which I have made of men, in the view of finding a comforter among them, I have seen persons the most renowned differ completely from themselves, according as it was morning or night, as it was before or after dinner, as they were in public or in private. Books, even those which are most eagerly cried up, abound with contradictions. Thus I was made sensible, that the diseases of the mind were no less reduced to systematic methods of cure than those of the body, and that I had acted very imprudently, in adding the unskillfulness of the physicians to my own infirmities, as there are more patients of every description, killed by remedies than by diseases.

While all this was going on, my calamities had not yet attained their final period. The ingratitude of men, of whom I had deserved better things; unexpected family mortifications; the total annihilation of my slender patrimony, scattered abroad to the four winds of Heaven in enterprizes undertaken for the service of my Country; the debts under which I lay oppressed by engagements of this kind; all my hopes of fortune blasted..... these combined calamities made dreadful inroads at once upon my health and my reason. I was attacked by a malady to which I had hitherto been a stranger. Fires, similar to those of lightning, affected the organs of vision. Every object presented itself to me double, and in motion. Like *Oedipus* I saw two Suns. My heart was not less disturbed than my head. In the finest day of Summer, I could not cross the Seine in a boat.



without undergoing anxieties unutterable; even I, who had preserved my soul in tranquillity amidst a tempest off the Cape of Good Hope, on board a vessel struck with lightning. If I happened to pass simply through a public garden, by the side of a bason full of water, I underwent spasmodic affections of extreme horror. There were particular moments, in which I imagined myself bitten, without knowing how or when, by a mad-dog. Much worse than this had actually befallen me; I had been bitten by the tooth of calumny.

One thing is absolutely certain, the paroxysms of this malady overtook me only when in the society of men. I found it intolerable to continue in an apartment where there was company, especially if the doors were shut. I could not even cross an alley in a public garden, if several persons had got together in it. I derived no relief from the circumstance of their being unknown to me; I recollected, that I had been calumniated by my own friends, and for the most honorable actions of my life. When I was alone, my malady subsided: I felt myself likewise at my ease in places where I saw children only. I frequently went for this purpose, and seated myself by the box of the horse-shoe in the Thuilleries, to look at the children playing on the grassy parterre with the little dogs which frisked about them. These were my spectacles and my tournaments. Their innocence reconciled me to the human species, much better than all the wit of our dramas, and than all the sentences of our philosophers. But at sight of any one walking up to the place where I was, I felt my whole frame agitated, and retired. I often said to myself: My sole study has been to merit well of Mankind; Wherefore then am I shocked as often as I see them? To no purpose did I call in reason to my aid: my reason could do nothing against a malady which was enfeebling all it's powers.\*

\* GOD has bestowed on me this distinguished mark of his favour, that whatever disorder my reason may have undergone, I have never lost the use of it, in my own apprehension, and especially in the eyes of other men. As soon as I felt the symptoms of my indisposition I retired into solitude. What was then that extraordinary reason, which intimated to me that my ordinary reason was disturbed? I am tempted to believe that there is in our soul an unchangeable focus of intellectual light, which no darkness is able entirely to overpower. It is, I am of opinion, this *sensorium* which admonishes the drunk man that his reason is over-elevated, and the failing old man, that his



The very efforts which reason made to surmount it served only to exhaust her still more, because she employed them against herself. Reason called not for vigorous exertion, but for repose.

Medicine, it is true, did offer me her assistance. She informed me that the focus of my disorder was in the nerves. I felt it much better than she was able to define it to me. But supposing I had not been too poor to avail myself of her prescriptions, I had too much experience to put any faith in them. Three gentlemen of my acquaintance, tormented with the same species of indisposition, died in a short time of three different remedies, and these pretended specifics for the cure of the nervous disorder. The first, by bathing and bleeding; the second, by the use of Opium; and the third, by that of ether. These two last were both celebrated Physicians,\* of the Faculty, at Paris, both of high reputation for their medical writings, and particularly on the subject of nervous affections.

I discovered afresh, but for this once by the experience of another, what an illusion I had practised upon myself, in expecting the cure of my complaints from men; I discovered how vain their opinions and their doctrines were, and what a silly part I had been acting through the whole course of my life, in rendering myself miserable, while I exerted myself to promote their happiness, and in maiming myself to procure ease for others.

Nevertheless, from the multitude of the calamities which oppressed me I derived a powerful motive to resignation. On comparing the good and the ill with which our fleeting days are so strangely variegated, I caught a glimpse of a most important truth, not generally known: namely, that Nature produces nothing which deserves to be hated; and that her Author, having placed us in a career which must of necessity terminate in death, has furnished us with as many reasons for be-

understanding is enfeebled. In order to behold the shining of that candle within us, a man must have his passions stilled, he must be in solitude, and above all he must be in the habit of retiring into himself. I consider this intimate sentiment of our intellectual functions, as the very essence of our soul, and a proof of it's immateriality.

\* Doctor *Roux*, Author of the *Journal of Medicine*, and Doctor *Buquet*, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris: who both died, in the very prime of life, of their own remedies against the nervous disorder.



ing reconciled to the thoughts of dissolution, as for cherishing the love of life.

All the branches of human life are mortal like the trunk. Our fortunes, our reputation, our friendships, our loves, all the most endeared objects of our affection, perish oftener than once before we ourselves die; and if the most fortunate destinies were displayed, with all the calamities which have attended them, they would appear to us like those stately oaks which embellish the earth with their spreading branches, but which rear others of still greater size toward Heaven, struck with the lightning.

For myself, a feeble shrub shattered by so many tempests, nothing more remained to me that could be lost. Perceiving besides that I had henceforth nothing to hope, either from others or from myself, I committed myself to GOD alone, and engaged my promise to Him, never to expect any thing essential to my happiness from any one man in particular, to whatever extremity I might chance to be reduced, and of whatever kind it might be.

My confidence was acceptable to Him, of whom no one ever implored assistance in vain. The first fruit of my resignation was the calming of my woes. My solitudes were lulled to rest as soon as I ceased to struggle against them. Very soon after there dropped into my lap, without the slightest solicitation, by the credit of a person whom I did not know,\* and in the department of a Minister to whom I had never been useful, an annual gratuity from his Majesty. Like *Virgil*, I partook of the bread of *Augustus*. The benefit was of moderate value: it was given from year to year; it was uncertain; depending on the pleasure of a Minister very liable himself to sudden revolutions, on the caprice of intermediate persons, and on the malignity of my enemies, who might sooner or later get it intercepted by their intrigues. But having reflected on the subject for a little, I found that Providence was treating me precisely

\* Though I am accustomed, when occasion requires, to mention by name in my writings the persons who have rendered me any service, and to whom I am under essential obligations, this is neither the time nor the place for it. I am introducing here no memoirs of my life, but those which may serve as a preamble to my Work on *Arcadia*.



in the same way in which the Human Race in general is treated, on whom Heaven bestows, since the beginning of the World, in the crops of the harvest, only an annual subsistence, uncertain, borne on herbage continually battered by the winds, and exposed to the depredations of birds and insects. But it distinguished me in a very advantageous manner, from the greatest part of Mankind, in that my crop cost me no sweating nor labour, and left me the complete exercise of my liberty.

The first use I made of it was to withdraw from perfidious men, whom I no longer needed to importune. As soon as I saw them no more my soul was restored to tranquillity. Solitude is a lofty mountain, from whence they appear of a very diminutive size. Solitude however was rather inimical to my condition, in disposing the mind too intensely to meditation. To *J. J. Rousseau* I stand indebted for the re-establishment of my health. I had read in his immortal productions, among other natural truths, that man was made to act and not to meditate. Hitherto I had exercised my mind, and suffered my body to rest; I now inverted the order of that regimen: I exercised the body and gave repose to the mind. I renounced the greatest part of books. I threw my eyes upon the Works of Nature, which spake to all my senses a language which neither time nor nations have it in their power to alter. My History, and my Journals, were the herbage of the fields and meadows. My thoughts did not painfully go forth in quest of them, as in the case of human systems; but their thoughts under a thousand engaging forms quietly sought out me. In these I studied, without effort, the laws of that universal Wisdom with which I had been surrounded from the cradle, and on which I had hitherto bestowed a very superficial attention. I pursued the traces of them in every part of the World, by reading books of Travels. These were the only modern books for which I retained a relish, because they transported me into other societies than that which I was unhappy, and especially, because they spake to me of the various Works of Nature.

By means of them I was taught, that there is in every part of the Earth a portion of happiness for all men, of which almost universally they are deprived; and that though in a state of war, from our political order which disunites them, they were



in a state of peace, in the order of Nature, who invites them to approximation. These consolatory meditations re-conducted me insensibly to my ancient projects of public felicity ; not to execute them in person, as formerly, but at least to compose an interesting picture of it. The speculation simply of a general happiness, was now sufficient for my individual felicity. I likewise reflected, that my imaginary plans might one day be realized by men more fortunate than myself. This desire redoubled in me at sight of the miserable beings of which our societies consist. I felt, above all, from the privations which I myself had undergone, the necessity of a political order conformable to the order of Nature. In a word, I composed one after the instinct, and the demands of my own heart.

Enabled by my own travels, and still more by reading those of others, to select on the surface of the Globe a situation proper for tracing the plan of a happy state of society, I fixed it in the bosom of South-America, on the rich and desert shores of the river of the Amazons.

I extended myself in imagination over the face of those immense forests. There I constructed forts ; I cleared large tracks of lands ; I covered them with copious harvests, and with orchards presenting exuberant crops of all the fruits foreign to Europe. There I offered an asylum to the men of all Nations, the individuals of which I had seen in distress. There I planted the men of Holland and of Switzerland, who have no territory in their own Country ; and Russians destitute of the means of establishing themselves in their vast solitudes at home ; Englishmen tired of the convulsions of their popular liberty, and Italians, of the lethargy of their aristocratical governments ; Prussians sick of their military despotism, and Poles, of their republican anarchy ; Spaniards of the intolerance of religious opinions, and Frenchmen, of the levity of theirs ; Knights of Malta and Algerines ; the peasantry of Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Franche-Comté, Lower Brittany, escaped from the tyranny of their compatriots ; the runaway Negro slaves of our barbarous colonies ; the protectors and the protected of all Nations ; courtiers, gownmen, scholars, soldiers, merchants, financiers ; every unfortunate wretch tormented with the maladies of European, African, and Asiatic opinions, all of them, with very



few exceptions, aiming at mutual oppression, and re-acting upon each other by violence or cunning, by impiety or superstition.

They abjured the national prejudices which had rendered them, from the womb, the enemies of other men ; and especially that which is the source of all the animosities of the Human Race, and which Europe instils with the mother's milk into each of her sons—the desire of being foremost. They adopted, under the immediate protection of the AUTHOR of Nature, the principles of universal toleration ; and by that act of general justice, they fell back without interruption into the unconstrained exercise of their particular character. The Dutchman there pursued agriculture and commerce into the very bosom of the morasses ; the Swiss, up to the summit of the rocks, and the Russian, dexterous in managing the hatchet, into the centre of the thickest forests. The Englishman there addicted himself to navigation, and to the useful arts which constitute the strength of States ; the Italian, to the liberal arts which raise them to a flourishing condition ; the Prussian, to military exercises ; the Poles to those of horsemanship ; the reserved Spaniard, to the talents which require firmness ; the Frenchman, to those which render life agreeable, and to the social instinct which qualifies him to be the bond of union among all Nations. All these men, of opinions so very different, enjoyed through the medium of toleration, and inter-communication of every thing that was best in their several characters, and tempered the defects of one by the redundancies of another. Thence resulted, from education, from laws, and from habit, a combination of arts, of talents, of virtues, and of religious principles, which formed of the whole but one single people, disposed to exist internally in the most perfect harmony, to resist every external invader, and to amalgamate with all the rest of the Human Race.

I committed then to writing all the speculations which I had pursued on this subject ; but when I attempted to put them together, in order to form to myself, and to convey to others, the idea of a republic modelled conformably to the Laws of Nature, I perceived that, after all the labour I had bestowed, I never could make the illusion pass on any one reasonable being.

*Plato* it is true in his *Atlantis*, *Xenophon* in his *Cyropedia*, and *Fenelon* in his *Telemachus*, have depicted the felicity of



various political Societies, which have perhaps never existed; but by means of blending their fictions with historical traditions, and throwing them back into ages remote, they have bestowed on them a sufficient air of probability, to induce a Reader possessed of indulgence, to receive as realities, recitals which he has no longer the power of supporting by facts. This was by no means the case with my Work. I there went on the supposition, in modern times, and in a well-known part of the Globe, of the existence of a very considerable People, formed almost entirely of the miserable refuse of the European Nations, exalted all at once to the highest degree of felicity; and this rare phenomenon, so worthy of at least the curiosity of Europe, ceased to produce any illusion, as soon as it was certain that it had no real existence. Besides, the scantiness of theory which I had procured, respecting a country so different from ours, and so superficially described by travellers, could have furnished to my pictures only a false colouring, and very indistinct features.

I relinquished then my political vessel, though I had laboured upon her for several years with unwearied perseverance. Like the canoe of *Robinson Crusoe*, I left her in the forest where I had moulded her, for want of power to put her in motion, and to carry her along the tide of human opinions.

To no purpose did my imagination perform the tour of the Globe. Amidst so many sites presented for the happiness of Man, by Nature, I could not so much as find where to put down the illusory habitation of a People happy in conformity to her laws: for neither the republic of *St. Paul*, near to Brasil, formed of banditti who made war upon the whole World; nor the evangelical association of *William Penn*, in North-America, which goes not even so far as to act upon the defensive against their enemies; nor the conventual redemptions\* of the Jesuits

\* There were, in my opinion, many defects in the establishments of the Jesuits in Paragua. As these monastic orders do not marry, that they had not within themselves the independent principle of existence; that they always recruited the fraternity with Europeans, and that they formed, even in their Redemptions, one Nation within another Nation; hence it came to pass, that the destruction of their Order in Europe involved in it that of their establishments in America. Besides, the conventual regularity, and the multiplied ceremonies which they had introduced into their political administration, could suit only an infant People, who must be incessantly kept up by



in Paraguay; nor the voluptuous islanders of the South-Sea, who, in the very lap of sensuality, offer up human sacrifices,\* appear to me the proper representatives of a People making a right use, in the state of Nature, of all their faculties physical and moral.

Besides, though these fraternities presented to me certain republican images, the first was a state of downright anarchy; the second simply an association; under the protection of the State in which it was contained; and the other two formed hereditary aristocracies merely, under which a particular class of citizens, having reserved all power to itself, even to the disposal of the national subsistence, kept the people at large in a state of perpetual tutelage, without the possibility of their ever emerging from the class of Neophytes, or of Toutous.†

My soul, finding no complacency in ages present, winged it's way toward the ages of Antiquity, and alighted first of all among the Nations of Arcadia.

This happy portion of Greece presented to me climates and situations similar to those which are dispersed over the rest of Europe. I could fashion them at least, into pictures variegated, and possessing the advantages of resemblance. It was filled with mountains of considerable elevation, some of which, such as that of Phoé, covered with snow all the year round, rendered it similar to Switzerland. On the other hand, it's morasses, such as that of Stymphale, gave it in this part of it's territory a resemblance to Holland. It's vegetables and it's animals were the same with those which are scattered over the soil of Italy,

the leading-string, and led by the eyes. They are not the less on that account deserving of immortal honour, for having collected and subjected to humane Laws a multitude of barbarians, and for having instructed them in the Arts useful to human life, by preserving them from the corruption of civilized Nations.

\* They did likewise eat dogs, those natural friends of man. I have remarked that every People among whom this is practised, were not disposed to spare human flesh when occasion prompted: to eat the flesh of dogs is a step toward anthropophagy.

† The name of a class of men of the commonalty in the Island of Otaheité, and in the other islands of that Archipelago. They are not permitted to eat swines-flesh, which is there of an excellent quality, and exceedingly common. It is reserved for the E-Arrés, who are the chiefs. The Toutous bring up the swine, and the E-Arrés feed upon them. Consult Captain *Cook's Voyages*.



of France and of the North of Europe. It produced olive-trees, vines, apple-trees, corn of all kinds, pasture ; forests of oaks, of pines, and of firs ; oxen, horses, sheep, goats, wolves.....The occupations of the Arcadians were the same with those of our peasantry. They were classed into husbandmen, shepherds, vine-dressers, huntsmen. But in this they differed widely from ours, they were very warlike externally, and very peaceable at home. As soon as the state was menaced with war, they voluntarily appeared for it's defence, every man at his proper post. There was a considerable proportion of Arcadians among the ten thousand Greeks who, under the command of *Xenophon*, effected the famous retreat out of Persia. They were much devoted to religion ; for most of the Gods of Greece were natives of their Country ; *Mercury* on Mount Cyllene ; *Jupiter* on Mount Lyceum ; *Pan* on Mount Minalus, or, according to others, amidst the forests of Mount Lyceum, where he was worshipped with singular devotion. Arcadia too was the theatre on which *Hercules* exhibited the most astonishing of his laborious achievements.

With those sentiments of patriotism and of religion the Arcadians blended that of love, which has at length acquired the ascendant, as the principal idea which that People have left us of themselves. For political and religious institutions vary in every Country with the lapse of ages, and are peculiar to it ; but the laws of Nature are of all periods of time, and interests all Nations. Hence it has come to pass that the Poets, ancient and modern, have represented the Arcadians as a Nation of amorous shepherds, who excelled in Poetry and Music, which are in all countries the expressive languages of love. *Virgil*, in particular, frequently celebrates their talents, and their rural felicity. In his ninth Eclogue, which breathes the gentlest melancholy, he thus introduces *Gallus*, the son of *Pollio*, inviting the Arcadian swains to deplore with him the loss of his mistress *Lycoris*:

Cantabitis, Arcades, inquit,  
Montibus hæc vestris. Soli cantare periti,  
Arcades. O mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescent,  
Vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores !



Atque utinam ex vobis unus, vestrique fuisset  
Aut custos gregis, aut maturæ vinitor uvæ! \*

“ You shall sing,” says he, “ O ye Arcadians, these plaintive strains of mine, on your own mountains. Arcadians, you alone are skilled in song. O, how softly shall my bones repose, if your pipe shall one day immortalize my unfortunate loves! And would to Heaven I had been one of you, though in the humble station of a shepherd’s boy, or of a grape-gatherer in the vineyard.”

*Gallus*, the son of a Roman Consul, in the age of *Augustus*, considers the condition of the Arcadian swains as so enviable, that he presumes not to aspire to the felicity of being among them a proprietary shepherd, or the dresser of a vineyard which he could call his own, but only to that of a simple keeper of cattle: *custos gregis*; or of one of those hireling labourers whom they accidentally picked up as they went on this way, to assist in treading out the ripened clusters: *Maturæ vinitor uvæ*.

*Virgil* abounds in such delicate shades of sentiment, which totally disappear in translations, and especially in mine.

Although the Arcadians passed a considerable part of their life in singing, and in making love, *Virgil* does not represent them as an effeminate race of men. On the contrary, he assigns to them simple manners, and a particular character of force, of piety, and of virtue, which is confirmed by all the Historians who have made mention of them. He introduces them as acting a very distinguished and important part in the origin of the Roman Empire; for when *Eneas* sailed up the Tiber, in the view of forming alliances with the Nations who inhabited the shores of that river, he found at the place of his disembarkation, a small city, called Pallanteum, after the name of *Pallas*

\* To your lov’d mountains and your verdant plains,  
Repeat, Arcadians, these my love-lorn strains:  
In magic numbers you alone excel,  
Lull’d to soft rest my lifeless limbs shall dwell.  
Should your sweet notes immortalize my flame,  
And give to *Gallus* dead a deathless name,  
Oh, had I been, of you some shepherd’s swain!  
Or cull’d the grape; or reap’d the golden grain!



son to *Evander* King of the Arcadians, who had built it. This city was afterwards enclosed within the precinct of the city of Rome, to which it served as it's first fortress. For this reason it is that *Virgil* denominates King *Evander* the Founder of the Roman fortress :

Rex *Evandrus*, Romanæ Conditor arcis.

ÆNEID, Lib. viii. Ver. 313.

I feel an irresistible propensity to insert in this place, some passages of the *Æneid* which have a direct relation to the manners of the Arcadians, and which discover at the same time their influence on those of the Roman People. I am abundantly sensible that I shall give but a very indifferent translation of those passages, as I have done of all the Latin quotations already introduced into my Book ; but the delicious poesy of *Virgil* will indemnify the Reader for my bad prose, and gratify the taste which it will inspire into myself of what is natural to me. This digression besides is by no means foreign to the general plan of this Work. I shall produce in it various examples of the powerful effects arising from consonances and contrasts, which I have considered, in my preceding Studies, as the first moving principles of Nature. We shall see that, after her example, *Virgil* abounds with them, and that they alone are the cause of the harmony of his style, and of the magic of his pictures.

First, *Eneas*, by command of the God of the Tiber who had appeared to him in a dream, comes to solicit the alliance of *Evander*, in order to his making good an establishment in Italy. He avails himself of the anciently allied origin of their families, which both descended from *Atlas* ; the one by *Electra* the other by *Maia*. *Evander* makes no reply on the subject of this genealogy ; but at sight of *Eneas*, he recollects with delight the features, the voice, and the address of *Anchises*, whom he had, so long before, entertained in his palace within the walls of *Phe-neum*, when that Prince on his way to *Salamis* with *Priam*, who was going to visit his sister *Hesione*, took the cold mountains of *Arcadia* in his road :

Ut te fortissime Teucrum

Accipio agnoscoque libens ! ut verba parentis



Et vocem *Anchisæ* magni vultumque recorder !  
 Nam memini *Hesiones* visentem regna sororis  
*Laomedontiadem Priamum*, *Salamina* petentem  
 Protinus *Arcadiæ* gelidos invisere fines.\*

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 154—159.

*Evander* was then in the flower of his age ; he felt an ardent desire to join his hand in friendship to that of *Anchises*: *dextra conjungere dextram*. He calls to mind the tokens of friendship which he had received of him, and his presents, among which were two bridles bitted with gold, now made over to his son *Pallas*, as symbols no doubt of the prudence so necessary to a young Prince :

Frænaque bina, meus quæ nunc habet, aurea, *Pallas*.†

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 168.

And he immediately adds :

Ergo et quam petitis, juncta est mihi fœdere dextra :  
 Et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,  
 Auxilio lætos dimittam, opibusque juvabo.‡

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 169—171.

\* On all thy features how I dwell with joy !  
 Welcome, thrice welcome, glorious Prince of Troy !  
 How in thy face, my ancient friend I see !  
*Anchises* looks, and lives, and speaks in thee !  
 Well I recal great *Priam's* stately port,  
 When once he sought his royal sister's court  
 On *Salaminian* shores, with all his train ;  
 And took his way through our *Arcadian* plain.

PITT.

† On me, at parting, generous he bestow'd  
 Two golden bridles, that refulgent glow'd,  
 (A glorious present, by my son possess ;)  
 With a rich quiver and embroider'd vest.

PITT.

‡ The peace you ask we give ; our friendship plight,  
 And soon as morn reveals the purple light,  
 With our confederate troops, a martial train,  
 Safe I'll dismiss thee from these walls again.

PITT.



“ My right hand, then, has sealed from that day the alliance  
 “ which you now solicit ; and as soon as to-morrow’s dawn shall  
 “ re-visit the Earth, I will joyfully dismiss you to the field with  
 “ the succours which you ask, and will support you to the ut-  
 “ most extent of my ability.”

Thus *Evander*, though a Greek, and consequently a natural enemy to the Trojans, gives his aid to *Eneas*, purely from the recollection of the friendship which he entertained for his ancient guest *Anchises*. The hospitality which he had formerly expressed to the father, determines him now to support the son.

It is not foreign to my subject to remark in this place, to the honour of *Virgil* and of his heroes, that as often as *Eneas*, under the pressure of calamity, is reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the assistance of strangers, he never fails to remind them of either the glory of Troy, or of ancient family alliances, or to urge some other political reason calculated to interest them in his favour ; but those who tender him their services are always induced to act thus from motives of virtue. When thrown by the tempest on the Lybian shore, *Dido* is determined to afford him an asylum by a sentiment still more sublime than the recollection of any particular hospitality, highly respected as it was among the ancients ; but by the general interest which we take in the miserable. In order to render the effect of this more dignified, and more affecting, she applies to herself the need of it, and reverberates from her own heart, on the Trojan Prince, only the same degree of sympathy which she demands for herself. These are her words :

Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores  
 Jactatam, hac demum voluit consistere terra.  
 Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.\*

ÆNEID, B. i. L. 632—634.

“ A fortune similar to thine, after having pursued me too  
 “ through distresses innumerable, permitted me at length to  
 “ form a settlement on these shores. Nurtured myself in the  
 “ school of adversity, I am instructed to succour the miserable.”

\* My wanderings and my fate resembling yours,  
 At length I settled on these Lybian shores ;  
 And, touch’d with miseries myself have known,  
 I view with pity woes so like my own. PITT.



*Virgil* uniformly prefers natural to political reasons, and the interest of Mankind to national interests. Hence it comes to pass that his Poem, though composed to diffuse the particular glory of the Roman People, interests the men of all ages, and of all Nations.

To return to King *Evander* : He was employed in offering a sacrifice to *Hercules*, at the head of his Arcadian Colony, at the time *Eneas* landed. After having engaged the Trojan Chief and his attendants to partake of the sacred banquet which his arrival had interrupted, he instructs his guest in the origin of this sacrifice, by relating to him the history of the robber *Cacus*, whom *Hercules* put to death in a cavern adjoining to the Aventine Mount. He presents him with a tremendous picture of the combat of the son of *Jupiter* with that flame-vomiting monster ; he then adds :

\* Ex illo celebratus honos, lætique minores  
Servavere diem : primusque *Potitius* auctor,  
Et domus *Herculei* custos Pinaria sacri,  
Hanc aram luco statuit : quæ maxima semper  
Dicetur nobis, et erit quæ maxima semper.  
Quare agite, O juvenes, tantarum in munere laudum,  
Cingite fronde comas, et pocula porgite dextris ;  
Communemque vocate deum, et data vina volentes.  
Dixerat : *Herculeæ* bicolor cum populus umbra  
Velavitque comas, foliisque innexa pependit :  
Et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. Ocius omnes  
In mensam læti libant, divosque precantur.

Devexo interea proprior fit vesper Olympo :  
Jamque sacerdotes, primusque *Potitius*, ibant.  
Pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.  
Instaurant epulas, et mensæ grata secundæ  
Dona ferunt : cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.  
Tum Salii ad cantus, incensa alteria circum.  
Populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 268—286.

\* From that blest hour th' Arcadian tribes bestowed  
These solemn honours on their guardian God.  
*Potitius* first, his gratitude to prove,  
Ador'd *Alcides* in the shady grove ;  
And with the old Pinarian sacred line  
These altars rais'd' and paid the rights divine,  
Rights, which our sons for ever shall maintain ;  
And ever sacred shall the grove remain.



“ From that period this sacred festival has been celebrated,  
 “ and exulting posterity hails the return of the annual day. *Po-*  
 “ *titius* has the honour of having first instituted it, and the *Pi-*  
 “ *narian* Family, to whom belongs the direction of this solemn  
 “ service in honour of *Hercules*, reared this altar in the hallow-  
 “ ed grove : which ever shall be called, and in my esteem ever  
 “ shall be the most venerable of Altars. Come on then, my  
 “ young friends from Troy, in grateful remembrance of merit  
 “ so exalted, crown your brows with the foliage of his favourite  
 “ tree, put your right hand to the goblet ; invoke a deity who  
 “ shall be our common protector, and pour out your joyful li-  
 “ bations of the juice of the grape. He said, and instantly a  
 “ poplar-branch of double-coloured foliage, from the Herculean  
 “ tree, shaded his hoary locks, and in twisted sprigs hung grace-  
 “ fully down from his temples : The sacred bowl filled his  
 “ right hand. With holy ardour every one immediately pour-  
 “ ed his libation on the table, and preferred his prayer.

“ Meanwhile the star of Evening began to appear, the har-  
 “ binger of approaching night : and now a procession of Priests,  
 “ *Potitius* led the train, moved along, dressed, as the order of  
 “ the feast required, in the fleecy skins of the flock, and with  
 “ flaming torches in their hands. The banquet is renewed, and  
 “ the grateful delicacies of a second table are served up : while

Come then, with us to great *Alcides* pray,  
 And crown your heads, and solemnize the day.  
 Invoke our common God with hymns divine,  
 And from the goblet pour the generous wine.  
 He said, and with the poplar's sacred boughs,  
 Like great *Alcides*, binds his hoary brows ;  
 Raised the crown'd goblet high, in open view :  
 With him, the guests the holy rite pursue,  
 And on the board the rich libation threw. }  
 Now from before the rising shades of night,  
 Roll'd down the steep of Heaven, the beamy light.  
 Clad in the fleecy spoils of sheep, proceed  
 The holy priests ; *Potitius* at their head.  
 With flaming brands and offerings, march the train,  
 And bid the hallow'd altars blaze again ;  
 With care the copious viands they dispose ;  
 And for their guests a second banquet rose.  
 The fires curl high ; the *Salii* dance around  
 To sacred strains, with shady poplars crown'd.

PITT.



“ the altars are loaded with piles of rich offerings. The Salians advance, their brows adorned with bows of poplar, and surround the blazing altars with festive songs and dances.”

Every circumstance here detailed by the Poet is far from being a mere poetical fiction, but is a real tradition of the Roman History. According to *Titus Livius*, in the first Book of his History, *Potitius* and *Pinarius* were the Chiefs of two illustrious Roman families. *Evander* instructed them in the ritual of the worship to be paid to *Hercules*, and committed the conduct of it to their charge. Their posterity enjoyed the dignity of this priesthood, down to the censorship of *Appius Claudius*. The altar of *Hercules*, *Ara Maxima*, was at Rome, between the Aventine and the Palatine mountains, in the open place called *Forum Boarium*. The Salians were the Priests of *Mars*, instituted by *Numa*, to the number of twelve. *Virgil* proceeds on the supposition, according to some commentators, that they had existed ever since the days of King *Evander*, and that they sung in the sacrifices of *Hercules*. But there is a great appearance of probability, that *Virgil* in this likewise followed the Historical tradition; for we know how carefully he collected, with a kind of religious ardour, even the slightest prognostics and the most frivolous predictions, to which he assigned a first-rate importance the moment that they appeared in any respect connected with the foundation of the Roman Empire.

Rome was indebted then to the Arcadians for her principal religious usages. She was still farther indebted to them for others much more interesting to humanity; for *Plutarch* derives one of the etymologies of the name *Patricians*, an order established by *Romulus*, from the word “*Patrocinium*, which means patronage, or protection; and this word is used to this day in the same sense, because one of the leading men who accompanied *Evander* into Italy was named *Patronus*, who being a person noted for a character of beneficence, and for granting support to the poorer and more oppressed class of Mankind, communicated his name to that office of humanity.”

The sacrifice and the banquet of *Evander* terminated in a hymn to the honour of *Hercules*. I cannot resist the inclina-



tion which I feel to insert it here, in order to make it appear, that the same people who sung so melodiously the loves of shepherds, were equally capable of celebrating the virtues of Heroes: and that the same Poet who, in his *Eclogues*, tunes so sweetly the rural pipe, can blow as vigorously the epic trumpet.

\* Hic juvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes  
Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut primo novercæ  
Monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit angues:  
Ut bello egregias idem disjecerit urbes,  
Trojamque, Æchaliæque: ut duros mille labores  
Rege sub Eurystheo, fatis Junonis iniquæ,  
Pertulerit. Tu nubigenas invictæ bimembres,  
Hylæumque, Pholūque manu: tu Cressia mactas  
Prodigia, et vastum Nemea sub rupe Léonem.  
Te Stygii tremuere lacus; te janitor Orci,  
Ossa super recubans, antro semesa cruento.

\* The choirs of old and young, in lofty lays,  
Resound great *Hercules'* immortal praise.  
How first, his infant hands the snakes o'erthrew  
That *Juno* sent; and the dire monsters slew.  
What mighty cities next his arms destroy,  
Th' Æchalian walls, and stately towers of Troy.  
The thousand labours of the hero's hands,  
Enjoin'd by proud *Eurystheus'* stern commands,  
And *Joves* revengeful Queen. Thy matchless might  
O'ercame the cloud-born Centaurs in the fight;  
*Hylæus*, *Pholus*, sunk beneath thy feet,  
And the grim bull, whose rage dispeopled Crete.  
Beneath thy arm the Nemean monster fell;  
Thy arm with terror fill'd the realms of Hell;  
Ev'n Hell's grim porter shook with dire dismay,  
Shrunk back, and trembled o'er his mangled prey.  
No shapes of danger could thy soul affright,  
Nor huge *Typhæus*, towering to the fight,  
Nor Lerna's fiend thy courage could confound,  
With all her hundred heads, that hiss'd around.  
Hail, mighty Chief, advanc'd to Heavn's abodes!  
Hail, son of *Jove*; a God among the Gods!  
Be present to the vows thy suppliants pay,  
And with a smile these grateful rites survey.  
Thus they—but *Cacus'* cavern crowns the strain,  
Where the grim monster breath'd his flames in vain.  
To the glad song, the vales, the woods rebound,  
The lofty hills reply, and echo to the sound.

PITT.



Nec te ullæ facies, non terruit ipse Typhæus  
 Arduus, arma tenens : non te rationis egentem  
 Lernæus turba capitum circumstetit anguis.  
 Salve, vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis :  
 Et nos, et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo,  
 Talia carminibus celebrant : super omnia Caci  
 Speluncam adjiciunt, spirantemque ignibus ipsum.  
 Consonat omne nemus strepitu, collesque resultant.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 287—305.

“ On this hand were arranged a choir of youth, on that a venerable band of old men, to celebrate the praises and the mighty achievements of *Hercules*: How, with the pressure of his potent fingers he stifled to death two fearful snakes, the first monsters armed against him by his cruel step-mother: how he humbled the two proud cities, Troy and *Æchalia*: how he triumphantly surmounted a thousand painful labours under King *Eurystheus*, imposed by the resentment of unrelenting *Juno*: Thou, invincible Hero, thou, by thine arm, subduedst the double-limbed cloud-born Centaurs, *Hylæus* and *Pholus*; the monsters of Crete fell by thy stroke, and the formidable lion under the Nemean rock; the Stygian lakes trembled at thy approach; as did the janitor of Hell, reclined on a heap of half-gnawed bones in his bloody den: No appearance of danger appalled thee, not even the gigantic *Typhæus* himself, rushing upon thee tremendous in arms: Thou wert not dismayed, though enclosed on every side by the many-headed snake of Lerna. Hail, undoubted offspring of mighty *Jove*! add new lustre to the skies: Graciously bend down to hear our vows, and to accept our sacrifices.”

“ Such was the lofty subject of their song: above all the rest they exalted the prodigies of the fearful den of *Cacus*, and the monster himself vomiting forth streams of fire. The spacious grove was filled with the harmony, and the noise rebounded from hill to hill.”

These are strains worthy of the manly breasts of Arcadians: We seem to hear them filling the ambient air in the echoes of the woods and of the mountains:

Consonant omne nemus strepitu, collesque resultant.



*Virgil* always expresses natural consonances. They redouble the effect of his pictures, and infuse into them the sublime sentiment of infinity. Consonances are in poetry what reflexes are in painting.

This hymn will stand a comparison with the finest odes of *Horace*. Though composed in regular Alexandrine verses, it has all the elegant turn, and the movements, of a lyric composition, especially in it's transitions.

*Evander* afterwards relates to *Eneas* the history of the antiquities of the Country, beginning with *Saturn*, who dethroned by *Jupiter* retired thither, and there established the Golden Age. He informs his guests that the *Tiber*, anciently called *Albula*, had acquired it's present name from the Giant *Tibris*, who made a conquest of the shores of that river. He shews him the altar and the gate, since called *Carmentalis* by the Romans, in honour of the nymph *Carmenta* his mother, by whose advice he had come to form a settlement in that place, after having been banished from *Arcadia* his native Country. He points out to him an extensive wood, of which *Romulus* in after times availed himself as an asylum; and at the bottom of a rock, the grotto of *Pan-Lupercal*, so called, he tells him, in imitation of that of the Arcadians of Mount *Lyceum*.

\* Nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti :  
Testaturque locum, et lethum docet hospitis Argi.  
Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,  
Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.  
Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes  
Dira loci, jam tum sylvam saxumque tremebant.

\* Here, *Pan*, beneath the rocks thy temple stood ;  
There, the renown'd asylum in the wood.  
Now points the monarch, where, by vengeful steel  
His murder'd guest, poor hapless *Argus* fell !  
Next, to the capitol their course they hold,  
Then roof'd with reeds, but blazing now with gold.  
Ev'n then her awful sanctity appear'd ;  
The swains the local majesty rever'd.  
All pale with sacred horror, they survey'd  
The solemn mountain and the reverend shade.  
Some God, the monarch said, some latent God  
Dwells in that gloom, and haunts the frowning wood.



Hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collem,  
 (Quis Deus incertum est) habitat Deus, Arcades ipsum  
 Credunt se vidisse Jovem : cum sæpe nigrantem  
 Ægida concuteret dextra, nimbosque cieret.  
 Hæc duo præterea disjectis oppida muris,  
 Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.  
 Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus conditi urbem :  
 Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 345—358.

“ He next shews him the sacred grove of Argiletum:  
 “ makes a solemn appeal to that awful spot, and relates the  
 “ story of his murdered guest *Argus*. Then he conducts him  
 “ to the Tarpeian rock ; and to the Capitol, now shining with  
 “ burnished gold, once clothed all over with wild shrubbery.  
 “ Even then the gloomy religious horror of this spot terrified  
 “ the trembling rustics ; even then they shuddered, as they ap-  
 “ proached the rocky precipice and the wood. Some God, says  
 “ he, but which of the celestial powers we know not, inhabits  
 “ this grove and this shaggy-topped eminence. Our Arcadians  
 “ imagine they have had a glimpse of *Jupiter* himself, from  
 “ time to time shaking the heart-appalling Ægis with his for-  
 “ midable right-hand, and rousing into fury the thunder-im-  
 “ pregnated clouds. You farther see these two ruinous cities,  
 “ with walls crumbling into dust, the sad remains and venerable  
 “ monuments of personages who flourished in ages long since  
 “ past. *Janus* founded the one, and *Saturn* the other: hence,  
 “ this obtained the name of Janiculum, and that of Saturnia.”

Here are the principal monuments of Rome, as well as the earliest religious establishments ascribed to the Arcadians. The Romans celebrated the feast of *Saturn* in the month of December. During that period of festivity the masters and the slaves sat down at the same table ; and these last then enjoyed the li-

Oft our Arcadians deem, their wondering eyes  
 Have seen great *Jove*, dread sovereign of the skies ;  
 High o'er their heads, the God his ægis held,  
 And blacken'd Heav'n with clouds, and shook th' immortal shield !  
 In ruins there two mighty towns behold,  
 Rais'd by our fires ; huge monuments of old !  
*Janus*' and *Saturns*' name they proudly bore,  
 Their two great founders !...but are now no more !—

PITT.



berty of saying and of doing whatever they pleased, in memory of the ancient equality of Mankind, which prevailed in the reign of *Saturn*. The altar, and the gate *Carmentalis*, long subsisted at Rome, as well as the grotto of Pan-Lupercal, which was under Mount Palatine.

*Virgil* opposes, with the ability of a great Master, the rusticity of the ancient Sites which surrounded the small Arcadian city of Palentum, to the magnificence of those very places within the precincts of Rome; and their rude altar, with their venerable and religious traditions under *Evander*, to the gilded temples of a city in which nothing venerable or religious was any longer to be seen, under *Augustus*.

There is here likewise another moral contrast, which produces a more powerful effect than all the physical contrasts, and which admirably paints the simplicity, and the uncorrupted integrity, of the King of Arcadia. It is when that Prince justifies himself, without being called upon to do so, from the suspicion of having caused the death of his guest *Argus*, and appeals, as a witness of his innocence, to the wood which he had consecrated to him. This *Argus*, or this Argian, had insinuated himself into his house with an intention to murder him: but, having been detected, was condemned to die. *Evander* had a tomb reared to his memory, and here solemnly protests that he had not violated in his case the sacred rights of hospitality. The piety of this good King, and the protestation which he makes of his innocence, respecting a stranger who was deeply criminal against himself, and justly condemned by the laws, forms a wonderfully fine contrast to the illegal proscriptions of guests, of parents, of friends, of patrons, whereof Rome had been the theatre for an age before, and which had excited in no one citizen either scruple or remorse. The quarter of Argiletum extended, in Rome, along the banks of the Tiber. The town Janiculum had been built on the mount of that name, and Saturnia on the rock first called the Tarpeian and afterwards the Capitol, the place of *Jupiter's* residence. This ancient tradition of *Jupiter's* frequently collecting the clouds on the summit of this forest-covered rock, and there brandishing his dark ægis, confirms what has been said in my preceding Studies of the hydraulic attraction of the summits of mountains, and of their forests,



which are the sources of rivers. This was the case likewise with Olympus, frequently involved in clouds, on which the Greeks fixed the habitation of the Gods. In the ages of ignorance, religious sentiments explained physical effects; in ages of illumination, physical effects bring men back to religious sentiments. Nature at all times speaks to Man the same language in different dialects.

*Virgil* completes the contrast of the ancient monuments of Rome, by presenting a picture of the poor and simple habitation of the good King *Evander*, in the very place where so many sumptuous palaces were afterwards reared.

\* Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant  
 Pauperis Evandri: passimque armenta, videbant  
 Romanoque Foro et lautis mugire Carinis.  
 Ut ventum ad sedes; Hæc inquit, limina victor  
 Alcides subiit: hæc illum regia cepit.  
 Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum.  
 Finge Deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.  
 Dixit; et angusti subter fastigia tecti  
 Ingentem Æneam duxit: stratisque locavit,  
 Effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursæ.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 359—368.

“ While thus conversing, they drew nigh to the lowly roof of  
 “ the poor *Evander*: and saw the cattle strolling up and down,  
 “ and heard their lowing, in what is now the Roman Forum,  
 “ and the splendid quarter of the Rostra. Being arrived, This  
 “ threshold, says he, received the victorious *Alcides*; this hum-  
 “ ble palace entertained a guest so illustrious. Dare like him,  
 “ my beloved guest, to look down on wealth, and thus approve

\* Thus they convers'd on works of ancient fame,  
 Till to the Monarch's humble courts they came:  
 There oxen stalk'd, where palaces are rais'd,  
 And bellowing herds in the proud forum graz'd.  
 Lo! said the good old King, this poor abode  
 Receiv'd great *Hercules* the victor God!  
 Thou, too, as nobly, raise thy soul above  
 All pomps, and emulate the seed of *Jove*.  
 With that, the hero's hand the Monarch prest,  
 And to the mansion led the godlike guest.  
 There on a bear's rough spoils his limbs he laid,  
 And swelling foliage heap'd the homely bed.—PITT.



“ thy celestial origin, and kindly accept the hospitality of this  
 “ poor mansion. He spake, and conducted the mighty *Eneas*  
 “ through a narrow portal ; and placed him on a couch of foli-  
 “ age, covered with the skin of a Lybian bear.”

It is here evident how deeply *Virgil* is penetrated with the simplicity of Arcadian manners, and with what delight he sets *Evander's* cattle a lowing in the *Forum Romanum*, and makes them pasture in the proud quarter of the city distinguished by the name of *Carinæ*, thus called, because *Pompey* had there built a palace ornamented with the prows of ships in bronze. This rural contrast produces the most agreeable effect. The author of the *Eclogues* recollected assuredly in this place the shepherd's pipe. Now he is going to lay down the trumpet, and to assume the flute. He proceeds to oppose to his picture of the dreadful conflict with *Cacus*, to the hymn of *Hercules*, to the religious traditions of the Roman monuments, and to the austere manners of *Evander*, the most voluptuous episode of his whole Work. It is that of *Venus* coming to solicit *Vulcan* to make a suit of armour for *Eneas*.

\* Nox ruit, et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis :  
 At Venus haud animo nequicquam exterrita mater,  
 Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu,  
 Vulcanum alloquitur, thalamoque hæc conjugis aureo  
 Incipit, et dictis divinum aspirat amorem :  
 Dum bello Argolici vestabant Pergama reges  
 Debita, casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,  
 Non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi  
 Artis opisque tuæ ; nec te, carissime conjux,  
 Incassumve tuos volui exercere labores,  
 Quamvis et Priami deberem plurima natis,  
 Et durum Æneæ flevissem sæpe laborem.

\* Now awful Night her solemn darkness brings,  
 And stretches o'er the World her dusky wings ;  
 When *Venus*, (trembling at the dire alarms  
 Of hostile Latium, and her sons in arms,)  
 In those still moments, thus to *Vulcan* said,  
 Reclin'd and leaning on the golden bed :  
 (Her thrilling words her melting consort move,  
 And every accent fans the flames of love :)  
 When cruel Greece and unrelenting Fate  
 Conspir'd to sink in dust the Trojan state,  
 As Ilion's doom was seal'd, I ne'er implor'd  
 In those long wars, the labours of my lord ;



Nunc, Jovis imperiis, Rutulorum constitit oris :  
 Ergo eadem supplex venio, et sanctum mihi numen  
 Arma rogo, genitrix nato. Te filia Nerei,  
 Te potuit lachrymis Tithonia flectere conjux,  
 Aspice qui coeant populi quæ mænia clausis  
 Ferrum acuant portis, in me excidiumque meorum.  
 Dixerat ; et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis  
 Cunctantem amplexu molli fovet ; ille repente  
 Accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas  
 Intravit calor, et labefacta per ossa cucurrit :  
 Non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco  
 Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.  
 Sensit læta dolis, et formæ conscia conjux.  
 Tum pater æterno fatur devictus amore :  
 Quid causas petis ex alto ? Fiducia cessit  
 Quo tibi, Diva mei ? similis si cura fuisset,  
 Tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset.  
 Nec pater omnipotens Trojam, nec fata vetabant  
 Stare, decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.  
 Et nunc, si bellare paras, atque hæc tibi mens est :  
 Quicquid in arte mea possum promittere curæ,

Nor urg'd my dear, dear consort to impart,  
 For a lost empire his immortal art ;  
 Tho' *Priam's* royal offspring claim'd my care,  
 Tho' much I sorrow'd for my godlike heir.  
 Now as the Chief, by *Jove's* supreme command,  
 Has reach'd at length the destin'd Latin land ;  
 To thee, my guardian power, for aid I run !  
 A Goddess begs ; a mother for a son.  
 Oh ! guard the hero from these dire alarms,  
 Forge, for the Chief, impenetrable arms.  
 See, what proud cities every hand employ,  
 To arm new hosts against the sons of Troy ;  
 On me and all my people, from afar  
 See what assembled nations pour to war !  
 Yet not in vain her sorrows *Thetis* shed,  
 Nor the fair partner of *Tithonus'* bed,  
 When they, of old, implor'd my Lord to grace  
 With arms immortal, an inferior race.  
 Hear then, nor let thy Queen in vain implore  
 The gift those Goddesses obtain'd before.

This said, her arms, that match the Winter snows,  
 Around her unresolving Lord she throws ;  
 When lo ! more rapid than the lightning flies,  
 That gilds with momentary beams the skies,  
 The thrilling flames of love, without controul,  
 Flew thro' the sooty God, and fir'd his soul.



Quod fieri ferro, liquidove potest electro,  
 Quantum ignes animæque valent : absiste, precando,  
 Viribus indubitare tuis. Ea verba locutus,  
 Optatos dedit amplexus : placidumque petivit  
 Conjugis infusus gremio, per membra soporem.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 369—406.

“ Night hastens on, and encircles the Earth with dusky  
 “ wings. But *Venus*, whose maternal breast was agitated with  
 “ well-grounded apprehensions, alarmed at the threats of the  
 “ Laurentian Chief, and the dire preparations of approaching  
 “ war, addresses herself to *Vulcan*, and, reclined on her spouse’s  
 “ golden bed, thus begins, while love celestial flowed from her  
 “ lips: All the time that the Grecian Princes were ravaging the  
 “ plains of ill-fated Troy, and assailing her lofty turrets, doomed  
 “ to fall by hostile fires, I claimed no assistance for that wretch-  
 “ ed People; I asked no arms, the production of thy matchless  
 “ skill; nor could I think, my dearly beloved husband, of em-  
 “ ploying thee in a fruitless labour, though I both lay under  
 “ manifold obligations to the family of *Priam*, and had frequent  
 “ occasion to shed tears over the perilous exertions of *Eneas*.

With conscious joy her conquest she descry’d;  
 When, by her charms subdu’d, her Lord reply’d:  
 Why all these reasons urged, my mind to move;  
 When such your beauties, and so fierce my love!  
 Long since, at your request, my ready care,  
 In Troy’s fam’d fields had armed your sons for war.  
 Nor did the high decrees of *Jove* and Fate  
 Doom to so swift a fall the Dardan State.  
 But ten years more old *Priam* might enjoy  
 Th’ imperial sceptre and the throne of Troy.  
 Yet, if our Queen is bent the war to wage,  
 Her sacred cause shall all our art engage.  
 The noblest arms our potent skill can frame,  
 With breathing bellows or the forming flame,  
 Or polished steel, refulgent to behold,  
 Or mingled metals, damask’d o’er with gold,  
 Shall grace the Chief: thy anxious fears give o’er;  
 And doubt thy interest in my love no more.

He spoke: and fir’d with transport by her charms,  
 Clasp’d the fair Goddess in his eager arms;  
 Then, pleas’d, and panting on her bosom lay,  
 Sunk in repose, and all dissolv’d away.

PITT.



" Now, by *Jove's* supreme command, he has landed on the  
 " Rutulian shore. In the same state of anxiety, I have now re-  
 " course to thee as a suppliant, and implore a protection ever  
 " sacred in my eyes. Armour I ask of thee, a mother for a son.  
 " The daughter of *Nereus*, and the spouse of *Tithonus*, had the  
 " art of prevailing on thee, by their tears, to grant a similar fa-  
 " vour. Behold what Nations are combined, what cities have  
 " shut their gates, and are whetting the sword for the destruc-  
 " tion of me and mine.

" She spake ; and, as he hesitated, she flung her snowy arms  
 " around him, and cherished him in her soft embrace : he in-  
 " stantly catches the well known flame, and the accustomed fire  
 " penetrated his very marrow, and flew like lightning through  
 " his melting frame : just as when a fiery stream issues from the  
 " bosom of a thundery cloud, and skirts it's edge with tremu-  
 " lous light. His fair spouse conscious of beauty's power, joy-  
 " fully perceived the influence of her wily charms : and thus  
 " the good-natured Parent of Arts, subdued by the irresistible  
 " magic of mighty love, replies : Why go so far in quest of ar-  
 " guments ? Whither, my Goddess, has thy confidence in me  
 " fled ? Hadst thou expressed a similar anxiety before, I would  
 " then have fabricated arms for thy favourite Trojans. Nei-  
 " ther almighty *Jove*, nor Fate, forbade Troy to stand, nor *Pri-*  
 " *am* to survive for ten years more. Now, then, if for war thou  
 " art preparing, and if such is thy resolve, whatever my skill  
 " can perform I solemnly promise to effect ; whatever can be  
 " produced from iron, or liquid mixtures of the finer metals ; as  
 " far as the fiery element and the breathing bellows have power  
 " to fashion : Cease, by continuing your entreaties, to express  
 " a doubt of your empire over me. Having thus spoken he re-  
 " turned to the expected caresses, and melted away in the soft  
 " bosom of his fair consort, while gentle sleep stole upon every  
 " limb."

*Virgil* always employs conformities in the midst of contrasts.  
 He chuses the night season for introducing *Venus* to practice  
 her bewitching arts on *Vulcan*, because the power of *Venus* is  
 greatest in the night. It was impossible for me to convey, in a  
 feeble prose version, all the graces of the language of the God-  
 dess of Beauty. There is in her diction a delightful mixture of



elegance, of negligence, of address, and of timidity. I shall confine myself to only a few strokes of her character, which appear to me capable of being most easily hit. At first, she lays great stress on the obligations which she was under to *Priam's* family. The chief, and I believe the only one, was the apple adjudged in her favour by *Paris*, one of the sons of *Priam*, in prejudice of *Juno* and *Minerva*. But that apple, which had declared her the most beautiful of the three, and which had moreover humbled her rivals, was EVERY THING TO *Venus*: she accordingly calls it *Plurima*, and extends her gratitude on that account not to *Paris* only, but to all the sons of *Priam*:

Quamvis et Priami deberem PLURIMA natis.

As to *Eneas*, her son by *Anchises*, although he be here the grand object of her enterprize, she speaks only of the tears which she had shed over his calamities, and even these she dispatches in a single line. She names him only once, and in the verse following describes him with so much ambiguity, that what she says of *Eneas* might be referred to *Priam*, so fearful is she of repeating the name of the son of *Anchises* in presence of her husband! As to *Vulcan*, she flatters him, supplicates, implores, wheedles him. She calls his skill, "her sacred protection:" *sanctum numen*. But when she comes to her great point, the armour for *Eneas*, she expresses herself literally in four words; "Arms I beg; a mother for a son;" *Arma rogo: genetrix nato*. She does not say, "For her son;" but conveys her meaning in general terms, to avoid explanations of a nature too particular. As the ground was slippery, she supports herself by the example of two faithful wives, that of *Thetis* and *Aurora*, who had obtained from *Vulcan* armour for their sons; the first for *Achilles*, the second for *Memnon*. The children of these Goddesses were indeed legitimate, but they were mortal like *Eneas*, which was sufficient for the moment. She next attempts to alarm her husband for her own personal safety. She suggests that she stood exposed to incredible danger. "Combined Nations," says she, "and formidable cities whet the sword against me." *Vulcan* is staggered, yet still hesitates; she fixes his determination by a master-stroke; she folds him in her beautiful arms, and caresses him. Let who can render the



force of: *Cunctantem amplexu molli fovet....sensit læta dolis....* and above all, *formæ conscia*, which defies all the powers of translation.

*Vulcan's* reply presents perfect adaptations to the situation into which he had been thrown by the caresses of *Venus*.

*Virgil* gives him, first, the title of Father :

Tum *Pater* æterno fatur devictus amore.

I have translated the word *Pater*, "Father of Arts," but improperly. That epithet belongs more justly to *Apollo* than to *Vulcan* : it here imports the good *Vulcan*. *Virgil* frequently employs the word, father, as synonymous with good. He often applies it to *Eneas*, and to *Jupiter* himself : *Pater Eneas*, *Pater omnipotens*. The principal character of a father being goodness, he qualifies, by this name, his hero, and the Sovereign of the Gods. The word, father, in this passage, signifies, in the most literal sense of the words, good man ; for *Vulcan* speaks and acts with singular goodness of disposition. But the word, father, taken apart, is not sufficiently dignified in our language, in which it conveys the same meaning, in a trivial manner. The commonalty address it, in familiar discourse, to old men, and to good-natured persons.

Some commentators have observed, that in these words :

Fiducia cessit quo tibi Diva mei,

there is an inversion of grammatical construction ; and they have thought proper to ascribe this to a poetical license. They have not perceived that the irregularity of *Vulcan's* diction proceeds from the disorder of his head ; and that *Virgil* represents him not only as transgressing against the rules of grammar, but trespassing against the laws even of common sense, in making him say, that had *Venus* expressed a similar anxiety before, it would have been in his power to fabricate armour for the Trojans ; that *Jupiter*, and the Fates did not forbid Troy to stand, nor *Priam* to reign ten years longer :

Similis si cura fuisset ;

Tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset ;

Nec Pater omnipotens Trojam, nec Pata vetabant

Stare, decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.



It was decidedly clear that Fate had destined Troy to fall in the eleventh year of the siege, and that this irrevocable decree had been declared by many oracles and prognostics; among others, by the presage of a serpent which devoured ten little birds in the nest, with their mother. There is in *Vulcan's* discourse a great deal of swaggering, to say no worse of it, for he insinuates, that there were arms which he could have made, in complaisance to *Venus*, capable of counteracting the course of Fate, and the will of *Jupiter* himself, to whom he gives the epithet of omnipotent by way of defiance. Observe farther, by the way, the rhyme of these two verses, in which the same word is twice repeated successively without any apparent necessity.

.....si cura fuisset  
.....armare fuisset.

*Vulcan*, intoxicated with love, knows neither what he says nor what he does. He is completely deranged in his expression, in his thoughts, and in his actions, for he forms the resolution of fabricating magnificent armour for the illegitimate son of his faithless spouse. It is true he avoids naming him. She has pronounced his name but once, out of discretion; and he suppresses it altogether out of jealousy. To *Venus* alone the service is to be rendered. It appears as if he believed she was going personally to engage in combat: "If for war thou art preparing," says he to her, "and if such is thy resolve:"

.....Si bellare paras, atque hæc tibi mens est.

The total disorder of his frame terminates that of his address. Heated with the fire of love in the arms of *Venus*, he dissolves like metal in the furnace:

Conjugis infusus gremio.

Remark the accuracy of that metaphorical consonance, *infusus*, "dissolved," so perfectly adapted to the God of the forges of Lemnos. At length, he becomes completely insensible.

.....placidumque petivit  
.....per membra soporem.



*Sopor* means a great deal more than sleep. It farther presents a consonance of the state of metals after their fusion, a total stagnation.

But in order to weaken the effect of what is licentious in this picture, and inconsistent with conjugal manners, the sage *Virgil* opposes immediately after to the Goddess of voluptuousness, requesting of her husband armour for her natural son, a matron chaste and poor, employed in the arts of *Minerva* to rear her young ones ; and he applies that affecting image to the self-same hours of the night, in the view of presenting a new contrast, of the different uses which vice and virtue make of the same time.

\* Inde ubi prima quies medio jam noctis abactæ  
Curriculo expulerat somnum ; cum fœmina, primum  
Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique *Minerva*  
Impositum cinerem et sopitos suscitât ignes,  
Noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo  
Exercet penso ; castum ut servare cubile  
Conjugis, et possit parvos educere natos.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 407—413.

“ At the hour which terminates the first sleep, when the car  
“ of Night had as yet performed but half it's course ; that sea-  
“ son when first the careful housewife, accustomed to earn her  
“ living by the labours of the distaff and the feeble industry of  
“ the arts of *Minerva*, blows away the gathered ashes, and rou-  
“ ses up the slumbering flame, making night itself contribute to  
“ her thrift, and inures her maidens to lengthened tasks by a  
“ glimmering light ; to save herself from the temptation of in-  
“ fidelity to her husband's bed, and to supply the means of  
“ rearing her tender offspring.”

\* But rose refresh'd impatient, from the bed,  
When half the silent hours of night were fled  
What time the poor, laborious, frugal dame,  
Who plies the distaff, stirs the dying flame ;  
Employs her handmaids by the winking light,  
And lengthens out their task with half the night ;  
Thus to her children she divides the bread,  
And guards the honours of her homely bed.

PITT.



*Virgil* goes on to deduce new and sublime contrasts from the humble occupations of this virtuous matron. He opposes, in close succession, to her feeble industry, *tenui Minerva*, the ingenious *Vulcan* to her dying embers which she rekindles, *sopitos ignes*, the continually flaming crater of a volcano; to her maidens, among whom she distributes balls of wool, *longo exercet penso*, the tremendous Cyclops forging a thunder-bolt for *Jupiter*, a car for *Mars*, an ægis for *Minerva*, and who, at the command of their master, interrupt their celestial engagements to undertake a suit of armour for *Eneas*, on the buckler of which were to be engraved the principal events of the Roman History.

\* Haud secus Ignipotens, nec tempore segnior illo,  
 Molibus è stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit.  
 Insula Sicanium juxta latus Æoliamque  
 Erigitur Liparen, fumantibus ardua saxis :  
 Quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis  
 Antra Ætnea tonant : validique incudibus ictus  
 Auditi referunt gemitum, striduntque cavernis  
 Stricturæ Chalybum, et fornacibus ignis anhelat :  
 Vulcani domus, et Vulcani nomine tellus,  
 Huc tunc Ignipotens cælo descendit ab alto.  
 Ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro,  
 Brontesque, Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon.  
 His informatum manibus, jam parte polita,  
 Fulmen erat, toto Genitor que plurima cælo  
 Dejicit in terras ; pars imperfecta manebat.  
 Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosæ  
 Addiderant : rutili tres ignis, et alitis Austri.  
 Pulgores nunc terrificos, sonitumque, metumque  
 Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.  
 Parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucres  
 Instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes ;  
 Ægidaque horrificam, turbatæ Palladis arma  
 Certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant :  
 Connexosque angues, ipsamque in pectore divæ  
 Gorgonæ, desecto vertentem lumina collo.

\* So to his task, before the dawn, retires  
 From soft repose, the father of the fires.  
 Amid th' Hesperian and Sicilian flood  
 All black with smoke, a rocky island stood,  
 The dark Vulcanian land, the region of the God.  
 Here the grim Cyclops ply, in vaults profound,  
 The huge Æolian forge that thunders round.



Tollite cuncta, inquit, cæptosque auferte labores,  
 Ætnei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem.  
 Arma acri facienda viro : nunc viribus usus,  
 Nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra :  
 Præcipitate moras. Nec plura effatus : at illi  
 Ocius incubuere omnes, pariterque laborem  
 Sortiti : Fluit æs rivis, aurique metallum :  
 Vulnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.  
 Ingentem clypeum informant, unum omnia contra  
 Tela Latinorum : septenosque orbibus orbes  
 Impediunt : alii ventosis follibus auras  
 Accipiunt, redduntque : alii stridentia tingunt  
 Æra lacu : gemit impositis incudibus antrum.  
 Illi inter sese multa vi brachia tollunt  
 In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe massam.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 447—453.

Th' eternal anvils ring the dungeon o'er ;  
 From side to side the fiery caverns roar.  
 Loud groans the mass beneath their pond'rous blows,  
 Fierce burns the flame, and the full furnace glows.  
 To this dark region, from the bright abode,  
 With speed impetuous flew the fiery God.  
 Th' alternate blows the brawny brethren deal ;  
 Thick burst the sparkles from the tortur'd steel.  
 Huge strokes rough *Steropes* and *Brontes* gave,  
 And strong *Pyracmon* shook the gloomy cave :  
 Before their Sovereign came, the Cyclops strove  
 With eager speed, to forge a bolt for *Jove*.  
 Such as by Heaven's almighty Lord are hurl'd,  
 All charg'd with vengeance, on a guilty World.  
 Beneath their hands tremendous to survey !  
 Half rought, half form'd, the dreadful engine lay :  
 Three points of rain ; three forks of hail conspire ;  
 Three arm'd with wind ; and three were bar'd with fire.  
 The mass they temper'd thick with livid rays,  
 Fear, Wrath, and Terror, and the lightning's blaze.  
 With equal speed a second train prepare  
 The rapid chariot for the God of War ;  
 The thund'ring wheels and axles, that excite  
 The madding nations to the rage of fight.  
 Some, in a fringe, the burnish'd serpents roll'd  
 Round the dread ægis, bright with scales of gold ;  
 The horrid ægis, great *Minerva's* shield,  
 When, in her wrath, she takes the fatal field.  
 All charg'd with curling snakes the boss they rais'd,  
 And the grim Gorgon's head tremendous blaz'd.



“ Not less vigilant, nor less disposed to industry, at that  
 “ early hour the God who rules the fire uprose from his soft  
 “ couch, and addressed himself to his plastic labours.

“ Not far from the Sicilian shore and Æolian Lipari, an  
 “ island arises out of the deep, forming a huge mass of lofty  
 “ and ever-smoking rocks: in the burning entrails of which, a  
 “ spacious cavern and the fire-consumed Ætnean vaults incessantly  
 “ thunder with the sultry labours of the Cyclopi-  
 “ an brothers: the anvils reverberate the thumping of their sturdy  
 “ strokes: the hammering of flaming steel resounds from cave  
 “ to cave, while streams of fire ascend from the foaming furna-  
 “ ces: such is the dread domain of *Vulcan*, and from his name  
 “ the island has obtained the appellation of *Vulcania*. Hither it  
 “ was that the fiery God, from the heights of Olympus, now re-  
 “ paired.

“ The Cyclops there he found plying their iron labours in  
 “ the capacious cavern, *Brontes* and *Steropes*, and the naked-  
 “ limbed *Pyræmon*. They had in hand a dread thunderbolt,  
 “ one of those which father *Jove* so frequently hurls from flam-  
 “ ing Heaven upon the Earth: it was as yet but half reduced to  
 “ form, partly polished, and partly in a rude imperfect state.

In agonizing pains the monster frown'd,  
 And roll'd in death her fiery eyes around.

Throw, throw your tasks aside, the Sovereign said;  
 Arms for a godlike Hero must be made,  
 Fly to the work before the dawn of day;  
 Your speed, your strength, and all your skill display.

Swift as the word (his orders to pursue,)  
 To the black labours of the forge they flew;  
 Vast heaps of steel in the deep furnace roll'd,  
 And bubbling streams of brass, and floods of melted gold.

The brethren first a glorious shield prepare,  
 Capacious of the whole Rutulian war.  
 Some, orb in orb, the blazing buckler frame;  
 Some with huge bellows rouse the roaring flame;  
 Some in the stream the hissing metals drown'd,  
 From vault to vault the thund'ring strokes rebound,  
 And the deep cave rebellows to the sound.  
 Exact in time each ponderous hammer plays;  
 In time their arm the giant brethren raise,  
 And turn the glowing mass a thousand ways.

}

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PITT



“ They had blended it in three rays of rain congealed into hail ;  
“ three of the watery cloud ; three of ruddy fire, and three of  
“ the winged South-wind. They were now infusing into the  
“ composition the terrific flash, and noise, and dismay, and an-  
“ ger mingling with the rapid flame. In another forge, they  
“ were adently finishing a warlike car, and swift-flying wheels  
“ for *Mars*, in which he rouses hostile armies and cities to the  
“ fierce combat. Others were employed in burnishing, with  
“ emulous skill, a horrific ægis, the armour of *Pallas* when  
“ moved to vengeance, with scaly serpents wrought in gold :  
“ exhibiting the intertwined snakes and the dire head of the  
“ Gorgon herself, a covering for the breast of the Goddess, cut  
“ off by the neck, and rolling about her deadly eyes.

“ Children of *Ætna*, says he, Cyclopians, desist ; re-  
“ move these unfinished labours out of the way, and attend to  
“ what I am going to give in charge. We have to fabricate  
“ armour for a redoubted mortal : now exert your utmost  
“ strength, now ply your busy hands, now call forth all your  
“ masterly skill : let not a single instant be lost. He said no  
“ more : they all, with the quickness of thought engaged in the  
“ work, and assign to each his share in the mighty task by lot.  
“ The golden and the brazen metals flow in rivulets ; and the  
“ death-fraught steel dissolves in the enormous furnace. The  
“ vast and ponderous shield they fashion, itself alone a bulwark  
“ against all the weapons of the Latins ; a seven fold texture of  
“ impenetrable orb upon orb. Some draw in and expel the air  
“ with the breathing bellows ; some temper the hissing brass in  
“ the cooling surge ; the hollow cave rebellows with the strokes  
“ thundering on innumerable anvils. They, in regular time and  
“ order, elevate the brawny arm to the lusty blow, and turn  
“ round and round the flaming mass with the tenacious tongs.”

You think you see those gigantic sons of *Ætna* at work, and hear the noise of their ponderous hammers : so imitative is the harmony of *Virgil's* versification.

The composition of the thunder is well worthy of attention. It is replete with genius, that is with observations of Nature entirely new. *Virgil* introduces into it the four elements all at once, and places them in contrast ; the earth and the water, the fire and the air.



Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosæ  
Addiderant, rutuli tres ignis, & alitis Austri.

There is indeed in the composition no earth properly so called, but he gives solidity to the water to supply it's place; *tres imbris torti radios*, literally "three rays of *crisped* rain," to denote hail. This metaphorical expression is ingenious: it supposes the Cyclops to have crisped the drops of the rain, in order to form them into hail-stones. Remark likewise the appropriate correspondence of the expression *alitis Austri*, "the winged Auster." Auster is the Wind of the South, which almost always occasions thundery weather in Europe.

The Poet has afterwards had the boldness to place metaphysical sensations on the anvil of the Cyclops: *metum*, "fear;" *iras*, "wrath." He amalgamates them with the thunder. Thus he shakes at once the physical system by the contrast of the elements; and the moral system by the consonance of the soul, and the perspective of Deity.

.....Flammisque sequacibus iras.

He sets the thunder a-rolling, and shews *Jupiter* in the cloud. *Virgil* farther opposes to the head of *Pallas*, that of *Medusa*; but this is a contrast in common to him with all the Poets. But here is one peculiar to himself. *Vulcan* commands his Cyclo-pian workmen to lay aside their operations designed for the use of deities, and to give undivided attention to the armour of a mortal. Thus he puts in the same balance, on the one hand the thunder of *Jupiter*, the car of *Mars*, the ægis and cuirass of *Pallas*; and on the other the destinies of the Roman Empire, which were to be engraven on the buckler of a man. But if he gives the preference of this new work, it is wholly out of love to *Venus*, not from any regard to the glory of *Eneas*. Observe, that the jealous God still avoids naming the son of *Anchises*, though he seems here reduced to the necessity of doing it. He satisfies himself with saying vaguely to the Cyclops: *Arma acri facienda viro*. The epithet, *acer*, is susceptible of both a favourable and an unfavourable sense. It may import keen, wickedly severe, and can hardly with propriety be applied



to a person of so much sensibility as *Eneas*, to whom *Virgil* so frequently appropriates the character of the pious.

Finally, *Virgil*, after the tumultuous picture of the *Æolian* forges, conveys us back, by a new contrast, to the peaceful habitation of good King *Evander*, who is almost as early a riser as the good housewife, or as the God of fire.

\* Hæc pater *Æoliis* properat dum *Lemnius* oris,  
 Evandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitât alma  
 Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.  
 Consurgit senior, tunicaque inducitur artus,  
 Et *Tyrrhena* pedum circumdat vincula plantis :  
 Tum lateri atque humeris *Tegeæum* subligat ensem,  
 Demissa ab læva pantheræ terga retorquens.  
 Necnon et gemini custodes limine ab alto  
 Procedunt, gressumque canes comitantur herilem.  
 Hospitis *Æneæ* sedem et secreta petebat,  
 Sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.  
 Nec minus *Æneas* se matutinus agebat.  
 Filius huic *Pallas*, olli comes ibat *Achates*.

*ÆNEID*, B. viii L. 454—466.

“ While the Lemnian God was dispatching this weighty business on the shores of *Æolia*, the genial rays of returning *Aurora*, and the matin song of the birds under his straw-clad roof, summoned *Evander* from his lowly bed. The venerable sire arose : he assumes the tunic, fitted to his ancient limbs, and binds the Tuscan sandals upon his feet ; next he fits to his shoulders and side the Arcadian sword ; a panther’s hide, thrown carelessly backward, depended over his left arm. Two

\* These cares employ the father of the fires :  
 Meantime *Evander* from his couch retires,  
 Call’d by the purple beams of morn away,  
 And tuneful birds, that hail’d the dawning day,  
 First the warm tunic round his limbs he threw :  
 Next on his feet the shining sandals drew.  
 Around his shoulders flow’d the panthers hide,  
 And the bright sword hung glittering at his side.  
 Two mighty dogs, domestic at his board,  
 (A faithful guard) attend their aged Lord.  
 The promis’d aid revolving in his breast,  
 The careful Monarch sought his godlike guest,  
 Who with *Achates* rose at dawn of day,  
 And join’d the King and *Pallas* on the way.—

PITT.



“ faithful guardian dogs leave their station at the threshold, and,  
 “ well-pleased, attend their master’s footsteps. The hero, well  
 “ recollecting the conversation of the night before, and the aid  
 “ which he had promised, was bending his course toward the  
 “ apartment and secret retreat of his respected guest. *Eneas*  
 “ too had been up with the dawn: they met; the one attended  
 “ by his youthful heir, the other by his confidential friend *A-*  
 “ *chates*.”

Here is a very interesting moral contrast.

The good King *Evander*, without any body guards except two dogs, which likewise served to watch the house, walks forth at day-break to converse on business with his guest. And do not imagine that under his straw-covered roof mere trifles are negotiated. No less a subject is discussed than the re-establishment of the Empire of Troy, in the person of *Eneas*, or rather the foundation of the Roman Empire. The point in question is the dissolution of a formidable confederacy of Nations. To assist in effecting this, King *Evander* offers to *Eneas* a reinforcement of four hundred cavaliers. They are indeed selected, and to be commanded by *Pallas*, his only son. I must here observe one of those delicate correspondencies by which *Virgil* conveys important lessons of virtue to Kings, as well as to other men, in feigning actions apparently indifferent: I mean the confidence reposed by *Evander* in his son. Though this young Prince was as yet but in the blossom of life, his father admits him to a conference of the highest importance, as his companion: *Comes ibat*. He had given the name of Pallentium, in honour of his son, to the city which he himself had founded. Finally, of the four hundred cavaliers whom he promises to the Trojan Prince, to be under the command of *Pallas*, two hundred he himself is to select out of the Arcadian youth, and the other two hundred are to be furnished by his son in his own name.

\* Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis  
 Lecta, dabo; totidemque suo tibi nomine Pallas.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 518—519.

\* Beneath his standard rang’d, a chosen force  
 I send, two hundred brave Arcadian horse;  
 And, to support the gathering war, my son  
 Shall lead an equal squadron of his own.—PITT.



Instances of paternal confidence are rare among Sovereigns, who frequently consider their successors as their enemies. These traits strongly depict the candour and the simplicity of manners of the King of Arcadia.

That good Prince might perhaps be censured for indifference about his only son, in removing him from his person, and exposing him to the dangers of war : but he acts thus for a reason diametrically opposite ; his object is to form the young man to virtue, by making him serve his first campaigns under a hero such as *Eneas*.

\* Hunc tibi præterea, spes et solatia nostri  
Pallanta adjungam. Sub-te tolerare magistro.  
Militiam, et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta  
Assuescat ; primis et te miretur ab annis.

ÆNEID, B. viii. L. 514—517.

“ I will likewise send my son *Pallas* himself with thee ; *Pallas* my hope and my delight. Let him accustom himself to endure the painful toils of war under such a master, form his mind to glory by the sight of thy gallant deeds, and learn to admire thee from his earliest years.”

The important part acted by this young Prince may be seen in the sequel of the *Æneid*. *Virgil* has extracted many exquisite beauties out of it : such are, among others, the affecting leave which his father takes of him ; the regret expressed by the good old man that age permitted him not to accompany his son to the field ; after that, the imprudent valour of the young man, who forgetting the lesson conveyed by the two bridles of *Anchises*, ventured to attack the formidable *Turnus*, and received from his hand the mortal blow ; the high feats in arms performed by *Eneas*, to avenge the death of the son of his host and ally ; his profound sorrow at sight of the youthful *Pallas*, cut off in the flower of his age, and the very first day that he had

\* And let my *Pallas* by thy side engage,  
*Pallas*, the joy of my declining age.  
Beneath so great a master's forming care,  
Let the dear youth learn every work of war ;  
In every field thy matchless toils admire,  
And emulate thy deeds, and catch the glorious fire.—PITT.



engaged in the fight; finally, the honours conferred on the lifeless body, when he sent it to the afflicted Father.

Here it is we may remark one of those touching comparisons,\* by which *Virgil*, in imitation of *Homer*, diminishes the horror of his battle-pieces, and already heightens their effect, by establishing in them consonances with beings of another order. It is in representing the beauty of the young *Pallas*, the lustre of which death had not yet been able entirely to efface.

† Qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem  
Seu mollis violæ, seu languentis hyacinthi;

\* Those comparisons are beauties which seem appropriate to poetry. But I think painting might adopt them to advantage, and derive powerful effects from them. For example, when a painter is representing on the fore-ground of a battle-piece, a young man of an interesting character, killed, and stretched along the grass, he might introduce near him some beautiful wild plant, analogous to his character, with drooping flowers, and the stalks half cut down. If it were in the picture of a modern battle, he might mutilate, and if I may venture on the expression, kill in it, the vegetables of a higher order, such as a fruit-tree, or even an oak; for our cannon-bullets commit ravages of a very different kind in the plains, from those produced by the arrows and javelins of the Ancients. They plow up the turf of the hills, mow down the forests, cleave asunder the young trees, and tear off huge fragments from the trunks of the most venerable oaks. I do not recollect that I ever saw any of these effects represented in pictures of our modern battles. They are however very common in the real scenes of war, and redouble the impressions of terror which Painters intend to excite by the representation of such subjects. The desolation of a country has a still more powerful expression than groups of the dead, and of the dying. It's groves levelled, the black furrows of it's up-town meadows, and it's rocks maimed, awfully display the effects of human fury, extending even to the ancient monuments of Nature. We discern in them the wrath of Kings, which is their final argument, and is accordingly inscribed on their cannon: *Ultima ratio Regum*. Nay there might be expressed through the whole extent of a battle-piece, the detonations of the discharge of artillery, repeated by the valleys to several leagues distance, by representing, in the back grounds, the terrified shepherds driving off their charge, flocks of birds flying away toward the horizon, and the wild beasts abandoning the woods.

Physical consonances heighten moral sensations, especially when there is a transition from one kingdom of Nature to another.

† There like a flower he lay, with beauty crown'd,  
Pluck'd by some lovely virgin from the ground:



Cui neque fulgor adhuc, nec dum sua forma recessit :  
Non jam mater alit tellus, viresque ministrat.

ÆNEID, B. xi. L. 68—71.

“ Like a tender violet or languishing hyacinth, cropped by  
“ the fingers of a virgin ; which have not yet lost their beauty  
“ and their radiance ; but their parent Earth sustains them no  
“ more, no more supplies them with nourishment.”

Mark another consonance with the death of *Pallas*. In order to express the idea that these flowers have not suffered in being separated from the parent stem, *Virgil* represents them as gathered by a young maiden : *Virgineo demessum pollice* ; literally, “ reaped by a virgin finger,” and from that gentle image there results a terrible contrast with the javelin of *Turnus*, which had nailed the buckler of *Pallas* to his breast, and killed him by a single blow.

Finally, *Virgil*, after having represented the grief of *Evander* on beholding the dead body of his son, and the despair of that unhappy father imploring the vengeance of *Eneas*, derives from the very death of *Pallas* the termination of the war, and the close of the *Æneid* ; for *Taurus* overcome in single combat by *Eneas*, resigns to him the victory, the empire, the Princess *Lavinia*, and supplicates him to rest satisfied with sacrifices so ample ; but the Trojan hero, on the point of granting him his life, perceiving the belt of *Pallas*, which *Turnus* had assumed, after having slain that young Prince, plunges his sword into his body, as he pronounces these words :

Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas  
Immolat, et pœnam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.\*

ÆNEID, B. xii. L. 948—949.

“ It is *Pallas*, *Pallas*, who by this blow exacts atonement, and  
“ takes vengeance on thy criminal blood.”

The root no more the mother earth supplies,  
Yet still th’ unfaded colour charms the eyes !

PITT.

\* Tis *Pallas*, *Pallas*, gives the fatal blow.  
Thus is his ghost aton’d.

PITT.



Thus it is that the Arcadians have exercised an influence, in every possible respect, over the historical monuments, the religious traditions, the earliest wars, and the political origin of the Roman Empire.

It is evident that the age in which I exhibit the Arcadians is by no means an age of fiction. I collected therefore, respecting them and their country, the delicious images which the Poets have transmitted to us of these, together with the most authentic traditions of Historians, which I found in great numbers in the Voyage of *Pausanias* into Greece, in the Works of *Plutarch*, and the Retreat of the ten thousand by *Xenophon*; so that I collected, on the subject of Arcadia, all that Nature presents most lovely in our climates, and History most probable in Antiquity.

While I was engaged in those agreeable researches, I had the good fortune to form a personal acquaintance with *John James Rousseau*. We very frequently went out a walking, in the Summer-time, in every direction round Paris. I derived inexpressible satisfaction from his society. He had nothing of the vanity of most literary characters, who are continually disposed to draw the attention of other men to their ideas; and still less that of the men of the World, who imagine that a man of letters is good for nothing but to relieve their languor by prattling to them. He took his share of both the benefit and the burthen of conversation, talking in his turn, and attentively listening when others talked. Nay he left to those with whom he associated, the subject of the conversation, regulating himself according to their standard, with so little arrogance of pretension, that among those who did not know him, persons of moderate discernment took him for an ordinary man, and those who assumed the lead considered him as much inferior to themselves; for with them he spoke very little, or on very few subjects. He has been sometimes accused of pride on that account, by men of the fashionable world, who impute their own vices to persons who have not the advantage of fortune, but who possess an independent spirit that scorns to bend the neck to their yoke. But among many other anecdotes which I could produce, in support of what I just now said, namely, that simple people



took him for an ordinary man, here is one which must convince the Reader of his habitual modesty.

The very day that he went to look for a dinner with the hermits of Mount Valerian, as I have formerly related in a note; on our return to Paris in the evening, we were caught in a shower, not far from the Bois de Bologne, opposite to the Gate Maillot. We went in to take shelter under the great Chesnut-trees, which had now begun to put out leaves; for it was during the Easter-holidays. Under those trees we found a great deal of company, who like ourselves had crowded thither for covert. One of the Swiss's lads having perceived *John-James*, came running up to him in a transport of joy, and thus accosted him: "How now, my good man, whence do you come? It is an age since we have had the pleasure of seeing you!" *Rousseau* mildly replied: "My wife has had a long fit of illness, and I myself have been considerably out of order." "Oh! my poor good man," replied the lad, "you are not comfortable here: come, come; I will find you a place within doors."

In fact he exerted himself so zealously, that he procured us an apartment above stairs, where, notwithstanding the crowd, he contrived to accommodate us with chairs, a table, and some bread and wine. While he was shewing us the way, I said to *John-James*: "This young man seems to be very familiar with you; surely he does not know who you are?" "Oh! yes," replied he, "we have been acquainted these several years. My wife and I used frequently to come hither in fine weather, to eat a cutlet of an evening."

The appellation of "good man," so frankly bestowed on him by the tavern-boy, who had undoubtedly long mistaken *John-James* for some honest mechanic; the joy which he expressed at seeing him again, and the zeal with which he served him, conveyed to me completely an idea of the good nature which the sublime Author of *Emilius* displayed in his most trivial actions.

So far from seeking to shine in the eyes of any one whatever, he himself acknowledged, with a sentiment of humility not often to be found, and in my opinion altogether unfounded, that he was not fit to take part in conversation of a superior style. "The least appearance of argument," said he to me one day,



"is sufficient to overset me. My understanding comes to my assistance half an hour later than to other men. I know what the reply ought to be precisely when it is out of time."

That tardiness of reflection did not proceed from a maxillary depression, as is alleged in the "Prospectus of a new Edition of the Works of *John-James*," by a Writer in other respects highly estimable; but from his strong sense of natural equity, which permitted him not to give a decision on the most trifling subject till he had examined it; it proceeded from his genius, which turned it round and round to get a view of it in every direction; and finally, from his modesty, which repressed in him the theatrical tone, and the oracular sententiousness\* of our con-

\* These are the personal reasons which he might have for talking sparingly in company: but I have no doubt that he had others much more weighty, arising from the character of our Societies themselves. I find those general reasons so happily detailed in the excellent Chapter of *Montaigne's* Essays, *On the Art of Conversation*, that I cannot repress my inclination to insert a short extract from it, in hope that the Reader may be induced to peruse the whole.

"As the mind acquires new vigour from communication with vigorous and and well-regulated minds, it is impossible to express how much it loses and degenerates by the continual commerce and intimacy of grovelling and puny characters. There is no contagion that spreads so rapidly as this, I have paid very dear for my experience on this subject. I am fond of arguing, and of discussion; but with few men, and in my own way: for to serve as a show to the Great, and to make an emulous parade of wit and prattle, I consider as a most degrading employment for a man of honour."

So much for the active conversation of a gentleman among men of the World, and now, a few pages farther down, for the passive conversation.

"The gravity, the robe, and the fortune of the person who speaks, frequently give currency to insipid and trifling tittle-tattle. It is presumable that a Gentleman so followed, so awful, must possess within himself a fund very superior to one of the herd; and that a person entrusted with so many employments and commissions of importance, so disdainful and so self-sufficient, must possess much greater ability than that other who salutes him at such a respectful distance, and whom no one employs. Not only the words, but the very grimaces of those consequential personages, attract consideration, and turn to account, every one vying with another to put some flattering and significant gloss upon them. If they let themselves down so far as to converse with ordinary men, and meet with any thing from them except approbation and reverence, you are sure to be levelled to the dust by the authority of their experience. They have heard, they have seen, they have done: you are quite overwhelmed by an accumulation of instances."



versations. He was in the midst of a company of wits, with his simplicity, what a young girl in the glow of natural colours is amidst women who put on artificial red and white. Still less

What then would *Montaigne* have said, in an age when so many of the Little imagine themselves to be Great; when every one has two, three, four titles to set himself off; when those who have none, entrench themselves under the patronage of those who have? The greater part in truth begin with placing themselves on the knees of a man who is making a noise; but they never rest till they get upon his shoulders. I do not speak of those self-important gentlemen, who taking possession of an Author that they may put on the air of serving him, interpose themselves between him and the sources of public favour, in order to reduce him to a particular dependance on them, and who become his declared enemies, if he has the spirit to reject the infelicity of being protected by them. The happy *Montaigne* had no need of fortune. But what would he have said of those unfeeling fellows, so common in all ranks, who, to get rid of their lethargy, court the acquaintance of a writer of reputation, and wait in silence for his letting off at every turn sentences newly coined, or sallies of wit; who have not so much as the sense to take them in, nor the faculty of retaining them, unless they are delivered in an imposing tone, or puffed off in the columns of a Journal; and who, in a word, if by chance they happen to be struck, have frequently the malignity to affix to them an indifferent or a dangerous meaning, in order to lower a reputation which gives them umbrage. Assuredly, had *Montaigne* himself appeared in our circles as nothing more than plain *Michael*, notwithstanding his exquisite judgment, an eloquence so natural, erudition so vast, and which he understood so happily to apply, he would have found himself every where reduced to silence, like *John-James*. I have been somewhat diffuse on this chapter, in honour of the two Authors, of *Emilius*, and of the *Essays*. They have both been accused of reserve, and of making no great figure in conversation; and likewise of being both egotists in their writings, but with very little justice on either score. It is Man whom they are ever describing in their own person: and I always find that when they talk of themselves, they talk likewise of me.

To return to *John-James*; he was most sincere in denying himself to the gratification of vanity; he referred his reputation not to his person, but to certain natural truths diffused over his writings; but in other respects setting no extraordinary value on himself. I told him, one day, that a young lady had said to me, she would think herself happy in attending him as his servant. "Yes," replied he, "in order to hear me talk six or seven hours "on the subject of the *Emilius*." I have oftener than once taken the liberty to combat some of his opinions; so far from being offended, he with pleasure acknowledged his mistake the moment that he was made sensible of it.

Of this I beg leave to quote one instance, which reflects some credit on myself, though it may savour of vanity; but, in sincerity, my sole intention in producing it is to vindicate his character from that charge. Wherefore, said I to him, once that the subject happened to come in the way, have you, in



would he have submitted himself as a spectacle among the Great; but in a *tête-a-tête*, in the freedom of intimacy, and on subjects which were familiar to him, those especially in which the hap-

your Emilius, represented the serpent in *Poussin's Deluge* as the principal object of that Painting? It is not so, but the infant, which it's mother is straining to place on a rock. He meditated for a moment, and said to me: "Yes—yes, you are in the right: I was mistaken. It is the child; undoubtedly, it is the child;" and he appeared to be perfectly overjoyed that I had suggested the remark. But he stood in no need of my superficial observations, to bring him to the acknowledgement of the little slips which had escaped him. He said to me one day: "Were I to undertake a new Edition of my Works, I would certainly soften what I have written on the subject of Physicians. There is no one profession which requires so much close study and application as theirs. In all Countries they are really the men of the most cultivated understanding." Upon another occasion he said to me: "I mingled in my quarrel with Mr. *Hume* too strong an infusion of spleen. But the dull climate of England, the state of my fortune, and the persecutions which I had just been enduring in France, all contributed to plunge me into melancholy." He has said to me oftener than once, "I am fond of celebrity; I acknowledge it: but," added he, with a sigh, "God has punished me in the point where I had offended."

At the same time, persons of high respectability have censured him for acknowledging so much evil of himself in his Confessions. What would they have said then, if, like so many others, he had in these indirectly pronounced his own elogium? The more humiliating that the failings are of which he there accuses himself, the more sublime is his candor in exposing them. There are, it must be admitted, some passages in which he is chargeable with indiscretion in speaking out too plainly, where another person is concerned; particularly where he discloses the not over-delicate attachments of his inconstant benefactress, *Madame de Warens*: But I have reason to believe that his posthumous Works have been falsified in more than one place. It is possible that he did not name her in his manuscript; and if he did mention her by name, he thought he might do this without hurting any one, because she left no posterity. Besides, he speaks of her every where with a warmth of interest. He uniformly fixes the attention of the Reader, in the midst of her irregularities, on the qualities of her mind. In a word, he considered it as his duty to tell the good and the bad of the personages of his History, after the example of the most celebrated Historians of Antiquity. *Tacitus* says expressly, in the opening of his History, Book first, "I have no reason either to love or to hate *Otho*, *Galba*, or *Vitellius*. It is true I owe my fortune to *Vespasian*, as I owe the progress and preservation of it to his children; but when a man is going to write History he ought to forget benefits as well as injuries." In truth, *Tacitus* taxes *Vespasian* his benefactor with avarice, and other faults. *John-James*, who had assumed for his motto, *Vitem impendere vero*, (to devote life to truth) may have valued him-



piness of Mankind was interested, his soul soared aloft, his sentiments became impressive, his ideas profound, his images sublime, and his spoken as ardent as his written expression.

But what I prized still more highly than even his genius was his probity. He was one of the few literary characters, tried in the furnace of affliction, to whom you might with perfect security communicate your most secret thoughts. You had nothing to fear from his malignity, if he deemed them to be wrong, nor from his perfidy, if they appeared to him to be right.

One afternoon, then, that we were enjoying our repose in the Bois de Boulogne, I led the conversation to a subject which I have had much at heart ever since I came to the use of reason. We had just been speaking of *Plutarch's* lives of eminent men, of *Amyot's* Translation, a Work which he very highly prized, in which he had been taught to read when a child, and which, if I am not mistaken, has been the germ of his eloquence, and of his antique virtues ; so much influence does the first education exercise over the rest of life ! I said to him then :

I could have wished very much to see a History of your composing.

self as much on his love for truth in writing his own History, as *Tacitus* did in writing that of the Roman Emperors.

Not that I by any means approve the unreserved frankness of *John-James*, in a state of Society like that in which we live, and that I have not reason to complain besides of the inequality of his temper, of inconclusiveness in his Writings, and of some errors in conduct, as he himself has published these for the purpose of condemning them. But where is the man, where is the Writer, where is especially the unfortunate Author, who has no fault to reproach himself with ? *John-James* has discussed questions so susceptible of being argued on either side ; he was conscious of possessing at once a mind so great, and of being subjected to a fortune so deplorable ; he had to encounter wants so pressing, and friends so perfidious, that he was frequently forced out of the common road. But even when he deviates, and becomes the victim of others, or of himself, you see him for ever forgetting his own miseries, that he may devote his undivided attention to those of Mankind. He is uniformly the defender of their rights, and the advocate of the miserable. There might be inscribed on his tomb those affecting words from a Book on which he pronounces an elogium so sublime, and of which he carried always about him some select passages, during the last years of his life : HIS SINS WHICH ARE MANY, ARE FORGIVEN ; FOR HE LOVED MUCH.



J. J. "I once felt a powerful propensity to write that of *Cosmo de Medicis*.\* He was a simple individual, who became the sovereign of his fellow-citizens by rendering them more happy. He raised and maintained his superiority merely by the benefits which he conferred. I had made a rough sketch of that subject: but I have relinquished it: I possess not the talents requisite to the composition of History."

Why have not you yourself, with all your ardent zeal for the happiness of Mankind, made some attempt to form a happy Republic? I know a great many men of all Countries, and of every condition, who would have followed you.

"Oh! I have had too much experience of Mankind!" Then looking at me, after a moment's silence, he added, with an air of some displeasure: "I have several times entreated you never to introduce that subject."

But wherefore might you not have formed, with an assemblage of Europeans destitute of fortune, and of a Country, in some uninhabited island of the South-Sea, an establishment similar to that which *William Penn* founded in North-America, in the midst of Savages?

"What a difference between the age in which he lived, and ours! In *Penn's* time, there was a religious belief; now-a-days men no longer believe in any thing." Then, softening his tone: "I should have liked very well to live in a society such

\* Here is the decision pronounced upon him by *Philip de Commynes*, the *Plutarch* of his age in respect of native felicity.

"*Cosmo de Medicis*, who was the chief of that house, and indeed founded it, a man worthy of being named among the greatest of the Great, especially when his condition in life is taken into the account, namely that of a merchant, has conveyed his name to a family the most illustrious, I think, that ever was in the World. For their very servants, under the sanction of that name of *Medicis*, possessed so much credit, that I should hardly be believed, were I to relate the instances which I have seen of it in France, and in England.....I knew one of their servants, *Gerard Quannese* by name, who was almost the only instrument of supporting King *Edward IV.* on the throne of England, during the Civil Wars of that Kingdom." And a little lower: "The authority of his predecessors was injurious to this *Peter de Medicis*, in as much as that of *Cosmo*, who had been the founder of the Family, was gentle and amiable, and such as was necessary to a city possessed of liberty." (*Book vii.*)



“ as I figure it to myself, in the capacity of a private member ;  
“ but on no consideration whatever would I have undertaken  
“ any charge ; least of all that of ruler in chief. It is long since  
“ I became sensible of my own incapacity : I was unfit for the  
“ smallest employment.”

You would have found persons in abundance disposed to execute your ideas.

“ Oh ! I beseech you, let us call another subject.”

I have some thoughts of writing the History of the Nations of Arcadia. They are not indolent shepherds like those of the Lignon.

His features softened into a smile. “ Talking,” says he to me, “ of the shepherds of the Lignon, I once undertook a journey to Forez, for the express purpose of viewing the country of Caledon and Astrea, of which *Urfeius* has presented us with pictures so enchanting. Instead of amorous shepherds, I saw, along the banks of the Lignon, nothing but smiths, founders, and iron-mongers.”

How ! in a country so delightful !

“ It is a country merely of forges. It was this journey to Forez which dissolved my illusion. Till then, never a year passed that I did not read the *Astrea* from end to end : I had become quite familiarized with all the personages of it. Thus Science robs us of our pleasures.”

Oh ! my Arcadians have no manner of resemblance to your blacksmiths, nor to the ideal shepherds of *Urfeius*, who passed the days and nights in no other occupation but that of making love, exposed internally to all the pernicious consequences of idleness, and from without to the invasions of surrounding Nations. Mine practise all the arts of rural life. There are among them shepherds, husbandmen, fishermen, vine-dressers. They have availed themselves of all the sites of their country, diversified as it is with mountains, plains, lakes and rocks. Their manners are patriarchal, as in the early ages of the World. There are in this Republic, no priests, no soldiers, no slaves ; for they are so religious, that every Head of a family is the pontiff of it ; so warlike, that every individual inhabitant is at all times prepared to take up arms in defence of his Country, without the inducement of pay ; and in such a state of equality, there



are not so much as domestic servants among them. The children are there brought up in the habit of serving their parents.

The utmost care is taken to avoid inspiring them, under the name of emulation, with the poison of ambition, and no such lesson is taught as that of surpassing each other ; but, on the contrary, they are inured betimes to prevent one another, by good offices of every kind ; to obey their parents ; to prefer their father, their mother, a friend, a mistress, to themselves ; and their Country to every thing. In this state of Society there is no quarrelling among the young people, unless it be some disputes among lovers, like those of the *Devin du Village*. But virtue there frequently convokes the citizens to national assemblies, to concert together measures conducive to the general welfare. They elect, by a plurality of voices, their Magistrates, who govern the State as if it were one family, being entrusted at once with the functions of peace, of war, and of religion. From their union such a force results, that they have ever been enabled to repel all the Powers who presumed to encroach on their liberties.

No useless, insolent, disgusting, or terrifying monument, is to be seen in their Country ; no colonnades, triumphal arches, hospitals, or prisons ; no frightful gibbets on the hills as you enter their towns : but a bridge over a torrent, a well in the midst of an arid plain, a grove of fruit-trees on an uncultivated mountain round a small temple, the peristyle of which serves as a place of shelter for travellers, announce, in situations the most deserted, the humanity of the inhabitants. Simple inscriptions on the bark of a beech-tree, or on a rude unpolished rock, perpetuate to posterity the memory of illustrious citizens, and of great actions. In the midst of manners so beneficent, Religion speaks to all hearts, in a language that knows no change. There is not a single mountain, nor a river, but what is consecrated to some God, and is called by his name ; not a fountain but what has it's Naiad ; not a flower, nor a bird, but what is the result of some ancient and affecting metamorphosis. The whole of Physics is there conveyed in religious sentiments, and all religion in the monuments of Nature. Death itself, which empisons so many pleasures, there presents perspectives only of consolation. The tombs of ancestors are raised amidst groves of myrtle, of cypress, and of fir. Their descendants, to whom they



endeared themselves in life, resort thither in their hours of pleasure, or of pain, to decorate them with flowers, and to invoke their shades, persuaded that they continually preside over their destinies. The past, the present, and the future, link together all the members of this Society with the bands of the Law of Nature, so that, there, to live and to die is equally an object of desire.

Such was the vague idea which I gave of the Plan of my Work to *John-James*. He was delighted with it. We made it oftener than once, on our walking excursions, the subject of much pleasant conversation. He sometimes imagined incidents of a poignant simplicity, of which I availed myself. Nay, one day, he persuaded me to change my Plan entirely. "You must," said he to me, "suppose a principal action in your History, such as that of a man on his travels, to improve himself in the knowledge of Mankind. Out of this will spring up incidents varied and agreeable. Besides, it will be necessary to oppose to the state of Nature of the Nations of Arcadia, the state of corruption of some other People, in order to give relief to your pictures by means of contrasts."

This advice was to me a ray of light which produced another: namely, first of all, to oppose to these two pictures, that of the barbarism of a third people, in order to represent the three successive states through which most Nations pass; that of barbarism, that of Nature, and that of corruption. I thus had a complete harmony of three periods usual to human Societies.

In the view of representing a state of barbarism, I made choice of Gaul, as a country, the commencements of which in every respect ought to interest us the most, because the first state of a People communicates an influence to all the periods of it's duration, and makes itself felt even in a state of decline, just as the education which a man receives on the breast extends it's influence even to the age of decrepitude. Nay it seems as if at this last epocha the habits of infancy re-appeared with more force than those of the rest of life, as has been observed in the preceding Studies. The first impressions efface the last. The character of Nations is formed in the cradle, as well as that of Man. Rome in her decline preserved the spirit of universal domination, which she had from her origin.



I found the principal characters of the manners, and of the religion of the Gauls, completely traced in *Cesar's Commentaries*, in *Plutarch*, in *Tacitus* on the Manners of the Germans, and in several modern Treatises on the Mythology of the Nations of the North.

I have taken up the state of the Gauls several ages prior to the time of *Julius Cesar*, in order to have an opportunity of painting a more marked character of barbarism, and approaching to that which we have found among the savage tribes of North America. I fixed the commencement of the civilization of our Ancestors at the destruction of Troy; which was likewise the epocha, and undoubtedly the cause, of several important revolutions all over the Globe. The Nations of which the Human Race is composed, however divided they may appear to be in respect of language, of religion, of customs, and of climate, are in equilibrium among themselves, as the different Seas which compose the Ocean under different Latitudes. No extraordinary movement can be excited in any one of those Seas, but what must communicate itself, more or less, to each of the others. They have all a tendency to find their level. A Nation is, farther, with respect to the Human Race, what a man is with respect to his own Nation. If that man dies in it, another is born there within the same compass of time. In like manner, if one State on the Globe is destroyed, another is regenerated at the same epocha: that is what we have seen happen in our own times, when the greatest part of the Republic of Poland, having been dismembered in the North of Europe, to be confounded in the three adjoining States, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, very soon after the greatest part of the British Colonies of North-America, was disunited from the three States of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to form one Republic; and as there was in Europe, a portion of Poland not dismembered, there was in like manner, in America, a portion of the Colonies that did not separate from Great-Britain.

The same political re-actions are to be found in all Countries, and in all ages. When the Empire of the Greeks was subverted on the banks of the Euxine-Sea, in 1453, that of the Turks immediately replaced it; and when that of Troy was destroyed in Asia, under *Priam*, that of Rome received it's birth in Italy, under *Eneas*.



But, from that total subversion of Troy, there ensued a great many revolutions of inferior moment in the rest of the Human Race, and especially in the Nations of Europe.

I opposed to the state of barbarism of the Gauls, that of the corruption of Egypt, which was then at it's highest degree of civilization. To the epocha of the siege of Troy it is that many learned men have assigned the brilliant reign of *Sesostris*. Besides this opinion, being adopted by *Fenelon* in his *Telema- chus*, was a sufficient authority for my Work. I likewise selected my traveller from Egypt, by the advice of *John-James*, in as much as, in Antiquity, a great many political and religious establishments were communicated by reflux from Egypt, to Greece, to Italy, and even directly to the Gauls, as the History of many of our ancient usages sufficiently evinces. This too is a consequence of political re-actions. Whenever a State has attained it's highest degree of elevation, it is come to it's first stage of decay; because all human things begin to fade as soon as they have reached the point of perfection. Then it is that the Arts, the Sciences, Manners, Languages, begin to undergo a reflux from civilized to barbarous States, as is demonstrated by the age of *Alexander* among the Greeks, of *Augustus* among the Romans, and of *Louis XIV.* among ourselves.

I had accordingly oppositions of character in the Gauls, the Arcadians, and the Egyptians. But Arcadia alone presented me with a great number of contrasts to the other parts of Greece, which were but then emerging out of barbarism; between the peaceful manners of it's industrious inhabitants, and the boisterous discordant characters of the heroes of *Pylos*, of *Mycene*, and of *Argos*; between the gentle adventures of it's simple and innocent shepherdesses, and the awful catastrophes of *Iphigenia*, of *Electra*, and of *Clytemnestra*.

I divided the materials of my Work into twelve Books, and constructed a kind of Epic Poem of them; not conformably to the rules laid down by *Aristotle*, and to those of our modern Critics, who pretend after him, that an Epic Poem ought to exhibit only one principal action of the life of a hero; but conformably to the Laws of Nature, and after the manner of the Chinese, who frequently comprehend in it the whole life of a hero, which in my judgment is much more satisfactory. Be-



sides I have not in this deviated from the example of *Homer*; for, if I have not adopted the plan of his *Iliad*, I have nearly copied that of his *Odyssey*.

But while I was devising plans for the happiness of Mankind, my own was disturbed by new calamities.

My state of health, and my experience, permitted me no longer to solicit in my native Country, the slender resources which I was on the point of losing there, nor to go abroad in quest of them. Besides, the nature of the labours in which I had engaged could not possibly interest any Minister in my favour. I thought of presenting to public view such of them as I deemed most calculated to merit the protection of Government. I published my *STUDIES OF NATURE*. I have the consolation of believing that I have, in that Work, confuted sundry dangerous errors, and demonstrated some important truths. Their success has procured for me, without solicitation, a great many compliments on the part of the Public, and some annual marks of favour from the Crown, but of so little solidity, that a slight revolution in an administration has stripped me of most of them, and together with them, what is much more vexatious, some others of still higher consideration which I had enjoyed for fourteen years. Court favour had the semblance of doing me good: the benevolence of the Public has given a more steady support to me and to my Work. To it I am indebted for a transient tranquillity and repose; and under these auspices I send into the World this first Book, entitled *THE GAULS*, to serve as an introduction to the *Arcadia*. I have not enjoyed the satisfaction of talking on the subject of it to *John-James*. It was rather too rude for the placidness of our conversations. But rough and wild as it may be, it is an opening in the rocks, from whence there is a glimpse of the valley in which he sometimes reposed. Nay when he set out, without bidding me farewell, for Ermenonville, where he closed his days, I tried to recal myself to him by the image of *Arcadia*, and by the recollection of our ancient intercourse, in concluding the letter which I wrote to him with these two verses from *Virgil*, changing only a single word.

Atque utinam ex vobis unus tecumque fuisset  
Aut custos gregis, aut maturæ vinitor uvæ!



# ARCADIA.

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## BOOK FIRST.

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### THE GAULS.

A LITTLE before the autumnal Equinox, *Tirteus*, a shepherd of Arcadia, was feeding his flock on one of the heights of Mount Lyceum, which projects along the gulph of Messenia. He was seated under the shade of some pine-trees at the foot of a rock, from whence he contemplated, at a distance, the Sea agitated by the winds of the South. It's olive-coloured waves were whitened with foam, which fell back in girandoles the whole length of the strand. The fishing-boats, appearing and disappearing alternately between the swelling surges, ventured, at the risk of running a-ground on the beach, to trust their safety to their insignificance ; whereas large vessels, in full sail, under the violent pressure of the winds, kept at a cautious distance, from the dread of being shipwrecked. At the bottom of the gulph, crowds of women and children raised their hands to Heaven, and uttered the cries of solicitude at sight of the danger which threatened those poor mariners, and of the succession of billows which rolled from the Sea, and broke with a noise like thunder on the rocks of Steniclaros. The echoes of Mount Lyceum reverberated their hoarse and confused roarings from all quarters, with so much exactness that *Tirteus* at times turned round his head, imagining that the tempest was behind him, and that the Sea was breaking on the top of the mountain. But the cries of the coots and the sea-gulls, which came flapping their wings to seek refuge there, and the flashes of lightning which furrowed the Horizon, soon made him sensible that safety was on the dry land, and that the tempest was still more dreadful at a distance than it appeared to his view.



*Tirteus* compassionated the destiny of seamen, and pronounced that of the shepherd to be blessed, as it in some degree resembled that of the Gods by placing tranquillity in his heart, and the tempest under his feet.

While he was expressing his gratitude to Heaven, two men of a noble deportment appeared on the great road which winded below, toward the base of the mountain. One of them was in the full vigour of life, and the other still in the bloom of youth. They were walking with great speed, like travellers impatient to reach their object. As soon as they were within hearing, the elder of the two called to *Tirteus*, asking if they were not on the road to Argos. But the noise of the wind among the pines preventing his voice from being heard, the younger ascended toward the shepherd, and cried aloud to him: "Father, are we not upon the road to Argos?" "My son," replied *Tirteus*, "I do not know where Argos lies. You are in Arcadia, upon the road to Tegeum, and these towers which you see before you are the towers of Bellemine." While they were talking, a shagged dog, young and frolicsome, which accompanied the stranger, having perceived in the flock a she-goat entirely white, ran up to play with her; but the goat, terrified at the sight of this animal, whose eyes were covered all over with hair; fled toward the top of the mountain, and the dog pursued her. The young man recalled his dog, which immediately returned to his feet, lowering his head, and wagging his tail. He then slipped a leash round the dog's neck, and begging the shepherd, to hold him fast, he ran after the goat, which still continued to flee before him: his dog however seeing him ready to disappear gave so violent a jerk to *Tirteus*, that he made his escape with the leash about his neck, and ran with such speed, that in a short time, neither goat, traveller, nor dog, were to be seen.

The traveller who had remained on the highway, was preparing to follow his companion, when the shepherd thus addressed him: "Sir, the weather is boisterous, night approaches, the forest and the mountain are full of quagmires, in which you may be in danger of losing yourself. Come and repose yourself a while in my cottage, which is not far from hence. I am perfectly sure that my goat, which is very tame, will return of herself, and bring back your friend to us, provided



“ he does not lose sight of her.” In saying these words he applied his pipe to his mouth, and the flock immediately began to file off by a path toward the summit of the mountain. A large ram marched at the head of this little flock : he was followed by six she-goats, whose dugs almost touched the ground ; twelve ewes accompanied by their lambs, which were already considerably grown, came next ; a she-ass and her colt closed the procession.

The stranger followed *Tirteus* in silence. They ascended about six hundred paces, along an open down planted here and there with broom and rosemary : as they were entering the forest of oaks, which covers the top of Mount Lyceum, they heard the barking of a dog ; soon after they descried the young man’s shock running toward them, followed by his master, who carried the white goat on his shoulders. *Tirteus* said to him : “ My son, though this goat is dearer to me than any other of the whole flock, I would rather have lost her than that you should have endured so much fatigue in recovering her ; but if you please, you shall this night repose in my cottage ; and to-morrow, if you are resolved to continue your journey, I will conduct you to Tegeum, where you may be informed of the road to Argos. Notwithstanding, Sirs, if I may be permitted to advise, you will not depart from hence to-morrow. It is the feast of *Jupiter*, celebrated on Mount Lyceum, and people assemble here in multitudes from all Arcadia, and from a great part of Greece. If you are so good as to accompany me thither, when I present myself at the altar of *Jupiter*, I shall be rendered more acceptable by adoring him in company with my guests.” The young stranger replied : “ Oh, good shepherd : we accept with cheerfulness your hospitality for this night, but to-morrow with the dawn we must pursue our journey toward Argos. We have for a long time been contending with the waves, in order to reach that city, so celebrated over the whole Earth, for it’s temples, for it’s palaces, and from it’s being the residence of the great *Agamemnon*.”

After he had thus spoken, they crossed a part of the forest of Mount Lyceum toward the East, and descended into a little valley sheltered from the winds. A fresh and downy herbage



covered the sides of it's hills. At the bottom flowed a rivulet called Achelous,\* which falls into the river Alpheus, whose islands, covered with alder and linden-trees, are perceptible at a distance from the plain. The trunk of an old willow, laid low by the hand of time, served as a bridge to the Achelous: this bridge had no ledging, except some large reeds which grew on each side of it; but the brook, the bottom of which was paved with rocks, was so easily forded over, and so little use had been made of the bridge, that the convolvulus almost entirely covered it with it's heart-shaped foliage, and with flowers resembling white spires.

At a little distance from this bridge stood the dwelling of *Tirteus*. It was a small house covered with thatch, built in the middle of a mossy ground. Two poplars formed a shade for it to the West. On the South side, a vine surrounded the doors and windows with it's purple clusters, and with it's leaves already of the colour of fire. An old ivy sheltered it from the North, and covered, with it's ever-green foliage, a part of the stair-case, which led on the outside to the upper story.

\* There were in Greece several rivers and rivulets which bare this name. Care must be taken not to confound the brook which issued from Mount Lyceum, with the river of that name, which descended from Mount Pindus, and which separated Etolia from Acarnania. This River Achelous, as the fable goes, changed himself into a Bull, in order to dispute with *Hercules* the possession of *Deianira*, daughter of *Oeneus* King of Etolia. But *Hercules* having seized him by one of his horns, broke it off; and the disarmed River was obliged to replace the lost horn, by assuming one taken from the head of the goat *Amalthea*. The Greeks were accustomed to veil natural truths under ingenious fictions. The meaning of the fable in question is this: The Greeks gave the name of Achelous to several rivers, from a word which signifies herd of oxen, either on account of the bellowing noise of their waters, or rather because their heads usually separated, like those of oxen, into horns, or branches, which facilitate their confluence into each other, or into the Sea, as has been observed in the preceding Studies. Now the Achelous being liable to inundations, *Hercules*, the friend of *Oeneus* King of Etolia, formed a canal for receiving the superflux of that river, according to *Strabo's* account, which weakened one of it's streams, and gave birth to the fabulous idea, that *Hercules* had broken off one of his horns. But as, on the other hand, there resulted from this canal a source of abundant fertility to the adjacent country, the Greeks added that Achelous, in place of his bull's horn, had taken in exchange that of the goat *Amalthea*, which, as is well known, was the symbol of plenty.



As soon as the flock approached the house they began to bleat, according to custom. Immediately a young maiden appeared, descending the staircase, and carrying under her arm a vessel to receive the milk which she was going to draw. Her robe was of white wool; her chesnut locks were turned up under a hat formed of the rind of the linden tree; her arms and feet were naked, and instead of shoes she wore socks, as is the fashion of the young women of Arcadia. From her shape you would have thought her one of the nymphs of *Diana*; from her vase, that she was the Naiad of the fountain; but her timidity soon discovered her to be a shepherdess. As soon as she perceived the strangers, she cast down her eyes, and blushed.

*Tirteus* said to her: "*Cyanea*, my daughter, make haste to milk your goats, and to prepare something for supper, while I warm some water to wash the feet of these travellers whom *Jupiter* has sent to us." In the mean while he entreated the strangers to repose themselves on a grass-plat, at the foot of the vine. *Cyanea*, having kneeled down on the turf, milked the goats which had assembled around her; and having finished, she led the flock into the sheep-fold, which stood at one end of the house. *Tirteus* in the mean time warmed water, and washed the feet of his guests, after which he invited them to walk in.

Night was already advanced; but a lamp suspended from the ceiling, and the blaze of the hearth, which was placed after the manner of the Greeks, in the middle of the habitation, sufficiently illuminated the interior of it. There were seen hanging round the walls, flutes, shepherds' crooks, scrips, moulds for making cheese; baskets of fruit and earthen pans full of milk stood upon shelves fastened to the joists. Over the door by which they had entered there was a small statue of the good *Ceres*, and over that of the sheep-fold a figure of the god *Pan*, formed from the root of an olive tree.

As soon as the strangers were introduced, *Cyanea* covered the table, and served up cabbages with bacon, some wheaten bread, a pot filled with wine, a cream cheese, fresh eggs, and some of the second figs of the year, white and violet coloured. She placed by the board four seats made of oak. She covered that of her father with the skin of a wolf, which he himself had killed in hunting. Afterwards, having ascended to the upper



story, she returned with the fleeces of two sheep ; but whilst she spread them on the seats of the travellers she burst into tears. Her father said to her : “ My dear daughter, will you remain “ for ever inconsolable about the loss of your mother ? And can “ you never touch any thing which she was accustomed to use “ without shedding tears ? ” *Cyanea* made no reply, but turning her head toward the wall, she wiped her eyes. *Tirteus* addressed a prayer, and offered a libation to *Jupiter*, the patron of hospitality ; then having invited his guests to sit down, they all began to eat in profound silence.

When the meal was finished, *Tirteus* said to the two travellers : “ My dear guests, had you chanced to enter the habitation of some other inhabitant of Arcadia, or had you passed “ this way some years ago, you would have been much better “ received. But the hand of *Jupiter* has smitten me. I once “ possessed, upon the neighbouring hill, a garden which supplied me at all seasons with pulse, and excellent fruit : It is “ swallowed up in the forest. This solitary valley once resounded with the lowing of my oxen. Nothing was to be heard, “ from morn to eve, in my dwelling, but songs of mirth and “ sounds of joy. I have seen around this table three sons and “ four daughters. The youngest son was arrived at an age capable of tending a flock of sheep. My daughter *Cyanea* dressed her little sisters, and already supplied the place of a mother to them. My wife, industrious, and still young, maintained all the year round gaiety, peace and abundance in my habitation. But the loss of my eldest son has been followed “ by that of almost my whole family. Like other young men, “ he was desirous of shewing his agility by climbing up the “ highest trees. His mother, to whom such exercises caused “ the greatest dread, had frequently entreated him to abstain “ from amusements of this kind. I had often predicted that “ some misfortune would be the consequence. Alas ! the Gods “ have punished my unwarrantable predictions by accomplishing them. One Summer’s day, in which my son was in the “ forest, keeping the flocks with his brothers, the youngest of “ them took a fancy to eat some of the fruit of a wild cherry-tree. The eldest immediately climbed it, in order to gather “ them ; and when he had reached the summit, which was very



“elevated, he perceived his mother at a little distance, who per-  
“ceiving him in her turn, uttered a loud scream and fainted.  
“At this sight, terror, or repentance, seized my unhappy son;  
“he fell. His mother, being brought to herself by the cries of  
“her children, ran toward him, but in vain attempted to reani-  
“mate him in her arms: the unfortunate youth turned his eyes  
“toward her, pronounced her name and mine, and expired.  
“The grief with which my wife was overwhelmed, carried her  
“in a few days to the grave. The most tender union reigned  
“amongst my children, and equalled their affection for their  
“mother. They however all died, through sorrow for her loss,  
“and for that of each other. How much anxiety has it cost me  
“to preserve this poor girl!”.....Thus spake *Tirteus*, and in  
spite of his efforts the tears rushed to his eyes. *Cyanea* threw  
herself on the bosom of her father, and mixing her tears with  
his, she pressed him in her arms, unable to utter a syllable. *Tir-  
teus* said to her: “*Cyanea*, my dear daughter, my sole conso-  
“lation, cease to afflict thyself. We shall one day see them  
“again; they are with the Gods.” Thus he spake, and serenity  
once more appeared on his countenance, and on that of his  
daughter. With the greatest composure, she poured out some  
wine into each of the cups; then taking a spindle, and a distaff  
furnished with wool, she seated herself by her father, and began  
to spin, looking at him, and supporting herself on his knees.

The travellers in the mean time were melted into tears. At  
length the younger of the two, resuming the conversation, said  
to *Tirteus*: “Had we been received into the palace, and at the  
“table of *Agamemnon*, at that instant when, covered with glory,  
“he was restored to his daughter *Iphigenia*, and to his wife  
“*Clytemnestra*, who had languished for his return so long, we  
“could neither have seen nor heard any thing so affecting as  
“what we have just witnessed.—Oh! my good shepherd! it  
“must be acknowledged that you have experienced severe tri-  
“als; but if *Cephas*, whom you see here, would relate to you  
“those which overwhelm men in every quarter of the Globe,  
“you would spend this whole night in listening to him, and in  
“blessing your own lot: how many sources of distress are un-  
“known to you in the midst of this peaceful retreat! You here



“live in perfect freedom; Nature supplies all your wants; paternal love renders you happy, and a mild religion consoles you under all your griefs.”

*Cephas*, taking up the conversation, said to his young friend: “My son, relate to us your own misfortunes: *Tirteus* will listen to you with more interest than he would to me. In mature age, virtue is generally the fruit of reason; in youth, it is always that of feeling.”

*Tirteus*, addressing himself to the young stranger, said: “Persons of my age do not sleep much. If you are not over oppressed with fatigue, I shall receive great pleasure from hearing you. I have never quitted my own country, but I love and honour travellers. They are under the protection of *Mercury* and of *Jupiter*. Something useful may always be gathered from them. As for yourself, you must certainly have experienced great distress in your own country, having at so early an age separated from your parents, with whom it is so pleasant to live and to die.”

“Though it is difficult,” replied the young man, “to speak always of ourselves with sincerity, yet, as you have given us so kind a reception, I shall candidly relate to you all my adventures both good and bad.”

My name is *Amasis*. I was born at Thebes in Egypt, the son of an opulent father. He had me educated by the priests of the Temple of *Osiris*. They instructed me in all the Sciences upon which Egypt values herself: the sacred language by which you may converse with ages past, and that of the Greeks, which enables us to hold converse with all the Nations of Europe. But what is infinitely superior to Science and Language, they taught me to be just, to speak truth, to fear the Gods only, and to prefer before every thing else that glory which is acquired by virtue.

This last sentiment increased in me as I grew up. Nothing had been spoken of in Egypt for some time past but the Trojan war. The names of *Achilles*, of *Hector*, and of other heroes, disturbed my sleep. I would have purchased a single day of their renown, by the sacrifice of my whole life. I thought the destiny of my countryman *Memnon* was enviable, who had pe-



rished on the walls of Troy, and in honour of whom a superb monument was reared at Thebes.\* What do I say? I would willingly have given my body to be changed into the statue of

\* *Memnon*, the son of *Tithonus* and *Aurora*, was killed at the siege of Troy by *Achilles*. A magnificent tomb was erected to his memory at Thebes in Egypt, the ruins of which still subsist on the banks of the Nile, in a place called by the Ancients *Memnonium*; and in modern times, by the Arabians, *Medinet Habou*; that is, City of the Father. Here are still to be seen colossal fragments of his statue, out of which in former times harmonious sounds issued at the rising of *Aurora*.

I propose to make, in this place, some observations on the subject of the sound which that statue produced, because it is particularly interesting to the study of Nature. In the first place, it is impossible to call the fact in question. The English Traveller *Richard Pocock*, who, in the year 1738, visited the remains of the *Memnonium*, of which he has given a description as minute as the present state of things admits of, quotes, on the subject of the marvellous effect of *Memnon's* statue, several authorities of the Ancients, of which I here present an abridgment.

*Strabo* tells us, that there were in the *Memnonium*, among other colossal figures, two statues at a small distance from each other; that the upper part of one of them had been thrown down, and that there issued once a day from it's pedestal, a noise similar to that produced by striking upon a hard body. He himself heard the noise, having been on the spot with *Aelius Gallus*; but he pretends not to affirm, whether it proceeded from the basis, or from the statue, or from the by-standers.

*Pliny* the Naturalist, a man more scrupulously exact than is generally imagined, when an extraordinary fact is to be attested, satisfies himself with relating the one in question, on the public faith, employing such terms of doubt as these; *Narratur, ut putant, dicunt*, of which he makes such frequent use in his Work. It is when he is mentioning the stone called basaltes, *Hist. Nat. lib. 36. cap. 7.*

*Invenit eadem Egyptus in Ethiopia quem vocant basalten, ferrei coloris atque duritiæ.....*

*Non absimilis illi narratur in Thebis, delubro Serapis ut putant, Memnonis statua dicatus; quem quotidiano solis ortu contactum radiis crepare dicunt.*

"The Egyptians likewise found, in Ethiopia, a stone called basaltes, of the colour and hardness of iron.....

"One not unlike it is said to be the stone of which the statue of *Memnon* is made, at Thebes, in the Temple of *Serapis*, from whence, as the report goes, a sound issues every morning on it's being struck with the rays of the rising Sun."

*Juvenal* so carefully on his guard against superstition, especially the superstitions of Egypt, adopts this fact in his fifteenth Satire, which is levelled at these very superstitions.

*Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci  
D. midio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,  
Atque vetus Thebæ centum jacet obruta portis.*



a hero, provided they had exposed me, on a pillar, to the veneration of Nations. I resolved then to tear myself from the delights of Egypt, and from the endearments of my paternal

“ There shines the gilded image of a consecrated monkey, where the magic chords resound from the mutilated statue of *Memnon*, and ancient Thebes lies buried under the ruins of her hundred gates.”

*Pausanias* relates that it was *Cambyses* who broke this statue; that half of the trunk was fallen to the ground; that the other half emitted every day, at sun-rising, a sound similar to that of a bow-string snapping from over-tension.

*Philostratus* speaks of it from his own knowledge. He says, in the life of *Apollonius* of Tyana, that the *Memnonium* was not only a Temple, but a forum; that is a place of very considerable extent, containing it's public squares, it's private buildings, &c. For temples, in ancient times, had a great many exterior dependencies; the groves which were consecrated to them, apartments for the priests, enclosures for the victims, and accommodations for the entertainment of strangers. *Philostratus* assures us that he saw the statue of *Memnon* entire, which supposes that the upper part of it had been repaired in his time. He represents it under the form of a young man sitting, with his eyes turned toward the rising Sun. It was of a black-coloured stone. Both feet were in a line, as was the case with all the ancient statues, up to the time of *Dedalus*, who was the first it is said that made statues to advance, the one leg before the other. It's hands rested on the thighs, as if going to rise.

On looking at the eyes and mouth you would have thought it was going to speak. *Philostratus* and his travelling companions were not surprized at the attitude of this statue, because they were ignorant of it's virtue: but when the rays of the rising Sun first darted on it's head, they no sooner reached the mouth than it did actually speak, which appeared to them a prodigy.

Here is, accordingly, a series of grave Authors, from *Strabo*, who lived under *Augustus*, down to *Philostratus*, who lived under the reigns of *Caracalla* and *Geta*, that is, during a period of two hundred years, who affirm that the statue of *Memnon* emitted a sound at the rising of *Aurora*.

As to *Richard Pocock*, who saw only the half of it in 1738, he found it in the same state that *Strabo* had seen it, about 1738 years before, except that it emitted no sound. He says it is of a particular sort of granite, hard and porous, such as he had never seen before, and which a good deal resembles the eagle-stone. At the distance of thirty feet from it, to the North, there is, as in the time of *Strabo*, another colossal statue entire, built of five layers of stones, the pedestal of which is 30 feet long and 17 broad. But the pedestal of the mutilated statue, which is that of *Memnon*, is 33 feet long by 19 broad. It consists of a single piece, though cleft about 10 feet behind the back of the statue. *Pocock* says nothing of the height of these pedestals, undoubtedly because they are encumbered with sand; or rather because the perpetual and insensible action of gravity must have made them sink into the Earth, as may be remarked of all the ancient monuments which are not founded on



mansion, in order to acquire an illustrious reputation. Every time that I presented myself before my father, "Send me to the siege of Troy," said I to him, "that I may purchase for

the solid rock. This effect is observable, in like manner, in the case of heavy cannon, and piles of balls, laid on the ground in our arsenals, which imperceptibly sink in the course of a few years, unless supported by strong platforms.

As to the rest of the statue of *Memnon*, the following are the dimensions given by *Pocock*.

	Fect.	In.
From the sole of the foot to the ankle-bone - - -	2	6
From ditto to the instep - - - - -	4	0
From ditto up to the top of the knee - - - - -	19	0
The foot is 5 feet broad, and the leg 4 feet thick.		

*Pocock* apparently refers these measurements to the English standard, which reduces them nearly by the eleventh part. He found besides on the pedestal, on the legs and the feet of the statue, several inscriptions in unknown characters; others of great antiquity, in Greek and Latin, very indifferently engraved, which are the attestations of the persons who had heard the sound which it emitted.

The remains of the *Memnonium* present all around, to a very great distance, ruins of an immense and uncouth architecture, excavations in the solid rock which form part of a temple, prodigious fragments of walls tumbled down and reduced to rubbish, and others standing; a pyramidal gate, avenues, square pillars, surmounted by statues with the head broken off, holding in one hand a *lituus*, and a whip in the other, as that of *Osiris*. At a still greater distance, fragments of gigantic figures lie scattered along the ground, heads of six feet diameter, and 11 feet in length, shoulders 21 feet broad, human ears three feet long and 16 inches broad; other figures which seem to issue out of the earth, of which the Phrygian bonnets only are to be seen. All these gigantic productions are made of the most precious materials, of black and white marble, of marble entirely black, of marble with red spots, of black granite, of yellow granite; and they are, for the most part, loaded with hieroglyphics. What sentiments of respect and admiration must have been produced in the minds of those superstitious people, by such enormous and mysterious fabrics, especially when in their solemnly silent courts, plaintive sounds were heard issuing from a breast of stone, at the first rays of *Aurora*, and the colossal *Memnon* sighing at sight of his mother.

The fact is too well attested, and is of too long duration, to admit of being called in question. Nevertheless many of the learned have thought proper to ascribe it to some exterior and momentaneous artifice of the priests of Thebes. Nay it appears that *Strabo*, who witnessed the noise made by the statue, hints this suspicion. We know in reality that ventriloquists are able,



“ myself a name renowned among men. You have my elder  
“ brother with you, who is sufficient to secure the continuance  
“ of your posterity : If you always oppose my inclinations,

without moving the lips, to utter words and sounds which seem to come from a considerable distance, though they are produced close by your side. For my own part, however durable the marvellous effect of *Memnon's* statue may be supposed, I can conceive it produced by the *Aurora*, and easily imitable, without being under the necessity of renewing the artifice of it, till after the lapse of ages. It is well known that the priests of Egypt made a particular study of Nature ; that they had formed of it a Science known by the name of Magic, the possession of which they reserved to themselves. They were not ignorant assuredly of the effect of the dilatation of metals, and among others of iron, which is contracted by cold and lengthened by heat. They might have placed, in the great basis of *Memnon's* statue, a long iron rod in a spiral line, and susceptible, from it's extension, of contraction and dilatation, by the slightest action of cold and of heat.

This medium was sufficient for extracting sound from some metallic composition. Their colossal statues being partly hollow, as may be seen in the sphynx near the pyramids of Grand Cairo, they could dispose in them machinery of every kind. The stone itself of the statue of *Memnon* being, according to *Pliny*, a basalt, which possesses the hardness and the colour of iron, may very well have the power of contracting and of dilating itself, like this metal, of which it is apparently composed. It is certainly of a nature different from other stones, as *Pocock*, who had made observation of all sorts of these, affirms that he had never seen the like of it. He ascribes to it a particular character of hardness and porosity, which are in general attributes of ferruginous stones. It might therefore be susceptible of contraction and dilatation, and thus possess within itself a principle of motion, especially at the rising of *Aurora*, when the contrast of the cold night and of the first rays of the rising Sun has most action.

This effect must have been infallible under a sky like that of Upper Egypt, where it scarcely ever rains. The sounds emitted from the statue of *Memnon*, at the moment when the Sun appeared over the Horizon of Thebes, had therefore nothing more marvellous in it, than the explosion of the cannon of the Palais Royal, and that of the mortar of the King's Garden, as the Sun passes over the meridian of Paris. With a burning glass, a bit of match, and some gunpowder, it would be easily possible to make a statue of *Jupiter* thunder in the midst of a desert, on such a day of the year, and even at such an hour of the day and of the night as might be resolved on. This would appear so much the more marvellous, that it would thunder only in clear weather, like the highly ominous thunder-claps among the Ancients.

What prodigies are operated at this day on persons labouring under the prejudices of superstition, by means of electricity, which through the medium of a rod of iron, or of copper, strikes in an invisible manner, is capable of killing a man at a single blow, calls down the thunder from the bosom of the cloud, and directs it at pleasure as it falls ? What effects might not be



“ through the dread of losing me, know, that if I escape the sword, I shall not escape the more painful death of chagrin.” In truth, I was visibly declining; I avoided all society, and

produced by means of aerostation, that art still in it's infancy, which through the medium of a globe of taffeta, glazed over with an elastic gum, and filled with a putrid air, eight or ten times lighter than that which we breathe, raises several men at once above the clouds, where the winds transport them to incredible distances, at the rate of nine or ten leagues an hour, and without the least fatigue? Our aerostats it is true are of no manner of use to us, because they are carried along at the mercy of the winds, as they have not yet discovered the means of conducting their machinery; but I am persuaded they will one day attain this point of perfection. There is, on the subject of this invention, a very curious passage in the History of China, which proves that the Chinese were in ancient times acquainted with aerostation, and that they knew the method of conducting the machine which way they pleased, by night and by day. This need not excite surprize on the part of a Nation which has invented before us the Art of Printing, the Mariner's Compass, and Gun-powder.

I shall give this fact complete from the Chinese annals, in the view of rendering our incredulous Readers somewhat more reserved, when they treat as fabulous what they do not comprehend in the History of Antiquity; and credulous Readers not quite so easy of belief, when they ascribe to miracles, or to magic, effects which modern physics imitate publicly in our own days.

It is on the subject of the Emperor *Ki*, according to Father *le Comte*, or *Kieu*, conformable to the pronounciation of Father *Martini*, who has given us a History of the earliest Emperors of China, after the annals of the Country. This Prince, who reigned about three thousand six hundred years ago, gave himself up to the commission of cruelties so barbarous, and to irregularities so abominable, that the name is to this day held in detestation all over China, and that when they mean to describe a man dishonoured by every species of criminality, they give him the appellation of *Kieu*. In order to enjoy the delights of a voluptuous life, without distraction, he retired, with his lady and favourites, into a magnificent palace, from which the light of the Sun was excluded on every side. He supplied it's place by an infinite number of superb lamps, the lustre of which seemed, to him, preferable to that of the Orb of Day, because it was ever uniform, and did not recal to his imagination, by the vicissitudes of day and night, the rapid course of human life. Thus, in the midst of splendid apartments always illuminated, he renounced the government of Empire, to put on the yoke of his own passions. But the Nations, whose interests he had abandoned, having revolted, chased him from his infamous retreat, and sent him out a vagabond for his life, having by his misconduct deprived his posterity of the succession to the Crown, which was transferred to another family, and leaving a memory loaded with such execrations, that the Chinese Historians never give him any other name but the Robber, without once bestowing on him the title of Emperor.



was so recluse that they gave me the surname of *Moneros*. To no purpose did my father attempt to combat a sentiment, which was the fruit of the education he had given me.

"At the same time," says Father *le Comte*, "they destroyed his palace; and in order to transmit to posterity the memory of worthlessness so eminent, they suspended the lamps of it in all the quarters of the city. This custom was repeated annually, and became from that time a remarkable festivity all over the Empire. It is celebrated at Yamt-Cheou with more magnificence than any where else, and it is said that formerly the illuminations on this occasion were so beautiful, that one Emperor, not daring avowedly to quit his Court, and resort thither to enjoy the spectacle, put himself, the Queen and several Princesses of the Blood, into the hands of a magician, who engaged to convey them to it in a very short time. He made them mount in the night-time on superb thrones, which were carried aloft by swans, and which in a moment arrived at Yamt-Cheou.

"The Emperor, wafted through the air on clouds which gradually descended over the city, contemplated the whole festival at his leisure: he afterwards returned thence with the same velocity, and by the same vehicle, without it's being perceived at Court that he had been at all absent. This is not the only fable which the Chinese relate. They have histories relative to every subject, for they are superstitious to an excess, and on the subject of magic in particular, whether feigned or real, there is not a People in the World to be compared with them."

*Memoirs of the Present State of China, by Father le Comte. Letter VI.*

This Emperor, who was thus transported through the air, according to Father *Magaillans* was called *Tam*, and this event took place two thousand years after the reign of *Kieu*; that is about sixteen hundred years ago. Father *Magaillans*, who expresses no doubt respecting the truth of the event, though he supposes it to have been performed by magic, adds, after the Chinese, that the Emperor *Tam* caused a concert of vocal and instrumental music to be played by his band in the air over Yamt-Cheou, which greatly surprised the inhabitants of that city. It's distance from Nankin, where the Emperor might be then supposed to reside, is about eighteen leagues. However, if he was at Pekin, as *Magaillans* gives us to understand, when he says that the Courier from Yamt-Cheou was a month on the road, in carrying him the news of that extraordinary music, which they ascribed to the inhabitants of Heaven, the aerial journey was 175 leagues in a straight line.

But without departing from the fact as it stands, if Father *le Comte* had seen at noon-day, as was done by the whole inhabitants of Paris, of London, and of the other most considerable cities of Europe, Philosophers suspended by globes above the clouds, carried 40, nay 50 leagues from the point of their departure, and one of them crossing, through the air, the arm of the Sea which separates England from France, he would not so hastily have treated the Chinese tradition as a fable. I find besides a great analogy of forms between those magnificent thrones and those clouds which gradually descended



One day he introduced me to *Cephas*, exhorting me to follow his counsels. Though I had never seen *Cephas* before, a secret sympathy attached me to him, the moment I beheld him. This respectable friend did not endeavor to oppose my favorite passion, but, in order to weaken it, he changed the object: "You thirst after glory," said he to me "it is undoubtedly the most desirable thing in the World, since the Gods reserve it for themselves as their peculiar portion. But how can you reckon upon obtaining it at the siege of Troy? Which side would you take; that of the Greeks or of the Trojans? Justice declares for Greece; compassion and duty for Troy. You are an Asiatic;\* would you then combat in favour of Europe against Asia? Would you bear arms against *Priam*, that father, and that King so unfortunate, ready to sink, with his family and empire, under the arms of Greece? On the other hand, Would you undertake the defence of the ravisher *Paris*, and of the adulteress *Helen* against *Menelaus* her husband?

over the city of *Yamt-Cheou*, and our aerostatic globes, to which it is so easily possible to give those voluminous decorations. The conducting swans alone seem to present a difficulty in the management of this aerial navigation. But wherefore should it be deemed impossible for the Chinese to have trained swans to flight simply, herbivorous birds, so easily tamed to the purposes of domestic life, when it is considered that we have instructed the falcon, a bird of prey always wild, to pursue the game, and afterwards to return to the wrist of the fowler? The Chinese, living under a much better police, more ancient and more pacific than we, have acquired an insight into Nature which our perpetual discords permitted us not to attain till a much later period: and, undoubtedly, it is this profound insight into Nature which *Father le Comte*, otherwise a man of understanding, considers as *magic, pretended or real*, in which he acknowledges the Chinese surpassed all nations. For my own part, I, who am no magician, think I have a glimpse, conformably to some of the Works of Nature, of an easy method whereby aerostats may direct their course even against the wind; but I would not publish it were I ever so certain of it's success. What miseries have not the perfecting of the compass, and of gun-powder brought upon the Human Race! The desirable object of research is not, what is to render us more intelligent, but what is to render us better. Science in the hand of Wisdom is a torch which illuminates, but brandished by the hand of wickedness, it sets the World on fire.

\* *Amasis* was an Egyptian, and Egypt was in Africa; but the Ancients assigned this country to Asia. The Nile served as a boundary to Asia on the West. Consult *Pliny*, and the ancient Geographers.



“ There is no true glory independent of justice. But even  
 “ though a free man were able to ascertain, in the quarrels of  
 “ Kings, on which side justice lay, Do you conceive that in fol-  
 “ lowing it would consist the greatest possible glory that can be  
 “ acquired? Whatever applauses conquerors may receive from  
 “ their compatriots, trust me, Mankind know well how to place  
 “ them, one day, in their proper situation. They have given  
 “ only the rank of heroes and of demigods to those who have  
 “ merely practised justice, such as *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pirithous*.  
 “ But they have raised to the supreme order of Deity, those  
 “ who have been beneficent; such as *Isis*, who gave Laws to  
 “ men; *Osiris*, who taught them the Arts, and Navigation; *A-*  
 “ *pollo*, music; *Mercury*, Commerce; *Pan*, the art of breeding  
 “ cattle; *Bacchus*, the cultivation of the vine; *Ceres*, that of  
 “ corn. I am a native of Gaul,” continued *Cephas*; “ it is a  
 “ country naturally rich and fertile, but which, for want of civi-  
 “ lization, is destitute of the greater part of those things which  
 “ minister to happiness. Let us go and carry thither the arts,  
 “ and the useful plants of Egypt; a humane Religion and social  
 “ Laws: we may perhaps bring back some commodities useful  
 “ to your own Country. There does not exist a Nation, how-  
 “ ever savage it may be, that does not possess some ingenuity,  
 “ from which a polished People may derive benefit; some an-  
 “ cient tradition, some rare production, which is peculiar to it’s  
 “ own climate. It is thus that *Jupiter*, the Father of Mankind,  
 “ was desirous of uniting, by a reciprocal interchange of benefits,  
 “ all the Nations of the Earth; poor or rich, barbarian or civi-  
 “ lized. Even if we should be unable to find in Gaul any thing  
 “ that can be used in Egypt, or were we, by some accident, to  
 “ lose the fruit of our voyage, still there will remain for us one  
 “ thing of which neither death nor tempests can deprive us; I  
 “ mean the satisfaction of having done good.”

This discourse suddenly illuminated my mind with a ray of  
 divine light. I embraced *Cephas*, with tears in my eyes: “ Let  
 “ us depart,” said I to him, “ let us do good to Mankind, and  
 “ imitate the Gods!”

My father approved of our project. When I took my leave  
 of him, he folded me in his arms, saying: “ My son, you are  
 “ going to undertake the most difficult task in the World; for



“ you are going to engage in labour for the benefit of Mankind.  
“ But if you can by such means, promote your own happiness,  
“ rest assured that you will render mine complete.”

After having taken leave of our friends, *Cephas* and I embarked at Canopus, on board a Phenician vessel which was going to Gaul for a cargo of furs, and for pewter, to the British Islands. We carried with us linen-cloths, models of waggons, of ploughs, and of various looms ; pitchers of wine, musical instruments, and grains of different species ; among others those of hemp and flax. We caused to be fastened in chests, round the poop of the ship, on the deck, and even along the cordage, slips of the vine, which were in blossom, and fruit trees of various sorts. You might have taken our vessel, covered with vine branches and foliage, for that of *Bacchus* setting out on the conquest of the Indies.

We anchored, first, on the coast of the Island of Crete, to take in some plants which were suitable to the climate of Gaul. This island produces a greater quantity of vegetables than Egypt, in the vicinity of which it is situated, from the variety of it's temperatures, extending from the burning sands of it's shores, up to the snowy region of Mount Ida, the summit of which is lost in the clouds. But what ought to render it still more valuable to it's inhabitants, is it's having been governed by the sage laws of *Minos*.

A favourable wind afterwards drove us from Crete to the height of Melita.\* This is a small island, the hills of which, being formed of white stone, appear at a distance on the Sea, like cloth spread out to bleach in the Sun. We cast anchor here, to lay in water, which is preserved in great purity, in cisterns. In vain should we have sought, in this place, for any other species of supply : the island is destitute of every thing, though, from it's situation between Sicilly and Africa, and from the vast extent of it's port, which is divided into several arms, it ought to be the centre of commerce for all the Nations of Europe, of Africa, and even of Asia. It's inhabitants subsist entirely by plunder. We presented them with some seeds of

\* This is the Island now called Malta.



the melon, and of the xylon.\* This is an herb which thrives in the driest places, and the wool of which serves for the manufacture of cloths extremely white and delicate. Though Melita, which is an entire rock, produces almost nothing fit for the subsistence of men and animals, yet there is taken annually, about the autumnal Equinox, a prodigious quantity of quails,† which repose there, on their passage from Europe to Africa. It is an amusing spectacle to see them, fattened as they are, cross the Sea in quantities incredible. They wait till the wind blows from the North, when, raising one of their wings in the air like a sail, and beating with the other like an oar, they graze along the waves, having their rumps loaded with fat. When they arrive at this island, they are so fatigued that they might be caught with the hand. A man can gather more in one day than he can make use of in a year.

From Melita, we were wafted by the gale as far as the Isles of Enosis,‡ which are situated at the southern extremity of Sardinia. There the winds became contrary and obliged us to

\* This is the cotton on a herb: it is originally a native of Egypt. They now manufacture at Malta very beautiful stuff of it, which is the principal source of support to the commonalty of that island, who are miserably indigent. There is a second species produced on a shrub which is cultivated in Asia and the West-India islands. Nay I believe there is a third species that grows in America on a tall prickly tree; such care has Nature taken to diffuse a vegetable so useful over all the warm regions of the Globe! This much is certain, that the Savages of the parts of America which are situated between the Tropics, made for themselves garments and hammocks of cotton when *Columbus* landed on that Continent.

† The quails still take Malta in their way, and appear on a day named and marked in the almanacks of the country. The customs of the animal creation do not vary; but those of the human species have undergone considerable changes in that island. Some Grand-Masters of the Order of *St. John*, to whom the island belongs, have there engaged in projects of public utility; among others, they have conveyed the water of a rivulet into the very harbour. Many other undertakings are still behind undoubtedly, which concern the Happiness of the Human Race.

‡ These are at this time called the Islands of Saint Peter and of St. Anti-ochus. They are very small; but they have a great fishery for tunnies, and they manufacture great quantities of salt.



anchor. These islands consist of sandy rocks, which produce nothing; but by a wonderful interposition of the providence of the Gods, who in places the most unproductive find the means of supporting Man in a thousand different ways; tunnies are given to these islands, as quails are to the rock of Melita. In Spring, the tunnies, which make their way from the Ocean into the Mediterranean, pass in such great quantities between Sardinia and the Islands of Enosis, that their inhabitants are occupied, night and day, in fishing for them, in salting them, and in extracting their oil. I have seen upon their shores heaps of the burnt bones of these fishes, which were higher than this house. But this gift of Nature does not render the inhabitants affluent. They fish for the benefit of the inhabitants of Sardinia. Thus, we saw slaves only in the Island of Enosis, and tyrants alone at Melita.

The wind becoming favourable, we departed, after having presented the inhabitants with some slips of the vine, and received from them some young plants of the chesnut-tree, which they import from Sardinia, where the fruit of these trees grows to a considerable size.

During the voyage, *Cephas* pointed out to me the variegated aspects of the land, not one of which Nature has made similar to another, in quality and in form; in order that divers plants and animals may find, in the same climate, different temperatures. When nothing was to be perceived but the Heavens and the water, he called my attention to men. "Observe," said he to me, "these sea-faring people, how robust they are! you might take them for tritons. Bodily exercise is the aliment of health.\* It dissipates an infinite number of diseases and passions, which spring out of the repose of cities. The Gods have planted human life in the same manner as the oaks of my country. The more they are buffeted by the

\* Certain Philosophers have carried matters much farther. They have pretended that bodily exercise was the aliment of the soul. Exercise of body is good only for the preservation of health; the soul has it's own apart. Nothing is more common than to see men of delicate health possessed of exalted virtue, and robust persons very defective there. Virtue is no more the result of physical qualities, than strength of body is the effect of moral qualities. All temperaments are equally predisposed to vice and to virtue.



“winds, the more vigorous they become. The Sea,” continued he, “is the school of every virtue: there, you live in privations, and in dangers of every sort. You are there under the necessity of being courageous, sober, chaste, prudent, patient, vigilant, religious.” But,” answered I, “How comes it that the greater part of the companions of our voyage possess none of these qualities? They are, almost all of them, intemperate, violent, impious, commending and blaming without discernment, whatever they see performed.”

“It is not the sea which has corrupted them,” replied *Cephas*; “they have brought with them the passions of the land. It is the love of riches, idleness, and the desire of giving themselves up to all manner of irregularities, when on shore which determines a great number of men to enter into the sea-service, for the purpose of enriching themselves; and as they cannot acquire, without a great deal of trouble, the means of gratification on this element, you always see them restless, sullen and impatient, because there is nothing so discontented as vice, when it finds itself in the road of virtue. A ship is the crucible in which morals are put to the test. There the wicked degenerate more and more, and the good become better. Virtue, however, can derive advantage from every situation. Profiting by their defects, you may here learn equally to despise abuse and idle applause; to act so as to merit your own approbation, and to have no other witness of your actions but the Gods. He who is desirous of doing good to Mankind, must inure himself betimes to submit to unkind treatment from them. It is by the labour of the body, and the injustice of men, that you are enabled to fortify, at once, both your body and your soul. It was by such means that *Hercules* acquired that courage, and that invincible strength, which have raised his glory to the stars.

I followed then, as far as I was able, the advice of my friend, notwithstanding my extreme youth. I exerted myself in raising the unwieldy sail-yards, and in managing the sails. But the least raillery from my companions, who ridiculed my inexperience, entirely disconcerted me. It would have been easier for me to contend with the boisterous elements than with the con-



tempt of men : such sensibility to the opinions of others had my education inspired.

We passed the strait which separates Africa from Europe, and saw on the right and on the left, the two mountains, Calpe and Abila, which fortify the entrance. Our Phenician sailors did not fail to inform us, that their Nation was the first of all those of the Earth which had dared to penetrate into the vast Ocean, and coast along it's shores, even as far as the Frozen Zone. They placed their own reputation far above that of *Hercules*, who erected, as they said, two pillars at this passage, with the inscription, BEYOND THIS YOU CANNOT PASS, as if the termination of his labours were also to be that of the researches of Mankind. *Cephas*, who neglected no opportunity of recalling men to a sense of justice, and of rendering homage to the memory of heroes, said to them : " I have always heard it said " that the ancients ought to be respected. The inventors of a " science are the most worthy of commendation, because they " open the career to other men. It is less difficult afterwards " for those who follow them to extend their progress. A child, " mounted on the shoulders of a tall man, sees farther than the " person who supports him." *Cephas* however spoke to them without effect ; they would not deign to render the slightest homage to the son of *Alcmena*. As for ourselves, we revered the very shores of Spain, where he had killed the three-bodied *Geryon*. We crowned our heads with branches of poplar, and, in honour of him, poured out some wine of Thasos on the waves.

We soon discovered the profound and verdant forests which cover Celtic Gaul. It was a son of *Hercules*, called *Galate*, who gave to it's inhabitants the surname of Galatians, or Gauls. His mother, the daughter of one of the Kings of Celtes, was of a prodigious stature. She scorned to take a husband from among her father's subjects ; but when *Hercules* passed through Gaul, after the defeat of *Geryon*, she could not refuse her heart and hand to the conqueror of a tyrant. We afterwards entered the channel which separates Gaul from the British Islands, and in a few days we reached the mouth of the Seine, the green waters of which may, at all times, be distinguished from the azure waves of the Sea.



My joy was complete. We were upon the point of arriving. Our trees were fresh, and covered with leaves. Several of them, and among others the slips of the vine, were already loaded with ripe fruit : I pictured to myself the joyful reception which we were going to receive from a people destitute of the principal gifts of Nature, when they should see us disembark upon their shores, with the delicate productions of Egypt and of Crete. The labours of agriculture are alone sufficient to fix wandering and unsettled Nations, and to deprive them of the inclination of supporting by violence that life which Nature sustains with so many blessings. Nothing more than a grain of corn is requisite, said I to myself, in order to polish the whole Gallic Nation, by those arts which spring from agriculture. This single grain of flax is sufficient, at some future period, to afford them clothing. The slip of the vine may serve to diffuse gaiety and joy over their festivals, to the latest posterity. I then felt how far superior the Works of Nature are to those of Man. These last begin to decay the moment that they appear ; the others, on the contrary, carry in themselves the spirit of life which propagates them. Time, which destroys the monuments of art, serves only to multiply those of Nature. I perceived more real benefits enclosed in a single grain of seed, than is to be found in Egypt in the treasures of her Kings.

I gave myself up to these divine and humane speculations, and, in the transports of my joy, I embraced *Cephas*, who had given me so just an idea of the real wealth of Nations, and of true glory. My friend at the same time observed, that the pilot was preparing to stem the current of the Seine, at the entrance of which we now were. Night was approaching ; the wind blew from the West, and the Horizon was overcast. *Cephas* said to the pilot : “ I would advise you not to enter into the river, but rather to cast anchor in that port, beloved of *Amphitrite*, which you see upon the left. Listen to what I have heard related on this subject by our ancient seers.

“ *Seine*, the daughter of *Bacchus*, and a nymph of *Ceres*, had followed into Gaul the Goddess of Agriculture, at the time when she was seeking her lost daughter *Proserpine*, over the whole Earth. When *Ceres* had finished her career, *Seine* ask-



“ ed as a reward for her services those meadows which you see  
“ below. The Goddess consented, and granted besides to the  
“ daughter of *Bacchus*, the power of making corn spring up  
“ wherever she set her foot. She then left *Seine* upon her  
“ shores, and gave her, for a companion and attendant, the  
“ nymph *Heva*, who was charged to keep strict watch over her,  
“ lest she should be carried off by some Sea-god, as her daughter  
“ *Proserpine* had been, by the Prince of the infernal regions.  
“ One day, while *Seine* was amusing herself, by running  
“ along the sands to seek for shells, and as she fled, uttering  
“ loud screams before the waves of the Sea, which sometimes  
“ wet the soles of her feet, and sometimes reached even  
“ to her knees, her companion *Heva* perceived, under the billows,  
“ the hoary locks, the empurpled visage, and the azure robe of *Neptune*. This God was returning from the *Orcades*,  
“ after a terrible earthquake, and was surveying the shores of  
“ the Ocean, with his trident, to examine whether their foundations  
“ had not been convulsed. At sight of him, *Heva* uttered a shriek,  
“ and warned *Seine*, who immediately tripped toward the meadows.  
“ But the God of the Seas having perceived the nymph of *Ceres*,  
“ and being struck with the gracefulness of her figure, and her  
“ agility, drove his sea-horses along the strand in pursuit of her.  
“ He had almost overtaken her, when she implored assistance  
“ from her father *Bacchus*, and from *Ceres* her mistress. They both  
“ listened to her petition. At the moment that *Neptune* was  
“ extending his arms to catch her, the whole body of *Seine* melted  
“ into water; her veil and her green robes, which the wind wafted  
“ before her, became waves of an emerald colour. She was transformed  
“ into a river of that hue, which still delights to ramble over the  
“ places in which she delighted while a nymph. What renders  
“ this more remarkable is, that *Neptune*, notwithstanding her  
“ metamorphosis, has not ceased to be enamoured of her, as it  
“ is said the river *Alpheus* in *Sicily* still continues to be, of the  
“ fountain of *Arethusa*. But if the Sea-god has preserved his  
“ affection for *Seine*, she still continues to retain her aversion  
“ for him. Twice every day he pursues her, with a loud and  
“ roaring noise, and as often *Seine* flies to the meadows, ascending  
“ toward her source, contrary to the natural course of



“ rivers. At all seasons she separates her green waves from  
“ the azure billows of *Neptune*.

“ *Heva* died with regret for the loss of her mistress ; but the  
“ Nereids, as a reward to her fidelity, erected to her memory,  
“ upon the shore, a monument composed of black and white  
“ stones, which may be perceived at a very great distance. By  
“ a skill divine, they have even enclosed in it an echo, in order  
“ that *Heva*, after her death, might warn mariners, both by the  
“ eye and the ear, of the dangers of the land, as she had during  
“ her life cautioned the nymph of *Ceres* against those of the Sea.  
“ You see her tomb from hence. It is that steep mountain,  
“ formed of dismal beds of black and white stones. It always  
“ bears the name of *Heva*.\* You perceive by those piles of  
“ flint-stones with which it's basis is covered, the efforts used  
“ by the enraged *Neptune* to undermine the foundation ; and  
“ you may hear from hence, the roaring of the mountain, which  
“ warns mariners to take care of themselves. As to *Amphitrite*,  
“ deeply affected by the misfortune of *Seine*, and the infidelity  
“ of *Neptune*, she intreated the Nereids to hollow out that little  
“ bay which you see upon your left, at the mouth of the river ;  
“ and it was her intention that it should be at all times a secure  
“ harbour against the fury of her husband. Enter into it then  
“ at this time, if you will be ruled by me, while day-light  
“ remains. I can assure you that I have frequently seen the  
“ God of the Seas pursue *Seine* far up the country, and over-  
“ turn every thing which he encountered in his passage. Be on  
“ your guard therefore against meeting a God whom love has  
“ rendered furious.”

“ You must surely,” answered the Pilot to *Cephas*, “ take me  
“ for a very ignorant fellow, when you relate such stories to a  
“ person of my age. It is now forty years since I have follow-  
“ ed a sea-life. I have anchored night and day in the Thames,  
“ which is full of sands, and in the Tagus, which flows with  
“ such rapidity ; I have seen the cataracts of the Nile which

\* There is in fact at the mouth of the Seine, on it's left side bank, a mountain formed of layers of black and white stones, which is called the Heve. It serves as a land-mark for mariners, and there is a flag erected upon it for giving signals to ships at Sea.



“ make a roaring so dreadful, but never have I seen or heard  
“ any thing similar to what you have now been relating. I shall  
“ hardly be simple enough to remain here at anchor, while the  
“ wind is favourable for going up the river. I shall pass the  
“ night in it's channel, and expect to sleep very soundly.”

He spoke, and in concert with the sailors raised a hooting, as ignorant and presumptuous men are accustomed to do, when advice is given them which they do not understand.

*Cephas* then approached me, and enquired if I knew how to swim. “ No,” answered I; “ I have learnt in Egypt every  
“ thing that could render me respectable among men, and almost nothing which could be useful to myself.” He then said to me: “ Let us not separate from each other; we will  
“ keep close to this bench of the rowers, and repose all our trust  
“ in the Gods.”

In the mean time the vessel, driven by the winds, and undoubtedly by the vengeance of *Hercules* also, entered the river in full sail. We avoided, at first, three sand-banks which are situated at it's mouth; afterwards, being fairly involved in the channel, we could see nothing around us but a vast forest, which extended down to the very banks of the river. The only evidence we had of a country inhabited, was some smoke, which appeared rising here and there above the trees. We proceeded in this manner till night prevented us from distinguishing any object; then the pilot thought proper to cast anchor.

The vessel, driven on one side by a fresh breeze, and on the other by the current of the river, was forced into a cross position in the channel. But notwithstanding this dangerous situation, our sailors began to drink and make merry, believing themselves secure from all danger, because they were surrounded with land on every side. They afterwards went to rest, and not a single man remained on deck to watch the motions of the ship.

*Cephas* and I staid above, seated on one of the rowers' benches. We banished sleep from our eyes, by conversing on the majestic appearance of the stars which rolled over our heads. Already had the constellation of the Bear reached the middle of it's course, when we heard, at a distance, a deep roaring noise, like that of a cataract. I imprudently rose up to see what it



could be. I perceived, by the whiteness of it's foam, a mountain of water\* which approached us from the Sea, rolling itself over and over. It occupied the whole breadth of the river, and rushing above it's banks, to the right-hand and to the left, broke with a horrible crash among the trunks of the trees of the forest. In the same instant it came upon our vessel, and taking her side-ways, fairly upset her. This movement tossed me into the water. A movement afterwards, a second surge still more elevated than the former, turned the vessel keel upward. I recollect that I then heard issue from the inverted wreck, a multitude of hollow and stifled screamings : but being desirous of calling my friend to my assistance, my mouth filled with salt water ; I felt a murmuring noise in my ears ; I found myself carried away with inconceivable rapidity, and soon after I lost all recollection.

I am not sensible how long I might have remained in the water, but when I recovered my senses, I perceived toward the West the bow of *Iris* in the Heavens, and to the East the first fires of *Aurora*, which tinged the clouds with silver and vermillion. A company of young girls extremely fair, half clad in skins, surrounded me : some of them presented me with liquors in shells, others wiped me dry with mosses, and others supported my head with their hands. Their flaxen hair, their vermilion cheeks, their azure eyes, and that celestial somewhat which compassion always portrays on the countenance of woman, made me believe that I was in Heaven, and that I was attended by the *Hours*, who open the gates of it day by day for the admission of unfortunate mortals. The first emotion of my heart was to look for you, and the second to enquire after you. Oh, *Cephas* ! I could not have felt my happiness complete, even in Olympus, without your presence. But the illusion was soon over, when I heard a language barbarous and un-

\* This mountain of water is produced by the tides, which force their way from the Sea up the Seine, and make it to flow backward against it's course. It is heard coming from a very great distance, especially in the night-time. They call it *the Bar*, because it obstructs the whole course of the Seine. This Bar is usually followed by a second Bar still more elevated, which pursues it at the distance of about a hundred fathom. They run much faster than a horse at full speed.



known to me, issue from the rosy lips of these young females. I then recollected by degrees the circumstances of my shipwreck. I arose: I wished to seek for you, but knew not where to find you again. I wandered about in the midst of the woods. I was ignorant whether the river, in which we had been shipwrecked, was near, or at a distance, on my right hand, or on my left; and to increase my embarrassment, there was no person of whom I could enquire it's situation.

After having reflected a short time, I observed that the grass was wet, and the foliage of the trees of a bright green, from which I concluded that it must have rained abundantly the preceding night. I was confirmed in this idea by the sight of the water, which still flowed in yellow currents along the roads. I farther concluded that these waters must, of necessity, empty themselves into some brook, and this brook into the river. I was about to follow these indications, when some men, who came out of an adjoining cottage, compelled me with a threatening tone to enter. I then perceived that I was free no longer, and that I had become the slave of a people, who, I once flattered myself, would have honoured me as a God.

I call *Jupiter* to witness, oh, *Cephas*! that the affliction of having been shipwrecked in port, of seeing myself reduced to servitude by those for whose benefit I had travelled so far, of being relegated to a barbarous country where I could make myself understood by no person, far from the delightful country of Egypt, and from my relations, did not equal the distress which I felt in having lost you. I called to remembrance the wisdom of your counsels; your confidence in the Gods, of whose providence you taught me to be sensible even in the midst of the greatest calamities; your observations on the Works of Nature, which replenished her to me with life and benevolence; the tranquillity in which you so well knew how to maintain all my passions: and I felt, by the gloom which was gathering around my heart, that I had lost in you the first of blessings, and that a prudent friend is the most valuable gift which the bounty of the Gods can bestow upon Man.

Thus, I thought of nothing but of the means of regaining you once more, and I flattered myself that I should succeed, by making my escape in the middle of the night, if I could only



reach the sea-coast. I was persuaded that I could not be far distant from it, but I was entirely ignorant on which side it lay. There was no eminence near me from whence I could discover it. Sometimes I mounted to the summit of the most lofty trees, but I could perceive nothing except the surface of the forest, which extended as far as the Horizon. Often did I watch the flight of the birds, to see if I could discover some sea-fowl coming on shore to build her nest in the forest; or some wild pigeon going to pilfer salt from the shores of the Ocean. I would a thousand times have preferred the sound of the piercing cries of the sea-thrush, when she comes during a tempest to shelter herself among the rocks, to the melodious voice of the red-breast, which already announced, in the yellow foliage of the woods, the termination of the fine weather.

One night after I had retired to rest, I thought I heard at a distance the noise which the waves of the Sea make, when they break upon it's shores; that I could even distinguish the tumult of the waters of the *Seine* pursued by *Neptune*. Their roarings, which had formerly chilled me with horror, at that time transported me with joy. I arose: I went out of the cottage, and listened attentively; but the sounds, which seemed to issue from various parts of the Horizon, soon perplexed my understanding: I began to discover that it was the murmurings of the winds, which agitated at a distance the foliage of the oaks, and of the beech-trees.

Sometimes I endeavoured to make the savages of my cottage comprehend that I had lost a friend. I applied my hand to my eyes, to my mouth, and to my heart; I pointed to the Horizon, I raised my hands clasped to Heaven, and shed tears. They understood this dumb language, by which I expressed my affliction, for they wept with me; but, by a contradiction for which I could not account, they redoubled their precautions to prevent me from making my escape.

I applied myself therefore to learn their language, that I might inform them of my condition, and in order to interest them in it. They were themselves eagerly disposed to teach me the names of the objects which I pointed out to them. Slavery is very mild among these Nations. My life, liberty excepted, differed in nothing from that of my masters. Every thing was in



common between us, provision, habitation, and the earth upon which we slept wrapped up in skins. They had even so much consideration for my youth, as to give me the easiest part of their labours to perform. In a short time I was able to converse with them. This is what I learnt of their government and character.

Gaul is peopled with a great number of petty Nations, some of which are governed by Kings, others by chiefs, called Iarles ; but all subjected to the power of the Druids, who unite them all under the same religion, and govern them with so much the greater facility, that they are divided by a thousand different customs. The Druids have persuaded these Nations that they are descended from *Pluto*, the God of the infernal Regions, whom they call *Hæder*, or the Blind. This is the reason that the Gauls reckon by nights and not by days, and that they reckon the hours of the day from the middle of the night, contrary to the practice of all other Nations. They adore several other Gods as terrible as *Hæder* ; such as *Niorder*, the master of the winds, who dashes vessels on their coasts, in order they say to procure them plunder. They accordingly believe, that every ship which is wrecked upon their shores is sent them by *Niorder*. They have besides, *Thor*, or *Theutates*, the God of War, armed with a club, which he darts from the upper regions of the air ; they give him gloves of iron, and a belt, which redoubles his fury when it is girded around him. *Tir*, equally cruel ; the silent *Vidar*, who wears shoes of considerable thickness, by means of which he can walk through the air, and upon the water, without making any noise ; *Hemdal*, with the golden tooth, who sees day and night : he can hear the slightest sound, even that which the grass or the wool makes as they grow : *Ouller*, the God of the Ice, shod with skates ; *Loke*, who had three children by the giantess *Angherbode*, the messenger of grief, namely, the wolf *Fenris*, the serpent of *Midgard*, and the merciless *Hela*. *Hela* is death. They say that his palace is misery ; his table, famine ; his door, the precipice ; his porch, languor ; and his bed, consumption. They have besides several other Gods, whose exploits are as ferocious as their names, *Herian*, *Riflindi*, *Svidur*, *Svidrer*, *Salsk* ; which translated, mean the warrior, the thunderer, the destroyer, the incendiary, the father of carnage. The



Druids honour these Divinities,\* with funeral ceremonies, lamentable ditties, and human sacrifices. This horrible mode of worship gives them so much power over the terrified spirits of the Gauls, that they preside in all their councils, and decide upon all their affairs. If any one presumes to oppose their judgment, he is excluded from the communion of their mysteries;† and from that moment he is abandoned by every one, not excepting his own wife and children; but it seldom happens that any one ventures to resist them; for they arrogate to themselves, exclusively, the charge of educating youth, that they may impress upon their minds early in life, and in a manner never to be effaced, these horrible opinions.

As for the Iarles, or Nobles, they have the power of life and death over their own vassals. Those who live under Kings pay them the half of the tribute which is levied upon the commonalty. Others govern them entirely to their own advantage. The richer sort give feasts to the poor of their own particular class, who accompany them to the wars, and make it a point of honour to die by their side. They are extremely brave. If in hunting they encounter a bear, the Chief amongst them lays aside his arrows, attacks the animal alone, and kills him with one stroke of his cutlass. If the fire catches their habitation, they never quit it till they see the burning joists ready to fall upon them. Others, on the brink of the Ocean, with lance or sword in hand, oppose themselves to the waves which dash upon the shore. They suppose valour to consist, not only in resisting their enemies of the human species, and ferocious animals, but even the elements themselves. Valour with them supplies the place of justice. They always decide their differences by force of arms, and consider reason as the resource of those only who are destitute of courage. These two classes of citizens, one of which employs cunning, and the other force, to make themselves feared, completely balance each other; but they unite in tyrannizing

\* Respecting the manners and mythology of the ancient Nations of the North, *Herodotus* may be consulted, the Commentaries of *Cesar*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, the *Eda* of *Mr. Mallet*, and the *Swedish Collections*, translated by the *Chevalier de Keralio*.

† *Cesar* says precisely the same thing in his Commentaries.



over the people, whom they treat with sovereign contempt. Never can a plebeian among the Gauls arrive at the honour of filling any public station. It would appear that this Nation exists only for it's Priests and it's Nobles. Instead of being consoled by the one, and protected by the other, as justice requires, the Druids terrify them, only in order that the Iarles may oppress them.

Notwithstanding all this, there is no race of men possessed of better qualities than the Gauls. They are very ingenious, and excel in several species of useful arts which are to be found nowhere else. They overlay plates of iron with tin,\* so artfully, that it might pass for silver. They compact pieces of wood with so much exactness, that they form of them vases capable of containing all sorts of liquors. What is still more wonderful, they have a method of boiling water in them without their being consumed. They make flint stones red-hot, and throw them into the water contained in the wooden vase, till it acquires the degree of heat which they wish to give it. They also know how to kindle fire without making use either of steel or of flint, by the friction of the wood of the ivy and of the laurel. The qualities of their heart are still superior to those of their understanding. They are extremely hospitable. He who has little, divides that little cheerfully with him who has nothing. They are so passionately fond of their children that they never treat them unkindly. They are contented with bringing them back to a sense of their duty by remonstrance. The result from this conduct is, that at all times the most tender affection unites all the members of their families, and that the young people there listen, with the greatest respect, to the counsels of the aged.

Nevertheless, this People would be speedily destroyed by the tyranny of it's Chieftains, did they not oppose their own passions to themselves. When quarrels arise among the Nobility,

\* The Laplanders understand the art of wire-drawing tin to a very high degree of perfection. There is in general an extreme ingenuity distinguishable in all the arts practised by savage Nations. The canoes and the raquettes of the Esquimaux; the pros of the islanders of the South-Sea; the nets, the lines, the hooks, the bows, the arrows, the stone hatchets, the habits and the head-dresses of most of those Nations, have the most exact conformity with their necessities. *Pliny* ascribes the invention of casks to the Gauls. He praises their tin-ware, their dying in wood, &c.



they are so much under the persuasion that arms must decide the controversy, and that reason has no voice in the decision, that they are obliged, in order to merit popular esteem, to follow up their resentments to the death. This vulgar prejudice is fatal to a great number of the Iarles. On the other hand, they give such credit to the dreadful stories retailed by the Druids, respecting their Divinities, and fear, as is generally the case, associates with these traditions circumstances so terrifying, that the Priests frequently tremble much more than the people, before the idols which they themselves had fabricated. I am thence thoroughly convinced of the truth of the maxim of our sacred books, which says—*Jupiter* has ordained, that the evil which a man does to his fellow-creature should recoil, with seven-fold vengeance, upon himself, that no one may find his own happiness in the misery of another.

There are here and there among some of the Gallic Nations, Kings who establish their own authority by undertaking the defence of the weak; but it is the women who preserve the Nation from ruin. Equally oppressed by the Laws of the Druids, and by the ferocious manners of the Iarles, they are doomed to the most painful offices, such as cultivating the ground, beating about in the woods to start game for their huntsmen, and carrying the baggage of the men on their journeys. They are besides subjected, all their life long, to the imperious governance of their own children. Every husband has the power of life and death over his wife, and when he dies, if there arises the slightest suspicion that his death was not natural, they put his wife to the torture: If through the violence of her torments she pleads guilty, she is condemned to the flames.\*

This unfortunate sex triumphs over it's tyrants by their own opinions. As vanity is their domineering passion, the women turn them into ridicule. A song simply is in their hands sufficient to destroy the result of their gravest assemblies. The lower classes, and especially the young people, always devoted to their service, set this song into circulation through the villages and hamlets. It is sung day and night: he who is the subject of it, be he who he may, dares to shew his face no more.

\* See *Cesar's Commentaries*.



Hence it comes to pass that the women, so weak as individuals, enjoy collectively the most unlimited power. Whether it be the fear of ridicule, or that they have experienced the superior discernment of their women, but certain it is the Chieftains undertake nothing of importance, without consulting them. Their voice decides whether it is to be peace or war. As they are obliged, by the miseries of Society, to renounce their own opinions, and to take refuge in the arms of Nature, they are neither blinded nor hardened by the prejudices of the men. Hence it happens, that they judge more clearly than the other sex of public affairs, and foresee future events with such superior discernment. The common people, whose calamities they solace, struck at frequently finding in them a more discriminating understanding than in their Chiefs, without penetrating into the causes of it, take a pleasure in ascribing to them something divine.\*

Thus the Gauls pass successively and rapidly from sorrow to fear, and from fear to joy. The Druids terrify them, the Iarles abuse them, and the women make them laugh, dance and sing. Their religion, their laws and their manners, being perpetually at variance, they live in a state of continual fluctuation, which constitutes their principal character. Hence also may be derived the reason why they are so very curious about news, and so desirous of knowing what passes among strangers. It is for this reason, that so many are to be found in foreign countries, which they are fond of visiting, like all men who are unhappy at home.

They despise husbandmen, and of consequence neglect agriculture, which is the basis of public prosperity. When we landed in their country, they cultivated only those grains which come to perfection in the space of a Summer, such as beans, lentiles, oats, small millet, rye and barley. Very little wheat is to be seen there. Nevertheless the earth abounds with natural productions. There is a profusion of excellent pasture by the side of the rivers. The forests are lofty, and filled with fruit-trees of all kinds. As they were frequently in want of provision, they employed me in seeking it for them, in the fields and in the woods. I found in the meadows cloves of garlic, the

\* Consult *Tacitus* on the Manners of the Germans.



roots of the daucus, and of the drop-wort. I sometimes returned loaded with myrtle-berries, beech-masts, plums, pears and apples, which I had gathered in the forest. They dressed these fruits, the greater part of which cannot be eaten raw, on account of their harshness. But they have trees there which produce fruit of an exquisite flavour. I have often admired the apple-trees, loaded with fruits of a colour so brilliant that they might have been mistaken for the most beautiful flowers.

This is what they related respecting the origin of those apple-trees, which grow there in such abundance, and of the greatest beauty. They tell you, that the beautiful *Thetis*, whom they called *Friga*, jealous of this circumstance, that at her nuptials, *Venus*, whom they denominate *Siofne*, had carried away the apple which was the prize of beauty, without putting it in her power to contest it with the three Goddesses, resolved to avenge herself.

Accordingly, one day that *Venus* had descended on this part of the Gallic shore, in quest of pearls for her dress, and of the shells called the knife-handle for her son *Sisione*,\* a triton stole away her apple, which she had deposited upon a rock, and carried it to the Goddess of the Seas. *Thetis* immediately planted it's seeds in the neighbouring country, to perpetuate the memory of her revenge, and of her triumph. This is the reason, say the Celtic Gauls, of the great number of apple-trees which grow in their Country, and of the singular beauty of their young women.†

\* The Gauls, as well as the Nations of the North, called *Venus*, *Siofne*, and *Cupid*, *Sisione*. Consult the Eda. The most formidable weapon among the Celtæ was neither the bow, nor the sword, but the cutlass. They armed the Dwarfs with it; who, thus equipped, triumphed over the sword of the Giants. The enchantment made with a dagger was incapable of being dissolved. It was fit, therefore, that the Gaulish *Cupid* should be armed, not with a bow and a quiver, but with a dagger. The dagger-handles in question are two-valved fish-shells, lengthened out into the form of a dagger-handle, the name of which they bear. They are found in great abundance along the shores of Normandy, where they bury themselves in the sand.

† And perhaps of the law-suits for which Normandy is famous, as that apple was originally a present of discord. It might be possible to find out a cause less remote of these suits at Law, in the prodigious number of petty jurisdictions with which that province is filled, in their litigious usages, and



Winter came on, and I am unable to express my astonishment to you, when I beheld, for the first time, the Heavens dissolve into white plumage resembling that of birds, the water of the fountains become hard as stone, and the trees entirely stripped of their foliage. I had never seen the like in Egypt. I had no doubt but that the Gauls would immediately expire, like the plants and the elements of their Country; and undoubtedly the rigour of the climate would soon put an end to my career, had they not taken the greatest care to clothe me with furs. But how easy it is for a person without experience to be deceived! I was entirely ignorant of the resources of Nature; for every season, as well as for every climate. Winter is to those Northern Nations, a time of festivity and of abundance. The river-birds, the elks, the buffaloes, the hares, the deer and the wild-boars, abound at that season in the forest, and approach their habitations. They killed these in prodigious quantities.

I was not less surprised when I beheld the return of Spring, which displayed in those desolate regions a magnificence which I had never seen before, even on the banks of the Nile: the bramble, the raspberry, the sweet-briar, the strawberry, the primrose, the violet, and a great many other flowers unknown in Egypt, adorned the verdant borders of the forests. Some, such as the honeysuckle, entwined themselves round the trunks of the oaks, and suspended from the boughs their perfumed garlands. The shores, the rocks, the woods and the mountains, were all clothed in a pomp at once magnificent and wild. A spectacle so affecting redoubled my melancholy: "Happy,"

especially in the European spirit of Education, which says to every man from his childhood upward: *Be the first.*

It would not be so easy to discover the moral or physical causes of the singularly remarkable beauty of the women of the Pays de Caux, especially among the country girls. They have blue eyes, a delicacy of features, a freshness of complexion, and a shape which would do honour to the finest ladies about Court. I know but of one other canton in the whole kingdom, in which the women of the lower classes are equally beautiful. It is at Avignon. Beauty there however presents a different character. They have large, black and soft eyes, aquiline noses, and the heads of *Angelica Kauffman*. Till modern Philosophy think proper to take up the question, we may allow the mythology of the Gauls to assign a reason for the beauty of their young women by a fable which the Greeks would not perhaps have rejected.



said I to myself, " if I could perceive among so many plants, a  
" single one of those which I brought with me from Egypt!  
" were it only the humble flax, it would recal the memory of  
" my Country, during my whole life-time ; in dying, I would  
" select it for the place of my grave : it would one day tell *Ce-*  
" *phas* where the bones of his friend repose, and inform the  
" Gauls of the name and of the travels of *Amasis*."

One day, as I was endeavouring to dissipate my melancholy, by looking at the young girls dancing on the fresh grass, one of them quitted the dancers, and came and wept over me : then, on a sudden, she again joined her companions, and continued to dance, frisking about and amusing herself with them. I took the sudden transition from joy to grief, and from grief to joy, in this young girl, to be the effect of the natural levity of the people, and I did not give myself much trouble about it ; when I saw an old man issue from the forest, with a red beard, clothed in a robe made of the skins of weasels. He bore a branch of mistletoe in his hand, and at his girdle hung a knife of flint. He was followed by a company of young persons in the flower of their age, who had girdles of the same sort of skins, and holding in their hands empty gourds, pipes of iron, bullocks' horns, and other instruments of their barbarous music.

As soon as this old man appeared the dancing ceased, every countenance became sad, and the whole company removed to a distance from me. Even my master and his family retired to their cottage. The wicked old man then approached me, and fastened a leathern cord round my neck ; then his satellites forcing me to follow him, dragged me along in a state of stupefaction, in the same manner as wolves would carry off a sheep. They conducted me across the forest to the very borders of the Seine : there the Chief sprinkled me with the water of the river ; he then made me enter into a large boat, constructed of the bark of the birch-tree, into which he likewise embarked with all his train.

We sailed up the Seine for eight days together, during which every one observed a profound silence. On the ninth, we arrived at a little town built in the middle of an island. They here made me disembark on the opposite shore, on the right-hand bank of the river, and they conducted me into a large hut



without windows, which was illuminated by torches of fir. They tied me to a stake in the middle of the hut, and those young men, who watched over me night and day armed with hatchets of flint, never ceased to dance around me, blowing, with all their strength, through the bulls' horns and iron pipes. They accompanied this detestable music with these horrible words, which they sung in chorus.

"Oh, *Niorder!* Oh, *Rislindi!* Oh, *Svidrer!* Oh, *Hela!* Oh, *Hela!* God of Carnage and of Storms, we bring thee flesh. Receive the blood of this victim, of this child of death. Oh, *Niorder!* Oh, *Rislindi!* Oh, *Svidrer!* Oh, *Hela!* Oh, *Hela!*"

Whilst they pronounced these awful words, their eyes rolled about in their heads, and their mouths foamed. At length those fanatics, overwhelmed with fatigue, fell asleep, except one of them who was called *Omfi*. This name, in the Celtic tongue, signifies beneficent. *Omfi*, moved with compassion, approached me: "Unfortunate young man," said he, "a cruel war has broken out between the Nations of Great-Britain and those of Gaul. The Britons pretend to be the masters of the Sea which separates their island from us. We have already been defeated by them in two naval engagements. The College of the Druids of Chartres has determined, that human victims are necessary to render *Mars* favourable, whose temple is just by this place. The Chief of the Druids, who has spies over all the Gauls, has discovered that the tempests had cast you upon our coasts: he went himself to find you out. He is old and pitiless. He bears the name of two of our most formidable Deities. He is called *Tor-Tir*.\* Repose thy confidence then in the Gods of thy own Country, for those of Gaul demand thy blood."

I was seized with such terror, that I was unable to make the least reply to *Omfi*: I only thanked him by an inclination of my head, and he immediately hastened from me, lest he should be perceived by any of his companions.

At that moment I called to mind the reason which induced the Gauls, who had made me their slave, to hinder me from remov-

\* Perhaps it may be from the names of those two cruel Gods of the North, that the word *torture* is derived.



ing from their habitation ; they were apprehensive that I might fall into the hands of the Druids ; but I had not the power of escaping my cruel destiny. My destruction now appeared so inevitable in my own eyes, that I did not believe *Jupiter* himself was able to deliver me from the jaws of those tigers, who were thirsting for my blood. I recollected no more, oh, *Cephas* ! what you have so frequently told me, That the Gods never abandon innocence. I did not even remember their having saved me from shipwreck. Present danger totally obliterates past deliverance from the mind. Sometimes I imagined that they had preserved me from the waves, only to give me up to a death a thousand times more painful.

Nevertheless I addressed my supplications to *Jupiter*, and I enjoyed a kind of repose, in relying entirely on that Providence which governs the World, when all of a sudden the doors of the cottage opened, and a numerous company of Priests entered, with *Tor-Tir* at their head, always bearing in his hand a branch of mistletoe from the oak. Immediately the young barbarians who surrounded me awoke, and began their funeral songs and dances. *Tor-Tir* approached me ; he placed upon my head a crown of the yew-tree, and a handful of the meal of beans ; afterwards he put a gag in my mouth, and having untied me from my stake, he fastened my hands behind my back. Then all his retinue began to march to the sound of their doleful instruments, and two Druids, supporting me by the arms, conducted me to the place of sacrifice.

Here *Tyrteus* perceiving that the spindle fell from the hands of *Cyanea*, and that she turned pale, said to her : “ My daughter, it is time for you to go to rest. Remember that you must rise to-morrow before the dawn, to go to Mount Lyceum, where you have to present, with your companions, the shepherd’s offering on the altar of *Jupiter*.” *Cyanea*, trembling all over, replied : “ My father, every thing is ready against the festival of to-morrow. The wreathes of flowers, the wheaten cakes, the vessels of milk, are all prepared. But it is not late : the moon has not as yet illuminated the bottom of the valley, nor have the cocks yet crowed ; it is not midnight. Allow me I entreat you to stay here till the end of this story. My father, I am near you, and I shall apprehend no danger.”



*Tyrteus* looked at his daughter with a smile ; and having made an apology to *Amasis* for interrupting him, entreated he would proceed.

He went out of the hut, replied *Amasis*, in the middle of a dark night, by the smoky light of fir-torches. We traversed at first a vast field of stones ; we saw here and there the skeletons of horses and of dogs, fixed upon stakes. From thence we arrived at the entrance of a large cavern, hollowed in the side of a rock all over white.\* The lumps of black clotted blood which had been shed around, exhaled an infectious smell, and announced this to be the Temple of *Mars*. In the interior of this frightful den, along the walls, were ranged human heads and bones ; and in the middle of it, upon a piece of rock, a statue of iron reared itself to the summit of the cavern, representing the god *Mars*. It was so misshapen, that it had more resemblance to a block of rusty iron than to the God of war. We could distinguish however his club, set thick with piercing points, his gloves studded with the heads of nails, and his horrible girdle, on which was portrayed the image of Death. At his feet was seated the King of the Country, having around him the principal personages of his State. An immense crowd of people were collected within and without the cavern, who preserved a melancholy silence, impressed with respect, religion and terror.

*Tor-Tir*, addressing himself to the whole assembly, said :  
 “ Oh King, and you Iarles assembled for the defence of the  
 “ Gauls, do not believe that you ever can triumph over your  
 “ enemies without the assistance of the God of Battles. Your  
 “ losses have demonstrated what is the consequence of neglect-  
 “ ing his awful worship. Blood offered up to the Gods, saves  
 “ the effusion of that which mortals shed. The Gods ordain  
 “ men to be born, only that they may die. Oh ! how happy  
 “ are you, that the selection of the victim has not fallen upon

\* Montmartre is meant, *Mons Martis*. It is well known that this rising ground, dedicated to *Mars* whose name it bears, is formed of a rock of plaster. Others it is true derive the name of Montmartre from *Mons Martyrum*. These two etymologies may be very easily reconciled. If there were, in ancient times, a great many martyrs on this mountain, it was probably owing to it's being the residence of some celebrated idol, to which they were there offered in sacrifice.



“ one of yourselves ! Whilst I was considering within myself,  
 “ whose life among us would be acceptable to the Gods, and  
 “ ready to offer up my own for the good of my Country, *Nior-*  
 “ *der*, the God of the Seas, appeared to me in the gloomy for-  
 “ ests of Chartres ; he was dripping all over with sea-water.  
 “ He said to me in a voice thundering like the tempest : I send  
 “ to you, for the salvation of the Gauls, a stranger, without re-  
 “ lations, and without friends. I myself dashed him upon the  
 “ western shores. His blood will be acceptable to the Gods of  
 “ the infernal regions. Thus spake *Niorder*. *Niorder* loves  
 “ you, oh, ye children of *Pluto* !”

Scarcely had *Tor-Tir* made an end of this terrible address, when a Gaul who was seated by the King, rushed toward me : it was *Cephas*. “ Oh, *Amasis* ! oh, my dear *Amasis* !” cried he. “ Oh, my barbarous compatriots ! are you going to sacrifice a man, who has come from the banks of the Nile to bring you the most precious blessings of Greece and of Egypt ? You shall begin then with me, who first inspired him with this desire, and who touched his heart with pity for the per- sons so cruel to him.” As he pronounced these words, he pressed me in his arms, and bathed me with his tears. For my part, I wept and sobbed, without the power of expressing to him, in any other way, the transports of my joy. Immediately the cavern resounded with the voice of murmurs and of groans. The young Druids wept, and let fall from their hands the instruments of my sacrifice : for Religion becomes mute whenever Nature speaks. Nevertheless, no one in the assembly durst even now deliver me from the hands of the butchering priests, when the women, rushing into the midst of the assembly, tore asunder my chains, and removed my gag and funeral crown. Thus, for the second time, did I owe my life to the women of Gaul.

The King, taking me in his arms, said : “ What, is it you, unhappy stranger, whom *Cephas* has been incessantly regretting ! Oh, ye Gods, the enemies of my Country, do you send benefactors hither only that they may be immolated !” Then, addressing himself to the Chiefs of the Nations, he spoke with so much energy of the rights of humanity, that with one accord they all swore, that they would never more reduce to slavery



those whom the tempest might cast upon their shores ; never to sacrifice, in future, any one innocent man, and to offer to *Mars* only the blood of the criminal. *Tor-Tir*, in a rage, endeavoured in vain to oppose this law : he retired, menacing the King and all the Gauls with the approaching vengeance of the Gods.

Nevertheless the King, accompanied by my friend, conducted me amidst the acclamations of the People into his city, which was situated in the neighbouring island. Till the moment of our arrival in this island, I had been so much discomposed that I was incapable of a single rational reflection. Every species of new representation of my misfortunes contracted my heart, and obscured my understanding. But as soon as I recovered the use of my reasoning powers, and began to reflect on the extreme danger which I had just escaped, I fainted away. Oh, how weak is man in a paroxysm of joy ! He is strong only to encounter woe. *Cephas* brought me to myself after the manner of the Gauls, by shaking about my head, and blowing on my face.

When I had recovered my senses, he took my hands in his, and said to me : “ Oh, my friend, how many tears you have cost me ! When the waves of the Ocean which overset our vessel, “ had separated us, I found myself cast, I know not how, upon “ the right-hand bank of the Seine. My first care was to seek “ for you. I kindled fires upon the shore ; I called you by “ name ; I employed several of my compatriots who had gathered together on hearing my cries, to reconnoitre, in their “ boats, the banks of the river, to see if they could not find “ you ; all our researches were ineffectual. The day re-appeared, and presented to my view our vessel overturned, and her “ keel in the air, close to the shore where I was. It never occurred to my thoughts that you might have landed on the opposite shore, in my own country Belgium. It was not till “ the third day, that believing you had perished, I resolved to “ pass over to it, to visit my relations. The greatest part of “ them had paid the debt of Nature during my absence : those “ who remained overwhelmed me with kindness ; but not even “ a brother can compensate for the loss of a friend. I returned almost immediately to the other side of the river. There “ they unloaded our unfortunate vessel, of which nothing had



“ been lost but the men. I sought your body along the sea-  
“ shore, and I repeated my demand of it evening, morning, and  
“ in the middle of the night from the nymphs of the Ocean,  
“ that I might rear you a monument near to that of *Heva*. I  
“ should have passed all my life I believe in these vain resear-  
“ ches, had not the King, who reigns on the banks of this river,  
“ informed that a Phenician vessel was wrecked on his domains,  
“ claimed the property, which according to the laws of the  
“ Gauls belonged to him. I collected accordingly every thing  
“ which we had brought from Egypt, even to the very trees,  
“ which had not been damaged by the water ; and I presented  
“ myself, with these wretched fragments, before that Prince.  
“ Let us bless then the providence of the Gods, which has united  
“ us again, and which has rendered your misfortunes more use-  
“ ful to my Country than even your presents. If you had not  
“ made shipwreck on our coasts, the barbarous custom of con-  
“ demning to slavery those who endure that calamity, would  
“ not have been abolished ; and if you had not been condemned  
“ to be sacrificed, I should most probably never have seen you  
“ more, and the blood of the innocent would still have smoked  
“ upon the altars of the God of War.”

Thus spake *Cephas*. As for the King, he omitted nothing which he thought would tend to make me lose the recollection of my misfortunes. He was called *Bardus*. He was already considerably advanced in years, and he wore, according to the custom of his people, his beard and hair very long. His palace was built of the trunks of firs, laid in rows one upon another. It had no other door\* except large bullocks' hides, which closed up the apertures. No person was there on guard, for he had nothing to fear from his subjects ; but he had employed all his skill and industry to fortify his city against enemies from with-

\* Gates were a matter of very difficult construction to savage tribes, who did not understand the use of the saw, without which it was almost impossible to reduce a tree into planks. Accordingly, when they abandoned a Country, those who had gates carried them off with them. A Norwegian hero, whose name I do not at present recollect, he who discovered Greenland, threw his into the Sea, in order to discover where the Destinies intended to fix his residence ; and he made a settlement good on that part of Greenland to which they were wafted. Gates and their threshold were, and still are, sacred in the East.



out. He had surrounded it with walls, formed of the trunks of trees, intermixed with sods of turf, with towers of stone at the angles and at the gates. Sentinels were stationed on the top of these towers, who watched day and night. King *Bardus* had received this island from the nymph *Lutetia* his mother, and it bore her name. It was at first discovered with nothing but trees, and *Bardus* had not a single subject. He employed himself in twisting, upon the banks of the island, ropes of the bark of the lime-tree, and in hollowing alders to make boats. He sold these productions of his own hands to the mariners who sailed up or down the Seine. While he worked, he sung the advantages of industry and of commerce, which unite together all mankind. The boatmen frequently stopped to listen to his songs. They were repeated, and spread throughout all the Gauls, among whom they were known under the name of the verses of the Bards. Soon after a great number of people came to establish themselves in this island to hear him sing, and to live in greater security. His riches accumulated with his subjects. The island was covered with habitations, the neighbouring forests were cleared, and in a short time numerous flocks covered both the adjacent shores. It was in this manner that the good King formed an empire without violence. But while as yet his island was not surrounded by walls, and while he was already planning to make it the centre of commerce for all the Nations of Gaul, war was on the point of exterminating all its inhabitants.

One day, a great number of warriors who were sailing up the Seine, in canoes made of the bark of the elm, disembarked upon its northern shore, directly opposite to *Lutetia*. They were under the command of the Iarle *Carnut*, third son of *Tendal* Prince of the North. *Carnut* was on his return from laying waste all the coasts of the Hyperborean Sea, over which he had spread horror and devastation. He was secretly favoured in Gaul by the Druids, who, like all weak men, take the side of those who have rendered themselves formidable. As soon as *Carnut* had landed, he went in search of King *Bardus*, and said: "Let us fight, thou and I, at the head of our warriors: the weaker shall obey the strongest; for it is the first Law of Na-



“ture that every thing should yield to force.” King *Bardus* replied : “ Oh, *Carnut* ! If the point in dispute were the hazzarding of my own life, for the defence of my people, I would without hesitation expose it. But I will not expose the lives of my people, were it even to save my own. It is goodness and not force which ought to be the choice of Kings. It is goodness only which governs the World, and it employs for that purpose intelligence and strength, which are subordinate to it, as are all the other Powers of the Universe. Valiant son of *Tendal*, since thou wishest to govern men, let us try, whether of the two, you or I, is the most capable of doing them good. Behold these poor Gauls entirely naked. Without making offensive comparisons, I have several times clothed and fed them, even to the denying myself clothes and food. Let us see what provision thou wilt make for their wants.”

*Carnut* accepted the challenge. It was now Autumn. He went to the chace with his warriors ; he killed a great number of birds, stags, elks and wild boars. He afterwards, with the flesh of these animals, gave a great feast to the inhabitants of *Lutetia*, and clothed in their skins those who were naked. King *Bardus* said to him : “ Son of *Tendal*, thou art a mighty huntsman : thou wilt be able to support the people during the hunting season ; but in Spring, and during Summer time, they will perish with hunger. For my part, with my corn, the fleeces of my sheep, and the milk of my flocks, I can maintain them throughout the whole year.”

*Carnut* made no reply ; but he remained encamped with his warriors upon the banks of the river, and refused to withdraw.

*Bardus* perceiving his obstinacy went to seek him in his turn, and proposed a second challenge to him : “ Valour,” said he, “ is the quality of a warlike Chief, but patience is still more necessary to Kings. Since thou wishest to reign, let us try which of us can carry this ponderous log the longest.” It was the trunk of an oak of thirty years old. *Carnut* took it on his back, but soon losing patience hastily threw it down again. *Bardus* laid it across his shoulders, and bore it without moving, till after sun-set, and even till the night was far advanced.

Nevertheless *Carnut* and his warriors would not depart. They thus passed the whole Winter employed in hunting. The



Spring returned, and they threatened to destroy a rising city, which refused to do them homage ; and they became still greater objects of terror, as they began to be in total want of food. *Bardus* did not know how to rid himself of them, for they were the most powerful. In vain did he consult the most aged of his people ; no one could give him advice. At last he laid his distress before his mother *Lutetia*, who was now very old, but who still possessed an excellent understanding.

*Lutetia* said to him : “ My son, you are acquainted with a great number of ancient and curious histories, which I taught you in your infancy ; you excel in singing : Challenge the son of *Tendal* to a competition in song with you.”

*Bardus* went and found out *Carnut*, and said : “ Son of *Tendal*, it is not sufficient for a King to maintain his subjects, and to be firm and constant in his labours : he ought to know likewise how to banish from their minds those miseries of opinion which render them unhappy : for it is opinion which exercises influence over Mankind, and renders them good or bad. Let us see whether of the two, thou or I, can exert the greatest power over their minds. It was not by fighting merely that *Hercules* attracted followers in Gaul, but by divine songs, which flowed from his mouth like chains of gold, charmed the ears of those who listened, and constrained them to follow him.”

*Carnut* with joy accepted this third challenge. He sung the combats of the Gods of the North on the icy mountains ; the tempests of *Niorder* upon the Seas ; the tricks of *Vidar* in the air ; the ravages of *Thor* on the Earth ; and the empire of *Hæder* in the dark regions of Hell. To these he added the rehearsal of his own victories, and his tremendous strains transfused the emotions of fury into the heart of his warriors, who were on tiptoe to spread universal destruction.

As to King *Bardus*, the following were his milder strains :

“ I sing the dawn of the morning ; the earliest rays of *Aurora* which have arisen on the Gauls, the empire of *Pluto* ; the blessings of *Ceres*, and the misfortune of the infant *Lois*. Listen to my songs, ye spirits of the rivers, and repeat them to the spirits of the azure mountains.



“ *Ceres* came from seeking her daughter *Proserpine* over the  
“ face of the whole Earth. She was on her return to Sicily,  
“ where grateful myriads adored her. She traversed the sa-  
“ vage Gauls, their trackless mountains, their desert valleys and  
“ their gloomy forests, when she found her progress stopped by  
“ the waters of Seine, her own nymph transformed into a river.

“ On the opposite bank of the Seine, there happened at that  
“ time to be a beautiful boy with flaxen hair, named *Lois*,  
“ bathing himself in the stream. He took delight to swim in  
“ the transparent waters, and to run about naked on the solitary  
“ verdant downs. The moment that he perceived a female, he  
“ flew to hide himself amidst a tuft of reeds.

“ My lovely child! cried *Ceres* to him with a sigh; come to  
“ me, my lovely child! On hearing the voice of a woman in dis-  
“ tress, *Lois* left his retreat among the reeds. He puts on, with  
“ blushes, his robe of lamb’s skin which was suspended on a  
“ willow. He crosses the Seine on a bank of sand, and present-  
“ ing his hand to *Ceres*, shews her a path through the midst of  
“ the waters.

“ *Ceres* having passed the river, gives the boy *Lois* a cake,  
“ a sheaf of corn, and a kiss; she then informs him how bread  
“ was made from the corn, and how corn grows in the fields.  
“ Thanks, beautiful stranger, returned *Lois*; I will carry to my  
“ mother thy lessons, and thy welcome presents.

“ The mother of *Lois* divides with her child and husband the  
“ cake and the kiss. The enraptured father cultivates a field,  
“ and sows the grain. By and by the Earth is clothed with a  
“ golden harvest, and a report is diffused over the Gauls, that  
“ a Goddess had presented a celestial plant to their fortunate in-  
“ habitants.

“ Near to that place lived a Druid. He was entrusted with  
“ the inspection of the forests. He measured out to the Gauls,  
“ for food, beech-mast and acorns from the oak. When he  
“ beheld a field cultivated, and a rich harvest, What becomes of  
“ my power, says he, if men learn to live on corn?

“ He calls *Lois*. My pretty little friend, says he, Where  
“ wert thou when thou beheldest the stranger who gave thee  
“ the fine ears of corn. *Lois*, apprehending no evil, conducts  
“ him to the banks of the Seine. I was says he under that sil-



“ ver-leaved willow ; I was running about over those snowy  
“ daisies : I flew to hide myself under these reeds, because I  
“ was naked. The treacherous Druid smiled : he seizes *Lois*,  
“ and plunges him into the depths of the stream.

“ The mother of *Lois* saw her beloved child no more. She  
“ wanders through the woods, calling aloud : *Lois !* where art  
“ thou ? my darling child, *Lois !* The echoes alone repeat, *Lois*,  
“ my darling child, *Lois !* She runs like one distracted along  
“ the banks of the Seine. She perceives something white by the  
“ edge of the water : He cannot be far off, said she ; there are  
“ his beloved flowers, there are his snowy daisies. Alas ! it was  
“ *Lois*, her darling child *Lois !*

“ She weeps, she groans, she sighs ; she takes up in her trem-  
“ bling arms the clay-cold body of *Lois* ; she fondly tries to re-  
“ animate him in her bosom ; but the heart of the mother has  
“ no longer the power of communicating warmth to the body of  
“ the son ; and the clay-cold body of the son is already freez-  
“ ing the heart of a mother : she is on the point of expiring.  
“ The Druid, mounted on an adjoining rock, exults in his ven-  
“ geance.

“ The Gods do not always appear at the cry of the misera-  
“ ble ; but the voice of a forlorn mother attracted the attention  
“ of *Ceres*. The Goddess appeared. *Lois*, says she, Be thou  
“ the most beautiful flower of the Gauls. Immediately the pale  
“ cheeks of *Lois* expanded into a calix more white than the  
“ snow : his flaxen hairs were transformed into filaments of  
“ gold, and the sweetest of perfumes exhales from them. The  
“ limber stem rises toward Heaven, but the head still droops on  
“ the banks of the river which he loved. *Lois* is changed into  
“ a lily.

“ The priest of *Pluto* beholds this prodigy unmoved. He  
“ raises to the superior Gods an inflamed countenance, and eyes  
“ sparkling with rage. He blasphemes, he threatens *Ceres* : he  
“ was going to assault her with an impious hand ; when she  
“ cries to him aloud : Gloomy and cruel tyrant, Remain where  
“ thou art.

“ At the voice of the Goddess he becomes immoveable. But  
“ the rock feels the powerful command, it opens into a cleft ; the  
“ legs of the Druid sink into it ; his visage, bearded all over,



“ and empurpled with rage, rises toward Heaven in divergent  
“ crimson radiations, and the garment which covered his mur-  
“ derous arms is bristled into prickles. The Druid is trans-  
“ formed into a thistle.

“ Thou, said the Goddess of the Harvests, who would per-  
“ severe in feeding men like beasts, become thyself food for  
“ animals. Continue to be the enemy of the harvests after thy  
“ death, as thou wert during thy life. As for thee, beautiful  
“ flower of *Lois*, be thou the ornament of the Seine, and may  
“ thy victorious flower, in the hand of her Kings, one day pre-  
“ vail triumphantly over the mistletoe of the Druids.

“ Gallant followers of *Carnut*, come and dwell in my city. The  
“ flower of *Lois* perfumes my gardens ; the virgins, night and  
“ day, chant his adventure in my plains. Every one there en-  
“ gages in easy and cheerful labour : and my granaries, beloved  
“ by *Ceres*, overflow with piles of grain.”

Scarcely had *Bardus* finished his song, when the warriors of  
the North, who were perishing with hunger, abandoned the son  
of *Tendal*, and fixed their residence in *Lutetia*. This good  
King frequently said to me : “ Ah ! why have I not here some  
“ illustrious bard of Greece, or of Egypt, to polish the minds of  
“ my subjects ? Nothing tends so much to humanize the heart  
“ as the melody of sweet songs. With the capacity of compos-  
“ ing fine verses, and ingenious fictions, there is no need of a  
“ sceptre to maintain authority.”

He carried *Cephas* and me to visit the spot where he had  
planted the trees and the grains recovered from our shipwreck.  
It was on the declivity of a hill exposed to the South. I was  
transported with delight, when I saw the trees which we had  
imported, replenished with juices and vigor. I first distinguish-  
ed the quince-tree of Crete, from it's cottony and fragrant fruit ;  
the walnut-tree of *Jupiter*, of a glossy green ; the filbert ; the  
fig-tree ; the poplar ; the pear-tree of Mount Ida, with it's py-  
ramidical fruit. All these trees were from the island of Crete.  
There were besides the vines of Thasos, and young chesnut-  
trees of the island of Sardinia. I saw a vast country within the  
compass of a small garden. Among those plants appeared some  
which were my compatriots, such as the hemp and the flax.  
These were the vegetables which pleased the King most, be-



cause of their utility. He had admired the stuffs into which they are manufactured in Egypt, more durable and more pliant than the skins in which most of the Gauls are habited. The King took delight in watering those plants with his own hand, and in clearing them of weeds. Already the hemp of a beautiful green, carried all it's heads equal to the stature of a Man, and the flax in blossom clothed the ground with a shade of azure.

While *Cephas* and I were inwardly exulting in the reflection of having done good, information was received that the Britons, elated with their recent success, not content to dispute with the Gauls the empire of the Sea which separates them, were preparing to attack them by land, and to sail up the Seine, with an intention to carry steel and flame into the very bosom of the Country. They had taken their departure in boats innumerable, from a promontory of their island, separated from the Continent by only a narrow strait. They coasted along the shore of the Gauls, and were ready to enter the Seine, the dangers of which they knew how to avoid, by running into the creeks which are sheltered from the rage of *Neptune*. The intended invasion of the Britons was noised abroad over all the Gauls, from the moment that they began to put it into execution; for the Gauls kindle fires on the mountains, and by the number of these fires, and the thickness of their smoke, convey intelligence much more promptly than by the flight of a bird.

On receiving news that the Britons had embarked, the confederated troops of the Gauls began to march to defend the mouth of the Seine. They were ranged under the standard of their several Chieftains: these consisted of the skins of the wolf, the bear, the vulture, the eagle, or of some other mischievous animal, suspended at the extremity of a long pole. That of King *Bardus*, and of his islsnd, presented the figure of a ship, the symbol of commerce. *Cephas* and I accompanied the King on this expedition. In a few days all the united force of the Gauls was collected on the shore of the Sea.

Three opinions were started respecting the mode of defence. The first was to drive piles along the coast, to prevent the debarkation of the Britons; a plan of easy execution, considering that our numbers were inconceivable, and the forests at hand. The second was to give them battle the moment that



they landed : the third, not to expose the troops to the open attack of the advancing enemy, but to assault them when landed, and after they were entangled in the woods and valleys. No one of these opinions was followed up ; for discord prevailed among the Chieftains of Gaul. Every one was for commanding, while no one was disposed to obey. While they were wasting time in deliberation the enemy appeared, and disembarked while we were settling the arrangement of our plan.

But for *Cephas* we had been undone. Before the arrival of the Britons, he had advised King *Bardus* to divide his force into two, composed of the inhabitants of *Lutetia*, to place himself in ambush with the better part in the woods which covered the opposite side of the mountain of *Heva* ; while *Cephas* himself should engage the enemy with the other party, joined to the rest of the Gauls. I entreated *Cephas* to detach from his division the young soldiers, who panted like myself to come to close action, and to entrust me with the command. I have no fear of danger, said I. Through all the proofs which the Priests of *Thebes* prescribe to the initiated I have passed, and know not what fear is. *Cephas* hesitated a few moments. At last he committed the young men of his division to my charge, recommending to them, as well as to me, not to separate too far from the main body.

The enemy meanwhile had made good their landing. At sight of this, many of the Gauls advanced to attack them, rending the air with loud cries ; but as they charged in small parties, they were easily repulsed ; and it would have been impossible to rally a single man of them, had not our rear afforded them an opportunity of recovering from their confusion. We presently perceived the Britons in full march to attack us. The youthful band which I commanded was instantly in motion, and advanced toward the Britons, unconcerned whether we were supported by the rest of the Gallic force or not. When we got within bow-shot, we saw that the enemy formed only one single column, long, broad, and closely embattled, advancing slowly upon us, while their barks were forcing their way up the river to get upon our rear. I was staggered, I confess, at sight of that multitude of half-naked barbarians, painted with red and blue, marching along in profound silence, and with the most



perfect order. But when all at once there issued from their noiseless phalanx, clouds of darts, of arrows, of pebbles and leaden balls, which brought down many of us, piercing some through and through, my surviving companions betook themselves to flight. I myself was going to forget that it was my duty to set them an example of resolution, when I beheld *Cephas* by my side ; he was followed by the whole army. " Let us invoke "*Hercules*," cried he, " and advance to the charge." The presence of my friend reanimated all my courage. I resumed my station, and we made the attack with our pikes levelled. The first enemy whom I encountered, was a native of the Hebrides, a man of Gigantic stature. The aspect of his arms inspired horror : his head and shoulders were clad in the skin of a prickly thorn-back ; he wore around his neck a collar of human jaw-bones, and he bore for a lance the trunk of a young fir armed with the tooth of a whale. " What demandest thou of *Hercules* ?" said he to me, " here he is to attend thee." At the same time he aimed at me a stroke of his enormous lance, with so much fury, that if it had hid the mark I must have been nailed by it to the ground, which it penetrated to a great depth. While he was struggling to disengage it, I pierced him through the throat with the spear which was in my hand : there immediately issued from the wound a stream of black and thick blood ; and down fell the stately Briton, biting the ground, and blaspheming the Gods.

Meanwhile our troops, collected into one firm body, were closely engaged with the column of the enemy. Clubs clashed with clubs, buckler pressed on buckler, lance crossed lance. Thus two fierce bulls dispute the empire of the meadows : their horns entwine : their foreheads rattle against each other : bellowing they press in opposite directions ; and whether they gain or lose ground, neither separates from his rival. Thus we maintained the combat, body to body. Nevertheless that column which exceeded us in number, was bearing us down with superior force, when King *Bardus* came up, and assaulted their rear with his troops, who came into action with a shout which rended the air. Upon this a panic terror seized those barbarians, who had been flushed with a hope of surrounding us, but were themselves surrounded. They deserted their ranks in confusion, and



fled toward the shore of the Sea in the hope of regaining their barks, which had now considerably advanced up the stream. A dreadful carnage ensued, and many prisoners were taken.

The combat being finished, I said to *Cephas*: The Gauls are indebted for their victory to the counsel which you gave the King; for my part, to you I owe the preservation of my honour. I had solicited a post which I knew not how to fill; I ought to have exhibited an example of valour, to those who were under my command; but was incapable of doing it, when your presence re-kindled a sense of duty. I imagined that the initiations of Egypt had fortified me against all apprehension of danger; but it is easy to be brave amidst conflicts out of which you are sure of escaping. *Cephas* thus replied: "O *Amasis*! there is more fortitude in confessing a fault, than there is weakness in committing it. It is *Hercules* who has given us the victory; but, after him, it was surprise which robbed our enemies of courage, and which had shaken your's. Military valour like every other virtue is to be acquired only by exercise. We ought on all occasions to be diffident of ourselves. In vain do we trust to our own experience; in the aid of Heaven alone our confidence should be placed. While we are buckling on our armour to defend us before, fortune strikes at us from behind. Confidence in the Gods alone is a defence on every side."

To *Hercules* we consecrated part of the spoils taken from the Britons. The Druids advised to burn the prisoners, because the Britons were in use to treat those whom they took in battle from the Gauls in this manner. But I presented myself in the assembly of the Gauls, and thus addressed them: "O ye Nations! you see from my example, whether the Gods delight in human sacrifices. They have deposited the victory in your generous hands: Will you stain them with the blood of the miserable? Has there not enough of blood been shed in the rage of battle? Can you now spill it, without passion, and in the joy of triumph? Your enemies immolate their prisoners. Surpass them in generosity as you surpass them in courage." The Iarles, and all the warriors, received this advice with loud applause: and it was decreed that the prisoners of war should be disarmed, and reduced to slavery.



I was the cause therefore of the abolition of the Law which condemned them to the flames. I likewise proved the occasion of abrogating the custom of sacrificing innocents to *Mars*, and of reducing the shipwrecked to servitude. Thus I was thrice useful to Mankind in the Gauls; once by my success, and twice by my misfortunes: so true it is that the Gods can when they please bring good out of evil.

We returned to Lutetia loaded with the acclamations and applause of the People. The first anxiety expressed by the King, on his arrival, was to carry us with him to visit his garden. The greatest part of our trees were in great forwardness. He admired first how Nature had preserved their fruits from the attack of the birds. The chestnut, still in a milky state, was covered with leather, and with a prickly shell. The tender walnut was protected by a hard shell and a bitter outward case. The soft fruits were defended, previous to their maturity, by their roughness, their acidity, or their verdure. Those which were ripe invited the hand to gather them. The gold-coloured apricot, the velvet peach and the cottony quince, exhaled the sweetest of perfumes. The boughs of the plum-tree were covered with violet fruits, besprinkled with a white powder. The grapes, already of a vermilion hue, hung in clusters from the vine; and over the broad leaves of the fig-tree, the half-opened fig distilled it's juice in drops of honey and crystal. "It is easy to see," said the King, "that these fruits are presents sent from Heaven. They are not, like the seeds of our forest-trees, at a height which we cannot reach.\* They present themselves to the hand. Their smiling colours allure the eye, their sweet perfumes the organs of smelling, and they seem formed for the mouth from their size and roundness." But when that good King had caught the flavour of them by his palate: "O real gift of *Jupiter*!" exclaimed he, "no aliment prepared by human skill is once to be compared to them! They excel in sweetness the honey and the cream. O, my dear friends, my much respected guests, you have bestowed on me a present of much higher value

\* The walnut and chestnut grow at a great height; but these fruits fall to the ground when they are ripe, and do not break in falling like the soft fruits, which besides grow on trees which are easily scaled.



“than my kingdom! You have introduced into savage Gaul a  
“portion of delicious Egypt. I prefer a single one of these  
“trees to all the mines of tin which render the Britons so rich  
“and so haughty.”

He sent for the principal inhabitants of the city, and made each of them taste those wondrous fruits. He recommended to them carefully to preserve the seeds, and to put them in the ground at the proper season. From the joy expressed by this excellent Prince, and by his People, I was made sensible that Man’s highest delight consists in doing good to his fellow-creatures.

*Cephas* said to me: “Now is the time to shew to my compatriots the use of the Arts of Egypt. I have saved from the shipwrecked vessel the greatest part of our machines; but hitherto they have remained unemployed; nay, I durst not so much as look at them; for they reminded me too affectingly of the loss of you. The moment is come for turning them to account. Those fields of corn are now ripe; that hemp and those flaxes are hastening to be so.”

Having gathered those plants, we taught the King and his People the use of mills, for reducing corn to flower, and the different processes of preparing dough, in order to make bread of it.\* Previous to our arrival, the Gauls peeled wheat, oats and barley, by pounding them with wooden mallets in the trunk of a tree hollowed out, and satisfied themselves with boiling the grain in this state for food. We afterwards shewed them the method of steeping hemp in water, to separate the filaments from the straw, of drying it, of beating it, of dressing it, of spinning it, and of twisting several threads together for the purpose of making cordage. We made them observe how those cords, by their strength and pliancy, are adapted to act as the nerves of every species of machinery. We taught them the art of distending the threads of flax on looms, to weave into cloth by means of the shuttle; and how these gentle and useful

\* The Gauls lived, as did all other savage tribes, on *pap*, or *frumenty*. The Romans themselves were for three hundred years ignorant of the use of bread; according to *Pliny* boiled grain or *frumenty* constituted the greatest part of their aliment.



labours might employ the young people, innocently and agreeably, during the long nights of Winter.

We instructed them in the use of the auger, of the gimlet, of the plane, and of the saw, invented by the ingenious *Dedalus*: as these tools furnish Man with additional hands, and fashion to his use a multitude of trees, the timber of which would have gone to waste in the forests. We taught them to extract from their knotty trunk powerful screws, and ponderous presses, fit for squeezing out the juice of an infinite number of fruits, and for forcing oils out of the hardest nuts. They did not gather many grapes from our vines; but we inspired them with an ardent desire of multiplying the slips, not only by the excellence of the fruit from the bough, but by letting them taste the wines of Crete, and of the Isle of Thasos, which we had preserved in urns.

After having disclosed to them the use of an infinity of benefits which Nature has placed on the face of the Earth, obvious to the eye of Man, we aided them in discovering those which she has deposited under their feet; how water may be found in places the most remote from rivers, by means of wells invented by *Danaus*; in what manner metals are discovered, though buried in the bowels of the Earth; how, after having them melted into bars, they could be hammered upon the anvil, to prepare them for being divided into tablets and plates; in what manner, by a process the most simple, clay may be fashioned on the potter's wheel, into figures and vases of every form. We surprised them much more, by shewing them bottles of glass made with sand and flint. They were delighted to ecstasy, to see the liquor which they contained manifest to the eye but secured from the touch.

But when we read to them the books of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, which treat of the liberal Arts, and of the natural Sciences, then it was that their admiration exceeded all bounds. At first they were incapable of comprehending how speech could issue from a dumb book, and how the thoughts of the earliest Egyptians could possibly have been transmitted to them, on the frail leaves of the papyrus. When they afterwards heard the recital of our discoveries; when they saw the prodigies effected by the mechanical powers, which move the heaviest bodies by



means of small levers, and those of Geometry, which can measure distances the most inaccessible, they became perfectly transported. The wonders of chemistry and of magic, and the various phenomena of physics hurried them from rapture to rapture. But when we predicted to them an eclipse of the Moon, which prior to our arrival, they considered as an accidental failure of that planet, and when they saw at the very moment which we had indicated, the orb of night become dark in the midst of a serene sky, they fell at our feet saying: "Assuredly, ye are Gods!"

*Omfi*, that young Druid who had discovered so much sensibility to my afflictions, attended all our lessons of instruction. "From your intelligence," said he to us, "and from your beneficence, I am tempted to believe you some of the superior Gods, but from the ills which you have endured I perceive that you are only men like ourselves. You must undoubtedly have contrived the means of climbing up into Heaven; or the inhabitants of the celestial regions must have descended into highly favoured Egypt, to communicate to you so many benefits, and so much illumination. Your Arts and Sciences surpass our understanding, and can be the effects only of a power divine. You are the darling children of the superior Gods: as for us we are abandoned of *Jupiter* to the infernal deities. Our country is covered with unproductive forests, inhabited by maleficent genii, who disseminate through the whole of our existence discord, civil broils, terrors, ignorance and mischievous opinions. Our lot is a thousand times more deplorable than that of the beasts, which, clothed, lodged and fed by the hand of Nature, follow undeviatingly their instinct, without being tormented by the fears of Hell."

"The Gods," replied *Cephas*, "have not been unjust to any Country, nor to any one individual. Every Country possesses blessings peculiar to itself, and which serve to keep up a communication among all Nations, by a reciprocal interchange of commodities. Gaul contains the metals which Egypt wants; her forests are more beautiful; her cattle yield milk in greater abundance; and the fleeces of her sheep are greater in quantity, and give a finer wool. But wheresoever the habitation of Man is fixed, his portion is always far superior to that of



“ the beasts, because he is endowed with a reason which ex-  
 “ pands in proportion to the obstacles which it surmounts, and  
 “ because he alone of animals is capable of applying to his own  
 “ use means which nothing can resist, such as fire. Thus *Jupi-*  
 “ *ter* has bestowed upon him empire over the Earth, by illumi-  
 “ nating his reason with the intelligence of Nature herself, and  
 “ by confiding in him alone that element which is her prime  
 “ moving principle.”

*Cephas* afterwards talked to *Omfi*, and to the Gauls, of the rewards prepared in the World to come, for virtue and beneficence, and the punishments laid up in store for vice and tyranny; of the metempsychosis, and the other mysteries of the religion of Egypt, as far as a stranger is permitted to be instructed in them. The Gauls, consoled by his discourse, and enriched by our presents, called us their benefactors, their fathers, the true interpreters of the Gods. King *Bardus* thus addressed us: “ I will adore *Jupiter* alone. As *Jupiter* loves Mankind, he must afford particular protection to Kings, to whom the felicity of whole Nations is entrusted. I will likewise pay homage to *Isis*, who has brought down his benefits to the Earth, that she may present the vows of my People to the Sovereign of the Gods.” At the same time he gave orders to rear a temple to *Isis*,\* at some distance from the city, in the midst of the forest; to erect her statue in it, with the infant *Orus* in her arms, such as we had brought it with us in our vessel; to honour her with all the sacred ceremonies of Egypt; and that her priestesses, clothed in linen, should night and day adore her with songs, and by a life of purity which exalts Man to the Gods.

He afterwards expressed a wish to be instructed in reading and tracing the Ionic characters. He was so struck with the utility of letters, that, transported with delight, he sung the following strains:

“ Behold the magic characters which have power to recall the  
 “ dead from the dark recesses of the tomb. They inform us  
 “ what our fathers thought a thousand years ago; and a thou-  
 “ sand years hence, they will be instructing our children what

\* It is pretended that this is the ancient Church of Saint-Genevieve, rear-  
 ed to *Isis*, prior to the introduction of Christianity among the Gauls.



“ we think at this day. There is no arrow that flies so far,  
“ neither is there any lance so strong. They can reach a man  
“ though entrenched on the summit of a mountain ; they pene-  
“ trate into the head though fortified with the helmet, and force  
“ their way to the heart in defiance of the cuirass. They calm  
“ seditions, they administer sage counsels, they conciliate affec-  
“ tion, they comfort, they strengthen ; but in the hands of a  
“ wicked man they produce quite an opposite effect.”

“ My son,” said this good King to me one day, “ Are the  
“ moons of thy country more beautiful than ours ? Hast thou  
“ remaining in Egypt any object of regret ? Thou hast brought  
“ to us from thence all the best of human blessings : plants, arts  
“ and sciences. All Egypt ought to be here for thy sake. Con-  
“ tinue to live with us. After my death thou shalt reign over  
“ the Gauls. I have no child, except an only daughter named  
“ Gotha : to thee I will give her in marriage. A whole Peo-  
“ ple, believe me, is of more value than one family, and a good  
“ wife than the land of one’s nativity. Gotha’s residence is in  
“ that island below, the trees of which are visible from this spot ;  
“ for it is proper that a young woman should be brought up re-  
“ mote from men, and especially at a distance from the Courts  
“ of Kings.”

The desire of making a Nation happy suspended in me the  
love of Country. I consulted *Cephas* on the subject, who adopt-  
ed the views of the King. I besought that Prince therefore to  
permit me to be conducted to the place of his daughter’s habi-  
tation, that, in conformity to the custom of the Egyptians, I  
might endeavour to render myself agreeable to the person who  
was one day to be the partner of my pains and of my pleasures.  
The King gave orders to an aged female, who came every day  
to the palace for provisions to Gotha, to conduct me to her pre-  
sence. The ancient lady made me embark with her in a barge  
loaded with necessaries ; and committing ourselves to the course  
of the stream, we landed in a very little while on the island  
where the daughter of King *Bardus* resided. This island was  
called the Isle of Swans, because the birds of that name resorted  
thither in the Spring, to make their nests among the reeds that  
surround it’s shores, and which at all seasons fed on the *anserina*



*potentilla*,\* produced there in great abundance. On our landing, we perceived the Princess seated under a clump of alder-trees, in the midst of a down yellowed all over with the flowers of the anserina. She was encompassed with Swans, which she called to her by scattering among them the grains of oats. Though she was under the shade of the tree, she surpassed those birds in whiteness, from the purity of her complexion, and the fairness of her ermine robe. Her hair was of the most beautiful black ; and she wore it encircled, as well as her robe, with a red-coloured riband. Two women, who attended her at some distance, advanced to meet us. The one tied our barge to the branches of a willow ; and the other, taking me by the hand, presented me to her mistress. The young Princess made me sit down by her on the grass ; after which she invited me to partake with her of some flower of millet boiled, of a duck roasted on the bark of the birch-tree, with goat milk in the horn of an elk. She then waited, in modest silence, till I should explain to her the intention of my visit.

Having tasted, in compliance with the custom, the dishes presented to me, I addressed her thus : “ O beautiful *Gotha*, I “ aspire to the honour of being son-in-law to the King your father, and I visit you with his consent, to know whether my “ suit will be agreeable to you ? ”

The daughter of King *Bardus*, with downcast looks, replied : “ O stranger ! I have been demanded in marriage by many “ Iarles, who are from day to day making my father magnificent presents, in the hope of obtaining my hand ; but no one “ of them possesses my affection. Fighting is the only art which “ they understand. As for thee, I believe, if thou becomest

\* The *anserina potentilla* is found in great abundance on the banks of the Seine, in the vicinity of Paris. It sometimes renders them completely yellow, toward the close of Summer, by the colour of it's flowers. This flower is rose-formed, about the size of a shilling, without rising upon a stem. It enamels the ground, as does likewise it's foliage, which spreads very far in form of net-work. Geese are very fond of this plant. It's leaves, in form of a goose-foot, adhering closely to the ground, admit of the water-fowl's walking over them as upon a carpet, and the yellow colour of it's flowers forms a very beautiful contrast with the azure of the river, and the verdure of the trees ; but especially with the marbled colour of the geese, which are perceptible on this ground at a great distance.



“ my husband, thou wilt make my happiness thy study, since  
“ thou already hast devoted thyself to the happiness of my Peo-  
“ ple. Thou wilt instruct me in the arts of Egypt, and I shall  
“ become like unto the good *Isis* of thy Country, whose name  
“ is mentioned with such profound respect all over Gaul.”

After she had thus spoken, she attentively considered the different parts of my habit, admired the fineness of their texture, and made her women examine them, who lifted up their eyes to Heaven in astonishment. After a short pause, looking at me, she thus proceeded: “ Though thou comest from a Country  
“ replenished with every species of wealth, and every produc-  
“ tion of ingenuity, do not imagine that I am in want of any  
“ thing, and that I myself am destitute of intelligence. My fa-  
“ ther has trained me up in the love of labour, and he causes  
“ me to live in the greatest abundance of all things.”

At the same time she introduced me into her palace, where twenty of her women were employed in plucking river-fowls, to make for her ornaments and robes of their plumage. She shewed me baskets and mats of very delicate rushes, woven by her own hand; vessels of fine pewter in great quantities; a hundred skins of wolves, martens and foxes, with twenty bear-skins. “ All this treasure,” said she to me, “ shall be thine, if  
“ thou espoucest me; but upon these conditions, that thou takest  
“ no other wife but me; and thou shalt not oblige me to labour  
“ the ground, or to go in quest of the skins of the deer and of  
“ the buffaloes which thou mayest kill in hunting in the forests;  
“ for such tasks are imposed by husbands on their wives in  
“ these countries, but which I do not at all like; and that, if at  
“ length thou becomest tired of living with me, thou shalt re-  
“ place me in this isle, whither thou hast come to woo me, and  
“ where my pleasure consists in feeding the Swans, and in chant-  
“ ing the praises of *Seine*, the nymph of *Ceres*.”

I smiled within myself at the simplicity of the daughter of King *Bardus*, and at the sight of what she denominated treasure; but as the true riches of a wife consist in the love of industry, candour, frankness, gentleness, and that there is no dowry once to be compared to these virtues, I replied to her: “ O  
“ beautiful *Gotha*, marriage among the Egyptians is a legal  
“ union, a mutual interchange of possessions and of sorrows;



“thou shalt be dear to me as the better half of myself.” I then made her a present of a skein of flax, which grew and was prepared in the gardens of the King her father. She received it with delight, and said to me: “My friend, I will spin this flax, and have it weaved into a robe for the day of my espousals.” She presented me, in her turn with this little dog which you see, so covered over with hair that his eyes are scarcely discernible. She said to me: “The name of this dog is Gallus; he is descended from a race remarkable for their fidelity. He will follow thee wheresoever thou goest, over the land, over the snow, and into the water. He will accompany thee in the chace, nay to the field of battle. He will be to thee, at all seasons, a faithful companion, and a symbol of my affection.” As the day was drawing to a close she reminded me that it was time to retire, desiring me in future not to come down along the current of the river, but to travel by land on the banks till I came opposite to her island, where her women should be in waiting to ferry me over, and thus conceal our mutual felicity from jealous eyes. I took my leave of her, and returned to my home, forming in my own mind as I went on my way a thousand agreeable projects.

One day as I was going to visit her, through a path cut out in the forest, in compliance with the advice which she had given me, I met one of the principal Iarles attended by a great number of his vassals. They were armed as if they had been in a state of war. For my part I wore no armour, like a man who was at peace with all the World, and whose mind was occupied only with the reveries of love. The Iarle advanced toward me with a haughty air, and thus accosted me: “What seekest thou in this country of warriors, with these womanish arts of thine? Meanest thou to teach us how to spin flax, and expectest thou to obtain the beauteous *Gotha* as thy recompense? My name is *Torstan*. I was one of the companions of *Carnut*. I have been engaged in twenty-two battles by Sea, and have come off victorious in thirty single combats. Thrice have I fought with *Vittiking* that renowned Prince of the North. I am going to carry thy hairy scalp and lay it at the feet of the god *Mars*, from whom thou madest thy escape, and to quaff from thy skull the milk of thy flocks.”



After an address so brutal, I apprehended that the barbarian was about to assassinate me ; but uniting magnanimity to ferociousness, he took off his head-piece and cuirass, which were of bull's hide, and presenting to me two naked swords desired me to make my choice.

It was useless to think of reasoning with a man under the influence of jealousy and madness. I secretly invoked the aid of *Jupiter*, the protector of strangers ; and having chosen the shorter but the lighter of the two swords, though I had scarcely strength to wield it, a dreadful combat ensued, while his vassals surrounded us as witnesses, expecting to see the earth reddened either with the blood of their chieftain, or with that of their guest.

My intention at first was to disarm the enemy, in the view of saving his life, but he did not leave this in my option. Rage transported him beyond all the bounds of prudence. The first blow which he aimed at me carried off a huge splinter from a neighbouring oak. I shunned the blow by stooping down my head. This movement redoubled his insolence. "Wert thou," exclaimed he, "to stoop down to hell thou shouldest not escape me." Then taking his sword in both hands, he fell furiously upon me ; but *Jupiter* preserving my senses in complete tranquillity, I parried with the back of my sword the stroke with which he was going to fell me to the ground, and presenting to him the point he violently rushed upon it, and run himself through the breast. Two streams of blood issued at once from the wound and from his mouth ; he fell backward, the sword dropped from his hands, he raised his eyes to Heaven and expired. His vassals immediately encompassed his body, uttering loud and horrid cries. But they suffered me to depart without the least molestation ; for generosity is a prominent character in those barbarians. I retired to the city sadly deploring my victory.

I gave an account of what had happened to *Cephas* and to the King. "Those Iarles," said the King, "give me much uneasiness. They tyrannize over my People. Every profligate in the Country on whom they can lay their hands, they take care to wheedle over to strengthen their party. They sometimes render themselves formidable even to myself. But the



“ Druids are still much more so. No one dares to do any  
“ thing here without their consent. Which way shall I go to  
“ work to enfeeble those two powers? I imagined that by in-  
“ creasing the influence of the Iarles, I should raise a bulwark  
“ to oppose to that of the Druids. But the contrary has taken  
“ place. The power of the Druids is increased. It appears  
“ as if there were an understanding between them for the pur-  
“ pose of extending their oppression over the People, nay even  
“ over my guests. O stranger,” said he to me, “ you have had  
“ but too much experience of this !” Then, turning to *Cephas*,  
“ O my friend,” added he, “ you who in the course of your  
“ travels have acquired the knowledge necessary to the govern-  
“ ment of Mankind, give some instruction, on this subject, to a  
“ King who never was beyond the limits of his own Country.  
“ Oh ! how sensible I am of the benefit which Kings might de-  
“ rive from travelling.”

“ I will unfold you, O King,” replied *Cephas*, “ some part  
“ of the Policy and Philosophy of Egypt. One of the funda-  
“ mental Laws of Nature is, that every thing must be governed  
“ by contraries. From contraries the harmony of the Universe  
“ results. The same thing holds good with respect to that of  
“ Nations. The power of arms and that of Religion are at va-  
“ riance in every Country. These two powers are necessary to  
“ the preservation of the State. When the People are oppres-  
“ sed by their Chieftains they flee for refuge to the Priests ;  
“ and when oppressed by their Priests they seek refuge in the  
“ Chieftains. The power of the Druids has increased therefore  
“ with you, by that very increase of the power of the Iarles ;  
“ for these two powers universally counterbalance each other.  
“ If you wish then to diminish one of the two, so far from aug-  
“ menting it’s counterpoise, as you have done, you ought on  
“ the contrary to reduce it.

“ But there is a method still more simple, and more infalli-  
“ ble, of diminishing at once both the powers which are so of-  
“ fensive to you. It is to render your People happy ; for they  
“ will no longer ramble in quest of protection out of yourself,  
“ and these two powers will be speedily annihilated, as they are  
“ indebted for the whole of their influence only to the opinion  
“ of that very people. In this you will succeed, by furnishing



“ the Gauls with ample means of subsistence, by the establish-  
“ ment of the arts which sweeten human life, and especially by  
“ honouring and encouraging agriculture, which is it's main  
“ support. While the People thus live in the enjoyment of abun-  
“ dance, the Iarles and the Druids will find themselves in the  
“ same state. Whenever these two corps shall have learned to be  
“ content with their condition, they will no longer think of dis-  
“ turbing the repose of others ; they will no longer have at their  
“ disposal that crowd of miserable wretches, half-starving with  
“ cold and hunger, who for a morsel of bread are ever ready to  
“ abet the violence of the one, or the superstition of the other.  
“ The result of this humane policy will be, that your own pow-  
“ er, supported by that of a People whom your exertions are  
“ rendering happy, must completely absorb that of the Iarles  
“ and of the Druids. In every well regulated Monarchy, the  
“ power of the King is in the People, and that of the People in  
“ the King. You will then reduce your nobility and the priest-  
“ hood to their natural functions. The Iarles will defend the  
“ Nation against foreign invasion, and will be no longer oppres-  
“ sors at home : and the Druids will no longer govern the  
“ Gauls by terror, but will comfort them, and by their supe-  
“ rior illumination and compassionate counsels, will assist them  
“ in bearing the ills of life, as the ministers of every Religion  
“ ought to do.

“ By such a policy it is that Egypt has attained a degree of  
“ power, and of felicity, which renders her the centre of the  
“ Nations, and that the wisdom of her priesthood commands so  
“ much respect over the face of the whole Earth. Keep this  
“ maxim therefore constantly in view : That every excess of  
“ power in a religious or military corps, arises out of the wretch-  
“ edness of the People, because all power is derived from them.  
“ There is no other way of curbing that excess but by rendering  
“ the People happy.

“ When once your authority shall be completely established,  
“ communicate a share of it to Magistrates selected from among  
“ persons of the most distinguished goodness. Bend your chief  
“ attention to the education of the children of the commonalty :  
“ but take care not to entrust it to the first adventurer who may  
“ be disposed to undertake it, and still less to any one particular



“ corps, such as that of the Druids, the interests of which are  
“ always different from those of the State. Consider the edu-  
“ cation of the children of your People as the most valuable  
“ part of your administration. It alone can form citizens.  
“ Without it the best Laws are good for nothing.

“ While you wait for the means and an opportunity of laying  
“ a solid foundation whereon to rear the fabric of Gallic felici-  
“ ty, oppose some barriers to the ills which they endure. Insti-  
“ tute a variety of festivals to dissipate their thoughts by the  
“ charm of music and dancing. Counterbalance the united in-  
“ fluence of the Iarles and Druids by that of the women. Assist  
“ these in emerging out of their domestic slavery. Let them  
“ assist at the festive meetings and assemblies, nay at the reli-  
“ gious feasts. Their natural gentleness will gradually soften  
“ the ferocity of both manners and religion.

“ Your observations,” replied the King to *Cephas*, “ are re-  
“ plete with truth, and your maxims with wisdom. I mean to  
“ profit by them. It is my determination to render this city  
“ illustrious for it’s industry. In the mean while, my People  
“ ask for nothing better than to sing and make merry ; I my-  
“ self will compose songs for their use, as for the women I am  
“ fully persuaded that their aid will be of high importance to  
“ me. By their means I shall begin the work of rendering my  
“ People happy ; at least by the influence of Manners, if I can-  
“ not by that of Laws.”

While this good King was speaking, we perceived on the op-  
posite bank of the Seine the body of *Torstan*. It was stripped  
naked, and appeared on the grass like a hillock of snow. His  
friends and vassals moved solemnly around it, and from time to  
time rent the air with fearful cries. One of his kindred crossed  
the river in a boat, and addressed the King in these words :  
“ Blood calls for blood ; the Egyptian must be put to death !”  
The King made no reply to this person ; but as soon as he had  
retired accosted me in these words : “ Your defence of your-  
“ self was perfectly warrantable and legal ; but were this my  
“ personal quarrel I should be under the necessity of withdraw-  
“ ing from the consequences. If you remain here, you will be  
“ obliged, by the Laws, to fight one after another with all the  
“ kindred of *Torstan*, who are very numerous, and sooner or



“later fall you must. On the other hand, if I defend you  
“against them as I mean to do, this rising city must be involv-  
“ed in your destruction; for the relations, the friends and the  
“vassals of *Torstan*, will assuredly come and lay siege to it;  
“and they will be joined by multitudes of the Gauls whom the  
“Druids, irritated as they are against you, are already exciting  
“to vengeance. Nevertheless be confident of this, you will here  
“find men determined not to abandon you, be the danger ever  
“so threatening.”

He immediately issued his orders to provide for the security of the city; and instantly the inhabitants were seen in motion along the ramparts, resolved to a man to stand a siege in my defence. Here they collected a huge pile of flint-stones; there they planted prodigious cross-bows, and long beams armed with prongs of iron. Meanwhile we perceived innumerable tribes of men marching along the banks of the Seine in martial array. They were the friends, the kinsmen, the vassals of *Torstan* with their slaves; the partisans of the Druids; such as were jealous of the King's establishment, and those who from levity of mind affect novelties. Some floated down the river in boats; others crossed the forest in lengthened columns. They took their station as one man on the banks adjoining to *Lutetia*, and their number surpassed the powers of reckoning. It was absolutely impossible I ever should escape them. In vain would it have been to make the attempt under favour of the darkness; for as soon as night set in, the besiegers kindled innumerable fires, with which the river was illuminated to the very bottom of it's channel.

Reduced to this perplexity, I formed in my own mind a resolution which was well-pleasing to *Jupiter*. As I no longer expected any thing good at the hands of men, I resolved to throw myself into the arms of Virtue, and to save this infant city by a voluntary surrender of myself to the enemy. Scarcely had I reposed my confidence in the Gods, when they appeared for my deliverance.

*Omfi* presented himself before us, holding in his hand an oaken bough on which had grown a sprig of the mistletoe. At sight of this little shrub, which had almost proved so fatal to me, I shuddered with horror; but I was not aware that we are fre-



quently indebted for safety to that which menaced us with destruction, as we likewise frequently meet destruction in what promised us safety. "O King!" said *Omfi*, "O *Cephas*! be composed; I bear in my hand the means of saving your friend. Young stranger," said he to me, "were all the nations of Gaul combined against thee, armed with this thou mayest pass through the thickest of their hosts, while not one of thy numerous foes durst so much as look thee in the face. It is a sprig of the mistletoe, which grew on this oaken branch. Permit me to inform you from whence proceeds the power of this plant, equally formidable to the Gods and to the men of this country.\* *Balder* one day informed his mother *Friga*, that he had dreamed he was going to die. *Friga* conjured the fire, the metals, the stones, diseases, the water, animals, serpents, that they would not hurt her son; and the incantations of *Friga* were so powerful that nothing could resist them. *Balder* mingled therefore in the combats of the Gods, undaunted amidst showers of arrows. *Loke* his enemy was eagerly desirous of discovering the cause of it. He assumed the form of an old woman, and threw himself in the way of *Friga*. *Flights of arrows and showers of massy rock*, said he to her, *fall upon thy son Balder, but hurt him not. I know it well*, said *Friga*; *all these things have pledged unto me their oath. Nothing in Nature has the power of doing him harm. This grace have I obtained of every being possessed of power. Of one little shrub alone I asked it not, because it appeared to me too feeble to excite apprehension. It adhered to the bark of an oak; and scarcely had the advantage of a roof. It lived without earth. The name of it is Mistletoe. Thus spake Friga. Loke* went instantly in quest of this little shrub; and mixing in the hosts of the Gods while they were engaged in combat with the invulnerable *Balder*, for battles are their

\* See the *Volospa* of the Irish. This history of *Balder* has a singular resemblance to that of *Achilles* plunged by his mother *Thetis* in the river *Styx* as far as the heel, in order to render him invulnerable, and after all killed by a wound in that part of the body which had not been dipped, from an arrow discharged by the hand of the effeminate *Paris*. These two fictions of the Greeks, and of the Savage Nations of the North, convey a moral meaning founded in truth; namely, that the powerful ought never to despise the feeble.



“ sports, he approached the blind *Hæder*. *Wherefore*, said he  
 “ to him, *levellest thou not likewise weapons against Balder ! I*  
 “ *am blind*, replied *Hæder*, *neither am I provided with arms.*  
 “ *Loke* presented to him the mistletoe of the oak, and said :  
 “ *Balder is just before thee.* The blind *Hæder* let fly the fatal  
 “ shaft : *Balder* falls transfixed and lifeless. Thus the invul-  
 “ nerable son of a Goddess was slain by a twig of mistletoe,  
 “ launched from the hand of one blind. This is the origin of  
 “ the respect paid in the Gauls to this shrub.

“ Compassionate, O stranger ! a People governed by terror,  
 “ because the voice of reason is not heard among them. I flat-  
 “ tered myself on thy arrival with the hope that thou wert des-  
 “ tined to found, and to extend her empire, by introducing the  
 “ Arts of Egypt ; and that I should behold the accomplishment  
 “ of an ancient oracle universally received among us, by which  
 “ a destiny the most sublime is assigned to this city ; that it’s  
 “ temples shall rear their heads above the tops of the forests ;  
 “ that it shall assemble within it’s precincts the men of all Na-  
 “ tions ; that the ignorant should resort hither for instruction,  
 “ the miserable for consolation ; and that there the Gods should  
 “ communicate themselves to men, as in highly favoured Egypt.  
 “ But, ah, these happy times are still removed to an awful dis-  
 “ tance.”

The King thus addressed *Cephas* and myself : “ O my friends,  
 “ avail yourselves without a moment’s delay, of the succour  
 “ which *Omfi* brings you.” At the same time he gave orders  
 to prepare a barge for us, provided with excellent rowers. He  
 presented us with two ashen half-pikes, mounted with steel by  
 his own hand, and two ingots of gold the first fruits of his com-  
 merce. He next employed some of his confidential servants to  
 conduct us to the territory of the Veneti. “ They are,” said  
 he to us, “ the best navigators of all the Gauls. They will fur-  
 “ nish you with the means of returning into your own Country,  
 “ for their vessels traffic up the Mediterranean. They are be-  
 “ sides a People of singular goodness. As for you, O my  
 “ Friends ! your names shall be ever held in honour all over the  
 “ Gauls. *Cephas* and *Amasis* shall be the burthen of my songs ;  
 “ and so long as I live their names shall frequently resound  
 “ along these shores.”



We accordingly took leave of this good King, and of *Omfi* my deliverer. They accompanied us to the brink of the Seine, dissolved into tears, as we ourselves likewise were. As we passed through the city, crowds of people followed us exhibiting the tenderest marks of affection. The women carried their infants aloft in their arms, and upon their shoulders, displaying to us with tears in their eyes the linen garments in which they were clothed. We bid adieu to King *Bardus* and *Omfi*, who could hardly summon up sufficient resolution to meet the moment of separation. We perceived them for a long time on the most elevated pinnacle of the city, waving their hands in token of saying farewell.

Scarcely had we put off from the island, when the friends of *Torstan* crowded into boats innumerable, and rushed out to attack us with tremendous shouts. But at sight of the hallowed shrub which I carried in my hands, and which I raised into the air, they fell prostrate on the bottom of their barges, as if they had been struck with a power divine; such is the force of superstition over minds enslaved. We accordingly passed through the midst of them without sustaining the slightest injury.

We forced our way up the river during the course of a day. After this, having gone ashore, we bent our course toward the West across forests almost impracticable. Their soil was here and there covered with trees, laid low by the hand of Time. It had throughout a carpeting of moss thick and spongy, into which we sometimes sunk up to the knees. The roads which divide those forests, and which serve as boundaries to different Nations of the Gauls, were so little frequented, that trees of considerable size had shot up in the midst of them. The tribes which inhabited them were still more savage than their Country. They had no other temples except some thunder-struck yew-tree, or an aged oak in the branches of which some Druid had planted an ox-head with the horns. When in the night-time the foliage of those trees was agitated by the Winds, and illumined by the light of the Moon, they imagined that they saw the Spirits and the Gods of their forests. Upon this, seized with a religious horror, they prostrated themselves to the ground, and adored with trembling those vain phantoms of their own imagi-



nation. Our guides themselves never durst have traversed those awful regions, which religion had rendered formidable in their eyes, had not their confidence been supported much more by the branch of mistletoe with which I was armed, than by all our reasonings.

We did not find in the course of our progress through the Gauls any appearance of a rational worship of the DEITY, excepting that one evening, on our arrival at the summit of a snow-covered mountain, we perceived there a fire, in the midst of a grove of beech-trees and firs. A moss-grown rock, hewn out in form of an altar, served as a hearth to it. It was surrounded with large piles of dry wood, and with a large assortment of bear and wolf-skins, suspended on the boughs of the neighbouring trees. In every other respect there was not perceptible all around this solitude, through the whole extent of the Horizon, any one trace of human habitation. Our guides informed us, that this spot was consecrated to the God who presides over travellers. The word *consecrated* made me shudder. "Let us remove hence," said I to *Cephas*. "Every altar in the Gauls excites a thousand suspicions in my breast. I will henceforward pay homage to the DEITY only in the temples of Egypt." *Cephas* replied: "Reject every religion which subjects one man to another in the name of the Divinity, were it even in Egypt; but in every place where the good of Man is studied GOD is acceptably worshipped, were it even in Gaul. In every place the happiness of Men constitutes the Glory of God. For my part, I sacrifice at every altar where the miseries of the Human Race are relieved." As he said these words, he prostrated himself and put up his prayer: he then threw into the fire a log of fir, and some branches of the juniper-tree, which perfumed the air as the sparks with a crackling noise ascended upward. I imitated his example; after which we went and seated ourselves at the foot of the rock, in a place carpeted over with moss, and sheltered from the North-wind; and having covered ourselves with the skins which were suspended on the trees, notwithstanding the severity of the cold we passed the night in a comfortable degree of warmth. On the return of the morning, our guides informed us that we had to march all the day long over similar heights, without finding



wood, or fire, or habitation. We presented our acknowledgments a second time to Providence, for the asylum so seasonably afforded us; we replaced the skins on the trees with a religious exactness; we threw fresh wood upon the fire; and before we proceeded on our way, I engraved the following words on the bark of a beech-tree: CEPHAS AND AMASIS, IN THIS PLACE PRESENTED ADORATION TO THE DEITY WHO PRESIDES OVER TRAVELLERS.

We passed successively through the territories of the Carnutes,\* the Cenomanes, the Diablintes, the Redons, the Curiosolites, the inhabitants of Dariorigum, and at length we arrived on the Western extremity of Gaul, among the Veneti. The Veneti are the most expert navigators of those Seas. They have even founded a colony which bears their name, at the bottom of the Adriatic Gulf. As soon as they were informed of our being the friends of King *Bardus*, they loaded us with innumerable demonstrations of kindness. They proffered to carry us directly to Egypt, as far as which they have extended their commerce; but as they likewise trade to Greece, *Cephas* said to me: "Let us visit Greece; we shall there find frequent opportunities of returning into thy Country. The Greeks are the friends of the Egyptians. To Egypt they are indebted for the most illustrious of the founders of their cities. *Cecrops* it was who gave Laws to Athens, and *Inachus* to Argos. At Argos it is that *Agamemnon* reigns, whose renown is diffused over the face of the whole Earth. There shall we behold him crowned with glory, in the bosom of his family, and encompassed with Kings and Heroes. If he is still engaged in the siege of Troy, his ships will easily convey us to thy Country. Thou hast seen the most refined state of civilization in Egypt, and the grossest barbarism in the Gauls; thou wilt find in Greece a politeness and an elegance which will charm thee. Thou

\* The Carnutes were the inhabitants of the Pays Chartrain, Cenomanes, those of Mans, and the Diablintes, those of the adjacent country. The Redons, who inhabited the city of Rennes, had the Curiosolites in their vicinity; and the tribes of Dariorigum were neighbours to the Veneti, who inhabited Vannes in Brittany. It is alleged that the Venetians of the Adriatic Gulf, who bear the same name in Latin, derive their origin from them. Consult *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, and *Danville's Geography*.



“ wilt thus have had the spectacle of the three periods through  
“ which most Nations pass. In the first, they are below Na-  
“ ture ; they come up to her in the second ; and in the third they  
“ go beyond her.”

The views of *Cephas* were too congenial with my passion for glory, to admit of my neglecting an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with men so illustrious as the Greeks, and especially one so renowned as *Agamemnon*. I waited with impatience for the return of a season favourable to navigation, for we had reached the Veneti in Winter. We passed that season in an incessant round of feasting, conformably to the custom of those nations. As soon as Spring returned we prepared to embark for Argos. Before we took our departure from the Gauls, we learned that our disappearing from Lutetia had restored tranquillity to the States of King *Bardus* ; but that his daughter, the beautiful *Gotha*, had retired with her women into the Temple of *Isis*, to whom she had consecrated herself ; and that night and day she made the forest resound with her melodious songs.

I sensibly felt the mortification of this excellent Prince, who lost his daughter from the very circumstance of our arrival in his Country, an event which was one day to crown him with immortal honour ; and I myself experienced the truth of the ancient maxim, That public consideration is to be acquired only at the expense of domestic felicity.

After a navigation somewhat tedious we passed the Straits of *Hercules*. I felt myself transported with joy at the sight of the sky of Africa, which recalled to my thoughts the climate of my native Country. We descried the lofty mountains of Mauritania, Abila situated in the mouth of the Strait of *Hercules*, and those which are called the Seven Brothers, because they are of the same elevation. They are covered from their summit down to the very water's edge, with palm-trees loaded with dates. We discovered the fertile hills of Numidia, which clothe themselves twice a year with harvests that rise under the shade of the olive-tree ; while studs of magnificent coursers pasture at all seasons in the ever-green vallies. We coasted along the shores of Syrtis, where the delicious fruit of the *Lotos* is produced, which as we are told make strangers who eat it to forget their Country. We soon came in sight of the sands of Lybia,



in the midst of which are situated the enchanted gardens of the Hesperides ; as if Nature took delight in making Countries the most unproductive to exhibit a contrast with the most fertile. We heard by night the roaring of tigers and lions, which came to bathe themselves in the Sea ; and by the dawning light of *Aurora* we could perceive them retiring toward the mountains.

But the ferocity of those animals comes not up to that of the men who inhabit this region of the Globe. Some of them immolate their children to *Saturn* ; others bury their women alive in the tombs of their husbands. There are some who, on the death of their Kings, cut the throats of all who served them when alive. Others endeavour to allure strangers to their shores, that they may devour them. We had one day nearly fallen a prey to those abominable men-eaters ; for while we were ashore, and peaceably exchanging with them some tin and iron for different sorts of the excellent fruits which their Country produces, they had contrived an ambush to intercept our getting on board, which with no small difficulty we escaped. After running such a dreadful risk, we durst not venture again to disembark on such inhospitable shores, which Nature has to no purpose placed under a sky so serene.

I was so irritated at the cross accidents of an expedition undertaken for the service of Mankind, and especially at this last instance of perfidy, that I said to *Cephas* : “ The whole Earth I believe, Egypt excepted, is peopled with barbarians. I am persuaded that absurd opinions, inhuman religions, and ferocious manners, are the natural portion of all Nations ; and it is undoubtedly the will of *Jupiter*, that they should be forever abandoned to these ; for he has subdivided them by so many different languages, that the most beneficent of Mankind, so far from having it in his power to reform them, is not capable of so much as making himself understood by them.”

*Cephas* thus replied : “ Let us not accuse *Jupiter* of the ills which infest Mankind. The human mind is so contracted, that though we sometimes feel ourselves much incommoded, it is impossible for us to imagine how we could mend our condition. If we remove a single one of the natural evils of which we so bitterly complain, we should behold starting up



“ out of it's absence a thousand other evils of much more dangerous consequence. Nations do not understand each other ; this you allege is an evil : but if all spake the same language, the impostures, the errors, the prejudices, the cruel opinions peculiar to each Nation, would be diffused all over the Earth. The general confusion which is now in the words, would in that case be in the thoughts.” He pointed to a bunch of grapes : “ *Jupiter*,” said he, “ has divided the Human Race into various languages, as he has divided that cluster into various berries containing a great number of seeds, that if one part of these seeds should become a prey to corruption, the other might be preserved.\*

“ *Jupiter* has divided the languages of men only for this end, that they might always be enabled to understand that of Nature. Nature universally speaks to their heart, illumines reason, and discloses happiness to them in a mutual commerce of kind offices. The passions of Mankind, on the contrary, as universally corrupt their hearts, darken their understanding, generate hatreds, wars, discords and superstitions, by disclosing happiness to them only in their personal interest, and in the depression of another.

“ The division of languages prevents those particular evils from becoming universal ; and if they are permanent in a Nation, it is because there are ambitious corps who make an advantage of them ; for error and vice are foreign to Man. It is the office of virtue to destroy those evils. Were it not for vice there would be little room for the exercise of virtue on the Earth. You are on your way to visit the Greeks. If what is said of them be true, you will find in their manners a politeness and an elegance which will delight you. Nothing

\* Most fruits which contain an aggregation of seeds, as pomegranates, apples, pears, oranges, and even the productions of the gramineous plants, such as the ear of corn, bear them divided by smooth skins, under frail capsules ; but the fruits which contain only a single seed, or rarely two, as the walnut, the hasel-nut, the almond, the chestnut, the cocoa, and all the kernel fruits, such as the cherry, the plum, the apricot, the peach, bear it enveloped in very hard capsules, of wood, of stone, or of leather, constructed with admirable art. Nature has secured the preservation of aggregated seeds, by multiplying their little cells, and that of solitary seeds, by fortifying their cases.



“ should be comparable to the virtue of their heroes, having passed through the test of long and severe calamities.”

All that I had hitherto experienced of the barbarism of Nations, stimulated the ardour which I felt to reach Argos, and to see the mighty *Agamemnon* happy in the midst of his family. By this time we descried the Cape of Tenarus, and had almost doubled it, when a furious gale of wind, blowing from the coast of Africa, drove us upon the *Strophades*. We perceived the Sea breaking against the rocks which surround those Islands. Sometimes as the billows retired, we had a view of their cavernous foundations: anon, swelling again the surge covered them tremendously roaring with a vast sheet of foam. Nevertheless our mariners persevered in defiance of the tempest, in attempting to make Cape Tenarus, when a violent gust of wind tore our sails to pieces. Upon this we were reduced to the necessity of stopping short at *Steniclaros*.

From this port we took the road, resolving to travel to Argos by land. It was on our way to this residence of the King of Kings, my good shepherd, that we had the good fortune to meet with you. At present we feel an inclination to accompany you to Mount Lyceum, for the purpose of beholding the assembly of a People whose shepherds display manners so hospitable and polite. As he pronounced these last words *Amasis* looked at *Cephas*, who expressed his approbation of them by an inclination of the head.

*Tirteus* said to *Amasis*: “ My son, your relation has deeply affected us; of this you have had a proof in the tears which we have shed. The Arcadians once were more miserable than the Gauls.\* We shall never forget the reign of *Lycaon*,

\* It would appear that the first state of Nations is the state of barbarism. We are almost tempted to believe it, from the example of the Greeks, prior to *Orpheus*; of the Arcadians, under *Lycaon*; of the Gauls, under the Druids: of the Romans, prior to *Numa*; and of almost all the savage tribes of America.

I am persuaded that barbarism is a malady incident to the infancy of Nations, and that it is foreign to the Nature of Man. It is frequently a re-action merely of the ills which rising Nations endure on the part of their enemies. These ills inspire them with a vengeance so much the more fierce, in proportion as the Constitution of their state is more liable to subversion. Accordingly, the small savage hordes of the New World, reciprocally eat the pri-



“ formerly changed into a wolf as a punishment of his cruelty.  
 “ But this subject would, circumstanced as we now are, carry  
 “ us too far. I give thanks to *Jupiter* for having disposed

soners taken in war, though the families of the same clan live together in the most perfect union. For a similar reason it is that the feeblér animals are much more vindictive than the powerful. The bee darts her sting into the hand of any one who comes near her hive; but the elephant sees the arrow of the huntsman fly close to him without turning aside out of his road.

Barbarism is sometimes introduced into a growing State by the individuals who join the association. Such was, in it's first beginnings, that of the Roman People, partly formed of the banditti collected by *Romulus*, and who did not begin to civilize till the times of *Numa*. In other cases, it communicates itself, like the pestilence, to a People already under regular government, merely from their coming into contact with their neighbours. Such was that of the Jews, who notwithstanding the severity of their Laws sacrificed their children to idols, after the example of the Canaanites. It most frequently incorporates itself with the legislation of a People, through the tyranny of a despot, as in Arcadia, under *Lycaon*, and still more dangerously, through the influence of an aristocratical corps, which perpetuates it in favour of their own authority, even through the ages of civilization. Such are in our own days the ferocious prejudices of Religion instilled into the Indians, in other respects so gentle, by their Bramins; and those of honour instilled into the Japanese so polished, by their Nobles.

I repeat it, for the consolation of the Human Race: moral evil is foreign to Man, as well as physical evil. Both the one and the other spring out of deviations from the Law of Nature. Nature has made Man good. Had she made him wicked, she, who is so uniformly consequential in her Works, would have furnished him with claws, with fangs, with poison, with some offensive weapon, as she has done to those of the beasts whose character is designed to be ferocious. She has not so much as provided him with defensive armour like other animals; but has created him the most naked and the most miserable, undoubtedly in the view of constraining him to have constant recourse to the humanity of his fellow-creatures, and to extend it to them in his turn. Nature no more makes whole Nations of men jealous, envious, malignant, eager to surpass each other, ambitious, conquerors, cannibals, than she forms Nations continually labouring under the leprosy, the purples, the fever, the small-pox. If you meet even an individual, subject to these physical evils, impute them without hesitation to some unwholesome aliment on which he feeds, or to a putrid air which infests the neighbourhood. In like manner, when you find barbarism in a rising Nation, refer it solely to the errors of it's policy, or to the influence of it's neighbours, just as you would the mischievousness of a child, to the vices of his education, or to bad example.

The course of the life of a People is similar to the course of the life of a man, as the port of a tree resembles that of it's branches.

I had devoted my attention, in the text, to the moral progress of political societies, barbarism, civilization, and corruption. I had in this note cast a



" you, as well as your friend, to pass the approaching day with  
 " us on Mount Lyceum. You will there behold no palace, no  
 " imperial city ; but still less will you see Savages and Druids :  
 " you will behold enamelled verdure, groves, brooks, and shep-  
 " herds vying with each other in giving you a cordial welcome.  
 " May Heaven incline you to make a longer abode among us !  
 " You will meet to-morrow, at the feast of *Jupiter*, multitudes  
 " of men from all parts of Greece, and Arcadians much better  
 " informed than I am, who are undoubtedly acquainted with  
 " the city of Argos. For my own part, I frankly acknowledge  
 " I never heard mention made either of the siege of *Troy*, nor  
 " of the glory of *Agamemnon*, celebrated as you tell me over all  
 " the Earth. I have employed myself wholly in promoting the  
 " happiness of my family, and that of my neighbours. I have  
 " no knowledge except of meadows and flocks. I never ex-  
 " tended my curiosity beyond the limits of my own Country.  
 " Your's, which has carried you so early in life into the heart of  
 " foreign Nations, is worthy of a God, or at least of a King."

Upon this *Tirteus* turning to his daughter, said : "*Cyanea*,  
 " bring hither the cup of *Hercules*." *Cyanea* immediately rose,  
 hastened to fetch it, and with a smile presented it to her father.  
*Tirteus* replenished it with wine ; then addressing himself to  
 the two strangers, said : "*Hercules*, like you, my dear guests,  
 " was a great traveller. Into this hut he deigned to enter ; here  
 " he reposed, while he was pursuing for a year together the  
 " brazen-footed hind of Mount *Erimanthus*. Out of this cup  
 " he drank : you are worthy of drinking from it after him. I  
 " use it only on high festivals, and never present it to any but  
 " my friends. No stranger ever drank from it before you."  
 He said, and tendered the cup to *Cephas*. It was made of the

glance, no less important, on the natural progress of Man ; childhood, youth,  
 maturity, old-age ; but these approximations have been extended far beyond  
 the proper bounds of a simple note.

Besides, in order to enlarge his horizon a man must scramble up moun-  
 tains, which are but too frequently involved in stormy clouds. Let us re-de-  
 scend into the peaceful valleys. Let us repose between the declivities of  
 Mount Lyceum, on the banks of the *Achelous*. If Time, the Muses, and the  
 Reader, shall be propitious to these new STUDIES, it will be sufficient for my  
 pencil, and for my ambition, to have painted the meadows, the groves and  
 the shepherdesses of blest Arcadia.



wood of the beech-tree, and held a *cyathus* of wine. *Hercules* emptied it at a single draught; But *Cephas*, *Amasis* and *Tirteus* could hardly master it, by drinking twice round.

*Tirteus* afterwards conducted his guests to an adjoining chamber. It was lighted by a window shut by a texture of rushes, through the interstices of which might be perceived, by the lustre of the Moon, in the plain below, the islands of the *Alpheus*. There were in this chamber two excellent beds with coverlets of a warm and light wool. Then *Tirteus* took leave of his guests, wishing that *Morpheus* might pour the balm of his gentlest poppy upon their eye-lids.

As soon as *Amasis* was left alone with *Cephas*, he spake with transports of delight of the tranquillity of this valley, of the goodness of the shepherd, of the sensibility and the graces of his youthful daughter, to whom he had never seen any thing once to be compared, and of the pleasure which he promised himself the next day at the feast of *Jupiter*, in beholding a whole People as happy as this sequestered family. Conversation so delightful might have sweetened the remainder of the night, to both the one and the other, fatigued as they were with travelling, without the aid of sleep, had they not been invited to repose by the mild light of the Moon, shining through the window, by the murmuring of the wind in the foliage of the poplars, and by the distant noise of the *Achelous*, the source of which precipitates itself roaring from the summit of Mount *Lyceum*.



THE  
WISHES OF A RECLUSE.

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PREAMBLE.

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

I am well aware that the illustrious Members of our National Assembly are pursuing them with signal success. I possess not their talents; but, like them, I love my Country. Notwithstanding my incapacity, had health permitted, I would have aspired after the glory of defending with them the cause of Public Liberty: but I have a sentiment of personal liberty so exquisite and so tormenting, that it is absolutely impossible for me to remain in an assembly, if the doors are shut, and unless the avenues are so clear as to admit of my going away the instant I desire it. This impulse to exercise my liberty never fails to seize me the moment I think I have lost it, and becomes so impetuous, that it throws me into both a physical and moral malady which I am incapable of supporting. It extends farther than to the walls of an apartment. During the commotions at Paris, (which commenced on the departure of Mr. Necker, July 13th, the same day of the month which in the preceding year had desolated the kingdom by a hail-storm), when they were burning the buildings at the barriers round the city, when the air resounded through every street with the alarming noise of the tocsin ringing night and day from all the



church towers at once, and with the clamours of the multitude crying aloud that the hussars were already in the suburbs coming to put all to the fire and sword, God, in whom I had reposed my confidence, graciously preserved my mind in tranquillity. I composed myself for the event be what it might, though solitary in a lone house and in a detached street, at the extremity of one of the Fauxbourgs. But when the day after, on the capture of the Bastile, the withdrawing of the foreign troops whose vicinity had excited such dreadful apprehensions, and the establishment of citizens, I was informed that the gates of Paris were shut, and that no one was permitted to pass, I was instantly seized with a violent inclination to get out myself. While all its inhabitants were congratulating themselves on the recovery of their liberty, I considered myself as having lost mine; I reckoned myself a prisoner in that vast capital; I felt myself in confinement. My imagination could not regain its former calmness, till I found, as I was walking on the boulevard of the Hospital, a grated iron gate, the lock and bars of which had been burst open, and which was not yet guarded: in a moment I flew into the fields, and made a hundred steps forward to assure myself that I had not lost my natural rights, and that I was at liberty to go wherever I pleased. Having thus ascertained my freedom, I found myself perfectly tranquil, and quietly returned to my tumultuous neighbourhood without feeling the least anxiety afterwards to go out again.

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



or to animate the dejected, as opportunity served; to co-operate in person or by my purse to the support of guards so necessary to the preservation of the police; to assist from time to time at the Committee of my District, one of the smallest and the most intelligent in Paris, to throw in my word when I could; and especially to arrange these WISHES for the public felicity, which have employed me for six months past. I have relinquished, in favour of this darling object, labours more easy, more agreeable, and more conducive to my private fortune; I have kept in view only that of the State.

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

I have, however, to justify myself in having presumed to deviate from the route of the National Assembly, and even from their modes of expression. They admit, for example, only two primitive powers in the Monarchy, the Legislative and the Executive. They assign the former to the Nation and the latter to the King. But I conceive in Monarchy, as well as in every other species of Government, a third power necessary to the support of it's harmony, which I call the moderating. With respect to this power, which I consider as essential to Monarchy, by it alone I conceive the King has the sanctioning of the Laws; for the Executive Power seems to me to comport only with the *veto*, which at this moment excites remonstrances so violent.

The *veto* is so closely attached to the Executive Power, that it is vested even in a military Commander in Chief, restricted as he is to the execution of inhuman orders, or in a tribunal



charged with the promulgation of unjust edicts. *Turenne* had the right of refusing obedience to the mandate of *Louis XIV.* when commanded to burn the Palatinate; and every Magistrate, under *Charles IX.* of publishing the edict of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as every Frenchman of executing it. Every man possesses the right of refusing to execute a political law, when it flies in the face of a Law of Nature. Now the King, intrusted with the power of executing laws which he has not sanctioned, has a right to employ, as well as a subject, the *veto* in cases where some of those laws may appear to him contrary to the public good, which is the natural law of a State.

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

I acknowledge at the same time that the royal *veto* has something extremely harsh in it; and although in England, the King, to soften it, may say; "I will take it into consideration," *le Roi s'avisera*, the words plainly amount to "I will not." It is undoubtedly alarming for a nation to reflect that a law conducive to their interests, passed after much discussion by a plurality of voices, in an assembly of their deputies brought together not without much difficulty, should be all at once reduced to a state of non-existence by the *veto* of the Sovereign, under the influence of the opposition party, which will look to this as a last resource. Thus the interests of a whole people may be sacrificed to those of a single association, and frequently of a few courtiers, who have more immediate access to the Prince; and all national efforts, for ages together, may be arrested in an instant by the simple inert force of the Crown. I am not in the least surprised that the apprehension merely of the royal *veto* should have excited in the *Palais-Royal* a plebeian *veto*, at least equally formidable.

It is precisely in the view of preventing the *veto* of the executive power in the Sovereign, that I assign to him the sanction of the moderating power. These two effects differ as much as the causes which produce them, of which I have demonstrated in



this Work both the difference and the necessity. The *veto* is a negative power which appertains to a slave who feels the authority of conscience, as to a despot who has no such feeling: but sanction is an approbative power which appertains only to the Monarch. A General possesses his *veto*, because he will not sanction the orders which he has received: a King, as Chief of the State, possesses the right of sanction, because he cannot oppose the *veto* to laws of which he is supposed to have acknowledged the utility and the necessity. Should the King withhold his sanction to a new Law, it must be because he believes it to be injurious to the State; in that case he will of course point out the mischief likely to ensue; and it will be amended and modified. Sanction is the quiet discussion of a point between a father and his children.

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

“Here then is a new source of contention between the People and their Sovereign, strengthened by the party in Opposition.” I admit it, but every thing in the World is in a state of mutual opposition: elements to elements, opinions to opinions. From their collision all harmony is produced. Every virtue is suspended *in equilibrio* between two contraries. Let us maintain then a just medium, as justice is the point in question. Let us be on our guard lest in shunning despotism we rush into anarchy. If the chariot inclines too much to one side, let us not upset it altogether on the other; let us resettle it on its monarchical axis and its plebeian wheels, in order to restore both its equilibrium and the power of motion. Let it not be imagined that the Royal sanction itself could leave, like the *veto*, legislative questions not susceptible of solution. It cannot happen but that sooner or later the King should give way to the reasons which determined the judgment of the Assembly, or the Assembly to those which directed the King as the only object of both is the public interest. The thing which



perpetuates law-suits among men is pertinacious adherence to individual interests. They agree instantly where a common interest is concerned. Now, the public interest being common to the deputies of the Nation and to the Monarch, the discussion which the Royal sanction may produce cannot but conduce to the benefit of the legislation.

But in this balance of opinions respecting the same interest, see that the probabilities be found in favour of the decisions of the Assembly. Is it probable, in the first place, that a few aristocrats, after having consented to submit their interests to the majority of voices in the National Assembly, which has in like manner submitted their own to a similar issue, will go to intrigue with the King, to prevent the effect of the national deliberations, because these were unfavourable to them? Is it probable that the King, out of regard to the interests of those aristocrats, faithless to their engagements, will refuse to sanction laws beneficial to the Nation, called for by a majority of it's Deputies, and by a whole united people, capable, in support of them, of raising a general insurrection? Besides, the King being to give his assent to the laws before the Assembly consents to the taxes, should he withhold his sanction from laws voted by a majority of the Assembly, is it not more than probable that this majority will in their turn withhold from him their sanction of the taxes? I consider with pain, as a civilian, in common with the Assembly itself, the effects of the Royal sanction, as those of a law-suit between the Monarch and the Nation; the event of it may be doubtful; but it will not be so provided the people, in securing it to their Prince, shall have been just and loyal toward him. The people may have done very well in confiding the discussion of it's laws to the aristocratical powers, hitherto the opposers of their interest; why might they not confide the power of sanction to a friendly power, now that these laws are favourable to them? There is no occasion for the people to be distrustful of their King. Their interests are invariably the same. In a word, the National Assembly having proclaimed *Louis XVI.* the Restorer of French Liberty, could it refuse to him the power of sanctioning those very laws which ensure that liberty?



The Royal sanction is necessary to all the powers of the State.

1. It is a matter of right, as far as the King is concerned in his personal capacity. If the King were not permitted to sanction the laws, he would have a more circumscribed prerogative than the meanest of his subjects: for every individual has the right not only of giving his vote for the establishment of a law, by his deputies; if he finds them bear hard upon him, it is in his power to renounce them altogether by abandoning his country, without waiting for the consent of any one whatever; but this the King cannot do without the consent of the Nation, because his absence may involve the ruin of the State.
2. The sanction is a matter of justice, relatively to the King as Monarch. The King being intrusted with the execution of the laws, he is supposed, as I have already said, to acknowledge, in sanctioning them, their utility and necessity.
3. The royal sanction is necessary to the tranquillity of the Monarchy. Many aristocrats delegated to express the wishes of their body, and members of the National Assembly, having declared from it's first opening, that they would acknowledge no other authority but that of the King, and being now constrained, by a majority of voices of their Assembly and the declared sense of the Nation, to sacrifice their privileges, might allege that the law which obliges them to this is not monarchical, and under that pretext refuse submission to it, which might become the source of many future troubles.
4. The Royal sanction is necessary to the permanency of the laws, and to the respect which is due them, especially on the part of the people. This merits very serious consideration. Though nothing be more respectable in the eyes of a Monarch himself than the decrees of a Nation assembled in the persons of it's Deputies, the people however scarcely see any thing more than men like themselves in their own representatives, and enemies in those of the superior orders. Besides, on account of their periodical rotation, they will soon cease to see their legislators in their delegates. A river which renovates it's waters is always the same river, because the form of it's banks undergoes no change; but an Assembly which from time to time renews it's members, is no longer the same Assembly, because the greatest part of the men who compose it may entertain different opinions, and pursue by and by new plans. The



people rest their attention and their respect only on immovable projects, or what they deem to be such, and which have an imposing influence upon them, from their magnitude or their distance. *Major e longinquo reverentia*; reverence increases as the object becomes remote. It is necessary therefore to fix the respect of the people on the Throne, to which they have not a near access, as on a centre permanent and worthy of all their homage. Republican nations have given to their laws the name of a single legislator; such were those of *Zaleucus* among the Locrians, of *Lycurgus* at Sparta, of *Solon* at Athens; and monarchical States, the name of the Monarch who had promulgated theirs, and consequently sanctioned them; such were those of *Cyrus* in Persia; of *Zoroaster*, king of the Bactrians in Asia; of *Moses*, the leader of the Hebrews; of *Numa* and afterwards *Justinian* at Rome; of *Charlemagne* in the Western Empire; of *Saint Louis* in France; of *Peter the Great* in Russia; of *Frederick II.* in Prussia: such are the laws of England, first promulgated in 1040 under the title of the Laws of King *Edward*, and afterwards established by the Nation in 1215, under the name of the Great Charter. The ancients were so sensible of the importance of an august sanction, to render the laws venerable in the eyes of the people, that they frequently derived their sanction from the Divinity himself. Thus those of *Numa* were sanctioned by the nymph *Egeria*; those of *Zaleucus* by *Minerva*; those of *Mahomet* by GOD himself, through the mediation of angels: but those legislators, aiming at the acquisition of great advantage to themselves, fell into very considerable inconveniencies; for every species of deception carries it's punishment in it's bosom. When those laws came to be inapplicable to the condition of a people, or when it was expedient to apply them to other countries, they could not be changed, because the Deity who had sanctioned them was immutable. For this reason the Turks abstained from effecting the conquest of several countries, because they contained no running waters for their legal ablutions. The case was still worse when nations, on becoming enlightened, came to know that the Divinity had not interfered in their legislation; the transition was then easy from contempt of the legislator who had imposed upon them, to contempt of the law itself. This has befallen several States and Re-



ligions, the ruin of which can be ascribed to no other cause. Laws sanctioned by a Monarch are not exposed to the same danger, for he changes them in concert with his people, as occasion requires, and renders them permanent simply by demonstrating their utility. But as no political law can be good, unless it is founded on the Laws of Nature, and as nothing is permanent without the support of it's Author, it is necessary that the King should sanction our code of laws by a religious invocation, which may consecrate it for ever to the feelings of the heart as well as to the light of the understanding. The term *sanction* itself is evidently derived from *sanctus*, sacred. This solemn preamble, which would call for the style of an *Orpheus* or of a *Plato*, ought to precede, like an antique peristyle, the august temple of our laws, reared for the felicity of Man, and dedicated to the Eternal, by the Monarch officiating in character of High-priest.

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



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

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

O People of Paris, who serve as an example to the inhabitants of the Provinces; People ingenious, easy, good, generous, who draw into your bosom the men of all nations by the urbanity of your manners, reflect that to this urbanity you have at all times been indebted for your moral liberty, preferred by republicans to their civil liberty itself. You have just burst asunder the chains of despotism; take care that you forge not for yourselves others still more insupportable, those of anarchy. The former gall only on one side, the latter in every direction at once. It is your union which has constituted your force, which nothing could resist. But it is not to force that GOD gives a durable empire, it is to harmony. By their harmony little things adhere and become great; and it is frequently by means of their force that great things separate, clash, break in pieces, and become small. Whence arise so many pretensions of individuals, of



associations, of districts, of motions and emotions? Would you make threescore cities of one city; and after your example will not the provinces make threescore republics in the kingdom? What in that case would become of the Capital? Commons of Paris, in multiplying your laws, you will multiply your bonds; by dividing you will enfeeble yourselves; by running every one to liberty in his own way, you may fall one after another into slavery, or, what is still worse, into tyranny. What have you at this day to fear, yourselves excepted? Your principal enemies are dispersed; your great Minister of the Finances has been restored to your wishes, and together with him co-operate in perfect concert the other Ministers of the Crown, animated with the same zeal to promote your happiness; the two first orders of the State have made you sacrifices even beyond your desires; the royal troops have taken the oath of fidelity to you, and you have national troops entirely under your own command; your King merits your complete confidence, not only as having directed or prepared these dispositions, but as having unreservedly given himself up to your disposal, in coming without guards, and without protection, into the midst of your Capital when in a state of confusion, to implore the return of your affection, as a father who had never withdrawn his from you, and who, beholding you armed with hostile weapons of every sort, might well doubt whether he were again to find in you the children whom he sought. For the love of harmony, without which there is no salvation for a people, repose the care of your interests on the vigilance of your districts, composed of your committees; let your districts, on their part, rely, for the unity of their operations, on the wisdom of your Municipal Assembly, formed of your Deputies, whose foresight, zeal and courage, so well directed by the two virtuous Chiefs whom you have yourselves chosen, have preserved you from the pillage and famine with which you were threatened. Let your Municipal Assembly confide, in it's turn, in the intelligence and justice of the National Assembly, which you have, conjointly with the other Communes of the Kingdom, entrusted with the redress of your grievances, and invested with legislative power. On this august Assembly above all you ought to establish your security, for it's sublime employment is to promote the happi-



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



## WISHES OF A RECLUSE.

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

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

The rest of my plants however were in good health, though their vegetation was retarded more than three weeks. My beds of strawberries, violets, thymes, primroses, were all over diapered with green, white, blue and crimson; and my hedges of honey-suckles, raspberries, gooseberries, rose-bushes and lilachs, were all verdant with leaves and flower-buds. My alleys of vines, apple-trees, pears, peaches, plums, cherries and apricots, were all in blossom. The vines indeed were only beginning to shew the parts of fructification, but the fruit of the apricot-tree was already formed.

At this sight I thus reflected: "Calamity is good for something. The disasters which befall one Country may prove benefits to another. If all the plants of southern Europe are unable to stand the Winters of France, it is evident that many



“ of the fruit-trees of France are able to resist the Winters of  
“ the North. In the gardens of Petersburg it is possible to  
“ cultivate the cherry, the early peach, the green-gage, the apri-  
“ cot, the apricot-peach, and all the fruits capable of ripening in  
“ the course of a Summer ; for the Summer is still warmer there  
“ than at Paris.” This reflection afforded me so much the more  
pleasure, that I had seen at Petersburg, in 1765, no other trees  
but the pine, the service, the maple, and the birch.

Though I have on the face of the Globe no other landed pro-  
perty except a small house, with the little garden of the eighth  
part of an acre belonging to it, in the Fauxbourg-Saint-Mar-  
ceau, I take pleasure in employing my thoughts there about the  
interests of the Human Race ; for Mankind has at all seasons,  
and in all places, paid attention to mine. It is certain that my  
cherry-trees came originally from the Kingdom of Pontus,  
whence *Lucullus* transported them to Rome after the defeat of  
*Mithridates*. I have no doubt that my apricot-trees, the fruit of  
which is called in Latin *malum armeniacum*, are descended graft  
after graft, from a tree of that species brought by the Romans  
from Armenia. If the testimony of *Pliny* is to be relied on,  
my vines derive their origin from the Archipelago, my pear-  
trees from Mount Ida, and my peaches from Persia, after those  
countries had been subjugated by the Romans, whose custom it  
was to carry not only the Kings but the trees of their enemies  
in triumph into their own Country. As to the articles which I  
more habitually use, I certainly am indebted for my tobacco,  
my sugar and my coffee, to the poor negroes of Africa, who  
cultivate them in America, under the whips of Europeans. My  
muslin ruffles come from the banks of the Ganges, which our  
wars have so frequently desolated. With respect to my books,  
my most delicious enjoyment, I lie under obligation for them to  
the men of all Nations, and undoubtedly likewise to their mis-  
fortunes. I am bound therefore to interest myself in all man-  
kind, seeing they are labouring for me, all over the Earth, and  
as I have reason to hope that those who preceded me may have  
contributed to my felicity principally by their own miseries, I  
in like manner may contribute by mine toward the happiness of  
those who are to survive me.



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

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

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

At sight of those bees so industrious, whose hive had no other shelter during the Winter but the hollow of a rock, I recollected that they had not swarmed in the month of June, and that this had been the case with most of those of the kingdom,



as if they had foreseen that they would have need to be assembled in great numbers, in order to keep themselves warm during the rigour of an extraordinary Winter. On the other hand, as I had withdrawn from mine no part of their honey, and as they never export any themselves, they had passed in an abundance of provisions a season in which multitudes of my countrymen had been pinched with want. On observing that the instinct of those little animals had surpassed the intelligence of man, I said within myself: "Happy were it for the Societies of the Human Race, did they possess the wisdom of those of bees!" and I began to form Wishes in behalf of my Country.

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

At first a child during the time of the ancient Gauls, he was for many ages in swaddling clothes, begirt by the Druids with the bands of superstition; then a stripling under the Romans, who subdued and polished him, he acquired the knowledge, under the heavy yoke of his masters, of the Arts, of the Sciences, of the Language and of the Laws which continue to govern him to this day: afterwards, become a young man under the undisciplined Franks, who confounded themselves with him, he abandoned himself, during their anarchy, to all the violence of youth, and passed a great many years in the madness of civil war. Finally, from the days of *Charlemagne*, illuminated with some rays of light, by the revival of letters which began to be naturalized under *Francis I.* like a young man who is forming himself for the commerce of the world, he pursued the pleasures of love and glory. His taste for gallantry and heroism refined under *Henry IV.* and arrived at perfection under *Louis XIV.* At this last era, the love of advantageous conquest seemed principally to engage his attention; he became ambitious like a man with whom the fervor of youth is over, and who is looking about for a solid establishment. But soon convinced by experience that a man cannot find his own happi-



ness by doing mischief to another, he began to apply himself to the pursuit of his true interests, to his Agriculture, his Manufactures, his Commerce, his High Roads, his Colonial Establishments, &c....He then found the necessity of shaking off the prejudices of infancy, the false views of childhood, the vanities of youth, and thus entered into the age of maturity. His reason made new progress from year to year. He is become sensible at this day, under *Louis XVI.* that the glory of his Kings consists only in his felicity. For his own part, he is more concerned about the means of leading a calm than a splendid, a comfortable than a vain-glorious life.

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

Whilst the French Nation was disposing itself by manners and philosophy for a life of greater happiness, and for a national consolidation, Administration, subjected to ancient forms, always followed it's ancient course. On every revolution of the public mind, it had adopted new laws without abrogating the old, had incurred the pressure of new wants without retrenching superfluities, and bestowed more attention on the fortune of courtiers than on that of subjects. Thus, from incoherency to incoherency, from impost to impost, from debt to debt, Government found itself without money and without credit, with a people destitute of means. It then felt itself under the necessity of assembling the States-General, to preserve from universal ruin the nation



at large, of which the People is every where the fundamental basis.

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

But what corps of the monarchy could at this day be brought back to it's ancient forms? To begin with him who is the august chief of it, Could the King be brought back to the time when the People in conjunction with the army elected him in the field of Mars, raising him aloft on a buckler? And supposing *Louis XVI.* himself were disposed to descend from the throne in order to re-establish the People in their ancient rights, must he not throw himself at their feet, to beseech them not to drive him into the horrors of those civil wars which polluted with blood the early ages of the Monarchy, in settling the election of their Kings? Would the Clergy be disposed to return to the ancient times when they preached the Gospel to the Gauls, in the attire of Apostles, bare-footed, in a simple robe, with a traveller's staff in their hand, become through the munificence of that very People a pontifical crosier? Would the Nobility wish to see those ancient times return, when they put themselves into the service of the great for the sake of protection and bread, ready at all times to shed their blood in quarrels that did not concern them? Let them form a judgment of the state of their ancestors under the feudal Government, by that of the Polish Nobility of modern times. In a word, would the Parliament itself wish to return to those times, not so very ancient, when the greatest part of it's members were merely the secretaries and agents of the Grandees, who then could not so much as write, and valued themselves upon it?

Feeble Man is universally searching for repose. If he wants laws, he rests the care of his legislation on a Legislator. If he needs instruction, he casts the care of it on a Teacher. Every where he is establishing a basis whereon to support his weak-



ness ; but Nature every where subverts it, and forces him, after her own example, to get up and combat. She herself has composed this Globe and it's inhabitants only of contraries, which are maintaining an incessant struggle. Our soil is formed of earth and water ; our temperament of hot and cold ; our day of light and darkness ; the existence of vegetables and animals of their youth and of their old age, of their loves and of their strifes, of their life and of their death. The equilibrium of beings is established only on their collisions. Nothing is durable but their lapse, nothing immutable but their mobility, nothing permanent but their combination ; and Nature, who is every instant varying their forms, has no constant laws but those of their happiness.

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

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



ancient forms which would have placed you in opposition to yourself, called upon you to deliver them from their tyrants? How could the Clergy, the Ministers of a Religion breathing good-will to Mankind, wish to subject to the ancient forms of Druidism, the French nation under the reign of *Louis XVI*? It is that same people who, ranging themselves in crowds around the first Missionaries of the Gauls, made their barbarous Chiefs to bend under the yoke of Christianity. It was the People who, by the all-powerful influence of their opinions elevated the abbey in opposition to the castle, and the steeple to the tower. They opposed the crosier to the lance, the bell to the trumpet, and the legends of the Saints to the archives of the Barons; monument against monument, bronze against bronze, tradition against tradition. How could the Nobility of our days look upon the People as blighted from the earliest antiquity by the feudal power of their ancestors, when they themselves reckon in their own order so few families which count pedigree beyond the fourteenth century? But were it true that their ancestors had of old time reduced the people to servitude, how durst they at this day exercise their ancient privileges upon that same people, not for having formerly defended or protected them, as the Nobles of every Nation ought to do, but for having conquered and oppressed them; not for having served but enslaved them; not as the descendants of their Patricians, but of their Tyrants? Were these the titles which gave distinction in their eyes to the *Bayards*, the *Duguesclins*, the *Crillons*, the *Montmorencis*, who performed so many gallant actions for the sake of living in their memory down to the present day? What do I say! Could our Noblesse, now so replete with humanity, and with real honour, in an enlightened age, despise that multitude of good and peaceable men who devote themselves to minister to their pleasures, after having provided for all their necessities, and from the mass of which issue those brave grenadiers, who, after having opened to them the path which leads to honours at the price of their own blood, return to their plough, to serve in obscurity that same Country which dispenses her rewards with such partiality? Finally, How could the Parliament reduce to the ancient forms of servitude, a people which has conferred upon them in some sort



the tribunitial power, and from whose bosom they themselves have sprung?

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

The Gauls, who under *Brennus* invaded Italy, and burned the city of Rome, had a great resemblance to the Savages of America, who certainly do not make war as slaves. Slavery fixes itself only among rich and policed Nations, as those of Asia, and it is the fruit of their despotism which is ever in proportion to their riches. Poor and Savage Nations are always free, and when they make prisoners of war, they incorporate them with themselves, unless they sell them, eat them, or offer them in sacrifice to their Gods. Opulence makes of the same citizens both despots and slaves; but poverty renders them all equal. We see examples of it in the state of society among ourselves. The domestics of a rich man, and even his friends, when they are poor, come no farther than the antechamber, and never appear in his presence but with profound respect; but the domestics of our peasants are familiar with their masters; sit down at table with them, and even obtain their daughters in marriage.

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



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

Whatever be in this, the Romans granted the rights of Roman Citizens to the inhabitants of several Cities and even of some Provinces of the Gauls ; which they never would have done had they been peopled with slaves. Great numbers of Romans afterwards settled in the Gauls. The Emperor *Julian* loved to reside at Paris, "on account," as he said, "of the grave character of it's inhabitants, which had a resemblance to his own." The Parisian character has greatly changed since the days of *Julian*, though the climate of Paris remains the same. But it is not climate which forms the character of a People, as so many Authors after *Montesquieu* have affirmed ;



it is the Political Constitution. The Gauls, simple and ferocious under the Druids, were serious under the grave Romans always governed by Law, and gay under the Franks, the passionate admirers of independence, because, having never enjoyed a good Constitution, they changed it at these three epochs. Independently of the gaiety of the Gauls, which is to be dated no higher than the Franks, and which is a moral proof of their liberty, I find another no less conclusive in this, that the two Nations no longer bare different names, which is never the case when the conquering Nation does not become confounded with the conquered: witness, in modern times, the Turks and the Greeks, the Moguls and the Nations of Indostan, the Spaniards and the Indians of America and Peru, the English and the Indians of the East, the inhabitants of our Colonies and the Negroes. The Tartars on the contrary who have conquered China, confounded themselves with the Chinese, and now form only one Nation with them, as well as the Nations of the North and of the East, such as the Vandals, the Goths, the Normans and others, who amalgamated themselves with the Nations of Europe whom they invaded. Besides it is proved by history that the Gaulish tribes were free under the first race of the Franc Kings, for they elected them in conjunction with the Army.

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



A part of the country people, it is granted, was subjected to bondage with the soil which they cultivated, by Chieftains who usurped rights that belonged not to them. Hear what the President *Hénault* says, on the subject in his particular remarks on the Kings of France of the second race :

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

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

“ Toward the termination of the second race, a new species of possession established itself under the denomination of Fiefs. The Dukes or Governors of Provinces, the Counts or Governors of Cities, the officers of an inferior order, availing themselves of the diminution of the Royal authority, rendered hereditary in their families the titles which till then they had possessed only for life, and having usurped equally both the lands and the rights, erected themselves into seignorial proprietors of the places where they were only the magistrates, whether military or civil, or both at once. By this was introduced a new kind of authority into the State, to which was



“ given the name of *Suzeraineté*, Sovereignty, a word, says *Loiseau*, as strange, as this species of superiority is absurd.

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

These facts are so well known that they have been quoted in a Work published in favour of the Liberty of the People, by a Deputy himself of the Noblesse of Vivarais to the States-General now sitting. I have stated them for the purpose of making two reflections of high importance : the first is, that men loaded with marks of Royal favour, constituting themselves into an aristocratical Association, were able to oblige the King's subjects to attend them in War against himself : the second, that nothing is so easy and so common as for aristocratical confederacies to encroach on the Rights of a People who have no representative with their Prince, and on the interests of a Prince who has no connexion with the People. France has no need to go back to the usurpations of the Dukes, Counts and their surrogates during the times of the second race of our Kings ; we have seen usurpation still more gross in our own day. The Gauls, under the Franks their conquerors, could rise to the first dignities of the State, be their birth what it might ; but an ordinance of the War-department declared, May 22, 1781, under a King who loves his People, that no person not noble could become a military Officer, and this has excluded twenty-four millions of subjects from the honour of attaining so much as the rank of a Lieutenant in the Militia.

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



to defend their rights, because they have no representatives with their Sovereign.

Be it as it may, what noble family of our days could prove it's descent from the usurpers of Nobility toward the termination of the second race of our Kings, and what conclusion could be deduced from it to militate against the liberty of the People? A family of national Princes of the times of the Gauls, may have been reduced to slavery under the Romans; and a family of slaves under the Romans risen to Nobility under the Franks; for conquering Nations, in the view of keeping down the People they have subdued, frequently adopt the policy of abasing that which is exalted, and of exalting that which is low. Where is the man capable of proving at this day so much as whether he is descended from the Gauls, the Romans, or the Franks? Certain political speculators have imagined that they could recognize the Gauls in our peasantry, the Romans, in our burghesses, and the Franks in the nobility. But the Goths, the Alains, the Normans, did not they break into the country with incursion on incursion, conquest on conquest, and again confound these three orders of Citizens? Have not the English done as much, when they made themselves masters of the greatest part of the kingdom? To the overturnings of war succeeded those of commerce. Swarms of Italians, Spaniards, Germans, English, settled in our country, and are still every day carrying on their establishments. All these Nations have blended themselves, by alliances, with every class of our countrymen, the races of whom have been besides crossed, from the most illustrious down to the most humble, by marriages of finance: Our people is formed of the ruins of all those nations, just as the soil which produces our harvests is composed of the wreck of the oaks and firs of our ancient forests. There may be perhaps some miserable carman rolling all the year round from the bottom of Auvergne up to Paris, and from Paris down to the bottom of Auvergne, whose forefathers gave festivals to the Roman People, and figured in the Circus in chariots drawn by four horses; and some poor boy who scrambles up our chimneys to sweep them, is descended perhaps from those haughty Gauls who set Rome on fire, and scaled the Capital. We extract with avidity out of the bosom of the earth mutilated



urns, effaced inscriptions, bronzes corroded by verdigrise, to trace on them the names of those ancient families ; but their descendants are still in life, and we should present living medals of them, did we know how to decipher the impressions. One city of Italy values itself on knowing them, and while the whole of that country carries on a commerce in it's monuments of stone, Milan furnishes for a very little money letters of nobility, and ancient armorial bearings, to the most obscure families of Europe, on no other foundation than their names. But to what purpose this vanity ? Our Nobility no less than our plebeians is the work of time which dissolves and re-composes every thing with the same elements. If the sands on the sea-shore are a wreck of the rocks, these rocks in their turn are only an amalgama of the sands.

Not only is the People composed originally of the same families with their Clergy and Nobility, but it is the people which in particular constitutes the alone cause of the splendour of these two bodies ; from it's bosom it is that the men issue who are entrusted with their education, and with the sacred trust of inspiring them with sentiments of honour and virtue. The People is the principal source of intelligence, of industry and power, even military power : the People alone makes agriculture and commerce flourish. What do I say ? the People is all ; it is the national body, of which the two other orders are nothing more than accessory members : it can exist without them, but without it they are nothing. Never was there seen a Nation formed entirely of Priests or of Nobles, but there have been many flourishing Nations formed simply of the People. The Romans subsisted long without a clerical order. Their Magistrates were their Pontiffs. The greatest part of the Grecian Republics, with the same Government, had no body of Nobility ; and though certain Writers may have advanced that Nobility is the firmest support of Monarchy, it is most undoubtedly certain that the most ancient Monarchy in the world, namely China, never knew what the word *Gentleman* meant. No one in China is noble except the family of Confucius ; and their Nobility is founded, not on the subjugation of his fellow-citizens to Confucius by force of arms, by intrigue or by money, but on his having illuminated them by his talents and virtues.



His descendants, distinguished by certain honours, have in no other respect any right to the employments and dignities of the empire ; to these they rise like other subjects by personal merit only. There is no Nobility in the despotic States of Turkey and Persia, where the absolute power of their Monarchs has need however of the support of men devoted to them.

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



ble circumstances of the moment, from the Turkish War in which Russia and Austria are embroiled, and from the particular kind disposition of the King of Prussia, they make fruitless efforts to recover their independence, because they do not call the People of their Country to liberty.

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

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

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

The Governments of men are no less different than their manners. To begin with the state of Monarchy, if there be any



Countries governed by one Prince only, some have existed in a very flourishing condition where there were two at once, as at Lacedemon: nay I believe it would not be impossible to find some who may have been excellently governed by a triumvirate. As to the nature of monarchies, some are hereditary in the male line, from father to son, as our own; others are so in favour of females, and from uncle to nephew, as in certain kingdoms of Africa and of Asia; in others the Sovereign can nominate his successor in his own family, as in Turkey, in China and in Russia; others are elective in a corps of Nobility, by the Nobles alone, as in Poland; others are balanced by a Senate of Priests as among the Jews, or by a corps of soldiery, as at Algiers. With respect to Aristocracies, there are some who have chosen their Rulers in a corps of Religious Nobles and Warriors, as at Malta; others in a corps of enslaved soldiers, as the twelve Beys of Egypt, chosen from among the Mamelucs; others in a Senate of Civilians as at Genoa and Venice. As to Democracies, they elect their Chiefs in corps of Merchants, as in Holland; or of husbandmen as in Switzerland; or from among strangers who happen to pass by, as the small Republic of Saint-Marin. Others have been composed of a mixture of Aristocracy and Democracy, as the Republic of Rome; others of the three Governments at once, as in England.

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



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

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

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

At Lacedemon, the power of the Ephori was opposed to that of the two Kings : but for this counterpoise, the two Kings would have destroyed themselves from the jealousy of the Government, as was the case in the decline of the Roman Empire, when two Emperors on the Throne at once accelerated it's ruin. Among the Chinese, the Sovereign is despotic only by the Law of the Empire which he causes to be put in execution ; but his individual will is so balanced and circumscribed by the tribunals constituted as conservators of the ancient rites, that without their concurrence he cannot change the most trivial custom, even to the fashion of a garment. On the other hand, respect for those tribunals is inspired into the people from the tenderest infancy, with such a religious awe, that each of them might become master of the Empire, did they not balance one another, and unless they had the Emperor as Moderator. The case is nearly the same among the Turks, with whom the power of the Mufti always balances that of the Sultan ; no one military edict, no sentence of death, can be promulgated by command of the Sultan without a religious *fetsa*, or permission of the Mufti.

Among the Romans, the power of the Tribunes was opposed to that of the Consuls : but as these two powers which represented, the one that of the People, the other that of the Noblesse, had no Moderator to maintain the equilibrium between them, the State was incessantly agitated by their contentions. The Romans perceived so sensibly, from the earliest periods of their Republic, the necessity of calling in a moderating power, that in critical situations they created a Dictator. The Dicta-



tor was a despot of a moment, who reduced every thing to order. He frequently saved the Republic when threatened only by foreign wars, but destroyed it when civil war broke out. In truth, it was possible to choose him only in one of the two contrary powers, and then they terminated in disturbing the equilibrium between them instead of re-establishing it. This was verified in the horrible proscriptions of Sylla and of Marius. Sylla, at the head of the party of the Nobility, rendered himself omnipotent by the Dictatorship. Montesquieu celebrates him for having abdicated it, as displaying a wonderful effort of courage : he represents him as confounded in the multitude ; like a simple individual whom any one citizen could call to account for the blood which he had shed. As the judgment of Montesquieu is of high authority, I must take the liberty to refute it, because it gives currency to a very gross mistake. We cannot be too much on our guard against the preponderancy of great names. Sylla did not abdicate his office from greatness of mind but from weakness, that he might not present in his own person a central point to the public vengeance. To whom could a Roman citizen have addressed himself to obtain justice of Sylla brought back to the level of a simple individual ? Were not the Senate, the Consuls, the Tribunes, the Soldiery, the whole Magistracy of Rome the creatures of Sylla, accomplices in his proscriptions, and interested in quashing all prosecution on that account ? What do I say ? Sylla, a simple individual, exercised his tyranny up to the very moment of his death ; and we are furnished with the proof of it in his history. “ The day previous to that on which he died, being informed  
“ that *Granius*, who was in debt to the Public Treasury, deferred payment in expectation of his death, he sent for him, and  
“ had him introduced into his chamber, where the moment he  
“ entered, he gave orders to his ministers to seize him and to  
“ strangle him in his presence, but by the exertion of his voice  
“ and the heat into which he threw himself, he burst the inward imposthume which was preying on his life, and discharged a great quantity of blood ; by which he was so exhausted that after passing the night in great agony, he expired next morning.” (*Plutarch.*) Who then would have dared to call Sylla to an account, who exacted one so rigorously the



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

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

We fall therefore into a very great error, when we attempt, from the sentiment of our weakness, to give immoveable foundations to a government which is perpetually in motion. Nature derives constant harmonies only from moveable powers. The type of societies, like that of justice, may be represented by a balance, the use of which consists entirely in the counterpoise of its two beams : the rest of bodies in motion is in their equilibrium.

I conclude therefore that every Government is flourishing and durable, when it is formed of two powers which balance each other, when it has a head to act as Moderator, and has for its centre the happiness of the People. These are, in my opinion, the only means and the only end which confer prosperity and duration on States, whether they be monarchical, aristocratic or republican : and this is demonstrated by the history of every



Country in the World ; for it is not sufficient to produce instances of certain brilliant periods of a Country, to justify political principles thrown out at random, as most writers have done ; it is necessary to see a whole State flourish and last a long time together, in order to form a judgment of the goodness of it's Constitution, as we judge of that of a man, not from some particular exertion of strength, but from a sound and uniform state of health.

There may be started as an objection the case of certain societies of men, living according to the Laws of Nature, who have subsisted without those internal convulsions, and without a Chief, disposed to promote the happiness of their State, like bees to the labours of their hive, by the sentiment of their common interest. But if their political counterpoises were not in their society, they were from without. I doubt whether even the bees, whose instinct is so sage, would take so much pains to amass provisions, to deposit them in the trunks of trees, to build their houses of wax, and to live together in unity, unless they had to contend with the winds, with the rain, the winter, and many other different enemies : external wars ensure their internal concord. What is very remarkable, each swarm has a Moderator in their Queen. The same thing takes place in the habitations of ants, and I believe of all animals which live in Republics. Happy would it be for human societies, if they had to encounter in like manner only the obstacles presented by the hand of Nature ! Their enjoyments would extend over the face of the whole Earth, the productions of which they are destined to reap ; the human race would form but one family, whereof every individual would stand in need of no other Moderator but GOD and his own conscience. But in our badly constituted States, we find all valuable property of every kind accumulated on a small number of individuals ; thus, unable to demand them at the hand of Nature, we are obliged to dispute possession with men, and to direct our powers against ourselves.

These principles being laid down, I find our French Government constituted like all those which, from their origin, have deviated from the Laws of Nature. It is divided into two powers which serve as a mutual counterbalance. The one con-



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

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

When the King, the Clergy and the Nobility of a State form one body with their People, they resemble the branches of a great tree which, notwithstanding the violence of the tempest, are restored to their equilibrium by the trunk which bears and unites them. But when these powers have centres different from the People, they are like those trees which grow by chance on the summit of an old tower : they for some time decorate it's battlements ; but with the lapse of ages, their roots force a passage between the layers of stones, separate their joinings, and terminate in the subversion of the monument which once supported them.

The King, the Clergy and the Nobility have a relation so ne-



cessary with the People, that it is by means of it alone they have themselves common relations with each other. But for the People they would be separated in interests as in functions. They resemble the branches of a tree which all have a tendency to diverge, and which have no principle of union among themselves except the trunk which combines them. Though this comparison may be very proper to render intelligible the popular interconnexions to which I wish to lead our political powers, yet as these mutual connexions have hitherto no existence among us, and as we must distinguish into corps which have separate centres, the members of the same whole, I shall employ an image better adapted to represent the existing whole of our Estates-General, and to flatter the pretensions of the superior Orders. I consider then the King as the sun, the emblem of which is that of his illustrious ancestors ; the Clergy and Nobility as two planetary bodies revolving round the sun, and reflecting his light ; and the People as the obscure globe of the earth which we trample under our feet, but which nevertheless supports and feeds us. Let the powers of the Nation consider themselves therefore as powers of Heaven, which in some other respects they pretend to be ; but let them recollect at the same time, that notwithstanding the privileges which they enjoy of moving in their particular sphere, and of approaching that of the sun, they are not the less on that account adapted to the sphere of the People, seeing the sun himself, with all his splendour, exists in the Heavens only for the harmonies of the Earth and of the smallest plants on her surface.

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

### WISHES FOR THE KING.

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



This division appears to me defective, for it omits a third power essential to every good Government, the moderating power, which in Monarchy belongs exclusively to the Sovereign. Here the King is not the simple Commissioner of the Nation merely, a Doge or a Stadtholder; he is a Monarch invested with the charge of directing the public operations. The Clergy, the Nobility, and even the People, only see and regulate each, one in particular, detached parts of the Monarchy, of which they are members only; the King is the heart of it, and is alone capable of knowing and of putting in motion the combined whole. The three bodies of which Monarchy is composed are continually re-acting one against another, so that left to themselves it would speedily come to pass that one of them must oppress the other two, or be oppressed by them, without it's being possible for the King, who would have the executive power only, to do any thing else but become the agent of the strongest party, that is of oppression. The Sovereign must therefore have besides the moderating power, that is to say, the power of maintaining the equilibrium, not only between those bodies, but to unite their force externally in opposition to foreign powers, whose enterprizes he alone is in a condition to know. It is the moderating power which constitutes the Monarch.

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

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

As to deliberative voices to be reserved to the King, it is extremely difficult to determine their number. I will take the liberty to suggest a few reflections on the subject. The number of voices in the National Assembly is about twelve hundred, of which six hundred belong to the Clergy and Nobility, and six hundred to the Commonalty. Now, if the six hundred votes



of the two first Orders were equal in weight to the six hundred of the Commons, as they are in number, there would be an exact equilibrium between them, and nothing more would be necessary to the Sovereign but his own single voice to make the balance incline which way he pleased: What do I say? The voice of the King which disposes of all employments, possesses of its own Nature such a preponderancy, that it alone would bear down all the rest, as happens in despotic States, unless it too had a counterbalance.

It is useless therefore to multiply the voice of the King in the National Assembly, in order to give him weight; it is sufficient that it be reserved to him: but it is highly necessary to reform the national balance itself, to render it susceptible of equilibrium. Though it's arms may be equal in length, it's scales are by no means so in respect of weight. It may be affirmed that the scale of the Clergy and Nobility is of gold, whereas that of the People is of straw. The former is so filled with mitres, ribands, dignities, governments, magistracies, survivancies already given away, though they originally belong to the Royal authority or even to the People, that the balance has always leaned to that side, in defiance of the efforts made by some of our Kings to re-adjust it. This scale accordingly preponderates not only by it's proper weight, but by that of the royal power, which it has attracted to itself; so that in order to restore the scale of the People to an equilibrium, it would be necessary that the King should either render it heavier by transferring to it a certain proportion of dignities and employments, or by increasing the length of it's arm, in multiplying the voices of the Representatives of the People in the National Assemblies. The plebeian lever thus becoming the longer of the two, it will require very little effort on the part of the Prince to give it inclination, and the moderating power will act in the Monarchy in the same manner as the moveable weight along the greater lever of the Roman balance. It was only by the number of their own voices that the People of Rome balanced the weight of the senatorial voices. In the British Parliament, the number of the members of the Upper House does not exceed two hundred and forty-five, whereas that of the members of the House of Commons amounts to five hundred and fifty-eight, that is to more than



double. Without an equivalent proportion, the plebeian scale will never be able to acquire it's equilibrium, till the six hundred voices which compose it shall be supported by the voices of the twenty-four millions of men whom they represent: in that case, though it's scale may be light, it's arm becoming infinitely long, it's re-action will be rendered infinitely powerful. This moment of revolution will be the proper one for the King to resume his moderating power, in order to the re-establishment of the monarchical balance.

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

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

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

The men like the affairs of the State will circulate under his eyes; for the meanest peasant may be eligible as deputy from the assembly of his village to that of the city in whose district it is situated, from the assembly of such city to that of the province, and from that of the province to the National Assembly. Thus by this mode of rotation, the Deputies of the National Assembly may exhibit to the Sovereign all his subjects in succes-



sion, just as the Earth presents to the Sun all the parts of her circumference.

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

From this permanency of the National Assembly the result will be, that no one Aristocratical body will have it in it's power henceforward to interpose itself between the King and the Nation; and that from the periodical rotation of it's members, it will not be possible for itself to degenerate into an aristocratic junto. As the King possesses of right the executive power, no law could pass in it but what had received the sanction of his authority; and as he has likewise the moderating power, this assembly being composed of two powers which have opposite interests, he will always possess the power of maintaining the equilibrium of it. Neither therefore by it's operations, nor by it's duration, would it be able to make any encroachment whatever on the Royal authority.

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



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

### WISHES FOR THE CLERGY.

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



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

Not only is the Clergyman united to the People by the bond of interest, but by that of duty. He is the national advocate of the miserable, and obliged to relieve them out of his own superfluity. Most part of the property of the Church has been bequeathed expressly under those conditions. I could have wished therefore that the superior Clergy had been at the head of their flocks to defend their interests, as in the ancient times of our Monarchy, during which the People themselves elected their own Pastors expressly for this purpose. But since those ancient forms so respectable in themselves have changed, even in a body of men so tenacious of their conservation, I wish at least that the Clergy would instil into the National Assembly the evangelical maxims which it is their business to announce in our Churches. I do not speak of the penny paid to *Cesar* by *St. Peter*, in obedience to JESUS CHRIST himself; for I will observe on this occasion, from the question put by JESUS to *Peter*, and his answer, that it was not customary among the Romans to exact tribute of citizens but of strangers. It is clear indeed from History that the Roman People, so far from paying imposts, was frequently supported by largesses of corn, and the tribute of the conquered Provinces. Among the Turks, the *carach* or tribute is paid only by the Greeks. This custom appears to me to have been generally prevalent over Asia. JESUS CHRIST seems to extend it to all the Kingdoms of the World, as founded on natural justice. The question after all perhaps referred to personal, and not to territorial imposts. Be this as it may, seeing that from one abuse to another the financial Government has with us succeeded to the feudal, it is now impossible to meet the exigences of the State without levying contributions on all it's members. The greatest part of our Clergy has sacrificed in this respect their ancient prerogatives in a very generous man-



ner: nevertheless the interest of truth obliges me to add, that they have likewise in this only done an act of justice, as a great deal of property was formerly conferred on them by the State, as well as on the Nobility, to the burthening of even the military service.

But the People at this day demands of them other contributions, to a considerable extent, of property bequeathed to them by individuals, for the benefit of the still more sacred service, that of the miserable. In this undoubtedly must be comprehended many of the rich Ecclesiastical Commendams, once destined to the relief of the leprous, and of wretches shut up in Hospitals. Let the Clergy then transfuse themselves into this Law of Nature, which is the basis, and the ultimate object of the Gospel; of that Law which is the source of every virtue, of justice, charity, humanity, patriotism, concord, beneficence, politeness, and of every thing which renders man amiable, even in the eyes of the men of the World: "Do not to another what you would not another should do unto you." Let them consider that this People, who in times past so liberally endowed them, is now sinking under a load of impositions; that the vices against which they have been so long preaching are not infused into Man by Nature, but that they are the necessary results of our political Institutions; that they spring out of the extreme opulence of a small number of citizens who have swallowed up every thing, and out of the absolute indigence of an inconceivable number of others who no longer possess any thing; that on the one part, opulence produces voluptuousness, avarice, monopolies, ambition, which of themselves occasion so many woes to mankind; and that on the other, poverty reduces young women to the necessity of prostituting themselves, mothers to expose their own children, and that it generates sedition, theft, quackery, superstition, and that innumerable multitude of miserable beings, who, stripped of every thing by the first, are reduced to the necessity of finding a livelihood at their expense.

I could wish therefore that the Clergy would step forth to the relief of the wretched, and first of all make provision for the necessities of the poor members of their own body; that



there may not be a single Ecclesiastic destitute of the decent means of support. Not a simple village Vicar ought to be without the actual necessities of life so long as his Bishop enjoyed a superfluity. It accordingly appears reasonable to me, that the National Assembly should employ the revenues of the rich Abbeys, founded of old by the Nation, in distributions, diffused over the whole Kingdom, by the provincial Assemblies, to the indigent of all countries, and of every communion, known and unknown, after the example of the good Samaritan; for the charity of the Gospel should extend to men of every Religion, and French hospitality to the men of all Nations.

It is of essential importance that the Clergy should abolish in their own order those strange and shameful establishments, totally unknown to the Greeks, the Romans, and even to the Barbarians; I mean Convents, which in France are merely houses of confinement and correction. Those dolorous abodes, in which Monks undertake, for pay, the infliction of domestic and public vindictive punishment, are scattered in such numbers over the Kingdom, and have become so detestable as to tarnish the very names of the Saints whom they have presumed to adopt as patrons. In some of them are still to be seen cages of iron, the cruel invention of *Louis XI.* Most of them labour under a reputation so disgraceful, from the penances which they inflict, that a young man, or young woman, derives more infamy from having been an inmate, than from having been shut up in a common prison. Hence Monks and Nuns refuse to blush at executing the abominable functions of gaolers and executioners for the sake of a paltry emolument. Is it not wonderfully strange that persons consecrated to GOD, who professionally preach up humanity, consolation, and the forgiveness of injuries, should have suffered themselves to be made the instruments of cruelty, of infamy and of vengeance, to acquire a little wealth? and that on the other hand, the people should have seen the creation of such houses, more cruel and more degrading than the Bastille, without perceiving the manifest contradiction between the doctrine and the practice of the persons who established them? It belongs to the State, and not the Monks, to punish offenders against the State.



I could farther wish that the Clergy, having contributed from their superfluity a supply for indigence, the source of so many private vices, would thunder their eloquence against ambition, that fertile source of public and private vice: that they would proscribe the first lessons of it in our schools, into which it has found admission under the name of emulation, and from infancy arms fellow-citizens against each other, by instilling into every child this pernicious maxim, "Be the first:" let the preachers of the Gospel inveigh vehemently, in the name of GOD, against the ambition of the Potentates of Europe, which results from the ambitious education they procure for their subjects, and which, after having brought an accumulation of misery on their own people, communicates that misery to the Human Race: let those sacred Ministers of Peace attack the sacrilegious Laws of War; let themselves desist from the practice of decorating our Temples dedicated to Charity, with banners won by shedding the blood of Nations; let them strenuously oppose the slavery of the Negroes, who are our brethren by the Laws of Nature and of Religion; let them withhold their benediction from vessels employed in this infamous traffic, as well as from the standards around which our sanguinary soldiers assemble; let them refuse their ministrations to every one who contributes toward the increase of human wretchedness; let them make the reply to the Powers who could engage them to consecrate the instruments of their politics, which the priestess *Theano* made to the People of Athens when they tried to persuade her to pronounce a malediction upon *Alcibiades*, though convicted of having profaned the mysteries of *Ceres*: "I am a Priestess to offer up prayers and implore blessings, not to execrate and devote to destruction."

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

Thus the French Clergy, by taking a lively interest in the condition of suffering humanity, will render themselves dear to the men of all Nations. They will have the satisfaction of be-



holding their religious Empire revive in the hearts of the People, as in the early ages when the Gospel was first preached, and when, speaking in the name of the GOD of Peace, they made tyrants tremble.

### WISHES FOR THE NOBILITY.

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

Wherever the People is despised the Nobility is unhappy. It is the resentment of the People which fosters among the higher orders the spirit of civil war, and of duelling. Look at the eternal discords of the Polish Nobility: look at the ancient feuds of the Barons of England, before liberty had raised the people near-



er to their level; and at those of our own Princes and Dukes prior to *Louis XIV.* who by the exercise of his despotism reduced all his subjects to nearly the same standard.

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

O ye Nobles, would you wish to exalt your own order, raise the order of the People! It was the greatness of the Roman people which constituted the Majesty of the Roman Senate. The higher a pedestal is, the loftier is the column reared upon it; the closer the union between the column and its pedestal, the greater is its solidity.

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

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



As we live in an age in which the members of the political body are still sound parts, under a chief resembling *Marcus Aurelius*, I feel myself drawn into a train of wishing that we might in some measure acquire a resemblance to the ancient Romans. I could wish then, in order to unite the Nobility with the People, and the People with the Nobility, that an order of Chivalry might be instituted, in imitation of the Civic Crown. This order should be conferred on every citizen who might have deserved well of the People, be the service of whatever nature it may. It should communicate honourable privileges, such as the rights of sitting in the Assemblies of the Villages, of the Cities, of the Provinces, and even in the National Assembly. The persons raised to this distinction should, on certain days of the year, have the privilege of admission to the King's presence, and at all seasons to his Majesty's Ministers, with the right of presenting requests for all men who by their virtues had rendered themselves worthy of the attention of Government. The badge of the order might be a crown of oak embroidered on the breast, with this motto: *For the People*. The National Assembly alone should have the power of presenting to the Sovereign, citizens whom they reckoned worthy of this distinction, and it should be granted and conferred only by his Majesty himself in person.

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

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



ances contracted by marriage, our patricians and plebeians would feel an approximation, not produced by bonds of silver and gold, but by those of Nature and Virtue. Such are the wishes I form, that People may rise toward the Nobility without pride, and that the Nobility may descend toward the People without suffering degradation.

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

I recollect my having seen one day in Lower Normandy a poor man of birth who earned his livelihood by making lions of clay. Those lions, to say the truth, had no great resemblance to lions; but they at least indicated a noble sentiment in the manufacturer, which poverty had not been able to extinguish. Nay, this sentiment propagated itself extensively through the medium of the manufacture. When a Country Gentleman a little at his ease had placed a pair of those lions on two pilasters of earth and flint on the right and left of his avenue, he could, in imitation of Princes, call his Court-yard a Court of Honour.

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

An art, however insignificant, is in a state of opulence a refuge from the tyranny of the passions and from languor; but in a state of indigence it is a resource against want. Religion among the Turks imposes it as a duty, even on the Sultans, to learn a trade, and to practise it. I know well that it is not inconsistent with the character of a Gentleman to practise a liberal art, but why not a mechanical one? A liberal art ministers



chiefly to luxury, and requires talents which are the progeny of the passions ; a mechanical art is necessary to the demands of human life, and calls only for the exercise of patience, the inseparable companion of virtue. A man of birth it is true may with us manufacture glass without discredit to his rank ; but why not pottery ? This, as far as I can judge, is the reason : as we have been long accustomed to respect fortune only, we have ennobled every condition that leads to it or which is subservient only to luxury : now as glass was originally very scarce, it was an enjoyment confined entirely to the rich : a Gentleman might therefore consistently be a dealer in glass. For the same reason likewise it is competent for him to have a share in the East-India Company, to be a Farmer-general, an Opera Performer, as if a Gentleman in wooden shoes could attain those brilliant situations ! He is at liberty I grant to place his children in the military school ; but that institution of *Louis XV.* destined exclusively to the relief of decayed Nobility, is now hardly a resource for persons of this description, because it is frequently intercepted by the rich families of their own order, or even of the commonalty, and is besides insufficient.

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

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



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

Historians never discern any thing but the results of our calamities, because they ascribe them solely to political causes; the moral causes which occasion them always escape their attention: because, concerned only in the fortune of Kings, the interests of mankind are a matter of indifference to them. They impute the perpetual Wars which ravage Europe to the ambition of it's Princes, and they are in the right; but it is of high importance to remark that the ambition of Princes, and the Wars both foreign and domestic which are the effects of it, originate, in every state, in the ambition of the Nobility, who being many in number, and having no other means of subsistence but the military profession, instigate their Sovereigns to War and Conquest, for the sake of getting to themselves commissions, pensions and governments. The opinion of Kings is formed entirely on the opinions of their Courtiers. Thus in countries where the Clergy is numerous and poor, there have arisen, from the spirit of controversy, spiritual Wars without end, equally ruinous to the Nations, but which procured for the persons who fomented and maintained them, doctors' square-caps, benefices, bishoprics and cardinals' hats. In our days, when the Potentates of Europe, illumined to the discernment of their pecuniary interests, direct their ambition toward commerce, it is not the Clergy or Nobility who involve us in National quarrels, but commercial associations. How many wars have been kindled and propagated to the extremities of the earth, by the European trading Companies, the East-India, the Assiento, the Molucca, the Philippine, the Guinea, the Senegal, the South-Sea, the Hudson's-bay, &c. The last War which embroiled England, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, the Cape of Good Hope, the East Indies, the two Americas, and which terminated in the ruin of our finances, and bears hard to this day upon the Estates-General of the kingdom, originated in the English India-Company, who wanted to extort a tax upon tea from the inhabitants of Boston. Thus the late storms which desolated the whole Globe, issued from a tea-warehouse.

What renders us Europeans so fickle and inconstant is the formation of associations, whose ambition blends itself with



that of our education. By the selfishness of corps Countries are ruined by referring Country exclusively to themselves, and by depriving the People of their natural relations. That which stifles the Sciences in any Country is the interposition of companies of Doctors between the People and light, as has happened in Spain, in Italy, and among ourselves. That which ruins Agriculture and Commerce is the intervention of monopolizing companies between the People and the crops or the manufactures. What destroys the Finances is the intervention of companies of Stock-Jobbers between the People and the Public Treasury. What ruins a Monarchy is a corps of Nobility interposing between a People and their Prince, as in Poland. What ruins a Religion is a corps of Priests thrusting themselves between the People and God, as among the Greeks of the Lower Empire and elsewhere. Finally, that which involves the Human race in destruction, is when a Country itself intolerant, like the corps which compose it, interposes between other Countries, and attempts to appropriate to itself exclusively the Science, the Commerce, the Power and the Reason of the whole Universe.

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

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

*Menenius Agrippa* reconciled the Roman People and their Senate by the allegory of the members which fell into decay by refusing to labour for the stomach : but what would he have said if the Roman Senate had itself formed a separation from



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

“ With Royalty my work should have commenced; taken in  
 “ a certain point of view it is typified by Monsieur *Gaster* :\* if  
 “ he feels any want the whole body has a fellow-feeling. The  
 “ members however growing tired of labouring for his benefit,  
 “ resolved every one to live like a gentleman, that is in idleness,  
 “ pleading the example of *Gaster* himself. But for us, said  
 “ they, he must live on air: we sweat, we toil like beasts of  
 “ burden; and for whom? for him only, without any profit to  
 “ ourselves. The end of all our exertions is forsooth to find  
 “ him a dinner. Let us make holiday, it is a lesson which he  
 “ himself has taught us. No sooner said than done: the hands  
 “ and arms cease from their functions; the legs and feet refuse  
 “ to stir; with one voice they told Mr. *Gaster* he might look

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



" out for himself. Of this error however they had speedily  
 " cause to repent ; the poor creatures fell into a state of lan-  
 " guor : no new blood now circulated round the heart ; every  
 " member suffered, and lost all strength. The mutineers be-  
 " came sensible that he whom they had accused of idleness,  
 " contributed more to the general welfare than any one of them.  
 " This fiction is applicable to the Royal dignity. It receives  
 " and gives, and the benefit is mutual. For it every one la-  
 " bours, and every one in return derives aliment from it. The  
 " artisan by it draws subsistence from the sweat of his brow ;  
 " it enriches the merchant, supports the magistrate, maintains  
 " the husbandman, pays the soldier, diffuses it's sovereign be-  
 " neficence in a thousand different channels, and alone preserves  
 " the whole State in health and vigour. It was a happy inven-  
 " tion of *Menenius*. The Commonalty was on the point of  
 " coming to a rupture with the Senate ; the malcontents alleged  
 " that the Patricians had engrossed the whole power of the em-  
 " pire, it's treasures, honours, dignities, while the whole bur-  
 " den lay on their shoulders, tributes, taxes, the fatigues and  
 " dangers of war. The people had already deserted the city,  
 " disposed to go in quest of another country, when *Menenius*  
 " unfolded to them their mistake by the fable of the Belly and  
 " Members, and thereby brought them back to their duty."

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

#### THE BRANCHES AND TRUNK OF THE PALM-TREE.

The palm, loftiest of fruit trees, formerly bare, like other  
 trees, it's fruit on it's boughs. One day the branches, proud of  
 their elevation and of their riches, said to their trunk : " Our  
 " fruits are the delight of the desert, and our ever verdant foli-  
 " age the glory of it. It is by us that caravans in the plains,  
 " and ships along the shores regulate their courses. We rise  
 " to such a height that the Sun illuminates us before the dawn-



“ing of Aurora, and after he is sunk in the ocean. We are the  
“daughters of Heaven; by day we are fed with it's light, and  
“by night with it's refreshing dews. As for you, dark child  
“of earth, you drink of waters under the earth, and breathe un-  
“der the shade which we supply; your foot is for ever con-  
“cealed in the sand; your stem is clothed with a coarse bark  
“only, and if your head can pretend to any honour it is that of  
“bearing us aloft.” The trunk replied: “Ungrateful daugh-  
“ters, it is I who gave you birth, and it is from the bosom of  
“the sands that my sap nourishes you, generates your fruits to  
“re-produce them, and exalts you to the Heavens to preserve  
“them; it is my strength which supports at that height your  
“weakness against the fury of the winds.” Scarcely had he  
spoken, when a hurricane issuing from the Indian Ocean spread  
devastation over the country. The palm-branches are tossed  
down to the ground, are tossed upward again, are dashed against  
each other, and stripped by the noisy tempest of their fruits.  
The trunk meanwhile maintains it's ground; not one of it's  
roots but what attracts and sustains from the bosom of the earth,  
the branches agitated in the higher region of the air. Tran-  
quillity being restored, the branches reduced to a fruitless foli-  
age, offered to their trunk to place their fruits henceforth as a  
common deposit on his head, and to preserve them to their ut-  
most by covering them with their leaves. To this the palm-tree  
consented, and ever since this agreement, the stately plant bears  
aloft on it's stem it's long rows of fruit up to the regions of the  
winds, without fearing the violence of the storm: it's trunk is  
become the symbol of strength, and it's branches that of glory  
and virtue.

The palm-tree is the State; it's trunk and fruits are the Peo-  
ple and their productive labours; the hurricanes are it's ene-  
mies; the palm-braches of the State are the Nairs and the Bra-  
mins, when transformed into the friends of the People.



## WISHES FOR THE PEOPLE.

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

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

It seems to me reasonable therefore that the body of the People should preserve it's proper name, as the bodies of the Clergy and Nobility have done, and that it should be denominated the order of the People. In place of the name of *Tiers-Etat* might be substituted if you will that of Commons, as is the case in England, and which has frequently been adopted among ourselves. This term *commons* characterizes in particular the people of every Province of the Kingdom, in all ages denominated by the appellation of the *communes* of Dauphiné, of Brittany, of Normandy, &c. who united form the *communes* of the Kingdom. This name of Commons has never been given to any but the People, as might be proved by the authority of Writers who best understood the meaning of expressions, especially that of *La Fontaine*. In truth, the interests of the People are common not only to each Province, but to the other orders of the



Nation, because their felicity constitutes the general felicity. This does not hold good as to the interests of the other orders, which are peculiar to themselves. On the other hand, the name of Tiers-Etat given to the People, supposes, as *J. J. Rousseau* has very well remarked, that it's interest is only the third, though it be in it's own nature the first. Now as men form at the long-run their ideas, not on things, but on words, justice demands that the surname of Tiers-Etat, imposed on the People for some ages past by the privileged bodies, because it reminded them of their privileges, should be replaced by that of the commons, which it has at all times enjoyed, that it may remind all of the common interest. *Salus populi suprema lex esto* : Let the safety of the People be the supreme Law.

Well-meaning patriots, commiserating the wretched condition of the country people, have proposed to form them into a body different from those of the cities ; but this must be guarded against with extreme caution. Division into corps involves division of interests. The peasantry ought to be sufficiently represented in the Provincial Assemblies, and in the National Assembly ; their demands ought in these to have a preferable consideration : but it appears to me extremely dangerous to make any distinction in the Assemblies between the commons of the Country and those of the Cities, for their interests are inseparable. The commerce of the Cities can prosper only by the labours of agriculture, and the labours of agriculture only by the commerce of the Cities.

The power of a Nation depends entirely on the union of it's parts. The higher branches of a tree may diverge, but not the fibres of it's trunk, which ought to be compacted under the same bark. Were it possible to divide the trunk of a tree into branches, an oak would be reduced to a bush ; but were all the branches of a bush compacted into a single trunk, of a bush you might form an oak. This presents a very lively image of what has actually taken place in several States. How many Kingdoms have been reduced to bushes in a vast extent of territory, because their trunk ramified only into Nobles and Priests ! Look at Spain and Italy. How many Monarchies and Republics have risen into oaks, cedars and palm-trees in small territories, because the Nobility and Clergy are conglomerated into one mass



with the People, and have but one common interest with them ! Look at England and Holland. Call to remembrance the force of the Roman Empire, in which the Nobles knew no glory but that of the People.

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

In pointing out the means of bringing the Clergy and Nobility into contact with the People, I have likewise indicated those of drawing the People closer to these two orders, not by the sentiment of ambition, which is calculated only to separate the members of a State, but that of virtue which unites them. Our people have a propensity but too powerful to rise ; education and example are continually pushing them upward. They ought to be invited neither to mount nor to descend, but to keep in their place : it suits them neither to be a tyrant nor a slave ; let it suffice them to be free. Virtue in every case keeps the middle station ; there likewise is to be found security, tranquillity, happiness. I could wish therefore that no Burgher should ever desire to get out of the order of the People ; but should he feel the restless stimulus of glory, let him still remain



in his station ; for there is no condition of life but what presents a career capable of gratifying even the most unbounded ambition.

O Plebeian, who discernest no glory comparable to that which high birth bestows, and who blushest at being a man because thou art not noble, Art thou a lawyer? Be the defender of virtue and the terror of the guilty. Like another *Dupaty*, rescue from our barbarous codes their innocent victims ; declare war against our *Verreses* and our *Catilines* ; undertake and plead the cause of Nations ; consider how *Cicero* with the thunders of eloquence, protected Kings, and *Demosthenes* made them tremble. Art thou but a simple tradesman? It is commerce which vivifies Empires ; to Commerce the two wealthiest States of Europe, England and Holland, are indebted for their power ; it is by means of Commerce that their Merchants behold in their pay, not only Gentlemen innumerable, but Princes and Sovereigns. Commerce exalts even to the Throne. Call to mind those ancient traders of Florence who have swayed the sceptre in their own Country, and given two Queens to your's. Art thou only a wretched mariner, wandering like *Ulysses* from sea to sea, far remote from thy native shores? Thou art the agent of nations : thou providest not only a supply for their necessities, but communicatest to them what is most precious among mankind, next to virtue, Arts, Sciences, Knowledge. By men of your condition it was that islands were made known to islands, nations to nations, and the two worlds to each other : but for them the Globe, with it's rarest productions, would be unknown to us. Reflect on the glory of *Christopher Columbus*, to which no glory, even that of Royalty, is once to be compared, as he alone, by the discovery of America, has effected a change in the wants, the enjoyments, the empires, the religions, and the destiny of the greatest part of the inhabitants of the globe. Art thou, on the contrary, an artist continually sedentary, as *Theseus* in the regions below? O how many paths are open to thee, from the bosom of repose, that lead to a glory sullied by no guilt ! How many of these are presented to you in painting, sculpture, engraving, music, the productions of which transport with admiration and delight? Nay how many artists are there, whose names shall be renowned to all generations, though their



works no longer exist; so eager are men to pursue the celestial traces of their genius, and to pick up the minutest particles of gold which the brilliant current of their reputation rolls down the tide of ages! Is there a Nobleman in all Europe whose name is to endure, and to be celebrated, like those of the *Phidias* and the *Apelles*, who have for two thousand years enjoyed the homage of posterity, and who reckoned the *Alexanders* of their day in the number of their courtiers? Art thou a philosopher simply, to whom no one pays court? Consider that you in your turn pay court to no one. The Nobility depend on Kings, the Philosopher holds of GOD only: the Nobility live as Gentlemen, thou livest as a Man, which is far more dignified. But for Philosophers, the Nations, misled by vain illusions, would know neither the laws nor the combinations of Nature. They are the original sources of the Arts, the Commerce and the Wealth of Nations. Call to remembrance the wonderful discoveries of *Galileo*, who first found out the gravity of the Air, and demonstrated the motion of the Earth round the Sun; and that multitude of illustrious men who have enlarged the sphere of the human mind, in Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, &c. They are the most memorable epochs of ages, and their glory will last as long as that of Nature, whose children they are. Art thou a man of letters? The distribution of glory to other men is in thy hands. Illustrious Authors! Like the *Venus of Lucretius*, without you nothing agreeable is produced in the sphere of intelligence, and nothing is permanent in the fields of memory. Whether your attention is directed to Poetry, to Philosophy, or to History, you are the firmest supports of Virtue. By your means Nations unite themselves in bonds of interest and of friendship, from one extremity of the Earth to the other, and ages past with ages yet to come. But for you, kings and the tribes which they governed would pass away without leaving a trace of their existence. Whatever is renowned among men owes to you it's celebrity, and your own names surpass in splendour the names of those whom you have rendered illustrious. What glory ever equalled that of *Homer*, whose poesy served to regulate the ancient Republics of Greece, and whose genius, after a lapse of twenty-six centuries, still conti-



nues to preside among us over Literature, over the fine Arts, over Theatres and over Academies.

Art thou, after all, but an obscure peasant doomed to the culture of the ground? O! reflect that thou exercisest the most noble, the most lovely, the most necessary, the most sacred of all Arts, seeing it is the Art of GOD himself. But if that poison of glory, instilled from infancy into all conditions of men among us by the principle of emulation, is fermenting in thy veins; if the vain applause of men is necessary to thee, in the midst of thy peaceful orchards; meditate on the endless succession of woes which follow in the train of glory, the envy of the little, the jealousy of equals, the perfidy of the great, the intolerance of corps, the neglect and indifference of Kings. Meditate on the fate of those men whom I have produced as instances of persons who have merited the best of their country and of posterity; on the head of *Cicero*, cut off by his own client *Popinius Lena*, and nailed to that very pulpit which he had dignified by his eloquence; on *Demosthenes*, pursued by order of the Athenians whom he had defended against *Philip*, as far as the temple of *Neptune* in the island of *Calauria*, and hastening to swallow poison, to find in death a refuge more certain than altars could afford. Think on the poniard which stabbed to death one of the *Medicis* in that very City which they had loaded with benefits; on the irons which bound *Christopher Columbus* on returning from his second voyage to the New World, and which in his dying moments he ordered to be put into the tomb with him as a monument of the ingratitude of the Princes to whom he had rendered a service so magnificent; on *Galileo* in the prisons of the inquisition, obliged to retract on his knees the sublime truth which he had demonstrated; on *Homer*, blind and a mendicant, singing from door to door his sublime Poems, among those very Greeks who were one day to trace up to them the origin of their Laws, and of their most illustrious Republics. Look at *Poussin* in his country, France, crowned with glory all over Europe, his own country excepted, forced to seek in a foreign land consideration and bread; at *Descartes* a fugitive in Sweden, after having illumined his Country with the first rays of Philosophy; at *Fenelon* exiled into his Diocese, for having loved GOD more than his Ministers, and Nations more



than Kings. In a word, represent to thyself that innumerable multitude of illustrious and unfortunate men who, torn in secret by the very calumnies of their own professed friends, languished in poverty and contempt, and without having so much as the consolation to be pitied, had the mortification of beholding the honours and rewards due to themselves bestowed on most unworthy rivals. Then thou wilt bless thy obscurity which permitteth thee at last to reap the fruit of thy labours with the esteem of the vicinity ; to rear a guiltless offspring under the shade of thy orchards, and to attain, in a life so tempestuous, the only portion of happiness which Nature has allotted to Man. While the storm breaks in pieces the cedar on the summit of the mountain, the herbage escapes the fury of the winds, and flourishes in peace at the bottom of the valley.

### WISHES FOR THE NATION.

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

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



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

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

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

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

We have compared the State to a tree, of which the particular corps diverged into branches, and of which the People constituted the trunk. We have seen that the more the branches



are multiplied, the more the trunk is enfeebled: but if, by a monstrosity of which Nature exhibits no example, the branches were more powerful than the trunk itself, the fall of that tree must be very easily effected.

In order to render still more sensible the harmony necessary to the different members of the State, I shall employ an image now of very ancient standing. The Nation may be represented as a ship; the People, with their labours, their arts and their commerce, is the hull of it, loaded with the naval stores, the provisions and the merchandize, of which the cargo constitutes the object of the voyage. To the hull must be proportioned all the other parts of the ship. The Nobility may be considered as the batteries which defend it; the Clergy as the masts and sails which put and keep it in motion; the opinions political, moral and religious, as the winds which drive it, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left; Administration as the cordage and pulleys which vary the several manœuvres; Royalty as the helm which regulates it's course, and the King as the pilot. To the interests of the People therefore the King is bound principally to attend, as a pilot pays his chief attention to the hull of the vessel; for if the upper parts are overloaded by masts too lofty, or by an artillery too ponderous, the vessel runs a risk of being upset. She is equally in danger of sinking, if the worms silently corrode her bottom, and open a passage for admitting the water.

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



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

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

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

One of the irregularities which have given me most offence in the conduct of our Assemblies even the gravest, is the hastiness of their judgments, and the tardiness of my own. I have never heard any one question proposed in them, but it has been driven to a decision before I had time so much as to look into it. Nor am I the only one who has been placed in this awkward situation. A celebrated Navigator, who made the tour of the Globe, found himself at first very much embarrassed on his return to



Paris. His compatriots and friends, men of intelligence, questioned him all in a breath about what he had seen in foreign countries. He was at a loss how to satisfy them ; but soon found himself very much at his ease, for he perceived that the questioners on his right hand immediately replied, and definitively, to those on his left, and those on his left to the enquiries of those on his right, so that all he had to do was to hold his tongue. For my own part, I acknowledge, I am incapable of deciding at the moment whether I should accept a simple invitation to dine in the country, of which I am very fond, till I have turned it over in my mind for some time, and by myself. I must first consider, not what kind of weather it is likely to be, but the character of the master and mistress of the house, that of their friends, of their cousins, of their wits, of their hangers-on, of their interlopers ; lest instead of going to a party of pleasure, I should fall into a party of an opposite description, as has frequently happened to me, for want of having exercised a little reflection.

To return to our public Assemblies, What member of them would choose to decide instantly on a proposition which affected his private fortune ? How much more powerful reasons has he to act with deliberation when the fortune of the Nation is at stake ? It is fit then that each of them should have an opportunity of examining at leisure what he is going to determine for the whole community, and irrevocably ; it is farther proper that he should deliver his decision not *viva voce*, after the French manner, but in writing, after the manner of the Romans. Nothing can be more inconsistent with the gravity and wisdom of a deliberative assembly than acclamation. If the person who brings forward a motion has a commanding voice, a good stock of impudence and partisans to support him, as all the ambitious have, he carries the multitude along with him, who are seldom much disposed to resist those who make a great deal of noise ; he will on the spur of the moment induce a whole Assembly to adopt projects the most dangerous, and immediately bind it down by the obligation of an oath, and thereby deprive it even of the miserable resource of repentance. A man of sense who foresees the consequences, will not have the courage singly to brave a powerful party, for fear of creating to himself personal



enemies, or he will himself require time to digest his own opinion in private; or he may be deficient in facility of expression to deliver it in public. Besides, where are the means of leading persons to form a judgment of their own who never exist but in the opinion of another, and of engaging a multitude to retract a measure of which they have expressed their approbation by an applause so boisterous? Deliberate judgments formed in retirement, and declared in writing, are liable to none of these inconveniencies; and if proofs of this were requisite, we should find them in the Assemblies of all intelligent Nations, ancient and modern.

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

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

Other political Writers have proposed to submit certain difficult cases to the judgment of a Committee formed of the mem-



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

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

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

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

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



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

*Esop* distributed their lots very differently from the decision of the Areopagites. He gave, “ To the coquet, the instruments of loose and luxurious dissipation ; to the tippling lady the farm-yard, and the economist got the frippery.” Upon this each of the young ladies, dissatisfied with her legacy, presently disposed of it, and the mother got her dowery.

The three sisters, without making invidious applications, are our three orders ; and their mother is the Nation, who reclaims her dower out of their part of the inheritance when they have disposed of it.

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

I should imagine therefore that a committee of confidence, formed reciprocally of arbiters selected in each order, by the or-



der opposite to it in point of interest, would substitute in place of political intrigue, which embarrasses the simplest affairs, the frankness of generosity, which simplifies the most embarrassed. Would the orders of our National Assembly have less magnanimity than the ancient Gauls our ancestors, and would they have less confidence in each other than foreign Nations have mutually expressed? When *Annibal* passed through the Gauls, the People of that Country stipulated with him, that if they should have any ground of complaint against the Carthaginians, they would refer it to the decision of the Carthaginian Chiefs; but that if the Carthaginians in turn should have any reason to complain of the Gauls, the women of the People last named should decide on the justness of such complaints. These two nations must have lived in perfectly good understanding with each other, thus mutually to confide in the principle of generosity, and to choose the umpires of their differences in that which was most worthy of respect and confidence in the opposite party. There is reason to believe that in certain cases reference might have been safely made to the justice of *Annibal* himself, equally interested to give satisfaction to both parties; and who, among other great talents, had the art of conciliating the affections of the various nations of which his army was composed. Wherefore should not the three orders of our Nation repose equal confidence in the equity of the King, who is their natural Mediator, and who has so often sacrificed his personal to the public interest?

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

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



would not fail to happen, were the National Assembly only periodical, as some had proposed.

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

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

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

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

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

These dispositions ought to be extended to our Colonies; but if it be a matter of justice to admit their white Deputies into the National Assembly, it is no less so to call into it their black Deputies, in the class of free blacks; as being employed in the culture and the defence of our colonies, they are not less interested than other citizens to deliberate on the interests of the Mother Country. Farther, the introduction of free blacks into the National Assembly will pave the way for the abolition of slavery in the Colonies, just as the admission of freemen into



our ancient States-General prepared the way for the abolition of feudal servitude which had invaded a part of the Gauls. Finally, those men born under another sky, repelled by their own country, and partaking in the blessings of ours, will add to the majesty of an Assembly which takes all the unfortunate under it's protection, and they will concur perhaps in securing one day to it's humanity, a glory which conquerors never derived from their victories, that of seeing in it's bosom the Deputies of all Nations voting the prosperity of France.

As to the qualifications necessary to an Elector in the Rural, Municipal, Provincial and National Assemblies, it appears to me essential to possess a portion of arable land, as in England, in order to put respect on agriculture and to prevent the plurality of Electors from being composed of indigent persons, whom necessity might compel to sell their votes; but on the other hand I deem it useless and unjust to require, as in England, a territorial property still greater of each Deputy of the National Assembly; for it is certain that the Electors being above absolute want, will never be exposed to the danger of corruption by Deputies without fortune, and that Deputies without fortune, chosen by Electors whom they had not the means of corrupting, must possess personal qualifications highly respectable. It is possible without doubt, in that class of men of all descriptions so very numerous, who have no property, there may be found citizens superiorly enlightened and truly patriotic, whose very poverty is to be ascribed to their virtues; a *Socrates*, an *Aristides*, an *Epaminondas*, a *Belisarius*, a *John James Rousseau*.

The Deputies ought to have all their expenses honourably defrayed. On this subject I have heard some persons maintain a false point of honour, under a pretence that the Deputies of their country ought to serve her gratuitously. But as all those who serve her in corps which are not always engaged in the public service, receive payment from her, from Cardinals down to Vergers, from Marshals of France down to Sentinels, and from the Chancellor down to the petty Clerk, wherefore should it not be so likewise with the members of the National Assembly? It is as just that those who directly serve their Country should live by their Country, as that those who minister at the



Altar should live by the Altar. It is besides the only means of opening the doors of those Assemblies to men of merit who happen to be poor. Every Deputy of the National Assembly ought therefore to receive an honourable maintenance, not from the Order of the Province which he represents, but from the Nation, for the express purpose of impressing upon his mind that he has ceased to be the Deputy of his Order and of his Province, that he may become a Member of the Nation. This maintenance ought to be equal for the Deputies of all the Orders, because their services are equal: and however slender it may be, it ought to be considered by each of them as equally honourable with that which Kings grant to their Ambassadors, as they receive it from the People, whose pensioners Kings themselves are.

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

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

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



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

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

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

The gabel, that other nursery of galley-birds, has likewise attracted the paternal regards of the King : there is reason to hope that this impost will be done away ; that the farms of our



plains will enjoy in abundance the use of salt, an article so necessary to the cattle ; and that the sea, the fourth element, will be rendered as free to Frenchmen, as the other three elements of the globe.

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

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

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

It is likewise devoutly to be wished that the industry, the commerce, the urbanity and the opulence of our cities, might be diffused over our plains, the inhabitants of which are so poor and so miserable. It is a certain fact that the greater part of



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

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



the curious at a distance, and every one will make an effort to get in, and eagerly produce his ticket of admission.

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

It would be necessary likewise to ameliorate the condition of our soldiery, whose pay is only five sols (2 1-2d) a day. In the time of *Henry IV.* it was likewise five sols ; but the five sols of that period amount to more than twenty sols of to-day, the price of provisions being taken into the account. All that is requisite to have as many men as you please is to increase the pay of our soldiery, as in the case of every other profession. This increase of pay might be granted them, by employing them in the labours of the high-ways, of the sea-ports, of the public monuments, &c. just as the Roman soldiers were employed. On the other hand, the military funds will find a pecuniary increase produced by the imposts on the high-roads ; by a part of the sums expended on the Royal edifices, by the rents of fiefs both noble and ecclesiastic, formerly burthened with military service, by contributions to be still furnished by the Corporations of Cities, in a word by savings to be made on the pensions, by far too numerous and too considerable, of the staff of the Army. These resources seem to me sufficient for the maintenance, and to keep alive the emulation, of our soldiers, especially if they have the farther encouragement, as retreats and expectancies, of



becoming city-guards, highway patrols, not to mention a great number of petty civil employments, as in Prussia; and if there be presented to them in the service itself, a clear road to the attainment of every military rank, as is the case in all the countries of the World.

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

Every Frenchman ought to have besides the hope of rising, by merit, to the very highest rank in the line of his profession, without birth, without money and without intrigue. To this liberty, and to those prospects it is that France owed her greatness under despotism itself, and particularly under that of *Louis XIV.* the most absolute of all our despots. It is observable that since the days of this Prince, talents have made a less shining figure in France, precisely in the parts of Administration the corps of which have become aristocratic. It is infinitely better assuredly that the State should be honoured, enriched, saved by the son of a peasant, than disgraced, impoverished, ruined by the son of a Prince. Thus, as from what the past has produced, a man in the ranks shall have it in his power to become Mareschal of France; a common Sailor, Commodore, and even Admiral; a private Tutor in a College, Grand Almoner; and Advocate, Chancellor: that we may see revived among us the *Fabers*, the *John Barts*, the *Amiots*, the *Hopitals* of other



times. Rome was indebted, at all periods, for her unity, her power and her duration, only to her granting to all her Citizens the capability of rising to every thing. Modern Rome, as ancient Rome, has held out to all dignities, triumphs, empire, nay deification itself.

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

Liberty of thought has been a subject of much discussion. It is self-evident that no Government can deprive any person of it. I may be, in my own mind, as republican as a Spartan, at Constantinople, or a Jew at Goa. Conscience is accountable to GOD only: it is a state out of the jurisdiction of every tyrant. It is penetrable by persuasion alone, and not by force. It is a flower which expands to the rays of the Sun, but which shuts itself against the stormy blast. Thus passive liberty of thought is a right derived from Nature. As to active Liberty, or that of publishing a man's thoughts, it is reduced to liberty of speech: now liberty of speech ought to be regulated in a State, as the liberty of action. Most certainly permission cannot be given to any person to act in a manner that is injurious to society, or to its members, neither therefore ought it to be allowed to publish thoughts which have this tendency. I am even of opinion that the National Assembly ought to enact laws more rigorous than any yet existing, against calumniators, the most detestable of all mankind, as the mischief done by their words is greater and more lasting than that which highwaymen commit by their actions. The liberty of publishing one's thoughts, or the Liberty of the Press, ought therefore to be regulated by the liberty of acting, and as this last ought not to be subjected to any constraint when the public happiness is concerned, public good ought to be the rule of the Liberty of the Press.



Religious liberty, or liberty of conscience properly so called, is, like liberty of thought, not only a branch of natural right, but of the Law of Nations: it flows from that maxim of universal justice: "Do not to another what you would not wish done to yourself." Now as we demand in foreign Countries the liberty of exercising our Religion, we ought to grant strangers, in our turn, the same liberty in our Country. Most of the Nations of Asia grant this to men of every description, with even the liberty of preaching in their own way. Without this mutual toleration there could be no communication of intelligence, nor even of commerce, among mankind. All nations of men would be sequestered from each other as the Japanese are from Europeans. If by means of intolerance the door is shut in States against error, it is likewise shut against truth; the Nation is deprived of the natural right of which our ancestors availed themselves, when they freely received the Religion which we profess, and they besides withhold the liberty of diffusing it among other Nations to whom we do not grant reciprocal rights. In order to entitle Europeans to arrogate to themselves the prerogative of sending Missionaries to Japan, the Japanese should likewise have perfect liberty to send Missionaries to Europe. Nevertheless, as the glory of GOD and the good of Mankind ought to be the basis of all Legislation, it is proper not to tolerate superstitious religions, which subject Man to Man, and not Man to GOD, or such as are themselves intolerant, which disturb the communication between Man and Man, which damn each other, without any mutual knowledge of what they are, which teach them to torment their fellow-creatures, or themselves, in the view of pleasing GOD, who is notwithstanding the father and the friend of Mankind.

As it is not reasonable that the Frenchman who wishes himself to be free in France should be a tyrant in other parts of the World, it is necessary to abolish the slavery of the Negroes, in our African and American Colonies; here is committed not only the interest of the Nation, but that of the Human Race. Maladies physical and moral without number flow from this violation of the Law of Nature. To say nothing of the wars originating in the Slave-Trade, and which, like all those of Europe, extend to the extremities of the Earth, the physical mala-



dies of the climate of Negroes, such as the fevers on the Guinea-coast, have carried off multitudes of our seamen and soldiers : others, such as the venereal, have become naturalized in our Colonies. But moral maladies are more dangerous, more durable, and more expansive.

It were possible to prove that most of the opinions which at different times have embroiled Europe, are an importation from distant Countries. Jansenism, for example, appears to have been introduced from the East by the Croisades, together with the Plague and the Leprosy : we find at least the maxims of Jansenism in the Mahometan Theologians quoted by *Chardin*. The Plague and the Leprosy subsist no longer among us, but Jansenism maintains it's ground and is making way, it is said, even in Spain. It cannot be doubted that our opinions in their turn may have troubled the repose of other Nations, witness our religious quarrels, which have put the people of China on their guard against us, and have procured our expulsion from Japan. The Inquisition, which commenced at Rome in 1204, during the first Croisades, spread at first over part of Italy, and thence over Spain and Portugal ; it laid waste, by the general intercommunication with these Nations, a part of the Coasts of Asia and Africa, and more than the half of America. In 1566, it constrained the Dutch to shake off the Spanish yoke. About the same time nearly, it obliged the Nations of the North of Europe to separate from the Church of Rome ; and those to the South who remained Catholics, to oppose the most powerful barriers to it ; afterwards, like a ferocious wild beast, turning upon it's keepers for want of other prey, it ceased not to diffuse terror over the countries which had given it birth ; it being the will of GOD, by an act of his universal justice, that intolerant Nations should find their punishment in the very tribunals of their intolerance.

The slavery of the Negroes, which we have established in our Colonies, in imitation of the Portuguese and Spaniards, has produced re-actions nearly similar ; for the inhabitants of the Colonies forming now-a-days, by means of their wealth, alliances with our high Nobility, accustom them insensibly to consider the whole people who nourish them in France, as destined to slavery, as well as the blacks who cultivate their possessions



in America. It is to the influence of this tyrannical spirit, which has infected even our Administration, that we are to impute the strange ordonnance of the War Department already quoted, by which it was some years ago declared, that no person under the rank of Nobility could serve his Majesty in the rank of an officer in the army ; an ordonnance highly injurious to the French Nation, and of which I do not believe there is an example to be found in any Nation on the face of the Earth, and at no period of the History of our Monarchy previous to that of the establishment of slavery in the Colonies. The motive indeed is excusable, and I have made the apology, namely, the necessity of reserving honourable employments for poor men of family : but the Nobility cannot be honoured when the People is debased ; for the highest degree of distinction to which Nobility itself can rise, is to be like that of ancient Rome, at the head of a distinguished People.

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



tions in other respects, might arrogate to himself any other distinction besides that which genius confers. Now I believe that this servile spirit, which the people of all conditions at this day voluntarily imbibe, originally infected us from the establishment of slavery in the Colonies ; for prior to that I find nothing similar in our History. From this era likewise we may date the multiplicity of titles, financial, literary, and other qualifications, with which every one now affects to lengthen out his name, for want of the addition which counties, baronies and marquises bestow ; whereas formerly men of the very highest quality made no addition to their family name, but that which was given them in baptism. We find examples still more striking and more numerous of this abuse of titles, among the Portuguese and Spaniards, because they preceded us in the establishment of slavery in the Indies, and in expressing contempt for the People at home.

Those tyrannical opinions, already so widely diffused over France, take their birth in the slavery of our American islands, as in a continually existing focus of servitude, and propagating itself to Europe through the channel of their commerce, just as the pestilence conveys itself from Egypt with the other productions of the Country. Now as we have not hitherto established on the Coasts of France a quarantine for men coming from beyond Seas, under the infection, by birth, by habit and by interest, of the spirit of slavery, and as the depravation of minds is still more contagious than any bodily distemper, it is a matter of absolute necessity that the slavery of the Negroes should be abolished in our Colonies, for fear that one day it should extend itself, through the influence of the opinion of some opulent individuals, over the white but poor People of the Mother Country. The English, who take the lead of us in maturity and in wisdom, have already taken into consideration this cause of the Human Race ; it is going to be pleaded in their Parliament as it ought to have been in the court of Areopagus. There is formed at Paris as at London a Society, the declared friends and patrons of the poor black slaves, at least as worthy of the public esteem as that of *la Merci*. It belongs to this respectable Society to carry the grievances of those unfortunate beings before the National Assembly.



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

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

The manufacture of sugars, it is true, requires expensive buildings, and the concurrence of many operators. The partisans of slavery have pretended from this to conclude the necessity of employing troops of black slaves in the islands. This consequence so very feebly supported is, however, the most powerful argument they have to adduce against the liberty of the blacks. But there is no need in Europe of workshops crowded with slaves, to erect and carry on the manufactures of tannery, of tapestry, of paper, of arms, of pins, &c. which require a greater concourse of workmen, and more unity of operation than those of sugar-making. Besides a planter who has got a sugar-mill, has no more occasion to raise all the canes of his canton, to engross the whole produce to himself, than the proprietor of a wine-press in Burgundy has occasion to engross all the vineyards on his hill. Those who with us weave the cloth do not raise the flax and the hemp, nor does the paper-



maker go through the streets picking up the rags, nor do printers and book-makers engage in the manufacture of paper. It is to the subdivision of labour and arts, in the hands of free-men, that their perfection in Europe is to be ascribed. Small properties in the hands of artisans are necessary to the progress of industry, as those of land are to the progress of agriculture. Were the manufacturer of sugar in the Colonies to confine himself entirely to manufacturing, and the planter to raising the canes, it would be unnecessary to refine the sugar of the islands after it came to Europe. They might spin there, as in India, the tow of the cocoa-nut case, the threads of the banana and the cotton, and work them into cordage and stuffs. The vast plantations of Saint Domingo and of the Antilles, divided into small properties, and restored to freedom, would become likewise a scene of industry, and I will venture to say more agreeable, from the facility of culture, and the temperature of their climate, than the farms and the messuages of France, where the winters are so severe. They would afford a multitude of employments and jobs to numbers of our poor peasants and artificers, who are out of work in France; and the Planters in our Colonies would find themselves richer, happier, and more distinguished, when instead of foreign slaves they would have farmers of their own countrymen, and signiories instead of plantations.

I have no need to be diffuse on the abolition of the mortmain servitude of the inhabitants of Mount Jura. It is passing strange that this servitude should have been kept up, to the present hour, in a corner of the Kingdom, by the Canons of Saint Claude, in defiance of the caresses of *Louis XVI.* of the prerogatives of France, of the rights of Nature and the laws of the Gospel. The duration of this abuse demonstrates the power and the tyranny of corps. The Canons of Saint Claude will undoubtedly resolve voluntarily to restore liberty to French peasants, after the example of their virtuous Bishop, without being forced to it by the National Assembly, which has the right of redressing every injury done to the Nation.

Ye Chiefs of the People of every rank! I repeat it, in the name of Him who has united the destinies of all mankind, your happiness depends on that of the People: if you hate them,



they will hate you ; they will repay you a hundred fold the mischief you do them : but if you love them, they will love you ; if you protect them, they will protect you : you will be strong in their strength, as you are weak in their weakness. Do you wish yourselves to live in freedom ? make no attempt upon their liberty : would you wish to acquire illumination ? do not blind them with prejudice ; in order to tranquillize your own souls, do not disturb their spirits ; to maintain your own greatness, devise the means of their elevation : remember that you are the summit of the tree of which they are the stem.

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

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



ness of climate, nor even the fecundity of soil, but the felicity which the more amiable portion of the human species there enjoys. There are upon the Globe Cities more happily situated than Paris, and which are far less renowned and far less populous. Naples is in a delicious climate; modern Rome is a repository of august monuments; Constantinople is on the limits of three parts of the World, Europe, Asia and Africa; other Cities, such as the Capitals of Peru and Mexico, are situated on the brink of the vast Ocean, in a soil teeming with gold, with silver and precious stones, and under a temperate sky which knows neither the burning heat of Summer nor the severity of Winter: others, such as Ceylon, Amboyna, Java, are in fortunate islands, amidst forests of cinnamon trees, of cloves and nutmegs. Nevertheless no one of those Cities is once to be compared with Paris, because in them the women are reduced to a civil or moral slavery. There are even in France Cities which present advantages superior to those of her Capital, from being under a climate more genial, or nearer the centre of the kingdom to become the seat of Government, or on the shore of the sea to maintain a communication with all Nations. Rouen, for example, the capital of the Pais de Caux, a very considerable sea-port so far back as the times of *Julius Cesar*, ought, from the fertility of the adjacent country, from the industry of it's inhabitants, and from it's situation on the Seine near it's influx into the Ocean, to have risen to the same degree of power as the Capital of England, which by it's Dukes it once subdued. But if London herself is become the rival of Paris, it is undoubtedly from the same causes. Paris owes it's flourishing condition to that which it confers on it's female inhabitants. Wherever women are happy, there you behold taste, elegance, commerce, and liberty abounding. The miserable of all countries, who every where reckon on their sensibility, carry thither their arts, their industry and their hopes. Human beings flock thither, because there tyrants dare not to appear. The most renowned cities of antiquity are those in which women were held in highest consideration; such was Athens among the Greeks; such was a great part of Greece, where they reigned by the Empire of the Graces, of Innocence, and of Love, and which has left a remembrance of itself so de-



licious, the blest Arcadia. Warlike Rome herself owed to them, from the privileges which she granted them, the greatest part of her power over barbarous nations who tyrannized over their women. It is easy to subdue enemies when we have their female companions for friends. *Ovid* observes that *Venus* had more temples at Rome than in any other place of the world. If to this sex we refer all those who bore the various appellations of *Fortune*, of *Juno*, of *Vesta*, of *Cybele*, of *Minerva*, of *Diana*, of *Ceres*, of *Proserpine*, of *Muses*, of *Nymphs*, of *Flora*, &c. we shall find that the Goddesses were there held in still higher honour than the Gods. At Paris, the female saints are in higher estimation than the male. That capital of France owes it's prerogatives over all the other cities of the kingdom, and it's influence over Europe, to the elegance of the arts, to the variety of the modes and to the politeness of manners which result from the empire of the women. Women are at Paris the law-givers of the moral code, which is much more powerful than the legal. If they are still oppressed there by the laws which subject them to their husbands and to their grown children, they are still protected by manners, which reserve to them in all places the post of honour, as invested with a natural magistracy which renders them through the whole course of our life the legislatrices of our tastes, of our usages, and even of our opinions. They are, from our infancy, our first Apostles: from them we learn, when infants, to make with the same hand the sign of the cross, and a reverence to the ladies; to honour at once the altar and their sex, as if they sought in our young hearts a protection to be afforded in riper years, and to inspire us on their bosom with religious and tender affections which are in a future period to serve as a safe-guard against the barbarism of our institutions. The laws ought therefore to come with manners to the support of their weakness, by inviting them all over France to an equal participation of our fortunes and of our rights, as Nature has called them to be partakers of our pleasures and our pains.

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



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

The consequence will be that rewards must become common and personal to all Frenchmen, for the same virtues, as punishment for the same vices. These are the only means of destroying the prejudice which confers honour on the whole posterity of a family, in compliment to the glory of one of it's members, or which disgraces it for the crime of an individual. At the same time all chastisements which are infamous and cruel ought to be abolished. Nay it appears to me reasonable to substitute, without corporal stigma, after the example of the Romans, the punishment of exile out of the kingdom, in place of that of perpetual imprisonment and of the galleys. A man, after having committed a bad action in his own country, where he has been tempted by indigence, seduced by example, or hurried on by passion, frequently reforms himself in a foreign country where he is more happy, and especially where he is unknown. Frequently, on the contrary, his depravation is completed, abandoned to himself in a prison, or blasted in the society of citizens by public opinion, which pursues him for ever even in his children. The punishment of death ought likewise to be very rarely inflicted ; it should take place only in cases of premeditated assassination, as in the law of Talio among the Hebrews. The punishment of death has been abolished in Russia in every case, high-treason excepted, and crimes are much rarer in that country than formerly, when this punishment was very common. We ought to imitate the hu-



manity of the English, who send most of their convicts to newly discovered countries. It would likewise be advisable to adopt their practice of decision by the judgment of Peers and the verdict of Juries. This last mode of determination may serve equally to ascertain the performance of worthy actions in the view of rewarding them, and the commission of crimes in order to punish them. It is not just that the laws should always be inflicting punishment, and never bestowing rewards ; that a man should be sent to the galleys or to a dungeon for having attacked the fortune or the life of a fellow-citizen, and receive no mark of public favour for having preserved peace in his neighbourhood, and administered consolation to the afflicted. Our code of justice employs but one sword ; it knows only to smite : it's balance serves only to weigh offences, but never virtues. It is to be desired therefore that our tribunals should have it in their power to decree recompenses as well as punishments, and to erect altars as well as scaffolds. Then the stones of our cross-streets continually covered with the the awards of branding or of death, will cease to be, as at Genoa, stones of infamy ; they will acquire to themselves honour by becoming the records of virtue. The avenues into our cities, instead of terrifying travellers by exhibiting gibbets, will invite them there to seek an asylum by triumphal arches reared, as in China, to the memory of meritorious citizens.

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

It appears to me that in order to equalize a territorial tax on persons, it ought to be laid equally on fortunes ; that is to say, it ought to increase in proportion to the extent of each landed property : thus the quantity of land necessary to the maintenance of a family being determined, that quantity should pay more in proportion as it might increase in the hands of each proprietor. The Romans, in the earlier ages of their Republic, limited to seven acres the portion of land necessary to the subsistence of one family. As we are not so temperate as the ancient Romans ; as our climate, colder than that of Italy, requires larger sup-



plies ; as our soil is less fertile ; as we pay tithes and various other imposts unknown to them ; and as they participated, on the contrary, in the tributes imposed on conquered Nations, to the relief of the Roman People themselves, we may in France fix at twenty acres, the quantity of land necessary to support one family. This being laid down, and the acre being assessed to a territorial impost, to be paid in produce not in money, each property exceeding twenty acres could bear a light tax which might be denominated the surplus-rate. This rate ought to be paid by those who may possess two properties consisting of twenty acres each ; it should be doubled on those who have three, quadrupled on those who have four, and so on. Thus while individual properties advanced in arithmetical progression, 1, 2, 3, 4, the surplus rate would increase in a geometrical ratio, 1, 4, 8, &c. so that it would be equal, for a possession of a thousand acres, to the territorial impost on those same thousand acres ; it should be double on one of two thousand, quadruple on one of three thousand ; octuple on one of four thousand.

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

The surplus-rate proposed seems to me in every view founded in justice ; for if twenty acres belonging to one family, pay one half less than twenty acres of the thousand which might fall



into the hands of a single proprietor, on the other hand, these twenty acres of the small proprietor, produce in proportion a much greater increase in provisions and men. An estate of a thousand acres, under a single proprietor, contains, one year with another, a full third in fallow, and is cultivated by at most ten families of domestics of five persons each, that is fifty persons in all, including wives and children; whereas these thousand acres, parcelled out among fifty proprietors of twenty acres each, would be cultivated throughout, and maintain fifty free and industrious families, consisting of two hundred and fifty citizens. Now, abundance of provisions and of men, especially of free men, is the first wealth of Nations.

There would be this result from the impost of surplus territorial rate, that great proprietors paying more, and producing less, would become rarer, and that small proprietors paying less and producing more would become more common. The former would be less eagerly coveted by the rich, especially when stripped of right to the game, and other privileges injurious to agriculture; and the latter would be a much more desirable object to tradesmen of moderate fortune, when no longer oppressed and stigmatized by high-road service, militia-draughts and tallage: thus the surplus-rate would become a bulwark against the extreme of opulence and indigence, which are the two sources of national vice. It might be extended to all great properties in employments, in houses, and in money, without touching however any one of the great properties already existing, even such as are territorial. These Wishes which I form for the public felicity, respect futurity only, and ought not to occasion present distress to any individual great proprietor.

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



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

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



human life. This is one reason among a thousand, to evince the necessity of that Assembly's permanency, and of the periodical change of it's members.

Our political Treatises, to gratify the leaders of Administration, are much employed in devising the means of increasing the Wealth of Nations. It seems that a State can never have too much wine, too much corn, too much cattle, and especially too much money, for to this all the rest ultimately point. But how comes it about that we have always a superfluity of that first Wealth of Empires, I mean the human species, seeing almost all over Europe it is so wretched, and it's cities swarming with inhabitants which they know not how to dispose of? A shepherd does not feel himself encumbered with the number of his sheep; he does not expose at the corner of his village the little lamb newly dropped from the mother; but fathers and mothers every day abandon their new-born infants in the squares of our Cities and at the gates of our Hospitals. The number of Foundlings in Paris amounts yearly to from five to six thousand, a full third of those who are born there. In this City so opulent and so indigent, the most miserable refuse is of some value; we see persons picking up at the corner of the streets, bones, broken bottles, ashes, old rags; an old cat there has her price, were it but for her skin; but no one there sets any value on a miserable human being. That inhabitant of the fortunate kingdom of France, that child of GOD and of the Church, that King of Nature goes about soliciting from door to door the indulgence granted to the house-dog, that of demanding with a lamentable voice, from a being of his own species, of his own nation and of his own religion, a morsel of bread, which is frequently refused. It is much worse at the gate of a Nobleman's hotel, where a Swiss will not so much as let him shew himself. It is worse still in his garret, from which he is driven by famine, when shame, whose bite is keener than the tooth of a dog, and more repulsive than a Swiss, forbids him to quit it.

But beggary itself is no longer the resource of indigence, for they put mendicants in prison. It is therefore my wish, in order to meet the demands of the People, that every man in health out of employment, should have the right of demanding it of the assembly of his Village or of his District. Should it have



none to give him, his demand will be transmitted to the Assembly of the Ctiy with which it is connected ; this last, supposing the case equal, will carry it to the Provincial Assembly, which will take care to transmit it to the National Assembly, should it be in the same state of impotency.

The National Assembly would thus have in the last resort the state of all the indigent families in the Kingdom, as it would have that of all their wants, and of their resources : it would accordingly employ it's good offices with the King for the establishment of his indigent families in the Provinces where labourers might be wanted, or in our colonies and in countries recently discovered, under a Government similar to that of the future Constitution, in order always to unite those Frenchmen to their Country, and to extend over the whole Earth the population, the power, and the felicity of their parent land. These daily provisions are additional reasons to evince the necessity of rendering the National Assembly permanent.

Thus Brittany and Bourdeaux with their heaths ; Normandy with it's muds which the Sea inundates and leaves twice every day ; Rochelle and Rochefort with their stagnant marshes ; Provence with it's rocks and it's plains of flint ; Corsica with it's mountains and woods, the American Islands with their solitudes, and so many other lands conveyed by grant from the Crown, such as those of Corsica, given away in great lots of ten thousand acres at a stroke, and which remain uncultivated in the hands of their great moneyless proprietors, would find themselves raised into value by being parcelled out into small allotments, and would furnish openings without number for the overflowings of our hospitals, especially for those of the Foundling Hospital. Indigence, cut close by the root, would cease to produce mendicity, theft and prostitution, which are the natural fruits of it. As to persons poor and infirm, they would be relieved at their own home, or in houses of mercy, from the funds raised and administered by the Assemblies of each district ; to this purpose might be employed the revenues of hospitals, those vast focuses of misery and epidemic disease. Besides, as there would be no longer any healthy poor in the kingdom, the number of sick poor would be greatly reduced.



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

Confidence being restored between the three orders, the interests of the two first harmonized with those of the People, and balanced by that of the King ; the Rural, Municipal, Provincial, and National Assemblies, rendered permanent in their totality, periodical in their members, and harmonious in their deliberations ; Agriculture delivered from all its shackles, cap-tainries, gabels, militia-draughts ; individual liberty made sure to every Citizen in his fortune, his person, and his conscience ; slavery abolished in the Colonies and on Mount Jura ; the code of civil and criminal justice reformed ; the territorial impost



assessed proportionably to the extent of landed property, and to the exigencies of the State and of the National Debt ; the means of subsistence multiplied, and secured to the People by the bulwarks opposed to the excessive accumulation of property : there will be reared, with respect to all those objects, a Constitution sanctioned by the King, the execution of which will be committed to the proper tribunals, to be henceforward considered as the national Code of Law.

The Assembly has no occasion to make an attempt to comprise, in this Constitution, every possible case ; they are innumerable, and there are some which it would be melancholy to foresee, and dangerous to publish. As the Assembly ought to be permanent, it will make provision for them as they happen to arise. It will have trouble sufficient in rectifying the past, and regulating the present, without taking fruitless pains in enacting laws for an unknown futurity.

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

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

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



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

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

It is because in England the interests of the Nobility are linked to those of the People, and because, like them, they apply to Agriculture, to commercial Navigation, and Trade. Finally, several States in Italy which, as Genoa, Venice, Naples ; and in Sicily, &c. have had neither wars to support nor colonies to supply, are reduced to a state of weakness which is constantly increasing, without the possibility of ascribing it to any other cause but the inheritance of Nobility, and fresh patents which are continually multiplying the class of idle Noblemen, at the expense of the laborious classes of the People.

If the ancient Episcopal Law, which in Europe enjoined testators to leave by Will, under pain of having their testaments declared null and void, bequests in favour of the Church, with deprivation of Christian burial to those who died intestate, had not been abrogated, as well as the permission to the mortmain gentry to acquire landed property, it is undoubtedly certain that all our lands would have been long ago at the command of the Clergy, as all our dignities are at the disposal of the Nobility. It is farther certain, that if the custom which permits gentlemen of finance to job in the Public Funds, be not abolished, all our



specie will find it's way into the pocket of brokers. The case is the same with privileged companies of every kind. Thus a Nation may, merely by the permanency of laws and customs, which perhaps formerly contributed to it's prosperity, find itself stripped at length of it's honour, of it's lands, of it's commerce, and of it's liberty.

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

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

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

### WISHES FOR A NATIONAL EDUCATION.

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



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

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

They will apply themselves, first of all, to the reformation of the whole system of our gothic and barbarous education, of the age of *Charlemagne*. It is unnecessary to say that they will banish from it languor, sadness, tears, corporal chastisements; that they will train up young ones to love and not to fear; and make Citizens of them, not Slaves. Being themselves fathers of happy children, Nature must have taught them much more than they could learn from me, a useless bachelor: but as they are Frenchmen, they ought to be no less on their guard against the methods which exalt the soul too high, than against those which degrade it.

They will therefore banish emulation from their schools. Emulation, we are told, is a stimulant: for this reason precisely it ought to be reprobated. Men without art and without artifice, leave strong spiceries to those whose taste is weakened; present not to the children of your Country any aliments but



such as are gentle and simple like themselves and like you. The fever must not be thrown into their blood in order to make it circulate : permit it to flow in it's natural course ; Nature has made sufficient provision to this effect at an age of such restlessness and activity. The inquietude of adolescence, the passions of youth, the anxieties of manhood, will one day excite an inflammation but too violent to admit of being cooled by all your efforts.

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

*Post equitem sedet atra cura.*

Gloomy care mounts behind the horseman.

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

Emulation is the cause of most of the ills of human life. It is the root of ambition ; for emulation produces the desire of being the first ; and the desire of being the first is the essence of ambition, which ramifies itself, conformably to positions and



characters, into negative and positive ambitions, from which issue almost all the miseries of society.

Positive ambition generates the love of applause, of personal and exclusive prerogatives for a man's self or for his corps, of immense property in dignities, in lands and in employments; in a word it produces avarice, that calm ambition of gold, in which all the ambitious finish their course. But avarice alone drags in it's train an infinite number of evils, by depriving multitudes of other citizens of the means of subsistence, and produces, by a necessary re-action, robberies, prostitutions, quackery, superstition.

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

I was long under the conviction that ambition must be natural to man; but now I consider it as a simple result from our education. We are involved so early in the prejudices of so many whose interest is concerned to communicate them to us, that it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish through the rest of life, what is natural to us and what artificial. In order to form a judgment of the institutions of our societies, we must withdraw to a distance from them; but to form a judgment of the sentiments of our own heart, we must retire into it. As to myself, who have been long driven back into myself by the public manners, and who withdraw myself more and more from the world by my habits, it seems to me that man has no natural self-impulse either to raise himself above his fellows, or to sink below them, but to live with them as their equal. This sentiment is common to all animals the individuals and species of which have not reduced each other to subjection; for a more powerful reason it ought to be universal among men, who stand in need of mutual assistance. The love of ambition, therefore, is more natural to the human heart than the love of servitude. The love of equality is the medium point between these two extremes, like virtue from which it does not differ: it is the



universal justice : it is between two contraries, like the harmony which governs the world. It is that which *Confucius* calls "the golden mean," which he considers as the cause of all that is good, and which he denominates by way of excellence, "the virtue of the heart." He makes the principle of it to consist in piety, that is in the love of all men in general. He frequently recommends in his writings, "not to make another suffer what you yourself would be loth to suffer." On this natural basis it is that he has reared the immovable fabrick of China, the most ancient Empire in the universe. In China children and young people are not stimulated to surpass each other. They comprehend not, says the philosopher *La Barbinais*, either our theses or our college disputations. They simply undergo an examination on the subject of morals, before Commissioners appointed by the Court. These Commissioners select such of them as discover the greatest capacity without the least regard to their condition, to raise them, through successive degrees, to the rank of Mandarin, from which a man may rise to the office of prime Minister of State.

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

It is remarkable that the emulation infused into infant minds, produces a more pernicious effect in us Frenchmen, and renders us more vain than any other Nation of Europe. Many reasons for this are to be found in our manners ; but without going farther than our education, I discover a particular cause of the vain-glorious ambition of our children, in that of our professors. In Switzerland, in Holland, in England, in Germany, in Italy, in Russia, and I believe in all the Universities of Europe, professorships lead to Magistracies, to the rank of Aulic-councillor, or to other employments which connect them with the administration of the State : this was the case formerly among ourselves, before every thing came to be bought and



sold. Those Professors in other Countries therefore direct the attention of their pupils, in part, toward the object which they themselves have in view, that is toward public affairs. But our French regents, obliged to circumscribe all their ambition within the precincts of a College, can gratify it only by communicating it to the youth committed to their charge, without foreseeing the consequences to the community. They establish among them Empires in miniature, the crowns and dignities of which they distribute, but together with them the jealousies and hatred which every where accompany emulation. They have nevertheless examples in abundance of it's fatal effects both in ancient and modern Nations. In return for some talents to how many vices does it give birth ! Besides, if emulation has raised up some great men in certain Republics, it was because the Citizen could there aspire at every thing. But among us, with whom mere merit no longer leads to any thing, with whom it is impossible to rise to the smallest posts without money, to great situations without birth, and to no one whatever without intrigue, the crowd of ambitious pretenders is wholly occupied in levelling all who attempt to rise. A traveller, a man of superior merit, said to me some time ago : " I this day find sunk into contempt the men whom I left here, last year, in full possession of the highest degree of public esteem. If they deserved it not, why did they obtain it ? And wherefore have they lost it, if it is their due ? There is in France an *agio* of reputation which I never saw in any other country."

The emulation of children is with us the original cause of the inconstancy of men : as it inspires, with it's crosses, it's medals, it's books, it's prizes, it's theses, it's competitions, into each one in particular, " Be foremost," it trains them to want of subordination to their superiors, to jealousy of their equals, and to contempt of their inferiors. But as extremes closely approximate, this ambitious education is at the same time servile to the last degree. As it operates only by the love of applause or the dread of censure, it places men all their life long at the discretion of flatterers, who for the most part understand the art of maligning fully as well as that of praising. The suffrages of others, which they are eager to captivate, recaptivate them in their turn with such force, that it is sufficient for them to be en-



circled with detractors of the most evident truth, to ensure their rejection of it; or with puffers of the most absurd opinion in order to their at length admitting it. Their own judgment bending under the load of this tyranny, the yoke of which they have been accustomed to bear from their youth upward, their conscience forms only the versatile opinion of another, which becomes to them the only standard of good and evil.

Our education disposes us no less to obstinacy than to inconstancy. It is from the vanity and the weakness which it inspires, that the spirit of party has so much influence, and that it is sufficient for the ambitious man to say to such of his partisans as might be hesitating whether they should support his opinions, "You have no courage," to bring them back instantly to his standard. There is notwithstanding no great courage but much weakness in suffering ones-self to be carried along by the passions of a man, of his corps, or even of his country. It is because that on one hand we have not the boldness to resist, and on the other are surrounded with powers which sustain us, that a man believes himself strong. Were he of the opposite party, he would be of the contrary opinion from the same weakness. When I see two men engaged in an eager dispute, I frequently say to myself: Each of these gentlemen would maintain an opposite opinion, had he been born a hundred leagues hence. What do I say? It is sufficient to have the breadth of a single sheet intervening to be for ever the sworn enemy of an opinion, of which a man would have been the most zealous partisan, if he had been educated in the opposite house. Change a man's education, and you change his manner of life, his dress, his philosophy, his morality, his religion, his patriotism, his every thing. The African will think like the European, and the European like the African: the Republican will hold the sentiments of the despot, and the despot those of the republican. In truth, it is a most humiliating consideration to man, and capable of withdrawing us from the investigation of truth, when we see that not only our acquired knowledge, but that our feelings, which have the appearance of being innate, depend almost entirely on our education.

We are under the necessity therefore, if we love truth and our fellow creatures, of coming back to the Laws of Nature,



seeing those of society fill us with prejudices from our childhood, and frequently render us enemies to each other. Now in order to dispose children this way, the spirit of moderation must be instilled into them. That spirit, which enthusiasts, fanatics, and the ambitious of every description consider as an infirmity, is the true courage ; for it alone dares to resist opposite parties. It is the royalty of the soul which, like that of Nature, holds the balance between extremes, and maintains the harmony of beings. Virtue's station is the middle ; *Stat in medio Virtus*.

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

The education of all Europe at this day bears upon these two dead languages, which are in no respect subservient to our necessities. Nevertheless I cannot, for the honour of letters, refrain from making one reflection in this place ; it is, that the glory of Empires rests on men of letters, and on them alone. If Greek and Latin are at this day universally studied ; if the whole of European education, from the age of *Charlemagne*



downward, is founded on this study; if we talk so frequently of Greece and Italy, and of their ancient inhabitants, it is because those countries have produced a dozen of writers, such as *Homer, Plato, Hippocrates; Plutarch, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tacitus, Pliny, &c.* It is therefore for the sake of a dozen men of genius of antiquity, or two dozen at most, that our universities are founded, so that if those men had never existed, we should have no public education, and no person in Europe would any more take the trouble to learn Greek and Latin, than to learn the Arabic and Tartar languages. Greece and Rome have in truth produced many illustrious men of various descriptions: but the same thing is true of many other countries, China for instance, of whom no mention is made in Colleges, because we are unacquainted with the ingenious authors who may have celebrated them. Besides, the persons who have made us acquainted with the Greeks and Romans, had no occasion either for their Great men, or for their cities, to leave us superb monuments; their own genius supplied them. It was that of *Homer* which gave existence to the wanderings of *Ulysses*, and which created the Gods and the Heroes of the *Iliad*. That of *Virgil*, in order to reach us, and to descend to latest posterity, had occasion only for his shepherds and shepherdesses. The banks of the little rills on which he reposes delight us more than those of the Ganges, and the labours of his bees interest us as deeply as the foundation of the Roman Empire. The others have in like manner their particular talents. Assuredly they well deserve, every one of them, to have a few years of early life devoted to the formation of an acquaintance with them, and many years of life to enjoy that acquaintance; but they themselves had too much good sense not to disapprove, had they lived among us, of making an European education rest entirely on the study of their works. They themselves did not pass the whole prime of youth in learning foreign languages, but in studying Nature, of which they have left us pictures so enchanting. A stranger having arrived at Prague, desired his landlord to procure him a plan of the City, in order he said to acquire a knowledge of it. "The plan of Prague is at Vienna," replied the landlord, "we have no need of it here; we have the City." We may hold a similar



language respecting the Works of the Ancients, even the most perfect of them: "We have no need of the Georgics; we have "Nature." The Ancients have indeed left behind them much interesting information concerning the affairs and the men of their own times; but we have compatriots of our own whom we are bound to illumine and to render more happy.

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



their station with propriety. At any rate, as the public schools would be under no control but that of the National Assembly, there could be no room for apprehension that the tyranny of an Aristocratical Government would be introduced into them.

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

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

The children will be brought up to a vegetable regimen, as being most natural to man. The Nations which subsist on vegetable diet are of all men the handsomest, the most robust, the least exposed to diseases and violent passions, and who attain the greatest longevity. Such are in Europe a great proportion of the Swiss. Most of the peasantry, who are in all countries the healthiest and most vigorous part of the community, eat very little flesh. The Russians observe the season of Lent and other days of abstinence innumerable, from which even the soldiery is not exempted; they are nevertheless capable of enduring every species and degree of fatigue. The Negroes, who in our Colonies are doomed to labour so severe, live entirely on manioc, potatoes and maize. The Bramins of India, who frequently live beyond a century, eat nothing but vegetables. From the Pythagorean school it was that *Epaminondas* issued forth, a man so renowned for his virtues, *Archytas* celebrated for his skill in mechanics, *Milo* of Crotona for his strength, and *Pythagoras* himself, the finest man of his day, and beyond the power of contradiction the most enlightened, for he was the father of philo-



sophy among the Greeks. As vegetable diet has a necessary connexion with many virtues, and excludes no one, it must be of importance to accustom young people to it, seeing it's influence is so considerable and so happy on beauty of person and tranquillity of soul. This regimen prolongs infancy, and of consequence the duration of human life. I have seen an instance of it in an English youth of fifteen, who had not the appearance of being so much as twelve. He was a most interesting figure, possessed of health the most vigorous, and of a disposition the most gentle: he performed the longest journeys on foot, and never lost temper whatever befel him. His father, whose name was *Pigot*, told me that he had brought him up entirely under the Pythagoric regimen, the good effects of which he had learned by his own experience. He had formed the project of employing part of his fortune, which was considerable, in the establishment, in some part of British America, of a Society of Pythagoreans, who should employ themselves in training, under the same regimen, the children of the American colonists, in the practice of all the arts connected with agriculture. May Heaven prosper such a plan of education, worthy of the most glorious periods of antiquity! It is no less adapted to a warlike than to an agricultural Nation. The children of the Persians, in the time of *Cyrus*, and by his orders, were fed with bread, water and cresses: they elected leaders among themselves, to whom they yielded prompt obedience; they formed Assemblies in which, as in those of their fathers, were discussed all the questions which concerned the public good. With these children it was, after they had become men, that *Cyrus* effected the conquest of Asia. I observe that *Lycurgus* introduced a considerable part of the physical and moral regimen of the children of the Persians, into the education of those of *Lacedemon*.

It is at least indispensably necessary to teach our children what they are bound to practise when they are grown men, and to prepare the rising generation for relishing our new Constitution, for fear lest one day, out of emulation with respect to their fathers, as we have frequently done respecting ours, they should think of subverting all our Laws, merely to gratify the vanity of substituting others in their place. From a national education, connected with our future legislation, there will result a Consti-



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

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

#### WISHES FOR THE NATIONS.

THE same policy which, for their common happiness, unites all the families of a Nation among themselves, ought to unite all the nations of the Globe to each other, for they are the families of the human race. All men mutually communicate, even without any doubt on the subject, their calamities and their benefits, from one extremity of the Earth to the other. The greatest part of our wars, of our epidemic disorders, of our prejudices, of our errors, have come to us from without. The same thing is true as to our arts, our sciences, and our laws. But without going farther than to the blessings of Nature, let us cast an eye on our plains. We are indebted for almost all the vegetables with which they are enriched, to the Egyptians, to the Greeks, to the Romans, to the Americans, to savage Nations. Our flax comes from the banks of the Nile, the vine from the Archipelago, the corn-plant from Sicily, the walnut-tree from Crete, the pear-tree from Mount Ida, the lucern from Media, the potato from America, the cherry-tree from the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and so of the rest. What a delightful harmony is this day formed of the assemblage of those foreign vegetables all over the



mountains and plains of France ! It looks as if Nature, like a King, were there assembling her Estates-General. We there distinguish different orders, as among the men of the country. Here are the humble grassy plants, which like the peasantry produce useful harvests : out of their bosom rise the fruit trees, whose productions though less necessary are more agreeable, but which require the operation of grafting, and a culture more assiduous, like our burghers. On the high grounds are the oaks, the firs, and the other powers of the forests, who like the Nobility shelter the low-lands from the winds, or like the Clergy raise themselves to Heaven to catch it's refreshing dews. In the corner of a valley are nursery grounds like schools in which are reared the youth of the orchards and of the woods. No one of their vegetables injures another ; all enjoy the benefits of the soil and of the Sun ; all contribute mutual assistance, and lend to each other mutual graces. The weakest serve as ornaments to the most robust, and the more robust as a support to the feeble. The ever-green ivy mantles round the rugged bark of the oak ; the gilded mistletoe glitters through the dusky foliage of the alder ; the trunk of the maple encircles itself with garlands of honey-suckle, and the pyramidical poplar of Italy raises toward Heaven the empurpled clusters of the vine. Each class of vegetables has it's proper bird for its orator : the lark warbles as he soars above the swelling harvest ; the turtle murmurs and sighs from the summit of an elm ; the nightingale utters her plaintive strain from the bosom of a thorny brake. At the different seasons of the year, tribes of swallows, of quails, of plovers, of loriots, of red-breasts, arrive from the North or from the South, build their nests in our plains, and go to rest in the caravanseras which Nature had prepared for them. Each of them addresses his petitions to the Sun, as to a King, and implores the diffusion of his blessings over the district which he inhabits. They sojourn in our fields, our fallows and our groves, only because they recognize in them the plants of their own country, and find among us the means of living in abundance. Man alone finds no asylum in the possessions of Man, if he has the misfortune to be a stranger. In vain does the Italian sigh at sight of the fig-tree which shaded his infancy ; in vain does the Englishman admire in our French plains the



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

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

The study of Nature alone can diffuse illumination relative to the rights of Mankind, and to our own intolerant associations have usurped them in Europe, during ages really barbarous. They monopolized, to their private emolument, our homage, our riches, our illumination, and our duties ; but in assuming the empire of opinion, they were unable to make themselves masters of that of Nature. It was the revival of learning which brought us back to her laws. The study of her harmonies first appeared among nations of delicate sensibility, and that of her elements among nations given to reflection. Italy produced poets and painters ; Germany naturalists ; and England philosophers. Light quickly extended it's irradiation from the fossil to the vegetable kingdom ; *Tournefort* arose in France, and *Linnaeus* in Sweden. The study of the vegetable world had



made, toward the commencement of the present century, a very considerable progress in England. The friends of Mankind and of Nature, transplanted into their gardens the wild plants of our plains, and naturalized in our plains the foreign plants which they cultivated in their gardens. A man reposed himself near his house, on the herbage of the meadows at the foot of the trees of the forests, and travelled through the champaign of Europe under the shade of the great chestnut of India and the acacia of America. Certain philosophers, among others *Buffon*, attempted to naturalize at home the animals of foreign countries; but from want of considering that the animal kingdom is necessarily allied to the vegetable, those attempts were attended with scarcely any success. The rein-deer, and the vigon of Peru, refused to live in our climates, where they found not the plants of their own country which serve them for food. Nevertheless, animals of the warmest climates, shut up in our menageries, produced young ones. We have seen with surprise the *titiris* and the *makis* of Madagascar, and the paroquets of Guinea propagated in France. The parents, undoubtedly, surrounded by plantains, yucas, aloes, thought themselves to be in the forests of Africa, and the sentiment of Country, re-kindled in them that of Love. There can be no doubt that each of them would make his nest in the midst of our fields, did the vegetable which is to feed his brood there produce it's fruit.

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

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



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

Wherefore have not we Frenchmen, who look upon ourselves as much more polished than Russians, hitherto rendered a similar tribute of justice to the Nations? I have seen indeed Turks in the King's service ; but it was on board the galleys. Being at Toulon in 1763, on the point of embarking for Malta, then threatened with a siege on the part of the Turks, a man with a long beard, in a turban and robe, who was sitting with his legs under him at the door of the Marine Coffee-house, embraced my knees as I came out, and spake in an unknown language something which I did not comprehend. A naval officer



who understood what he had said, told me that this person was a Turkish slave, who knowing that I was on my way to Malta, and entertaining no doubt that his Sultan would take that Island, and reduce to slavery every one he found there, expressed his concern at my falling so early in life into a destiny similar to his own. I thanked the good Mussulman for the interest he took in me, and asked the Officer why this Turk himself was a slave in France, seeing we were at peace with the Turks, nay more, their Allies. He said to me, "That this man had been taken on board a vessel belonging to the Barbary Coast, but that it was merely from regard to the etiquette and dignity of his Majesty's service that he was detained in slavery, as well as some others of his compatriots; that they had for keeping up this custom, now of long standing, a particular galley called the Turkish; that those on board were treated with the utmost kindness, and permitted to do almost whatever they pleased, only great care was taken to prevent their writing to Constantinople, for fear of their being reclaimed by the Porte." The term dignity has frequently recurred to my mind, without my being able to comprehend what it meant. What relation can there be between the dignity of our Kings and the slavery of a handful of Turks who never did them any harm? It is undoubtedly for the sake of maintaining this same dignity, that men are represented in chains at the feet of their statues. But since our Kings must have Turks, as the Princes of Asia have elephants, it appears to me that it would be much more becoming their dignity to place them in a good refectory than on board a galley.

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

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



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

The love of family is extinguished, from the days of infancy, by the nursing and boarding of children at a distance from the paternal roof ; that of tribe, by the spirit of finance, which confounds every distinction of rank ; that of country, because we can rise to nothing in it without money : nothing then remains but to love Mankind, of whom we have no room to complain. Besides, this philanthropic disposition is what Nature demands of us at all times ; for she has formed men to love and to succour each other all over the Globe. Nay it is very remarkable that most of the Nations which have rendered themselves illustrious in the first degree of philanthropy, have stopped short there, and never attained the last. The Chinese, whose patriarchal Government is founded on paternal affection, have sequestered themselves from the rest of mankind still more by their laws than by their great wall. The Indians and the Jews, so attached to their casts or tribes, have despised other Nations to such a degree as never to contract intermarriages with them. The Greeks and Romans, so celebrated for their patriotism, considered the other Nations of the Earth, as barbarians ; they bestowed no other name upon them, and made the whole of their own glory consist in effecting the conquest of their countries. It must be acknowledged however in praise of the Romans, that they frequently incorporated the conquered Nations with themselves, by communicating to them the privileges of Roman citizens ; and this humane policy was the real cause of



their rapid successes, and the source of their greatness. Let the French Nation devote it's exertions to promote the felicity of all other Nations ; it is an infallible method to make sure of the conquest of the Globe. The Tartars over-ran part by dint of numbers ; the Greeks, under *Alexander*, by means of discipline ; the Romans by patriotism ; the Turks by religion ; all of them by terror : let us conquer it by love. Their Empire has passed away ; ours will be permanent. We have already subjugated Europe by our arts, our modes, and our language ; we already reign over the minds of men, let us likewise establish a dominion over their hearts. Let us exhibit to all the Nations of the Universe a legislation which ensures our own happiness. Let us invite them, by our example, to re-establish in their respective countries the Laws of Nature ; and in the mean time let us raise them to the enjoyment of their first rights, by offering them an asylum in our bosom.

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



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

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

What spectacle more magnificent, more lovely, more affecting, than to behold upon the mountains and in the valleys of France, the animals of all climates, and the wretched families of all Nations, pursuing at perfect liberty their natural tastes, and brought back to happiness by our hospitality. Under the shade of the olive-tree of Bohemia, or rather of Syria, the odour of which is grateful to the people of the East, a silent and reserved Turk, escaped from the bow-string of the Seraglio, would gravely smoke his pipe; while in his vicinity, a Greek of the Archipelago, delighted at finding himself no longer under the rod of a Turkish master, would cultivate, singing as he laboured, the plant which produces the laudanum. An Indian of Mexico would strip off the leaves of the cocoa, without fear of being forced by a Spanish tyrant to go and drink it in the mines of



Peru; and close by him, the pensive Spaniard would read every book which might minister to his instruction, free from the terror of the Inquisition. There the Paria would not be devoted to infamy by the Bramin, and the Bramin in return would not there be oppressed by the European. Justice and humanity would extend even to the brute creation. The savage of Canada would not in such a place form a design of stripping the ingenious beaver of his skin, and no enemy would wish in his turn to carry off the scalp of the savage. Harmless men and animals would there find at all seasons a secure asylum. An Englishman, in a little island sown with rye-grass, employing himself in rearing a breed of coursers, or in the construction of barks still fleetier for the course, would think himself in his own country; while a Jew, who no longer has a Country, would call to remembrance that of his fore-fathers, and sing the songs of Zion, on the banks of the Seine, at the foot of a willow of Babylon. A boat made fast to a linden-tree would serve as a home to the family of a Dutchman, ready at all times to navigate up and down the river to accommodate the demands of the Colony; and a tent fixed on wheels, drawn by camels, would lodge that of a wandering Tartar, whose care at every season is the discovery of a situation that suits him best. The Laplander, on the highest mountain, would in Summer lead his herd of rein-deer to pasture under a forest of firs, near a glaciere, while at the bottom of the valley, to the South, in the most rigorous Winter, a Negro of Senegal would cultivate in a hot-house the nopal loaded with the cochineal. A great many plants and animals which resist our method of culture, would take pleasure to reproduce themselves in the hands of their compatriots; and many foreign families which pine and die with regret out of their own country, would become naturalized in ours, amidst their native plants and animals.

There would be in this spot of every Nation but one single family, which should represent it, not by it's luxury which excites cupidity, but by the attraction of misfortune, which in all men excites a lively interest. These retreats would be granted not to birth, nor money, nor intrigue, but to calamity. Among claimants of the same country, the preference would be given to the man who had been made to drink most deeply from the cup



of affliction, and who should seem to have merited it the least. The choice would be left to the other inhabitants of the place, who, having passed through the same ordeal of experience, must be their natural peers and judges.

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

The most unspeakable benefits would result from it in favour of our Manufactures and Trade. We should find in those families an accession of new industry for the improvement of arts and agriculture; of observations to assist scholars and philosophers; of interpreters for all languages; and of centres of correspondence for every part of the Globe. Thus, as at Amsterdam, every pillar of the Exchange, inscribed with the name of a foreign City, is the centre of the Commerce of Holland with that City, every family, escaped from calamity would be, in this sanctuary, the centre of the hospitality of France with respect to a foreign Nation. A Frenchman would no longer have occasion to travel from home, in order to acquire the knowledge of Nature and of Mankind: he might see in the spot I have been describing all that is most interesting over the face of the Earth; the most useful plants and animals; and, what is of all other things the most affecting to the heart of man, unfortunate beings who have ceased to be such. By bringing all these families into contact, we should extinguish among them the pre-



judices and the animosities which inflame their respective Nations, and occasion the greatest part of the miseries which they endure.

In the midst of their habitations there should be an uninhabited grove, formed of all the foreign trees which have been naturalized by time and culture in our country, and of those which grow spontaneously in our forests, such as the elm, the poplar, the oak, and the like.....In the centre of this grove there should be plantations of all our fruit trees, walnuts, vines, apples, pears, chestnuts, apricots, peaches, cherries, interspersed amidst fields of corn, strawberries, and pot-herbs which serve for food to man. Amidst this scene of cultivation, terminated by a brook with banks sufficiently steep to serve as a fence to the animals, should be a vast down for the continual pasturage of herds of cows, flocks of sheep, of goats, and of all the animals which minister to the comfort of man by their milk, their wool, or their services. Toward the centre of this down should be reared a spacious Temple in form of a rotundo, open to the four cardinal points of the Globe, without figures, without ornaments, without inscriptions and without gates, like those which in the early ages of the world were consecrated to the Author of Nature. On every day of the year, each family would resort hither in it's turn at the rising and setting of the sun, there to recite in the language of their fathers, the prayer of the Gospel, which being addressed to God as the Father of Mankind, is adapted to men of all nations. Accordingly, as most religions have set apart to God a particular day of every week; the Turks, Friday; the Jews, Saturday; Christians, Sunday; the Nations of Nigritia, Tuesday; and other Nations undoubtedly, Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the Deity would be approached in this Temple with solemn religious worship every day of the week, and in a different language all the days of the year.

As happy animals gather round the habitations of men without fear, in like manner, happy men would assemble without the spirit of intolerance around the Temple of the Divinity. A sense of gratitude to God, and to men, would there gradually draw to approximation the languages, the customs, and the worship



which separate the inhabitants of all the Earth. Nature would there triumph over political distinction. The inhabitants of this Colony would there present God in common the fruits with which he sustains human life in our climates. As the year is a perpetual circle of his benefits, and as every Moon brings new foliage, or fruits, or pot-herbs every new Moon would be the epocha of their crops, of their offerings, and of their principal festivals. On these hallowed days all the families might assemble round the Temple, there to partake in common of a harmless repast, consisting of the roots of the plants, the fruits of the trees, the corn of the grasses, and the milk of the flocks. Love would bring them still nearer to each other. The young people of both sexes would there dance upon the down to the sound of the different instruments of their own Country. The female Indian of the Ganges, with a tambour in her hand, brown and lively like a daughter of Aurora, would behold with smiles a son of the Thames, smitten with her charms, laying at her feet the rich muslins of which Calcutta strips her country. The blessings of love would there compensate the rapine of war. The timid Indian girl of Peru would there permit her eyes to repose on those of a young Spaniard, become her lover and her protector. The Negress of the Guinea coast, with her necklace of coral and teeth of Ivory, would smile on the son of the European who formerly led her fathers in chains of iron, and would desire no other revenge than to lock the son, in her turn, in her arms of ebony.

Love and marriage would there unite lovers of all Nations, Tartars and women of Mexico, the Siamese and Laponian, the Russian and the Algonkine, the Persian and the Moresco, the Kamtschadale and the female Georgian. Felicity would attract thither all men to the practice of toleration. The Frenchwoman during the dance would with one hand place a garland of flowers on the head of a German, and with the other pour out wine into the cup of a Turk. She would animate by her frankness and decent graces, those hospitable feasts given in her country to all the tribes of the universe, and when the setting Sun should lengthen on the downs the shadow of the groves, and gild their summits with his departing beams, all the choirs of the dance collected round the Temple, would sing in concert to



the Author of Nature a hymn of gratitude, repeated by the echoes from distance to distance.

Ah ! why should I not one day see in this Asylum for the misery of the Human Race, some of the wretched beings whom I have met far from their native country, without any one to take an interest in them ! One day in the Isle of France, a weakly white Slave, whose shoulders were flead by carrying stones, threw himself at my feet, and besought me to intercede for his liberty, of which, for several years past, he had been deprived by Europeans, in violation of the Law of Nations, for he was a Chinese. I represented his case to the intendant of the island, who having been in China, knew him to be Chinese, and sent him home to his country. But what purpose does it serve to be delivered from slavery, if a man must continue to struggle with poverty, neglect and old-age ? At Paris, on a time, an old Negro quite emaciated, smoking on a post the stump of a pipe, and almost naked in the midst of winter, said to me in a dying tone of voice : " Take pity on a miserable Negro." Unfortunate creature, said I to myself, What good can the pity of such a man as myself do to thee ? Not only thou, but thy whole Nation stands in need of pity from the powers of Europe ! How many times have children, women, old-men, who did not speak French, presented themselves to me in the streets, unable to explain their distresses and their wants but by tears. Not for their sakes, but for their Sovereign's, the Ambassadors of their Nations reside at Paris. Were there but a single family maintained there by the State, some one at least might be found with whom to weep. Why may it not be permitted me one day to behold in the Asylum which I wish to provide for them, some of the men of the Nations who have honoured myself with their hospitality and their fears ! I have found such in Holland, in Russia, in Prussia, who said to me : " Forget a Country which repels you, and pass your days with us." Some of them have said, what perhaps a rich man of my own Country never said to one that was poor : " Accept the hand of my sister, and be my brother." But how could I have accepted a hand which would have given me a companion for life and a brother ; when, at a distance from my Country, I could no longer dispose of my heart ? No, it is not climate nor language



by which men are disunited ; but intolerant corps and treacherous Courts ; for I have every where found man at once good and unfortunate. Oh ! with what glory would France clothe herself, were she to open in her bosom a retreat for the wretched of all Nations ! Happy, could I consecrate to this hallowed establishment the scanty fruits of my labours ! Happy ! could I but finish my days, were it but in a hut, on some rugged cliff of a mountain under the fir and the juniper, but beholding at a distance, on the hills and in the valleys, men formerly disjoined by language, government, religion, reunited in the bosom of abundance and liberty by the hospitality of France !

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

May these wishes at length be accomplished ! At sight of a church-spire or nobleman's castle, rising above exuberant harvests, may the solitary Widow pursuing her journey on foot, and the still more unfortunate Mother surrounded by perishing infants, secretly rejoice as at the sight of a place of refuge destined to protect them, to comfort and to nourish them ! Or rather, O France ! through thy rich and extensive plains may no indigent person henceforward be seen ; may property of moderate extent diffuse over thy surface, to the very heaths, industry, abundance and joy ; in thy meanest hamlets may every young



woman find a lover, and every lover a faithful wife ; may thy mothers behold their crops multiply with their families ; may thy children be for ever preserved from that fatal ambition which produces all the evils which befall mankind ; may they learn from the heart of a mother to live only to love, and to love only to propagate life ; and may thy old men, the fellow-workers in promoting thy future felicity, close their days in hope and tranquillity, which are the gift of Heaven to those only who love God and men.

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



SEQUEL

TO THE

WISHES OF A RECLUSE.

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

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

Longum mihi commeatum dederat mala valetudo; repente me invasit. Quo genere, inquis? Prorsus merito me interrogas: adeo nullum mihi ignotum est. Unī tamen morbo quasi assignatus sum, quem quare Græco nomine apellem, nescio. Satis enim aptè dici suspirium potest. Brevis autem valdè & procellæ similis est. Intra horam ferè desinit. Quis enim dicu expirat? Omnia corporis aut incommoda aut pericula per me transierunt: nullum mihi videtur molestius: Quidni? Aliud enim quidquid est egrotare est, hoc est, animam agere. Itaque medici hanc meditationem mortis vocant.

“ My indisposition had given me a considerably long respite; but attacked me all of a sudden. Of what nature is it, you will ask? Good reason you



Independently of the physical causes which forbid my mixing with assemblies, I had other reasons of a moral nature. I had acquired an experience so long and so discouraging of mankind, that for some time past I formed the resolution of expecting no portion whatever of my happiness from them. I had consequently retired for several years into one of the least frequented suburbs of Paris. There I tried to comfort myself with the recollection of the vain efforts which I had formerly made to serve my Country in reality, by amusing myself about it's prosperity in speculation. I imagined in my retirement that I had sufficiently acquitted myself of my duty as a Citizen, by daring, under the old Government, to publish the disorders which were going to produce the Revolution, and the means which I deemed necessary to prevent it, by suggesting a remedy for our calamities. I have attacked in my *Studies of Nature*, published for the first time in 1784, the abuse which has pervaded the Finances, great territorial Properties, the Nobility, the Clergy, Academies, Universities, Education, &c.....without health, without reputation, without corporation-interest, without patronage, and without fortune, which is of itself, in the present state of the world, equivalent to every other resource. I have to say farther, that I had no means of subsistence except a moderate annual gratuity, which was entirely at the disposal of the depart-

“ have for putting the question : to such a degree have I felt every existing  
 “ species of malady. I am however delivered up as it were to one distemper,  
 “ which I can see no reason for calling by a Greek name ; for it may with  
 “ sufficient propriety be denominated the sighing illness. The paroxysm is  
 “ very short, and resembles the violence of a tempest. It generally spends  
 “ itself within the hour ; for who can remain long in giving up the ghost ? All  
 “ the disorders and dangers to which the human body is exposed have passed  
 “ through mine, but I know no one more insupportable. How so ? Every  
 “ other disorder, of whatever kind, is only to be sick, but this is actually dying.  
 “ Physicians, on this account, call it meditation of death.”

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

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



ment whose power and irregularity I had chiefly combatted, that of the Finances. The benefit which I derived from it was so casual, that it depended from year to year on the good pleasure of the upper Clerk, and afterwards on that of the Minister, himself so dependent on the will of another, that there were ten successively in the course of two years. I cannot conceive the possibility of any Writer's finding himself in my situation, even among those who have devoted themselves most strenuously to the public cause. *John-James* was personally connected with Grandees who were fond of his works; with Ministers who favoured the publication of them, even by confiscating them; with women of beauty and fashion who defended them against the world; but what is of still more importance, his musical talents alone were sufficient to procure him an absolute independence on all the world. For my own part, it was a matter of great dubiety, whether I should have any thing of the kind, but it was not totally for want of puffers: for I had embroiled myself, from the very principles which I had laid down, with philosophers who had at their absolute disposal most of the daily journals, those trumpeters of reputation.

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



I prevailed so far as to have it submitted to the inspection of a Censor. He was a very distinguished literary character: it received his entire approbation; but, conformably to the regulations, he was under the necessity of referring me to a Theologian, because it contained matter of a moral kind. This Gentleman was very much offended that I had not applied to him in the first instance. He disputed every page of my manuscript with me. He imputed dangerous ideas to words the most innocent; he found fault, for example, with my having said that *Louis XVI.* had called the British Americans to liberty; he wished me to retrench the word *liberty*, condemned, as he alleged, by the Keeper of the Great Seal, as being the rallying term among Philosophers. It cost me no little pains to make him comprehend that I did not mean the liberty of thought of the Anglo-Americans, but their political liberty, toward effecting which *Louis XVI.* had contributed, as all the world knows. He did not choose that I should expose the abuses of corps, those of the University however excepted, because he was Professor in the Royal College, the rival seminary for education. I was astonished to find how many disputes I had to sustain with a Theologian on the subject of my best proofs of a superintending Providence. Frequently was I on the point of withdrawing my papers, telling him I would make my complaint to the Chancellor and demand another Censor. But the remedy would have been worse than the disease. The more you change your Censors the more difficult they become. The last named, from the spirit of corps, or to make a merit of their exactness as well as the first, go on depreciating more and more the Work under examination, just as clothes-brokers, who observe a retrograde progress in their offers, all under the price which the first comer had fixed upon a coat. I was under the necessity therefore, whether I would or not, to consent to some retrenchments, particularly on the subject of the Clergy. I suppressed one article in my own opinion of very high importance. I proposed in it, as a study equally conducive to the interest of Humanity and of Religion, to oblige young Ecclesiastics, destined to become Ministers of Charity, to spend a part of their probationary time and labour in Prisons and Hospitals, in order to their learning how to cure the maladies of



the mind, just as students in medicine are taught in the same places how to remedy those of the body. By means of agreeing to make some other sacrifices, my theological Censor sent me my manuscript at the end of three months. He affixed not a syllable of approbation to it except his signature; but he shewed me at the same time one of a dozen lines, containing a grossly fulsome elogium, with these words: "Such is the approbation I bestow on Works which give me satisfaction;" it was prefixed to a new translation of *Homer's* *Odyssey*, which nobody reads.

I recovered then my *Studies of Nature* from this inquisition. But I had not yet reached the period of my troubles; the next point was to get them printed. It was likewise extremely reasonable that, situated as I was, I should derive some pecuniary emolument from my long and painful labours. I applied accordingly to a bookseller, a widow lady connected with the Court, whom one of my friends, who held considerable employments under Government, had cried up to me as a person of strict integrity, and to whom he had given me a recommendation. She received me at first very coolly, on the proposal I made that she should advance the cost of printing my book, and afterwards reimburse herself out of the sales; but as soon as I mentioned my name and that of my friend, she assumed a smiling air, and congratulated herself on his having thought of her, to procure for her the offer of Works of character. I shewed her my manuscript, and requested she would inform me what the expense of the impression would amount to. She reckoned it would make six small volumes in duodecimo, and that I might venture on printing 1500 copies. She then gave me a memorandum of the expense of composing, of press-work, of paper, of gathering, of warehouse rent, of stitching, of the allowance on the sale to country booksellers. I took down the particulars as she dictated them, and having examined them at home, I found that I should still remain somewhat in her debt, even supposing the impression to go off rapidly. I then entertained thoughts of publishing at my own risk in three volumes, to diminish one half of the expense of stitching and of the abatement to the trade, calculated in my memorandum at 15 sols (7 1-2d.) a volume, which amounted on the whole sale to thir-



ty-four per cent. All the money I had in the world was 600 livres (25*l*.) I found means, with some difficulty, to borrow 1200 more from certain opulent friends, and I had no doubt that with such a stock of ready money, which now amounted to more than a third of the expense, I might enter directly into treaty with a printer, and the rather, that I would give up the whole edition to him till he was completely indemnified. These conditions were still more advantageous than those on which booksellers deal, who generally settle with the stationer and printer by giving in payment notes at twelve and even eighteen months; but I forgot that I was only an Author. I went then to one of the most noted printers in Paris, in the belief that I should have less difficulty to encounter with a wealthy and enlightened tradesman. He received me at first with profound respect, and shewed me copies of all his finest editions, imagining I came to be a purchaser; but no sooner had I opened my business, and enquired at what rate he performed printing, than he changed countenance. He deigned not to answer my question, but told me he printed only on his own account, and that his press was entirely devoted to works whose merit and success were already decided. A friend pointed out to me another printer, who had received a favourable impression of me, and who wished for nothing more than to enter into treaty on the subject. This printer acceded to every condition I proposed, and requested that I would put my manuscript into his hands, in order, as he said, to calculate how many sheets of letter-press it would make. He sent it back after a few days, with an intimation that he could not engage in it, because he was overtaken with a great press of business. I met with similar treatment three or four times successively from printers of not the least celebrity in Paris. After having received my manuscript they delayed putting it to the press under various pretexts; sometimes it was a wish to raise the price of it, sometimes that of the paper, and when I had agreed to all their demands, they restored it with information that my Work was not adapted to the taste in fashion, that they had communicated it to connoisseurs, that it never could succeed. When they saw it take with the Public, they thought proper to calumniate me, alleging that I had not treated them with sufficient confidence.



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

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



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

Nevertheless from amidst so many thorns, I picked up many flowers and some fruit. Letters of congratulation crowded in upon me from every quarter. My ancient services, brought into view by popular favour, procured for me a small annual gratification, which the King from an impulse of his own benevolence bestowed on me. These first fruits of fortune, joined with some others which had an appearance of solidity, and especially the profits of two editions of my book, prompted me to realize a desire which I had long entertained. It was to go and prosecute my Studies of Nature in the bosom of Nature. I wished to make myself master of a little spot of ground, where, remote from men unjust and jealous, I could go on to amuse myself with determining the causes of the Tides, and of the Currents of the Ocean, which alternately flow from the ices of each Pole by means of the half-yearly action of the Sun. I had raised the evidence of that important truth up to demonstration; but I was astonished at the indifference of our Marine Boards, and of our Academies, respecting an object so deeply



interesting to Navigation, and to the mutual commerce of mankind; associations which have formed so many enterprises dreadfully expensive, and frequently useless to the Nation and to mankind. I wished farther to collect some new harmonies in the delicious study of plants, and, above all, to continue the *Arcadia*, the first book of which I had published. To these ideas of public felicity projects of personal happiness attached. The sentiment of this had all the sweetness of restoration to health. I was on the point of reducing all this to reality when the Revolution took place.

Solicited with importunity by the people of the quarter where I resided, who entertained a high opinion of me because I had written a book, I made an effort on my health to assist at the first Assembly of our district. I there learned by experience that my Studies had neither diminished my infirmities, nor the Revolution inspired the citizens with wisdom. They all spake at once. I ventured to bring forward three propositions: The first, That no object should be publicly deliberated upon till three days after it had been proposed, that every one might preserve his liberty of judging; The second, That votes should not be given *viva voce*, but by ballot, in order to preserve liberty of suffrage; The third, That the National Assembly should be permanent, and it's members removable every three years, by taking in one-third of new members every year. They would not so much as take the trouble to discuss my propositions except the master of a boarding-house, who combated the permanency of the Assembly, and who was afterwards named Elector. They had already conferred the same honour on me, but I gave in my resignation next day on account of the state of my health, both moral and physical. I had just experienced what I knew well enough before, that the People desire the public good, but that Corps aim only at private emolument. Besides, supposing my indispositions had permitted me to act, I should have been greatly at a loss what part to take. I was attached to the People from a sense of duty, and from a principle of gratitude to the King, on whose bounty I had subsisted for twelve years past. I had opposed aristocratic despotism, and I could not flatter popular anarchy. I perceived among the leaders of the People men who had most amply profited by



Court favour, and in the Court-party some who had most grossly flattered the People. I knew them on both sides, to be actuated by ambition, that is, according to my doctrine, men of the most dangerous character. They know nothing of friendship or of equality, though the words are incessantly in their mouth: if you presume to walk by their side you become their enemy, and if behind them, their slave. One is obliged in their society to be a hypocrite, or professedly wicked. I did not wish to make myself a worse man, by labouring to make others better. There were likewise, in truth, at the head of the Revolution men virtuous, disinterested, sage, enlightened, who, through the whole course of their life, had never deviated from their avowed principles; but it was not easy to guess into what a train this new order of things, whose plan as yet had no existence, would lead even them.

All these changes produced no more illusion on my mind than that of the Theatre, where the same performers only change dresses and names. I found again in our new political order our ancient citizens, just as in our new geography of France her ancient limits. Men succeed each other like running waters, but they no more change their passions than the river does its channel; the same ambitions always displayed themselves, with this difference, that those of the little had surpassed those of the great; all had struggled without respect for the laws, ancient and modern. I have myself been the victim of this more ways than one, first on occasion of a burying-ground adjoining to my garden, interdicted as a nuisance eight years ago, and seized by the Commune, who have made it a focus of putrescence by daily interments: afterwards on the subject of my Works, become a prey to pirates. To no purpose did I present my complaints to the Justice of Peace, to the Section, to the Municipality, to the Department; what is still worse, an appearance of giving me redress was assumed, and the abuses were permitted to remain unreformed, though they directly attack the municipal laws, and the rights of personal property. The Law may appear deaf to the remonstrances of an individual, because it may be supposed taken up with objects of greater importance; but when once it has listened to them, found them just, and yet gives no redress, it falls into contempt from a belief of its impotency. I have



myself contributed towards covering it's weakness, by not laying my grievances before the Public. I considered the Law in the light of a wretched mother amidst ungrateful and disobedient children. But how could I have increased the number of them? Whatever employment I had undertaken, I must have adopted the interests of a party, promised and deceived, observed abuses and overlooked them, and obeyed the People in every thing, in order to have the appearance of governing them. With so many reasons for keeping at a distance from our tumultuous Assemblies, I had at least as many for renouncing my intention of total retirement. Our plains were in a state of still greater agitation than our cities. A man ought never to reckon on happiness out of himself, and if there be for him an inviolable asylum, it can be no where but in his own conscience. I had been offered agreeable and peaceful retreats out of the Kingdom, but I could not have stood the reproaches of my own mind had I abandoned my Country in her state of crisis. Though it was not in my power to calm the spirit of anarchy which was subverting every thing, I could exercise some small influence over the minds of individuals, by tempering the ardor of one, by stimulating another, by consoling a third. We assign a value too high to public, and too low to the private virtues. In a storm no less skill is requisite to manage a gondola than the Bucen-taur. We must not form a judgment of the goodness of machines from the magnitude of their movements: if the great produce a greater effect than the small, it is only because their levers are longer. The same thing holds as to the virtues. It is unquestionably certain that if, at a critical period, every Citizen would re-establish order in his own house only, general order would speedily result from the prevalence of universal domestic order. I comfort myself therefore, remaining in my physical and moral solitude, with the persuasion that not having adopted the interest of a party, I was more in a condition to discover the national interest, and that if I was capable of promoting it, I could do so in a manner more lasting through the medium of the Press, which I had attempted successfully, than by means of speech which I had not much practised.

In consequence of this, though my Studies of Nature had to me a charm inexpressible, I suspended them to engage in those



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

A solid Constitution can be reared on no other foundation but that of a national education. Notwithstanding my ancient labours, I dared to undertake this, by following out the chain of natural laws, of which I had pointed out some links in my *Studies*. The Rights of Man are merely results from them. This great work requires time, repose, health and talents; all of them blessings which are not at my disposal; but at least I have endeavoured to fulfil the duties of a Citizen. I have not even lost sight of transient circumstances which I thought might prove of some utility. When after the King's return from the frontiers the Kingdom divided into two parties, the one of which wanted to change France into a Republic, and the other to preserve Monarchy, and every thing wore the appearance of civil and foreign War, I hastened to recal the People to a sense of the ancient obligations which they lay under to their Monarch,



and the Monarch to a sense of what he owed to his People. I sent my observations, supported by a powerful recommendation, to the Editor of the Mercury and of the Monitor, but he did not think proper to publish them.\* They met with no better

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

In that same little Work he has the goodness to sympathize with me as the victim of the piracies of booksellers, whose douceurs it is true I never would receive. But what appeared to me very strange in it, is a proposition he brings forward of making the fortune of Authors, by securing to them the property of their Works for fourteen years: "on condition that at the termination of such period any bookseller might be at liberty to print them." He had done me the honour previously to communicate this proposal to me in conversation. I said to him: "It is just as if the gardeners of Boulogne demanded that the fine gardens which you have there should fall into their common stock, because you have enjoyed them for more than fourteen years past. The property of a literary work is still more sacred than that of a garden." He replied, "That such a Law existed in England, and that he meant to apply for one of a similar nature, in the National Assembly." I do not know whether such a Law actually exists, but on the supposition that it does, we ought to go to our neighbours in quest of good laws and not of abuses. The English, shut up in an island, have undoubtedly more abundant means of preventing the introduction of counterfeits, but this does not hold as to France. It is certain that our ancient Administration, with their spies, their guards, their inspectors, and the whole of their despotism, never could prevent the practice. How then could the new one carry the point, when liberty was enthroned, as at this day, when cities have no gates, no barriers, no custom-house officers? Thus then an Author, after having been for fourteen years a prey to pirates must terminate his course by falling into the jaws of booksellers. A merchant, accordingly, a husbandman, a manufacturer, shall be able to acquire, by their labour, a property transmissible for ever to their children, and a literary man, who has frequently deserved better of his Country, must be excluded from the same rights: he would see himself stripped of the property of his Works at the end of fourteen years: the pursuits of his youth would no longer belong to him in his old age: in defiance of the laws, a parcel of scoundrels would gulp up the first fruits of them, and under the protection of law, opulent booksellers would finish the plunder by giving splendid editions of his Works. The Assembly is too wise not to reject the infamous proposition whose injustice I have just demonstrated; it ought on the contrary to thunder it's indignation against those who employ so many artifices to plunder literary men of the slowly productive fruits of their tedious labours. The leaders of Administration have hitherto pretended that they possessed not the means of preventing piracies. There is one method, and a very simple one, punish the sellers of them. Booksellers ought not to be



reception from another Journal of very extensive circulation. I then experienced what I knew beforehand, that there are very few public papers at the service of a man who does not belong to any particular corps. Having, however, addressed my observations to the Compiler of the Paris Advertiser, they were published in time sufficient to produce a good effect even in the National Assembly. I have since inserted them toward the beginning of the Advertisement prefixed to my Studies of Nature. They contain nothing very remarkable, except the circumstance to which I had destined them, and the authority of *Fenelon* and of the ancient Laws of *Minos* respecting the duties of Kings, perfectly conformable to the decrees of the Constituent National Assembly.

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

When my *Wishes of a Recluse* appeared, they pleased but a very small proportion of Readers. They were by no means agreeable to the Clergy and Nobility, because I seemed to them to have extended much too far the rights of the People. They would have been acceptable to the People whose rights I maintained, if, at that time employed in overcoming the resistance of the corps which oppressed them, they had not learned to extend them as far as their power. The Constituent Assembly, supported by popular favour, has in it's decrees gone much farther than I did in my Wishes. Those who then thought them too bold, have since found them very moderate. On the other hand, allowed the plea of ignorance : every man in the trade should be capable of distinguishing a spurious from a genuine edition of a book, as every goldsmith ought to know the distinction between copper and gold.



our Legislators were placed in a most embarrassing situation. They were, relatively to the State, tumbling into ruin, like architects surveying a crazy building which it is proposed to repair. The hammer once applied to the walls, it is found necessary to pull down the fabric to the foundation. It would have been desirable, no doubt, that a single architect had by himself traced the whole plan of re-construction, for the sake of greater unity of design. Notwithstanding the different views of our Legislators, and the difficulties of every kind which they had to encounter, there are parts of our Constitution so excellent, that it may be affirmed to be the most conducive to the happiness of the People at large, that has hitherto appeared in Europe.

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

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

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

Happily for the Public they did not harmonize. While they were a-quarrelling the Nation disengaged her hands, and in part burst asunder her chains. The principal remaining fetter to be shaken off is that of gold; gold alone giving now-a-days the means of gratifying every species of ambition, ambition of every species resolves itself into that of having gold. It is in order to



get gold that the plough and the ship are put in motion, that a man becomes an Artist, a Magistrate, a Priest, a Soldier, a Doctor, that Nations make Peace and War, and our Estates-General themselves assembled. Gold is the prime mover of the body social, just as the Sun, whose emblem and perhaps whose production it is, constitutes that of the Universe. But as the Sun itself would destroy the world did not Divine Wisdom regulate it's effects, so gold would destroy society did not a sound policy direct it's influence. By policy I mean not the modern art of deceiving mankind, which is a great vice, but, according to the etymology of the word, the antique art of governing them, which is a great virtue, and is an emanation from Sovereign wisdom.

The greatest mischief which gold can produce in a State is when it accumulates in a small number of hands ; it is as if the rays of the Sun were to fix in the Torrid Zone, and abandon the rest of the Globe to darkness and ice. It is necessary therefore to keep a watchful eye over men who possess the means of attracting to themselves all the gold of the kingdom. These are Ministers of State, men of overgrown capitals, the Nobility and Clergy : Ministers, by means of the Royal influence ; capitalists by that of their money ; the Nobility, by that of arms ; the Clergy, by that of conscience. We have to oppose to Ministers, the National Assembly ; to monied men, the departments ; to the Nobility, the national guards ; to the Clergy, the municipalities. It is undoubtedly in the view of balancing the forty-four thousand Signiories and church preferments in the Kingdom, which were at the head of the military and spiritual power of France, that the forty-four thousand municipalities were created. The day will undoubtedly come when the ancient and modern powers shall amalgamate, and have no object but one, the felicity of Man ; but, in expectation of the period when all resentments shall be extinguished, and the national interest shall have taken place of the separate interests of corps, we are going to suggest some considerations respecting the dangers we have to apprehend, and the remedies with which we are provided against them. They are consequences of the very decrees of the Constituent Assembly, which did not sit



long enough to provide for every case. The more abundant it's harvest has been, the more has been left us to glean.

*Of Ministers and of the National Assembly.*

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

Ministers alone then have the means of maintaining a struggle with the Assembly, by opposing to it part of the national force, of which the principal nerve is money. 1. By a dangerous application of the revenues of the civil list, which amount to thirty millions a year, (1,250,000*l.*) 2. By the distribution of many lucrative employments, which may procure for them creatures innumerable both without and within the Kingdom. 3. Because the period of their administration not being limited, they possess a great advantage over the members of the Assembly, who are changed every two years. Thus they have over the National Assembly a preponderancy of money, of credit, and of time, which alone operates many revolutions.

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

II. The National Assembly ought likewise to pay particular attention to the patriotic character of persons employed by Mi-



nistry as servants of the public. It ought especially to be observed, conformably to the Constitution, that in the choice of such persons regard be had to ability and not to birth. If this is not vigilantly looked after, it may shortly happen that most of those employed in the functions of the State, Officers in the Army and Navy, as well as Consuls, foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, selected by ill-intentioned Ministers, may find themselves in a condition to effect a counter-revolution, by operation conducted in concert both within and without the kingdom. It would be easy for them to render this a desirable object to the People, by contriving to produce a scarcity of corn, by encouraging highway robberies and religious quarrels; for the People, fatigued with the recent concussions of the Revolution, and beholding their calamities increase, would not fail to impute them to the National Assembly which they have intrusted with the care of remedying them. They would be disposed this way so much the more violently, that they are naturally given to change, and that living, especially in the capital, on the luxury of the great who have there fixed their habitation, they are with respect to these in a state of natural dependence, arising from the opulence of the one and the necessities of the other, a relation which does not hold between these last and the poor and transient members of the National Assembly. This disposition to general mutability and discontent may be farther powerfully stimulated by factious and mercenary journalists. Before the Constitution was completed, every writer undoubtedly had a right to discuss it; but now that it is sanctioned by the King, received by the Nation, confirmed by the second Assembly of it's Deputies freely elected, no farther discussion ought to be permitted, except with a view to amelioration. Finally, the Constitution may be subverted by a multitude of unprincipled indigent wretches, most of whom would sell their share of public liberty for a crown-piece: they might be made so much the more easily the principal instruments of a counter-revolution, that they recollect their having been powerfully efficient in producing the first. All these considerations must appear of serious importance to the Assembly. They will prevent these evils by stopping up the source. It ought to be decreed, that Ministers shall be responsible for the conduct of



the public servants whom they nominate, as they are for the orders of the Sovereign. They should be made to answer at once for the emanation of those orders and for their execution.

III. It appears to me that our Deputies remain too short time in place. I could have wished that instead of two years, three at least had been the term of their service. Many of them in fact relinquish substantial and lucrative situations for the sake of a transitory benefit which scarcely indemnifies them for the sacrifices which they have made. Such are, among others, Gentlemen of the Law who have supplied so many assertors of public liberty. I could likewise have wished that a third part of the Assembly had been renovated every three years. Apprehension was entertained, we are told, of their forming themselves into a perpetual aristocracy. But may not their total revolution involve that of the Constitution? A new Assembly loses a great deal of time, before it gets into the train of doing business. In troublous times a total renovation may become extremely dangerous. The vessel of the State, by changing her crew in stormy weather, may be upset under sail, or driven out of her course. Every movement is an object of apprehension in critical seasons. Would a State make a complete renovation of her army in presence of the enemy, to replace it with inexperienced troops? How then dares she, in presence of so many enemies to her best interests, substitute in room of an Assembly who has defended them, one entirely new, most of whose members know only those of the departments which have elected them? Many months must elapse before they can enter into ideas of public business, and put it in to a regular train. It is possible, in my opinion, to avoid the danger of a permanent aristocracy on the one hand, and of a sudden and total revolution on the other, in renovating the members of the Assembly by a third part every year, in other words, each department should every year turn out a third of its old Deputies, and elect a new third to supply their place. There would thence result two great benefits to the Nation; it would be able to exclude such of the Deputies as might lie under suspicion of being corrupted, without inflicting a stigma upon them, as their dismissal would be a result of the very law under which they had been elected, and it would preserve perpetually the right of



watching over the National Representatives, and of keeping alive public spirit in the Assembly. The duration of the Assembly might even be lengthened out to five years, by renewing the fifth part of it every year.

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

There is one method, in my apprehension, to direct their love of glory. Various decrees have been made as a guard against their ill-intentions, but not one in favour of their good offices. This is pointing them out to the Nation as enemies, and tempting them to become so. They are too much to be pitied in having every thing to fear from a Nation that mistrusts them, and very little to hope from a King who has no longer blue ribbands and dukedoms to give away. I could wish therefore that the Nation would assume the prerogative of rewarding them in a manner worthy of herself. Thus, after ten years service, the Assembly might take a review of their conduct, and in the event of it's being found constitutional and irreproachable, decree them the honour of a statue. It might be placed at the basis of the King's, raised under the cupola of a temple sacred to *Memory* and decreed in the same manner. Then, instead of seeing our Kings on horseback, elevated on a pedestal, flanked by Nations enchained, or by allegorical figures of the virtues, we should behold them on foot, surrounded by their good Ministers, of whom one might hold *Neptune's* trident, another the caduces of *Mercury*, a third the thunder of *Jupiter*, or, what is still better, his horn of plenty. To these symbols might be added inscriptions and bas-reliefs, representing the principal acts of their administration. This monument, accessible on every side, would figure wonderfully well in the centre of a public square, or on the banks of the Seine, according to the predominant inclination of the Prince. The People form a tolerably accurate judgment of the character of several of their Kings from the



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

*Of Monied Men and the Departments.*

Gold is the sole mover of our politics ; in order to have it, Powers forget the very first principles of morality and justice. However difficult it may be in these times to refute errors sanctioned by public opinion and reduced to practice, I shall begin this paragraph by suggesting some reflections which may serve to guard us against them at least for the future. The subject which I mean to treat is the invitation which the Minister of Finance addressed to the Citizens, to advance the fourth of their revenue as a patriotic contribution. 1. This invitation was subreptitious, because that was made a civil obligation which bore the name of an offer purely voluntary. 2. The Law promulgated on that occasion is impolitic, because men ought never to be tempted to balance between interest and conscience ; and it in fact produced a great number of false declarations. The Assembly acted very wisely in not permitting the farther aggravation of false oaths. 3. This Law is inquisitorial ; it obliges Citizens publicly to disclose the secrets of their fortunes, after the Exchequer has for so many ages abused their confidence, and when it still continues the abuse by making an obligatory duty of an act of good will ; it reduces such of them as appa-



rently are living at their ease, but in reality are not in a condition to contribute, to the cruel alternative of publishing their indigence, or of passing for bad Citizens. These considerations, so moral in their nature, induced *Louis XIV.* to prevent the execution of a similar project. With all his despotism, he durst not penetrate into the secrets of families. He had his qualms of conscience, says the Duke of Saint-Simon. 4. This Law is inequitable, for it does not proportion the contribution to the fortune of the persons assessed. A man who lives in superfluity is more in a condition to pay the fourth of his income than one who has barely what is necessary. Nay more, he who possesses a revenue of a thousand livres of ground rent, is as rich again as he who is only a life annuitant to that amount, and he again is still more so than one who derives the like income from an employment which he may lose immediately after having paid his contribution. All the three nevertheless, though of very unequal fortune, contribute equally, which is contrary to the very spirit of the Law. 5. Finally, from all these incoherencies this has resulted, that the wealthiest capitalists who keep the greatest part of their fortune concealed in their portfolios, have contributed the least, if a judgment is to be formed from their declarations. It was however, in part, to clear the interest of their claims upon the State, that a patriotic contribution has been demanded. There can be no doubt that the patriot Minister who proposed the measure, and the Assembly which voted it, were actuated by the best motives: but amidst the troubles which pressed upon them, they were incapable of foreseeing hazardous consequences. They could have settled it on the same basis as those of municipal imposts. God forbid that I should suggest to bad consciences the means of eluding the Law; every good Citizen is bound to support the Laws, even when unjust. My only wish was that our faults past might serve as lessons for the time to come. The Constituent Assembly has been oftener than once hurried on by the influence of the monied interest. Such was that which obliged every Citizen to pay the direct impost of a mark in silver, as a qualification to be elected one of it's members. By abolishing it, the Assembly has demonstrated that it had a very different standard from that of money, for appreciating merit, and that there were



wanting to it's Constitution other moving principles besides those of fortune.

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

There is, on the subject of the sale of national property, another great abuse to be reformed; it is that of monopolizing capitalists, who purchase in wholesale to sell in detail. They frequently make a profit of from 15 to 20 per cent., without untying their purse-strings, as I have heard one of them boast. The departments, I am well aware, tolerate this species of abuse in the view of facilitating the sale of extensive landed estates; but they would accomplish the same object by subdividing them into small lots of twenty or thirty acres. They would obtain more purchasers, and would obtain a better price for the benefit



of the Nation. Monopolists would infallibly be deterred from bidding by laying on the surplus rate, which would increase progressively, according as small properties accumulated in the hands of a single individual.

It is the avidity of great landed proprietors which first introduced, and has so long kept up over Europe, slavery in agriculture. Where in truth are we to expect to find free men disposed to cultivate the earth entirely for the benefit of another? In Russia, lands derive their whole value from the number of peasants on them. There are, in that Country, proprietors possessed of domains as extensive as Provinces, and from which they draw no profit whatever for want of slaves: To great proprietors we are indebted for the introduction of the slavery of the Negroes into America. The first Spaniards who made the conquest of the Antilles, of Mexico and Peru, divided the lands among themselves, and reduced their inhabitants to slavery to cultivate them, but especially for the purpose of working their mines of gold and silver. Notwithstanding the political modifications of the King of Spain in favour of the wretched Indians, his soldiers served them as he himself had served their Princes. They plundered and destroyed them for the most part; they afterwards made good the deficiency by slaves dragged from the Coast of Africa. The French did not employ them in the Antilles till the year 1635, after the re-establishment of the India Company. Thus the Spaniards lie under the reproach of having been the first Europeans who shed the blood of Americans, and who introduced the slavery of the Negroes into America. One crime always produces another. Three descriptions of miserable beings have been produced by this wicked policy, the subjugated Indians, the enslaved Negroes, the tyrannical Whites. Of these undoubtedly the whites are the most miserable: by a very remarkable re-action of Divine justice, they have found their punishment in that very gold which they so eagerly coveted. They live, in the first place, amidst their brethren, copper-coloured and black, in a state of perpetual terror of their uniting to plunder and exterminate them. Then they are under the necessity of rivetting their chains by all the horrors of superstition, but they themselves have the yoke rivetted round their own neck. They are tyrannized over by Monks, whose thirst



for gold is as insatiable as their own, and who strip them of it by scaring them with the terror of the satellites of the Inquisition in this world, and of devils in the next. Gold and silver, watered with human tears, issue from their mines only to enrich Monasteries.

On the other hand, the sabres of Buccaneers are no less formidable to them than the legends of Missionaries. A handful of adventurers, allured by that same gold, has frequently diffused dismay over those rich countries whose wretched inhabitants are destitute of patriotism. Our colonies do not suffer calamities so oppressive, because they are poorer. The National Assembly has made their happiness an object of attention, by restoring to Mulattoes and free Negroes the admission into Colonial Assemblies, which *Louis XVI.* had granted them, and which belonged to them as a Natural right. Is it not reasonable then, that free men who cultivate the ground, who pay the taxes levied upon it, and who defend it in time of war, should have some share in it's Administration? Be their colour what it may, are they not Citizens? The white settlers had stripped them of the prerogatives of citizenship, in consequence undoubtedly of their proud alliances with our noble families, but they subsisted in the Portuguese colonies. I have seen men of colour in the full enjoyment of them in our own Island of Bourbon, whose first inhabitants married the negresses of Madagascar, for want of white women, and left to their mulatto children their property, together with all the rights of citizens. The French families which have since settled there, and among which there are several of noble extraction, disdained not to form alliances with them. It is very common to see there nephews and nieces, cousins of both sexes, brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, of different colours. Nothing appeared to me more interesting than this diversity. I have distinguished in it the power of love, which brings into contact what oceans and the zones of the world had separated. Those families at once white, mixed and black, united by the ties of blood, represented to me the union of Europe and of Africa much better than those fortunate lands where the fir and the palm-tree blend their shades. It is much to be regretted that, under the influence of groundless apprehension, the Constituent Assembly



should have abolished, by it's decree of September 1791, the justice which it had done to persons of colour in the Antilles, and have granted to white men only the right of constituting themselves: it was looking upon them as in some measure aliens to the Kingdom. They will one day perceive the necessity of forming an intimate union with them, from the impossibility of, in any respect, a self-sufficient independence of them; but before every thing else, they ought to attract persons of colour to unite with them: in this their security and their prosperity are at once concerned. It is necessary, for the same reason, that they mitigate the hardships of their miserable slaves, till the time come when national wisdom itself shall devise prudent means to restore them to liberty. I have indicated some of them: this grand revolution is not to be effected at once, but gradually, and by giving a proper indemnification to the proprietors of slaves.

But it is not sufficient to people our islands with free and happy blacks; we must introduce into them white labourers, who are more industrious. This affects equally the interests of our Colonies and of the Mother Country. This is not all; the introduction of white labourers into America is a necessary consequence of our new Constitution. Agriculture and Commerce having been in France set free from fetters, it follows that population must considerably increase at home. On the other hand, the gulphs which absorbed it being filled up, such as the unmarried communities both male and female, and the continual wars excited by the ambition of the Nobility and Monarchy, whose prejudices are going to be extinguished, it is a matter of absolute necessity that population should rapidly increase; so much the more that love has there an unbounded empire, from the temperature of the climate, from the fertility of the soil, from public spectacles, from the use of wine, and from the attractions of the female sex. To these ancient and modern sources of population must be added that of the influx of foreigners who are already coming to settle among us, from the attraction of our new Constitution, which grants full security for liberty of conscience. It is therefore a matter of urgent importance to find a vent for the superflux, out of the Kingdom, and there is no one more commodious, or more within our reach, than our Co-



lonies. We must therefore introduce into them the agricultural labour of white men: for if this method is not employed, France, before the expiration of half a century, will not be able to support her inhabitants. We shall see among ourselves, as in China, circumscribed by her laws, mothers exposing their children, and all the other crimes which flow from the excess of an indigent population. The abolition of the slavery of Negroes, and the introduction of the agricultural labour of whites in America, flow therefore from the interest of whites in France, were they not consequences of the Rights of Man, which are the basis of our Constitution.

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



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

It is our interest then, nay that of the Creoles, to introduce into our islands white agricultural labourers, in order to furnish, in the first place, the means of subsistence to our compatriots, and afterwards of spreading themselves over the vast solitudes of America which are in the vicinity. I know well that several European Powers have taken possession of them. I shall not examine whether that possession be lawful, and whether the same right which they assumed as their authority for robbing the ancient proprietors of their inheritance, might not serve in it's turn to strip them of their usurpations. Bad principles ought not to be founded on bad examples. But, however respected the right of conquest may be in Europe, it is certain that the right of Nature is more ancient. In order to an European Prince's taking possession of a foreign country, where men devoid of mistrust received his ships with kindness and hospitality, it is not sufficient for him to get a plate with his name engraved on it, buried clandestinely, or to have a cross erected, emblazoned with his coat of arms, by a missionary priest, who worships it in chanting a *Te Deum*, and persuading the honest savages who stand expressing their astonishment at the ceremony, that this cross will preserve them from every kind of evil. Neither is it sufficient for him to construct along a coast, for fifty leagues together, a battery of cannon, surrounded with ditches and palisadoes, to tell the World: All the Continent is mine. The Earth belongs not to him who takes forcible possession, but to him who cultivates it. The Laws of Nature are founded on truth in general as in detail. I saw one day without the gate de Chaillot, a peasant sowing pease on a spot of ground which had lain long uncultivated; I asked if it



belonged to him: "No," said he; "but every one is at liberty to sow land which has remained without cultivation for more than three years." I cannot tell whether this usage is founded on the Civil or Roman Law; but it undoubtedly is a natural right. GOD formed the Earth expressly to be cultivated: every man, therefore, has a right to settle on a desert. Besides, the interest of the Kings of Spain and Portugal is concerned to invite into their immense and solitary American Domains, the overflowing inhabitants of Europe, to increase the number of their subjects. If they do not now allure them thither in the capacity of husbandmen, they will one day behold them land in the form of conquerors.

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

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



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

Of these one of the strangest, and the most difficult to be eradicated, is the use of tobacco. There is no one so universally diffused over the globe. Tobacco comes originally from America, and savages first taught us to smoke it; but it is smoked at this day from Norway to China, and from Archangel to the land of the Hottentots. In Europe great quantities of it are consumed in snuff. It was gold dust to our capitalists of France, who had got the farming of it. They sold it for



more money an ounce than the pound had cost them in the leaf. I have seen a poor labourer expend every day in tobacco the fourth part of his wages. Since the Revolution it's commerce and culture are become free in France, where it grows of an excellent quality: it will accordingly fall in price, and the consumption will prove a farther benefit to Agriculture. It were to be wished that we could in like manner naturalize the sugarcane and the coffee plant. Sicily and some parts of Italy might admit of this, but the climate of France forbids it. I have remarked in my Studies, that Nature had rendered the whole Earth capable of producing universally the same substances, with this difference, that she varies the vegetables which bear them according to difference of latitude. The savages of Canada make sugar with the sap of the maple, and the blacks of Africa produce wine from the juice of their palm-trees. The taste of the Haselnut is perceptible in the great nut of the cocoa-tree, and the smell of many aromatic herbs of our own plains in the spice-bearing trees of the Moluccas. Nature, in general, places the consonances of the trees of the Torrid Zone, in the shrubbery and herbage of the temperate Zones, and even in the mosses and mushrooms of the icy regions. She has, toward the South, sheltered the fruits from the heat by raising them aloft on trees; and as we advance toward the North, she has sheltered them from the cold, by lowering them on herbs and grasses, which besides, being intended to live one Summer only, have no fear of Winter. It is therefore in the humble classes of our annual and spontaneous plants that we shall be able to find productions equivalent to those of the magnificent vegetables of the South.

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



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

Government at the outset thought of favouring the culture of cotton in our Colonies as well as it's importation into France. Our monied men soon derived such profits from it by the establishment of innumerable manufactures, that most of the women of lower rank, as well as their children, habitually wore stuffs of this sort. The use of them is far from being wholesome. They are wonderfully well adapted to the winters of countries whose inhabitants go almost naked the rest of the year; but they are too warm for our Summers, and too cold for our Winters. Their use especially is very dangerous in Winter. They catch fire very easily; they are one of the most frequent causes of our conflagrations, which often commence on a spark falling on a stuffed counterpane, or on a curtain of cotton. The fire in such cases is propagated with amazing rapidity. To my knowledge several children and old people have been burnt alive, from having fallen asleep by their own fire-side in clothing of this sort. The whole world knows that *Stanislaus*, the old King of Poland, perished in this manner. Wool is liable to none of these inconveniencies: very light stuffs may be made of it for Summer wear. The Grecian and Roman ladies, who dressed so gracefully, wore robes of it at all seasons. I could wish that the Revolution, which has produced so many changes in our



laws, might produce some in our manners, and even in our dress. That of men, among us, is open on all sides, and cut short. There is nothing on the contrary at once so warm and so light, so commodious and so dignified as that of the ancients. If our females wish to engage the men to adopt it, they have only themselves to adopt the appropriate habit of the Grecian women, who never dressed but in linen and woollen. There will result from it much benefit to health, and to the respectable appearance of a whole Nation. Our Agriculture, our Commerce and our Manufactures will derive an immediate advantage from it. Linen rags will multiply, and contribute to the support of the paper-manufactory, the first material of which begins to grow scarce. It is impossible to supply it's place by cotton rags, though the Indians indeed make very beautiful paper of them, if the cloth has not been dyed. I shall not examine how far the Mother Country is a gainer on the balance of her commerce with the Colonies ; but I see it entirely in their favour. We supply them with wine, with corn, with flour and salted provisions ; but we receive from them coffee, sugar, indigo, tobacco, cotton, cocoa-nuts, the consumption of which is incomparably greater ; besides, they will not admit either our modes, or our liberal arts. The creolian women have their particular style of dress, and send to India for the greatest part of their stuffs. I never saw in the Isle of France a single house which contained a picture, or so much as a print ; neither did I find books there except in the hands of some Europeans, and in a very small number. Arts and Literature nevertheless furnish enjoyments to the rich, and consolations to the poor. Nature teaches them to Man, and they bring Man back to Nature. Our colonies have no object but one, to amass wealth ; and it is evident that they draw from us a prodigious quantity, from the enormous fortunes so rapidly made in them. Let them keep their money ! The happiness of a people is not to be estimated by the piastres of their traders, but by the means they possess of feeding and clothing themselves. Now, I repeat it, there is a political error of the first magnitude committed, in permitting the raw material of the apparel of the people of France to issue, as at this day, from her Colonies in the islands of America, as well as the sugar and coffee on which they break-



fast, and the tobacco which they are consuming every hour of the day. Nothing more is now wanting but to raise our corn there to reduce us to a state of complete dependence. We have accordingly seen, by the violent remonstrances of our traders in favour of the inhuman slave-traffic, in the face of the decrees of our National Assembly, that our commercial sea-ports had ceased to be French, and were transformed into Americans.

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

In vain you tell them of the distress of the neighbouring Provinces, of the scarcity that is felt in the Capital: Will they take a greater interest in these than in the necessities of their own children? Besides they are no longer the dupes of that pretended humanity, which has so often served as a pretext for the



dangerous commerce of corn. When they see it exported from their markets, they suspect, and with too much reason, that it is for the purpose of raising the price. It is a very culpable negligence therefore on the part of Administration, during several centuries, not to have established magazines of grain in the Provinces, and reduced bread to a fixed price. Their object was to dispose of the Peoples' food, in order to govern them by famine, as well as of their fortune by imposts; of their life by foreign wars, and of their conscience by religious opinions. Such have long been the abuses of our odious system of politics; it is high time to set about a reformation of the most glaring of them. If there be a motive to induce the People to effect a counter-revolution, it is the dearness of bread; it was this alone which produced the Revolution, in defiance of the very persons who stupidly believed they could prevent it, by starving the People.

I shall here subjoin a few reflections respecting the use of bread, become of such absolute necessity all over Europe. Who would believe that it is an aliment of luxury? Of all those which are served up on the table of man, though it be the most common, and even when markets are at the lowest, there is no one which costs so dear. The grain of which it is made, is of all vegetable productions that which demands most culture, machinery and handling. Before it is cast into the ground, there must be ploughs to till the ground, harrows to break the clods, dung-hills to manure it. When it begins to grow, it must be weeded: when come to maturity, the sickle must be employed to cut it down; flails, fanners, bags, barns to thresh it out, to winnow it and to store it up; mills to reduce it to flour, to bolt it and to sift it; bakehouses where it must be kneaded, leavened, baked and converted into bread. Verily, Man never could have existed on the Earth, had he been under the necessity of deriving his first nutriment from the corn plant. It is no where found indigenous. Nay, it's grain, from the form and size, appears much better adapted to the beak of granivorous birds than to the mouth of man. Not so much as the twentieth part of mankind eats bread. Almost all the people of Asia live on rice, more prolific than the corn plant, and which needs no other preparation but to be stripped of it's pellicle, and boiled. Africa



lives on millet ; America on manioc, potatoes and other roots. Even these substances were not the primitive aliment of Man. Nature presented to him at first his food already dressed in the fruits of trees ; she placed principally for this purpose, between the Tropics, the banana and the bread-fruit ; in the Temperate Zones, the ever-green oak, and especially the chestnut tree ; and perhaps in the Frigid Zone, the pine, whose kernels are eatable. But without quitting our own climates, the chestnut tree seems to merit the particular attention of our cultivators. It produces, without giving any farther trouble, a great deal more substantial fruit than a field of corn of the same extent as it's branches ; it affords besides, in it's incorruptible timber for carpenter's work, the means of building durable habitations. Our departments ought therefore to multiply a tree at once so beautiful and so useful, on the commons, on heaths, and by the high-roads ; they ought likewise to promote in the same places, the culture of every species of tree which produces alimentary fruit, as well as that of pot-herbs of the best sorts. For this purpose it would be necessary that every Department should have a public garden, in which attempts might be made to naturalize all the foreign vegetables, capable of furnishing new means of subsistence or of industry, in order to supply all gardeners with the seeds and plants of them for nothing.

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

It is not sufficient to provide for the physical necessities of the inhabitants of our plains, their manners must be likewise softened. Our peasants are frequently barbarous, and their education is the only cause of it ; they frequently beat without mercy their asses, their horses, their dogs, and sometimes their wives, because they themselves were treated so in their infancy. Fathers and mothers, under the deception of certain pretended religious maxims, powerfully recommend to schoolmasters the



correction of their children, in other words, to bring them up as they themselves have been: thus they mistake their vices for virtues. It is therefore essentially necessary to banish from the schools of children the infliction of corporal chastisement, as well as the superstition which devised it, and which, not satisfied with torturing their bodies, stings their innocent souls with the scorpions of hell; it propagates among the children of shepherds the first principles of that terror which is one day to cover the children of Kings with its awful shade. It is in the simple minds of the peasantry that dexterous Monks have scattered abroad so many legends, which have procured them, from the fears of this world and the next, so much riches over the country, and so much power around thrones. The reason of peasants ought to be illumined because they are men. Let them be instructed in the knowledge of a God intelligent, provident, most bountiful, most gracious, most affectionate, and alone worthy of being loved above all things in nature which is his workmanship, rather than in stones, wood, paper, without motion, without life, the work of men's hands, and but too frequently the monuments of their tyranny. Their manners ought to be polished, by introducing among them a taste for music, for dancing and rural festivity, so well calculated to recreate them after their painful toil, and to make them in love with labour. Thus they will be induced to renounce their barbarous sports, the fruit of their cruel education. There is one, among others, which strikes me as detestable; it is that in which they take a live goose, suspend her by the neck, and contend who shall first bring her down, by alternately throwing a stick at their victim. During this long agony, which lasts for hours together, the wretched animal tosses about her feet in the air, to the great satisfaction of her executioners, till at length one of them, a better marksman than the rest, by completing a separation of the vertebræ, brings to the ground the bruised and palpitating carcass; he then carries it off in triumph, and devours it with his companions. Thus they transmit into their own blood the substance of a dead animal tortured into madness. These ferocious and silly diversions are frequently celebrated in the avenues leading to the castles of the Nobility, or in the vicinity of churches, without the least interruption from the Lord or the parish Priest; this last



often forbids the young girls to dance, and permits the young men to torment innocent birds to death. It is that in our Cities, the Priests hunt from the churches women who present themselves there in hats ; but they respectfully salute men who come dressed in swords. Many of them consider it as a heinous offence to go to the Opera, and with delectation contemplate at a bull-baiting, that companion of the husbandman, torn in pieces by a pack of hounds. Every where, wo to the weakest ! Every where barbarism is a virtue with those in whose estimation the graces are crimes.

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



am well aware that religion had in some measure consecrated the fires of *Saint John*, but I believe they are of antiquity more remote than the Christian *Æra*, as well as many other usages which Christians have adopted.

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

Our men of capital may powerfully second this moral revolution in rural life, by combining their means with the illumination of the Departments. Instead of monopolizing the money and the bread of the People, whose curses they draw down upon themselves, and sometimes their vengeance, it is easy for them to lay out their money on undoubted security, with profit, honour, and pleasure. They could establish country banks, for the purpose of lending, at a moderate interest, small sums to the farmer, who, for want of a little ready money, frequently sees his property go to ruin. They could themselves drain marshes, clear waste lands, multiply flocks, establish manufactures, render small rivers navigable; instead of acquiring immense tracts of landed property producing a small revenue while in the hands of their great farmers, because the half must be every year left in fallow, they ought to divide them into small portions of four, of six, of ten acres, which will yield a perpetual produce, because a single family can cultivate them. They may plant them out into orchards, enclose them with quickset hedges, less expensive, more durable, more agreeable and more beneficial to agriculture, than the long and gloomy stone walls of parks; they may rear on them little smiling and commodious mansions, or even simple cottages, and sell or let them to tradesmen who may come thither in quest of health and repose. The simple tastes of the country will thus be introduced into the cities, and the urbanity of cities will communicate itself to the country. Our capitalists might extend their patriotic establishments beyond seas, open new channels to commerce and fisheries, discover



new islands under the fortunate climate of the tropical regions, and there plant colonies exempted from slavery. The greatest of islands in the bosom of the Ocean, if after all it be only an island, New-Holland, invites them to complete the discovery of it's coasts, and to penetrate into it's immense solitudes, where the foot of European never yet travelled. They may, with French liberty and industry, found on it's shores a new Batavia, which shall attract to itself the riches of two worlds ; or rather like new Lycurguses, may they banish money from it, and, in it's place, introduce the reign of innocence, concord and happiness !

*Of the Nobility and the National Guards.*

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

A Nation consisting of Nobles only, would quickly terminate it's career in the loss of it's Religion, it's Armies, it's Justice, it's Finances, it's Agriculture, it's Commerce, it's Arts and it's Illumination : and would substitute in place of these, Ceremonies, Titles, Imposts, Lotteries, Academies and Inquisitions. Look at Spain and a part of Italy, particularly Rome, Naples and Venice. The French National Assembly has laid open the path of honour to every Frenchman ; but in order to keep in it, he must run the race himself. Liberty is nothing but a perpetual exercise of virtue. It is by reposing on corps that citizens



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

It was the ambition of the Nobility which had engrossed every thing, and which scorned to give up a single point, that had brought the State to the brink of ruin, and has issued in their own destruction. In vain have they assembled on our northern frontier, and flatter themselves with the hope of forcing their way back into France in the enjoyment of their exclusive privileges, by the assistance of foreign powers. It is not probable that any one of them imagines it has a right to prevent the French Nation from framing for herself whatever Constitution she likes best. All Europe has regarded with admiration *Peter the Great* polishing his barbarous Empire, and reforming his Clergy and Boyards, who had seized all authority. Would our admiration of him have been diminished, had he brought back a corrupted people towards nature, and had he destroyed the corps which opposed his plans of reform, he, who broke his own guards, and, like another *Brutus*, inflicted the punishment of death on his own only son, for having conspired



against the Laws which he had given to his Country? What a Prince has done, assuredly a Nation is able to do. The sovereignty of a Nation resides in itself, and not in the Prince, who is only it's sub-delegate. It is impossible too frequently to repeat that fundamental maxim of the rights of mankind: "Kings," says *Fenelon*, "are made for the People, and not the People for "Kings." The same thing holds good of Priests and Nobles. All the orders of a Nation are subordinate to it, just as the branches of a tree are, notwithstanding their elevation, to the stem which supports them. The French Nation has accordingly been able to suppress the order of Nobility, and it's ecclesiastical orders which dared to shew a spirit refractory to the Laws, without putting it in the power of neighbouring nations to say a word on the subject. In a storm a vessel moored on a dangerous coast, cuts her cables when she cannot get up her anchors. Thus the Nation, to save the national body has cut asunder the yoke of prejudice which was dragging her to destruction, and which she had neither skill nor leisure to disentangle.

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



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

But the homage which I owe to truth, and the pity which I feel for the unfortunate, constrain me here to warn our exiled nobless, that most of them would be objects of great compassion in Russia; first, from their peculiar mode of education, which, arming them from infancy against each other, would not afford them among their compatriots themselves that support which the unfortunate of the same Nation might expect, especially when expatriated. I had the experience of this oftener than once. The greatest enemies which Frenchmen have in foreign countries, are Frenchmen; their jealousy is a result from their ambitious education, which, from childhood, says to each of them, but especially to men of noble birth, *Be foremost*. It is true the necessity of living with men, and especially with women, spreads a varnish of politeness over this maleficent instinct, and obliges a Frenchman of family, who is inwardly burning with a desire to domineer, to appear continually animated with a desire of pleasing; but his brilliant talents only excite against him the jealousy of foreigners, whose vices shew themselves undisguised. They detest equally his gallantry and his point of honour, his dancing and his duelling. It is therefore a melancholy prospect for a Gentleman to pass his life in a strange land, an object of jealousy to his compatriots, and of hatred to the natives. I say nothing of the rigor of the military service in Russia, where subordination is such, that a Lieutenant must not sit down in presence of his Captain without permission; nor of the mediocrity of the appointments, in a climate where civilized man has so many wants. These inconveniences, which I myself have experienced, are so insupportable, that most of the Officers whom I have seen pass into that country, of noble extraction or not, have been reduced to the situation of *Ochitels*, or governors to children in the families of



Russian Noblemen. It is of a truth one of the least wretched resources of that country: but can it be palatable to a man of noble birth, who left his Country merely because he could not domineer over his compatriots at home? Must he imitate *Dionysius* the tyrant of Syracuse, who, stripped of his sovereignty, assumed the employment of school-master at Corinth, and having lost his Empire over men contrived to acquire one over children.

Neither shall I say any thing respecting the severity of the climate in Russia, for it is a consideration of no weight with the ambitious: to live at St. Petersburg or in St. Domingo, to serve under Russians or to tyrannize over Negroes, is all one to most men, provided they are in the road to fortune. It deceives us frequently in these countries as in others. But when a man, to indemnify himself for the injustice of fortune, wishes to throw himself into the arms of Nature, it must be peculiarly hard upon a Frenchman expatriated in Russia, to compare Winters of six tedious months, during which the whole face of the Earth is covered with snow and dusky fir trees, with the mild climate of France, and her fertile plains clothed with orchards, vineyards and meadows. It is painful, on seeing enslaved peasants driven to labour by the rod, to call to remembrance the gaiety and the liberty of his compatriots; to talk of love to shepherdesses who understand not what you say, and whose hearts feel no reciprocal emotion. It is a gloomy reflection that his own posterity will one day be blasted by the same slavery, and that he himself must never more see the places where he learnt to feel and to love. I have seen Frenchmen in Russia, of a superior rank in the army, so struck with recollections of this kind, that they said to me: "I would rather be a common soldier in France than Colonel of a regiment here."

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

But, noble Frenchmen, wherefore add to the evils which men may occasion, those which Nature has not inflicted upon you?



The Nation, you say, has been guilty of injustice to you : Why punish yourselves for this ? She has deprived you of your prerogatives, but she has not taken away from you her climate, her productions, her arts, her illumination, nor any one of her most valuable possessions. You mean to avenge yourselves for the injuries you have sustained ; your country-seats have been burnt to the ground : Will the burning of villages re-build them for you ? Men of family have been massacred ; Will the slaughter of citizens restore them to life ? Believe no longer the false promises of your orators. Your hostilities will only serve to aggravate your distresses, just as your resistance has done. A corps cannot successfully oppose a whole Nation. Do not imagine it is in your power to excite civil war in France : there are abundance of patriotic Nobles in the Kingdom to combat the aristocratic Nobility. Are you going besides to take up arms against that Royalty from which your privileges are derived, and against a King who, in compliance with the general wish of France, has sanctioned the Constitution to which you refuse submission ? The second National Assembly has proved the lawfulness of the first. You owe more to your Nation than to your Order ; the maxim of the sage *Fenelon* is not a factious sophism : “ A man owes more to his Country than to his Family.” Will you call in the powers of Europe to attack yours ? They will not espouse your quarrel. First, they do nothing for nothing, and you are without money and without credit. Will you promise them to dismember France in their favour, where you had not the power of maintaining your own ground ? They would be much more afraid of seeing their own subjects adopting the French laws, than they could hope to see France submitting to those of Germany or of Russia. The Revolution would penetrate into their Dominions by means of the very soldiery employed to subvert it. What temptation could be held out to induce them to enter France ? The plunder of Paris. But the frontiers of the Kingdom are hedged round with fortresses, defended by a multitude of regiments and of national guards, and there are in the interior a million of armed citizens ready to re-place them. Would those Powers say to their troops, as an inducement to fight in support of foreigners who never did any thing for them : “ Go and re-establish the French Nobility



“ in the right, claimed by every Nobleman from his birth, of  
“ domineering over men? If you are victorious, you acquire  
“ the honour of subjecting the French to a yoke similar to that  
“ which you yourselves wear. If you perish, you die faithful  
“ to your Religion, which enjoins you to obey, and forbids you  
“ to reason.” France, on the contrary, would say to her Citizens : “ You are accused by the Nobility of Rebellion, but that  
“ imputation falls upon themselves : Rebellion is the resistance  
“ of individuals or of corps to the national will. Rebellion is  
“ the subversion of the laws, and Revolution is that of tyrants.  
“ The Nobility are the persons who want to be such in France,  
“ by arming against her King legions of foreign soldiers. Go  
“ and fight them. If you come off victorious, you secure for  
“ ever the liberty of your fortune, of your talents, of your conscience : if you die, you perish in defending the rights of Human Nature. Your cause is the most just and the most sacred for which a People ever contended : it is that of GOD  
“ and of Mankind.”

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

If there be no longer Nobility from inheritance, there ever will be personal Nobility ; besides, the condition in which we are born has an influence on our manners. Commerce inspires the love of money ; the bar, chicane ; the arts dispose to artifice, and rude labours to vulgarity. The Nobility, of the ancient times of chivalry, distinguished themselves, by their gene-



rosity, their candour, their politeness. Noblemen! who are their descendants, add to these patriotism and intelligence, and the people of France will advance to meet you. You complain of their anarchy, it is your insurrection on the frontiers which keeps it up. He who sets his face against the Laws, cannot expect protection from them.

Patriotism produced the Revolution and will maintain it: patriotism it is which, uniting every order of Citizens, banished from among them the fatal prejudices of their ambitious education. It has cemented into one body, at once, those whose duty it was to suggest counsels, and those who were to execute them; it has scattered to the winds all the distinctions of rank and estate. We have seen Noblemen receiving orders from shopkeepers, Priests from laymen, Counsellors from attorneys: we have seen soldiers, without pay, passing indifferently from the rank of officer to that of private; ready at all times, by night and by day, to quit their business, their pleasures, their families; proposing to themselves no other recompense but that of serving their Country. Thus were ye formed, virtuous National Guards of Paris. Sometimes, combatting Aristocracy, you have disarmed it without vengeance; sometimes, resisting Anarchy, you oppose to it an insurmountable bulwark. Neither the flattery of courtiers, nor the insults of the populace, have been able to make you deviate from your principles of moderation. The only object you have kept in view is the public tranquillity. Generous inhabitants of Paris, under your protection the French Constitution was formed. Your example has been followed by all the Municipalities of the Kingdom; it will extend still further; benefits propagate themselves as well as absurdities. Our grandees, in their vain luxury, had adopted the riding-jackets, the horse-races, the hunters, the polished steel of England; you, with much greater wisdom, have taken for your share her liberty. Already your Constitution, like the dove escaped from the ark, is taking a flight over the whole Globe; already it hovers in company with the Eagle of Poland; it carries as an olive-branch the rights of mankind; this is the standard of Nature, which is universally inviting the Nations to liberty. In defiance of the suspicious vigilance of the despotic powers, which interdict to their enslaved subjects the history of



your successes, the rights of human nature, translated into all languages, and printed even on the handkerchiefs of women, have penetrated every where. Thus Man, subjugated in his very conscience which he dares not look into, will read his rights engraven even on the bosom of his partner ; thus, as you have exercised an influence over the pleasures of Europe by your fashions, you will extend that influence over the general happiness by your virtues. Patriotism brought you together in the tempest ; and it will keep you united in the calm. Receive your fugitive and unhappy brethren with generosity ; you owe them protection, safety, tranquillity, support, by the very Constitution to which you invite them. Recollect that they were your seniors ; share with those who shall express a wish to be Citizens, the services and the honours of your Country, the common mother of us all ; and, restored to the management of your affairs, exhibit to your children the example of concord.

*Of the Clergy and the Municipalities.*

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

Rome, plundered by barbarians, resumed over them, by the power of speech, the Empire which she had lost by the feebleness of her arms. The wretched nations of Gaul embraced with ardour a Religion which preached charity in this world, and promised eternal felicity in that which is to come ; they contrasted the virtues of their first Missionaries with the robberies of their conquerors. The Priests, supported by popular favour, acquired an unbounded authority. Masters of the conscience, they soon became so likewise of the fortunes, and even of the persons of men. As they were the only men who knew how to read and write, they became the sole depositaries of testaments. Notaries were at that time clerks, whose dependence was on the Bishops : a will was good for nothing, unless the testator had left a legacy to the Church. The parish priests of



that period, were obliged to keep a register of those who took the Sacrament at Easter, of those who did not, as well as of their good and bad qualities, and to transmit the particulars to the Bishops. It is extremely probable that they kept then as they do now, a register of births, marriages, and burials. All alms-deeds were administered by the Clergy, and they were empowered to receive gifts and bequests of money, houses, lands, signiories, nay even of slaves.

Thus, with so many sources of information, of means and of method, the Bishops became all powerful. It is seen from History in what manner they employed power over Kings in the name of the People, in quality of their Pastors ; over the People in the name of GOD, in quality of his Ministers ; and over Popes themselves, in the name of the Gallican Church, in quality of it's Chiefs. Their authority excited the jealousy of Rome. That capital of the Christian world opposed to them the monastic orders, which held immediately of her, though subjected in appearance to the Bishops. The French Clergy then divided into two corps, the secular and the regular. Every power is enfeebled by being divided. The Monks, who formed the regular Clergy, being by their Constitution more united among themselves, and acknowledging but one only Chief, the Pope, extended their power much farther than the members of the secular Clergy, frequently distracted by the affairs of the world, and subjected to various Bishops, who had not always the same views. The secular Clergy domineered in the Cities, the Monks diffused their empire over the Country. They would soon have acquired a decided preponderancy over the whole Kingdom, had they formed only one order, like the Monks of St. Bazile in Russia. But under the apprehension, perhaps, that they should not be able as these last to render themselves independent by their riches, Rome herself divided her own strength. She introduced into France a great variety of religious orders, the superiors of which resided at Rome ; and who not only parcelled out the ecclesiastical functions among themselves, but even invaded a part of the secular employments. Most of them were originally mendicants, and introduced themselves under the pretext, so specious, of charity. The Dominicans, at first preaching brothers, afterwards became inquisitors. The



Benedictines became the record-keepers in an age when hardly any one could either read or write, and undertook a part of the public education, which communicates so much influence over the mind. They were imitated, and speedily surpassed, by the Jesuits, who united in their own order alone the talents of all the rest, and very soon all their power. Others did not think themselves degraded by compounding essences, preparing chocolate, knitting silk stockings, and engaging in trade. Some were sent as Missionaries into foreign countries. Though preaching Christianity, they accompanied our soldiers in their conquests, and acquired lands in America, and slaves in Africa to cultivate them. Others, as the Mathurins, enriched themselves by begging for the purpose of ransoming Christian captives taken by the barbarians of Africa. They redeemed white slaves on the Coast of Morocco, because, as they alleged, they were Christians : many other Monks were at the same time purchasing black slaves on the Coast of Guinea, to supply their plantations in America, and making Christians of them to rivet the chains of their captivity.

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

Since liberty of conscience has been decreed one of our rights, it is certain that the Municipalities alone can ascertain the state of the citizens in the three principal epochs of existence, birth, marriage and death. How could Roman ecclesias-



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

There ought to be no burying grounds in the interior of cities; the health of their inhabitants is deeply concerned in this. There are ancient laws on this subject which remain unexecuted. The accommodation of church-wardens and of the inferior fry who make a gain of interments, is a temptation to infringe them, for they persuade the people that their religious character is involved in the practice. What nevertheless is a church-yard in cities? frequently a common foot-path, where bones



are confounded and piled up in heaps ; there you see deep and open graves, which incessantly emit a mephitic exhalation. An orphan frequently catches his death there, over the remains of him from whom he derived life. Unfortunate mother ! thou fondly believest that the little hillock over which thy tears are flowing contains the body of thy daughter : in vain thou consolest thyself with the recollection of her virgin graces ; her body is on the marble slab of an anatomical amphitheatre, exposed naked to the eyes, and to the dissecting knife, of young men whom an affected thirst of knowledge has stripped of all sense of modesty. Ye who revere the ashes of your progenitors, remove them far from places where the passions of the living intrude on the repose of the dead. It is only in the fields, and remote from cities, that death as well as life can find a secure asylum. There we could render unto GOD what is due to GOD, and to the elements what belongs to the elements. There, in airy situations, burying-grounds might be enclosed with walls, sepulchral chapels reared in them, and keepers placed to guard them from violation. Nay, they might be planted with trees, which would restore the mephitic air to purity. Nothing would be more interesting than to see under the religious shade of oaks, firs and ash-trees, whole generations of carpenters, joiners, cartwrights, laid to rest at the foot of the very trees which had furnished them with the means of sustaining life. Each family, as each corps, might there reserve for itself a little spot of earth, to serve as a common receptacle for the ashes of relations and friends.

It is the business of the Municipalities to pay particular attention to the execution of these laws. Magistrates are the real priests of the people. Their confidence is to be gained no way but by speaking to them ; it is by speech that men are governed. The Clergy was the only corps which assumed to itself a privilege claimed by every Citizen among the ancients. The People then must be spoken to, if not *viva voce*, at least by edicts, proclamations, journals ; the truth must be told them, and recommended to their affections. On the other hand, it is a culpable indifference in their rulers to permit every day mercenary journalists to alarm them by reports which have a tendency to destroy the confidence they ought to place in their Representa-



tives, and to subvert the Constitution. The opinions of the People should not be sported with ; if these journalists convey truth, they ought to be recompensed as good citizens ; if they have deceived, they should be punished as calumniators. Indifference in this respect is a crime in Magistrates. It is absurd to consider this licentiousness of the Press as a consequence of liberty. No man is at liberty to poison, and calumny is the most dangerous of all poisons. Let them pay very serious attention to this ; from contempt of the laws that of their persons will follow, and in process of time their ruin.

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

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

In order to attach Priests to the Constitution they must be converted into Citizens. The security is better to bind them to it by their interests than by their oaths. To obtain this object, one very good method has already been employed, in making them stipendiaries of the State. There is still another more efficacious, because it brings them nearer to the Laws of Nature ; it is that of marriage. The ancient Patriarchs, *Abraham* and *Jacob*, those first Pontiffs of the natural Law, those holy men who maintained an intercourse with angels, were surrounded by numerous families of children : *Moses*, to whom GOD dic-



tated the laws of the Jews, and *Aaron* his brother, invested with the office of High-priest, were married men. The first Catholics married in the Primitive Church. *St. Paul* says positively, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, vii. 25, 26. "Now concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord : yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress, that it is good for a man so to be." It is evident that *St. Paul* is not addressing this advice to the people, as celibacy would have involved their utter extinction, but to ecclesiastics who had slender means of subsistence in those early times, when the infant Church was poor and persecuted. But in fact, speaking of their chiefs, he says in another place, "Let a Bishop be the husband of one wife ;" that is, let him marry only one. The priests of the Greek Church, who have preserved most of the usages of the Primitive Church, still continue to marry. But is it needful to recur to authority when we have that of Nature? She produces, all the world over, men and women in equal numbers. Now a Priest who does not marry condemns to a single life a young woman whom Nature made his contemporary, and designed to be his companion through life. What will become of maiden ladies now that Convents are abolished? Finally, the laws of society invite all men to marry. Celibacy may suit an individual, but never a corps. Priests will become good citizens when they become husbands and fathers to families. Many of them have already set the example, by marrying before the Municipalities. They have yielded obedience to that first law of GOD, which accompanies our birth into the world : "Increase and multiply ;" a law observed by the priests of the Patriarchal Church ; of the Jewish Church, of the primitive Christian Church, and of the Greek Church. The Church of Rome seems to have interdicted marriage to her Clergy, only to attach them more closely to her interests, by separating them from those of family and country. All the religions in the world would lead men to GOD, by an approximation to Nature, but the greatest part remove from her, that they may not approximate to each other.

It may be affirmed in praise of our Clergy that they are the least intolerant of all those of the Catholic church. Their li-



berties, which pass at Rome for heresies, have saved the Nation from the ultramontane yoke. They never would admit the inquisition established in Italy, in Portugal, in Spain, and even in the Indies. It is this odious tribunal, extended by the policy of Rome over all the earth, under the pretext of protecting religion, which separated from her communion the northern nations of Europe. To it we must impute the revolution of Avignon, though it's yoke was very light there, on account of the vicinity of France; but there is no one so galling as that which leads the conscience captive. Every inhabitant of Avignon was obliged to present at Easter a certificate of confession to his parish Priest: it was only a formality, they said; but a man constrained to dissemble where conscience is concerned, becomes a knave in every part of his conduct. When a man is forced to deceive on the subject of religion, he learns to deceive without scruple in other matters. All civil order bears upon the moral, and this again on religious order. The inquisition is the alone cause of the mistrust, of the falsehood, of all the vices of the heart, and of all the errors of the mind, with which the nations are chargeable over whom she has extended her empire. This infernal jurisdiction insinuates itself every where like a serpent; it poisons with it's baleful venom the most useful establishments, even among nations which reject it. Who could believe, for example, that there is at Rome a bull which condemns Free-Masons to death, a society however which has for it's leading object, to succour the miserable of all religions? Does a book appear in any part of Europe which acquires celebrity? The inquisition lays hold of it, condemns it, garbles it as interest directs. The most innocent are frequently the most rudely treated. I shall produce one instance of this entirely recent. I have just received a translation into Italian of *Paul and Virginia*, printed at Venice, and approved by the Inquisition, who have struck out almost the whole dialogue between *Paul* and the old Planter, for no other reason, undoubtedly, but because the injustice of the great to merit and virtue is there exposed. This tribunal accordingly is the supporter of every species of tyranny, even such as are not religious. What surprised me more is their retrenching from my pastoral, some images very lively and natural; such is that in which *Paul and*



*Virginia*, suckled alternately by their unfortunate mothers, are compared to two buds grafted on trees all whose branches have been broken off by the tempest; and that in which the two children shelter themselves from the rain under the same petticoat.

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

Though there may have been among us, at all times, Priests who attempted to introduce the Inquisition, beginning with a demand of certificates of confession and of paschal communion, and though there still remain some traces of it in our hospitals, it may be affirmed that the generality of our Clergy possesses a large share of patriotism. Of this we have just had experience in the revolution. A great number of ecclesiastics the most enlightened, and of manners the most pure, have taken the side of the People. We ought therefore to attach them more and more to the general interests, and nothing is so likely to effect this as public pay and marriages. They will become Citizens in becoming stipendiary Ministers of the public, and fathers of families.\* But it is not sufficient to unite the Priesthood to the People by the bonds of Society and of Nature, it is necessary

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



to unite the People to the Priesthood and to Religion by the bonds of intelligence and feeling. For this purpose, we must substitute the French language in room of the Latin, in the prayers of our *Gallican Church*.

To what absurd practices may not habit subject reasonable beings? Is it not strange that the People of France should pray to God in Latin? What would they say were their preachers to address them in the same language? It would be nothing more however than a consequence of the prevailing custom: the sermon being, like the service of the church, the word of God, it would be natural to make God speak to the People in the same language that the People speaks to God. This practice has in truth existed during many ages. There was a time when the Church of Rome permitted not a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. What communication then could subsist between God and men who spoke to each other in a language which they did not understand? It was, said the Romish Clergy, to maintain the respectability of religion; but what a strange religion must that be from which the love of God is banished! for no such feeling can exist in prayers which the understanding comprehends not, and by which the heart is incapable of expressing it's emotions. It is long since *St. Paul* condemned this abuse; and what is very extraordinary, and which as far as I know has never been remarked, it was in describing the case of the primitive Christians, who had received the gift of tongues, and who did not themselves understand them. Hear what he says on the subject in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, xiv. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So likewise you, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air....therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian; and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me.....Wherefore let him who speaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful....Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?"



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

It is nevertheless very much the interest of the Romish Church to propagate religion in all the dialects of the world. Religions are diffused only by languages; our nurses are our first apostles, and among most nations, women have been the first missionaries. I shall make on this subject an observation of considerable importance: it is this, that in every country religions have shared the fate of the languages in which they originated. The first religion of the Romans perished with the Tuscan dialect which gave it birth. That of the God *Lama*, in Tartary, overspread the Chinese Empire with the Tartars, who introduced their language on effecting the conquest of it. Judaism remained long shut up among the Hebrews alone, because they had little communication with other nations. But when Christianity was preached to them, it penetrated with them southward into Africa, and there formed a religion mixed with Judaism, as we see to this day in Ethiopia. When afterward it was announced toward the East, to the Greeks, it extended successively, with the broken remains of their language, over the Greeks of the Archipelago, among the Greeks properly so called, and to Constantinople; to Moldavia, Russia, part of Poland, and to all the countries where the Slavonian language is spoken, which is derived from the Greek. When it was preached to the Romans, it spread to the West among the Nations which spake languages derived from the Latin tongue, such as the Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and French. Final-



ly, having penetrated Northward among the Nations who speak the Celtic language, it settled with that tongue among those who use the different dialects of it, such as the Germans, the Swiss, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the English. Thus, as there are three primitive languages in Europe, the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic, the Christian religion is divided into three great churches, the Greek, the Roman, and the Dissident or Protestant, which may be denominated the Celtic. Each of them produces different communions, conformably to the different dialects of their mother-tongue: thus the Greek church subdivided into the different patriarchates of Constantinople, of Russia, into Maronite...; the Latin, into Roman, into Gallican, &c.; the Dissident or Celtic, into Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, &c. This is so true, that among the people where there is a mixture of two languages, there is likewise a mixture of two communions. Thus in Poland, where the language is partly Greek, partly Latin, there is the Greek church and the Latin church; in Switzerland, where the Language is partly French partly German, there are Catholic and there are Protestant Cantons. There would have been, in all probability, a fourth Christian church in Europe, namely the Hebraic, had the first Jews who embraced Christianity become sedentary; but their commerce carrying them towards Africa and Arabia, they there established, as I have said, the Abyssinian Christianity blended with Judaism, and they probably gave birth to Mahometanism, which is well known to be a mixture of these two religions. Mahometanism itself, spreading with the Arabic language, over the Arabians, the Africans, the Turks, the Persians and the Indians, subdivided into several sects, following the dialects of that mother-tongue.

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



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

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

The second consequence resulting from the relations which the religion of every Nation has to it's language, is, that all communions ought to be tolerated. To damn a man because he is not a Catholic, is to send him to hell because he does not speak one of the dialects of the Latin tongue: on the other hand, to save only the Italians, the Spaniards, the French, would be to open Heaven only to a very small number of the elect: whose principal merit was having been born in a corner of Europe, which is itself but a small portion of the Globe, and undoubtedly far from being the most innocent part of it. It is accordingly to make the salvation of men a matter of geography, or rather of grammar. JESUS CHRIST did not think in this manner, when he came to recal the Jews first to the unchangeable Laws of Nature; He discovered no intention to confide the empire of conscience and of truth to one portion of the Earth, but to Heaven; to no Man, but to GOD; to no artificial and oral language, but to that of the heart and of feeling. If Popes then mean to bring back the People to GOD, it must be by calling them back to Nature, without violence, without trick, without inquisition. Let them practise, on the great scale, the dignity of virtue; let them employ the respect inspired by their high rank, their age, the recollection of ancient Rome, once mistress of the world, and especially the sublime morality of the Gospel and of Religion: let them stand forth and plead the cause of the wretched ones of the Earth, by pronouncing a



curse on those who reduce the Negroes to slavery ; on those who lay violent hands on the possessions of the poor Indians ; on those who kindle wars of ambition, who trouble the Nations by their abominable practices : this language, like that of the Gospel, will be understood by the whole universe, and the universe will then be Roman Catholic.

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

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

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



cornets of water-porters, the oaths of carters, the squalling of fish-women, the rattling of chariots, coaches, cabriolets, on noisy steel springs, the clacking of the penny-post, the drums of the guards, &c. Paris must pass for the most tumultuous city in Europe. But all this is mere nothing compared to the ringing of bells. The ambition of parishes and of convents have been contending who should have the largest and the most numerous. There are bells which make more noise alone than 10,000 citizens: and as there are in Paris more than 200 belfries, any one may judge what a fearful tumult these monuments raise, especially on rejoicing days. It is assuredly a monstrous practice, and to which habit alone could reconcile us, to hear huge church-towers bellowing aloud, and barbarous sounds issuing from the temples of peace, even in the night time. The bells are set a-ringing on the eve of our great festivals, on the day itself, and the day after, of parish churches, and even of petty brotherhoods. As the noise of bells is a certain method for an obscure tradesman to attract the notice of the quarter where he lives, he has his marriage announced by the tolling of bells, the baptism of his children, but especially the interment of his relations, on the eve of the funeral, on the day of it, and the last day of the year. Nay he founds obituary concerts of this kind of music, and has his death knolled to perpetuity. In a word, if he is rich, he tolls his sitting down to dinner and supper, for every hotel too has it's bell. All these sounds render us the most noisy people in Europe, and consequently the vainest; for if it be the principal object of ambition to make a noise, noise likewise has for it's object, to inspire ambition. We see the proof of this in the drums and trumpets by which not men only, but the very horses, are incited to the fight. Accordingly the first plaything which mothers with us give to their little boys is a drum. It is in truth the first instrument of the most glorious of all ambitions, that of killing men; and if they do not give them bells instead of the other toy, it is because their sound is not military.

I could wish therefore that the number, the size, and the peals of most bells might be diminished, and that the Clergy should make the People comprehend that they have nothing to do with religion, even after they have been baptized: they are



frequently the monuments, not of the piety of the donors, but of their ambition, as is evident from the coats of arms impressed on them. The Apostles never saw such a thing. They come to us from India and from China, as well as many other inventions which we have adopted from idolatrous nations, and multiplied to excess. The Turks, the Persians, the Arabians, far from using them themselves have forbidden the use of them to Christians residing in their States; they consider them as instruments of idolatry. They believe that the human voice alone is worthy to sing the praises of God. Among them it is the voice of the Musselims which from the summit of their mosques call the people together to prayer. Bells are not necessary to unite mankind. They meet without any summons of this kind at the Theatres, at the Courts of Justice, in the National Assembly. It would be to the purpose therefore to restrict the use of bells to the announcing of the hours of the day and the public offices. The ringing of peals is, I admit, an abuse lucrative to churches, but a nuisance to the living, and unprofitable to the dead.

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

It is unnecessary here to repeat that the Municipalities, especially of Paris, whose example they follow, should cause pavements for foot passengers to be laid, privies for the accommodation of the public to be constructed, the laystals of the environs to be covered with earth, to give to the houses of the citi-



zens dispositions agreeable and commodious, to have them built with stone, as a preservative against fire. The new Constitution calls them to functions of a still higher order; they are bound to pay at least as much attention to the moral as to the physical wants of the people. The principal are the public festivals. Festivals are necessary to mankind. Nature has not taken so much care to decorate the earth with verdure, with flowers, with perfumes, with singing birds, and to vary the scenery with forests, meadows, mountains, rivers which she every day illumines with the fires of a new Aurora and of a new setting Sun, but in the view of making this Globe the residence of perpetual festivity. The beneficent pomp of Nature invites man to the love of his fellow creatures and of the Divinity. The People is deprived of this in Cities, where no recreation from labour is to be found except religious exhibitions, frequently instituted for strangers, larded with ceremonies totally unknown, and which the generality no more comprehend than the language in which they address themselves to God. If the Municipalities sometimes treat them with patriotic rejoicing days, it is on some murderous occasion, when the thunder of artillery summons them to a display of artificial fireworks, which are very expensive, which last only for a moment, and which must be viewed at a distance.

Festivals are in the voyage of life, what islands are in the bosom of the ocean, places of refreshment and repose. Even the most mysterious have so much power over the minds of the People, from their music and their processions, that they may be considered as the principal means which attract savage nations to the Catholic religion, and which support it among the civilized. What would it be were a moral blended with their physical expression? The Municipalities ought therefore to establish patriotic feasts to attach Citizens to the Constitution. A sublime essay has been made to this effect in the Field of Mars, denominated at that era the Field of Confederation; but it was a military festival merely, hardly any thing was to be seen in it but men in uniforms. The patriotic altar ought to be encompassed with a civil and religious pomp and splendour, and with the national guards-should be intermixed choirs of young women and of boys crowned with flowers, chanting alternately, to the music of flutes and hautboys, French hymns similar to



the *Carmen Seculare* of *Horace*. In a word, those public festivals ought to be presided over, as their natural pontiffs, by the chief men in Administration, having the King at their head: thus the Priesthood will be restored to it's primitive dignity.

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

I have to propose a space much more capacious, more within reach, and the architecture of which is already completed. There is no one square in Paris capable of containing so much as the tenth part of her population; and on the supposition that it were possible to assemble the whole in some adjacent plain such as that of Sablons, it would ever be an insurmountable obstacle to this universal assemblage, that the distance of the greater part of the inhabitants from their own home, would be far too remote. Paris is nearly a league and a half in diameter. Add to that distance, which must be tramped on foot, in the heat of the Sun, by most of the women and children in coming and going, a circumstance which involves, in Paris, the necessity of interrupting the circulation of carriages and of people on horseback, the confusion inseparable from great multitudes which, collected in a single mass, bear heavy on their centre.

In order to assemble commodiously the People of Paris, they must not be withdrawn to any considerable distance from the City; and as no one place in it can contain the whole, instead of attracting them from the suburbs toward a common centre, it would be proper, on the contrary, to draw them from the centre to the suburbs. Accordingly, in place of convoking them, as under the old Government, to that miserable small *Place de la Greve*, destined to executions which have been for so many ages polluting the *Hotel de Ville*, they must meet on the *Boulevards*. There they will find a spacious walk several leagues in length, shaded by four rows of trees, without reckoning those which are planted on the outside of the walls. Each Boulevard



is within reach of the inhabitants of it's own quarter ; and each inhabitant has it in his power to make the tour, on foot, on horseback, or in a carriage, of that vast circular space which encompasses Paris, enjoying at once the city and the country, as soon as the walls are levelled which intercept the view of it. There results from this choice of situation some other very considerable advantages : such as our being able to employ the superb buildings of the barriers, constructed in form of rotundos, of colossal columns, of pantheons, of Egyptian temples, formerly appropriated as lodging houses for the Clerk of the Exchequer, to serve in future as monuments of the great men who have deserved well of their Country. Their statues might be placed between the columns or upon the entablature of those edifices at the same barriers where the roads terminate which lead to the provinces from which such great men originally came. Their august images might be made to face toward those same provinces, as if they were inviting the people of the country to the capital, or those of the capital to take an interest in the inhabitants of the provinces. Each of these monuments might be devoted as a place of transient hospitality to poor travellers. There we should read, on large tablets of stone, inscriptions relative to the great men who attained the rank of tutelary deities from the services which they rendered to the unfortunate. On patriotic feast days, they might be decorated with garlands of foliage and flowers ; there it would be proper to make distributions of provision among the people, and at night they might be illuminated with rows of lamps. Those temples of hospitality, of an antique architecture, linked together by a triple avenue of trees in verdure, filled with a people free and happy, would form around Paris a crown of felicity and glory which would render her the capital of the nations.

The Constituent Assembly decreed that the new church of Sainte-Genevieve should serve as a receptacle for the remains of the great men who shall have merited well of the Nation. As these illustrious Citizens are frequently of different communions which excommunicate each other, it has been deemed proper, that there may be no discord among them at least after death, to admit no kind of religious worship in the temple where their ashes repose. An interesting memoir has appeared on this



subject, in which it is proposed to dedicate the Altar of that church to the COUNTRY, and there to administer the oaths of office to Magistrates. But where are the virtues which can rest on any other foundation than the Supreme Being who bestows them, and who alone can suitably reward them?

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

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



COPYRIGHT HOUSE OF SURAT

The first of the two parts of the work is a history of the House of Surat, from its foundation in 1668 to the present time. The second part is a description of the House and its buildings, and of the various departments of the service. The work is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and is intended to be a useful guide to the House and its service. The author is a member of the House, and has had access to all the necessary documents and records. The work is a valuable addition to the literature of the House, and is well worth a perusal by all who are interested in the history and service of the House of Surat.



THE  
COFFEE-HOUSE OF SURAT.

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AT Surat was a Coffee-house, the general rendezvous of strangers after dinner. One afternoon stepped in a Persian Seydre, or Doctor of the Law, who had been writing all his life on Theological subjects, and who no longer believed in a GOD. "What is it that you call GOD," said he? "Whence comes he? Who made him? Where is he? If he were a body, he would be visible: were he a spirit, he would be intelligent and just; he would not permit so many human beings to be miserable. I myself, after having laboured so long in his service, ought to have been High-priest of Ispahan, instead of being forced to flee from Persia, after all my exertions to enlighten mankind. There is no GOD." Thus the Doctor, misled by ambition, by dint of reasoning on the first reason of all things, had at length lost his own, and imagined, not that it was his own intelligence which no longer existed, but the intelligence which governs the Universe. He had for a slave a Cafre almost naked, whom he left at the door of the Coffee-house. For himself, he went and stretched his limbs on a sofa, and took a cup of coquenar or opium. As soon as the fumes of this beverage began to mount to his brain, he addressed himself to his slave who was sitting on a stone in the Sun, driving away the flies which sucked his blood, in these terms: "Miserable black! Believest thou there is a GOD?" "Who can doubt it?" replied the Cafre, and as he spake pulled out from a shred of pague which girded his loins, a little marmouset of wood, and said: "Behold the GOD who has protected me ever since I came into the world; he is made of a branch of the Feticha-tree of my country." All the company in the coffee-room were no less surprised at the slave's answer than at his master's question.



On this a Bramin, shrugging up his shoulders, said to the Negro: "Poor idiot? What, carry thy GOD in thy girdle! "Know that there is no other GOD but Brama, who created "the World, and whose temples are on the banks of the Gan- "ges. The Bramins are his only priests, and it is under his "special protection that they subsist for a hundred and twenty "thousand years past, in defiance of all the Revolutions which "India has undergone." A Jew broker immediately took him up, saying: How can the Bramins believe that GOD has tem- "ples only in India, and that he exists for their caste only? "There is no GOD but the GOD of *Abraham*, and He has no "other People but that of *Israel*. He preserves them, though "dispersed over the whole Earth, till he shall gather them to- "gether again at Jerusalem, to give them the Empire of the "Nations, when they shall have there rebuilt his Temple, for- "merly the wonder of the Universe." As he pronounced these words, tears started to the Israelite's eyes. He was going to re- sume his speech, when an Italian in a blue robe interrupted him in great heat: "You make GOD unjust," said he, "in preten- "ding that he loves only the people of Israel. He had rejected "them for more than seventeen hundred years past, as is evident "from their very dispersion. He is now calling all men into "the Roman-catholic Church, beyond the pale of which there "can be no salvation." A Protestant Minister of the Danish Mission at Trinquebar, growing pale as ashes, replied to the Popish Missionary: "How dare you limit the salvation of "mankind to your idolatrous communion? Learn that none "can be saved but those who, conformably to the Gospel, wor- "ship GOD in spirit and in truth, under the Law of JESUS "CHRIST." Upon this a Turk, an officer of the customs at Surat, who was smoking his pipe, said with a grave air to the two Christians: "Fathers, how can you confine the know- "ledge of GOD to your Churches? The Law of JESUS has "been abolished ever since *Mahomet* appeared, the paraclet "predicted by JESUS CHRIST himself the word of GOD. Your "religion no longer subsists except in a few Kingdoms, and "upon it's ruins ours has extended itself over the finest Pro- "vinces of Europe, of Africa, of Asia and her Islands. It is "at this day seated on the Throne of the Great Mogul, and is



“ penetrating into China, that enlightened country. You your-  
 “ selves discern the rejection of the Jews, in their present state  
 “ of humiliation ; acknowledge then the mission of the Prophet  
 “ in his triumphs. The followers of *Mahomet* and of *Omar*  
 “ alone can be saved ; for the disciples of *Ali* are infidels.” At  
 these words the Seydre, who was of Persia, where the people are  
 of the sect of *Ali*, began to smile ; but a great tumult arose in  
 the Coffee-house, from the variety of strangers assembled, who  
 were of as many different religions ; and among the rest Abyss-  
 inian Christians, Cophts, Tartarian-Lamas, Arabian Ishmael-  
 ites, and Guebres, or worshippers of fire. All these disputed  
 on the Nature of GOD, and on the worship he required, every  
 one maintaining that the true religion existed no where but in  
 his own country.

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

“ Gentlemen, if I may be permitted to say so, it is ambition  
 “ which in every case hinders men to agree : if you will give  
 “ me a patient hearing, I shall produce an instance of this which  
 “ is still fresh in my memory. When I left China, on my voy-  
 “ age to Surat, I embarked on board an English ship which had  
 “ sailed round the world. On our passage, we cast anchor on  
 “ the eastern Coast of Sumatra. Towards noon, having gone  
 “ ashore in company with several persons belonging to the ves-  
 “ sel, we went and sat down on the shore of the sea, near a lit-  
 “ tle village, under the shade of some cocoa-trees, where men



“ of different countries were enjoying their repose. A blind  
“ man came and joined the company : he had lost his sight by  
“ too close a contemplation of the Sun. He had been actuated  
“ by the wild ambition of comprehending the nature of that  
“ luminary, in order to appropriate his light to himself. He had  
“ tried all the methods which optics, chemistry, and even necromancy can supply, to shut up one of his rays in a bottle ;  
“ not being able to succeed, he said : *The light of the Sun is not*  
“ *a fluid, for it cannot be agitated by the wind ; it is not a solid,*  
“ *for the parts of it cannot be separated ; it is not fire, for it is*  
“ *not extinguishable in water ; it is not a spirit, as it is visible ;*  
“ *it is not a body, for we cannot handle it ; it is not even a moving*  
“ *power, for it agitates not the lightest bodies : it is therefore*  
“ *nothing at all.* Finally, by persevering efforts, in contemplating the Sun, and reasoning on his light, he at length lost his  
“ eye-sight, and what is worse, his reason. He believed that it  
“ was not his vision, but the Sun which had no existence in the  
“ Universe. He had a negro to lead him about, who having  
“ seated his master under the shade of a cocoa-tree, picked up  
“ one of it's nuts that lay on the ground, and set about making  
“ a lamp of the shell, a wick of the outer husk, and squeezed a  
“ little oil from the kernel to put into his lamp. While the  
“ black man was thus employing himself, his blind master said  
“ to him with a sigh : *Is there then no such thing as light in*  
“ *the world ? Yes, that of the Sun,* replied the Negro. *What is*  
“ *it you call the Sun,* resumed the blind man ? *I cannot tell,* answered the African, *all I know is, that his rising is the com-*  
“ *mencement of my labours, and his setting the termination of*  
“ *them. His light interests me less than that of my lamp,*  
“ *which illuminates my cottage ; without it I should not be able*  
“ *to serve you during the night.* Then, holding out his little cocoa-shell, said : *There is my Sun.* At this part of the conversation a man of the village, who walked on crutches, fell a  
“ laughing ; and believing that the blind man had been so from  
“ his birth, said to him : *Know that the Sun is a globe of fire*  
“ *which rises every day out of the Ocean, and sets every night*  
“ *toward the West, in the mountains of Sumatra. You would*  
“ *see this yourself, as we all do, had you the blessing of sight.*  
“ Here a fisherman interposed, and said to the cripple : *It is*



“ easy to perceive that you have never travelled far beyond the li-  
“ mits of your village. If you had legs, and could have made the  
“ tour of Sumatra, you must have known that the Sun does not  
“ set in it's mountains: but he issues every morning out of the  
“ Sea, and dips into it again every evening to cool himself; this is  
“ what I see every day along the coasts of the island. An inhabi-  
“ tant of the Peninsula of India then said to the fisherman: *How*  
“ *is it possible for a man of common sense to believe that the Sun is*  
“ *a globe of fire, and that he every day issues from the Ocean, and*  
“ *plunges into it at night without extinguishing himself? Learn*  
“ *then that the Sun is a Denta or Divinity of my Country, that*  
“ *he rides every day through the Heavens in a chariot, turning*  
“ *round the golden mountain of Merowa; that when he under-*  
“ *goes an eclipse, it is owing to his being swallowed up by the*  
“ *serpents Ragon and Ketou, from which he is delivered only by*  
“ *the prayers of the Indians on the banks of the Ganges. It is a*  
“ *very ridiculous ambition for an inhabitant of Sumatra to pre-*  
“ *tend that he shines only on the horizon of his Island; it could*  
“ *have entered into the head only of a man whose navigation has*  
“ *been limited to the paddling of a canoe. A Lascar, the mas-*  
“ *ter of a trading vessel that lay at anchor, then spoke to this*  
“ *purpose: It is an ambition still more ridiculous to imagine,*  
“ *that the Sun prefers India to all the countries of the world. I*  
“ *have navigated through the Red Sea, along the Coasts of Ara-*  
“ *bia, to Madagascar, to the Moluccas, and to the Philippine*  
“ *Islands; the Sun enlightens all those countries as well as In-*  
“ *dia. He does not turn round a mountain; but rises in the*  
“ *Islands of Japan, which are for that reason called Jepon, or*  
“ *Ge-puen, birth of the Sun, and he sets very far to the West, be-*  
“ *hind the Islands of England. I am very sure of it, for I have*  
“ *heard it related by my grandfather, when I was a child, and*  
“ *he had sailed to the very extremities of the Ocean. He was*  
“ *going to proceed, when an English seaman of our ship's com-*  
“ *pany interrupted him thus: There is no country where the*  
“ *course of the Sun is better known than in England: be assured*  
“ *then that he no where rises or sets. He is incessantly making*  
“ *the circuit of the Globe; and I am perfectly sure of it, for we*  
“ *have just performed the same round, and have met him where-*  
“ *ever we went. Then taking a ratan from the hand of one of*



“ his auditors, he traced a circle on the sand, endeavouring to  
 “ explain to them the course of the Sun from tropic to tropic ;  
 “ but not being able to make it out, he appealed to the testimo-  
 “ ny of the pilot of his ship, for the truth of every thing he  
 “ would have said. This pilot was a wise man, who had heard  
 “ the whole dispute without interposing a single word ; but  
 “ when he perceived that all the company kept silence to hear  
 “ him, he spoke to this effect : *Each of you is trying to mislead*  
 “ *others, and is himself misled. The Sun does not turn round the*  
 “ *Earth ; it is the Earth which turns round him, presenting in*  
 “ *succession, every twenty-four hours, the Islands of Japan, the*  
 “ *Philippines, the Moluccas, Sumatra, Africa, Europe, England,*  
 “ *and a great many other countries. The Sun shines not for one*  
 “ *Mountain only, one Island, one Horizon, one Sea, nor even*  
 “ *for one Globe ; but he is at the centre of the Universe, from*  
 “ *whence he illuminates, together with the Earth, five other Pla-*  
 “ *nets which likewise revolve around him, and of which some are*  
 “ *much greater than our Globe, and at a much greater distance*  
 “ *than it is from the Sun. Such is, among others, Saturn, of*  
 “ *30,000 leagues diameter, and at the distance of 285,000,000 of*  
 “ *leagues from the Sun. I say nothing of the Moons which re-*  
 “ *flect on Planets remote from the Sun his light, and are not few*  
 “ *in number. Every one of you would have an idea of these*  
 “ *truths, if he only turned his eyes in the night toward the Hea-*  
 “ *vens, and if he had not the ambition of believing that the Sun*  
 “ *shines for his own Country only.* Thus spake, to the great  
 “ astonishment of his hearers, the pilot who had steered a ship  
 “ round the World, and observed the starry Heavens.

“ It is equally true of GOD, continued the disciple of *Con-*  
 “ *fucius*, as of the Sun : every man believes he possesses him  
 “ exclusively, in his own Chapel, or at least in his own Coun-  
 “ try. The People of every Nation believe they have enclosed  
 “ in their temples Him whom the visible Universe cannot con-  
 “ tain. Is there, however, a Temple once to be compared with  
 “ that which GOD himself has reared for collecting all mankind  
 “ into one and the same communion ? All the temples in the  
 “ World are made only in imitation of that of Nature. We  
 “ find in most of them lavers, holy-water cisterns, columns,  
 “ arches, lamps, statues, inscriptions, books of the law, sacrifices,



“ altars and priests. But what Temple contains a cistern so  
“ vast as the Ocean, which is not to be contracted to a shell?  
“ Where do we find columns so beautiful as the trees of the  
“ forest, or those of the orchard loaded with fruits? Where an  
“ arch so lofty as the vault of Heaven, and a lamp so bright as  
“ the Sun? Where shall we behold statues so interesting as a  
“ multitude of human beings who love each other, assist each  
“ other, talk one to another? Where inscriptions so intelligible,  
“ and more religious than the bounties of Nature herself? A  
“ book of the Law so universal as the love of GOD founded on  
“ a sense of gratitude, and as the love of our fellow-creatures  
“ founded on our own interest? What sacrifices more affecting  
“ than those of our praises to Him who has given us all things,  
“ and of our passions, for the sake of those with whom we are  
“ bound to share all that we have? Where, finally, shall we  
“ look for an altar so sacred as the heart of the good man, whose  
“ High-Priest is GOD himself? Thus, the farther that man ex-  
“ tends the power of Deity, the more nearly will he approach  
“ to the knowledge of Him; and the greater indulgence he  
“ shews to men, the more closely will he imitate the Divine  
“ goodness. Let him therefore who enjoys the light of GOD  
“ diffused over the whole Universe, beware of despising the poor  
“ superstitious creature, who perceives only a little ray of it in  
“ his idol; or even the Atheist who is totally destitute of it,  
“ lest as a punishment of his pride, he should be made to par-  
“ take of the fate of that Philosopher, who, attempting to appro-  
“ priate to himself the light of the Sun, became blind, and felt  
“ himself reduced, in order to find his way, to employ the lamp  
“ of a Negro.”

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







ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE INDIAN COTTAGE.

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

I solemnly declare that I never meant to throw ridicule on Academies, though I have much reason to complain of them, not for any personal offence given me, but from regard to the interests of truth,\* which they frequently persecute when it

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

He began by running it down with all his eloquence in private circles ; he prohibited the Journals over which the Academies extend their influence, at least those of most diffusive circulation, to admit of any extracts from it : he has even amused himself, I have been told, in his confidential parties,



happens to clash with their systems. I am besides under too many obligations to several learned Englishmen, who, without knowing me, and purely from a love of Sciences, have honoured my *Studies of Nature* with the most flattering marks of ap-

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

After a complimentary introduction; "It is a great pity, Sir," says he, "that you should have advanced, in your *Studies of Nature*, that the fusion of the Polar Ices is the cause of the Tides. It is an opinion not to be maintained, contrary to that of all the Academies in Europe, and palpably erroneous."—"You ought, Sir," replied I, "to have refuted it."—"Refute what, when you have adduced no proofs in support of your Theory?"—"There are twice as many as Astronomers have adduced in support of theirs. I could fill volumes in quarto were I to collect those only which I have marked in the relations of navigators. After all, I am not without my proselytes."—"Oh! no dependence is to be placed on what is said by certain Journalists, who know nothing of the matter." I suspected then that he was going to mention the extract from the English papers, which had been inserted in the *Moniteur*. "Were there nothing else in my Theory," said I, "than my geometrical objection to the Academicians, who, walking in the steps of *Newton*, have fallen into an error, concluding from the magnitude of degrees toward the poles that the Earth was flattened at them, you ought to have replied to it."—"What do you understand by a degree?" replied he with great warmth.—"That which all Geometricians understand by it, the 360th part of a circle."—"You have fallen into the same mistake with *M. de la Hire*, about 130 years ago. It is not by the arch of a circle that a degree is to be measured, but by it's perpendicular." At the same time, in order to demonstrate it to me, he pulled a bit of chalk from his pocket, and began to trace on the door, a circle, two radii, a chord, the sinus, &c. I stopped him, saying:—"You wander from the question. It is not from the perpendicular of the degree of *Ter-*



probation, which they have not been afraid to publish, as may be seen among others, in an extract from their journals, copied by the *Moniteur Français* of February 9th, 1790. The character which I have given of one of their associates, is an un-

“*neo*, that the measure was taken of that which we have in the report of  
 “Academicians, but from the portion of the terrestrial curve comprehended  
 “between two radii which measure a celestial degree of the meridian. They  
 “have found, at the polar circle, that portion of the circumference of the  
 “Earth, which they as well as I call a degree, to contain 57,422 fathoms,  
 “which we find to exceed by 674 fathoms the degree measured in Peru, near  
 “the Equator, the arch of which degree contains only 56,748 fathoms: from  
 “which they have concluded that the degrees or portions of the circumfer-  
 “ence of the Earth, corresponding to the degrees of the celestial meridian,  
 “went on increasing progressively toward the Poles, and that consequently  
 “the circumference of the Earth was flattened there. Now, if you can  
 “make that curve constructed on the diameter of the sphere, and formed of  
 “degrees greater than those of the sphere, to fall within the sphere itself, I  
 “am in an error.”

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



equivocal proof of my esteem for them. Undoubtedly it was my duty to consider as a proceeding which merits all the gratitude of their Nation, the attempt to import the illumination of foreign countries into England, just as I consider the exportation of intelligence from England into savage countries, by the voyages of *Cook* and *Banks*, as meriting the grateful acknow-

“translate positively assure us there are none of more than six? It is impossible.”

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

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

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

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

Several Newtonians are disposed to adopt my Theory of the Tides by the fusion of the polar ices; this is already a great point gained: but they insist that I should give up to them the flattening of the poles, with the elevation of the Seas under the Equator, by means of the centrifugal force; which is directly contradicted by experience. I could multiply volumes in support of my Theory, were they to become a prey to pirates, like the rest of my works. But where is the possibility of refuting an error consecrated by the name of *Newton*, and maintained by all the geometricians in Europe? How is it possible for a solitary individual to support the contest against Academies in coalition, which shut their eyes to evidence, and their journals to the admission of my proofs?

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

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



ledgments of the whole human race. The first has been imitated since by Denmark, and the second by France;\* but both the two were miserably unsuccessful; for of twelve learned Danish Navigators one only returned to his country; and to this day we have no intelligence of the two French ships of war, employed on that mission of humanity, under the command of the unfortunate *de la Pérouse*. It is not then science in itself that I blame; but I wished to make it appear that learned associations, by their ambition, their jealousy and their prejudices, serve but too frequently as obstacles to it's progress.

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

In this respect we all are men of Athens;  
And at the moment that I write this story,  
If that of Ass in Lion's-skin were told me,  
I should be much delighted.

*La Fontaine's Power of Fiction, book viii. fab. 4.*

It has been said with more wit than truth, that Fable had it's rise in the despotic regions of the East, and that it was necessary

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



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

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

In general, a taste for Fables is diffused over the whole Earth, but much more in free countries than in those under despotic Government. Savage Nations found their traditions on Fable; there never was a country in which fictions were more current than in Greece, where all the objects of Nature, Politics and Religion, were only the results of some metamorphosis or another. There were few illustrious families who did not reckon some animal in the number of their ancestors, and rank among their male and female cousins, bulls, swans, nightingales, turtle-doves, rooks and magpies. It is observable, that the English discover a particular taste for allegory in their literature, though truth may be spoken among them with the utmost freedom.



The Asiatics were of the same character in the days of *Esop* and *Lockman*; but we no longer find fabulists among them, though their country be filled with Sultans.

It is among Nations the nearest to Nature, and consequently the most free, that the passion prevails of adorning truth by fiction: it is from an effect of the very love of truth, which is the sentiment of the Laws of Nature. Truth is the light of the soul, as physical light is the truth of bodies. The two united convey the knowledge of that which is: the one illuminates objects, the other points out to us their adaptations; and as, in the principle, all light traces it's origin up to the Sun, all truth has it's source in GOD, of whom that luminary is the most sensible image. Few are capable of supporting the pure light of the Sun. Nature, as a relief to the weakness of our eyes, has furnished us with eye-lids to veil them, to the degree that suits them; for the same reason she has planted the earth with forests, whose verdant foliage presents us with soft and transparent shades; and diffuses over the Heavens vapours and clouds, to temper the too vivid rays of the orb of day. Few men are, in like manner, capable of taking in truths purely metaphysical. Because of the weakness of our understanding, Nature has provided us with ignorance to serve as an eye-lid to the soul: by means of it the soul gradually expands to the perception of truth, admits only as much as is supportable, and surrounds herself with fables, which are like so many arbours, under the shade of which she contemplates it; and when she wishes to rise up to Deity himself, she veils him in allegory and mystery that she may be able to support his lustre.

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



of a simple People, not far removed from Nature, is powerfully expressive, because it is stored with similitudes and images. The first are in the habit of concealing their sentiments; the second, of expanding theirs. But as it frequently happens that scattered clouds, under a thousand fantastic forms, decompound the rays of the Sun in tints richer and more varied than those which colour the regular works of Nature; in like manner Fables reflect truth much more extensively than real events; they transport it into all the Kingdoms of Nature; they appropriate it to animals, to trees, to the elements, and call forth a thousand various reflexes of it. Thus the rays of the Sun play, without extinguishing themselves, at the bottom of the waters, reflect there the objects of the Earth and of the Heavens, and multiply their beauties by consonances.

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

Moralists, as I have already observed in my Studies, have almost always confounded ignorance with error. Ignorance, simply considered, and as separate from truth with which it has harmonies so delightful, is the repose of our intellect; it procures oblivion of evils past, disguises those which are present, and conceals from us such as are still future; in a word, it is a benefit, for we derive it from Nature: error on the contrary is the work of Man; it is always an evil; it is a false light which shines to betray. I cannot find an apter comparison to illustrate it's nature, than that of the light of a conflagration which consumes the habitations that it illumines. It is remarkable that there does not exist a single evil, moral or physical, but what has an error for it's principle. Tyrannies, slavery, wars are founded on political and even sacred errors; for the tyrants who have set them afloat to establish their own power, always derive them from Deity, or from some virtue, to make them respectable in the eyes of men.

It is very easy however to distinguish error from truth. Truth is a natural light which shines of itself all over the Earth, because it comes from GOD; error is an artificial glare which needs to be incessantly kept up, and which never can be univer-



al, because it is the work of Man only. Truth is beneficial to all men ; error is profitable only to a few, and is injurious to the generality, because individual interest is inimical to the general, when they come to separate.

Care must be taken not to confound fable with error. Fable is the veil of truth, and error is it's phantom. It was frequently in the view of dissipating this phantom that Fable presented itself to the imagination : nevertheless, however innocent it may be in it's principle, it becomes dangerous when it assumes the principal character of error, that is, when it turns to the private advantage of certain individuals. For example, it was of little importance that, in the days of old, they converted the Moon, under the name of *Diana*, into a goddess ever an immaculate virgin, who presided over hunting. This allegory signified that the light of the Moon was favourable to huntsmen, for spreading their toils to entrap the game, and that the sports of the field were unfavourable to the passion of love. There was no great harm done when they dedicated to her the pine-tree\* in the forests ; that tree became a rendezvous for the followers of the chase. The mischief was not even yet become formida-

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



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

Truth itself is fatal to mankind when it becomes the patrimony of one tribe. There is undoubtedly an inconceivable distance between the tolerance of the Gospel and the intolerance of the Inquisition; between the precept given by JESUS CHRIST to his Apostles, to shake the dust off their feet before houses which refused to admit them, and between the displeasure which he expressed when solicited to call down fire from Heaven; the extermination of the ancient Indians of America, or the burning piles of an Auto-da-fé.

There is in the gallery of the Thuilleries, on the right as you enter the gardens, an Ionic column, which the celebrated *Blondel*, Professor of Architecture, pointed out to his pupils as a perfect model; he made them observe that all those which followed it, progressively diminished in beauty. The first, said he, is the production of a famous sculptor, and the others have been



successively copied by artists who deviated from his graces and proportions in the ratio of the distance. The person who has attempted the second, made a tolerable imitation of the first, but he who produced the third, copied the second only: thus, from copy to copy, the last falls very far below the original. I have many a time compared the Gospel to that beautiful pillar of the Thuilleries, and the works of ancient Commentators, to those of the other columns of the gallery. But were we to pursue the series down to the Commentators of our own days, what formless columns would their volumes present! And who, amidst the storms which assail human life, durst venture to lean upon them!

As truth is a ray of heavenly light, it will always shine for all mankind, provided a tax is not laid on their windows; but, in every department, how many corps founded expressly to propagate it, from the very circumstance of it's being perverted into a private benefit, substitute in it's place the light of their own tapers or lanterns! They quickly go so far, when they have powers, as to persecute those who find it; and when they have not, oppose to them an inert power which disables them to diffuse it: this is the reason that those who love the truth frequently retire from men and cities. Such is the truth which I mean to exhibit in the following little Work. Happy if I shall be able to contribute, in my own Country, to the happiness of a single unfortunate wretch, by painting that of an Indian Paria in his cottage.

It belongs to you only, august Assembly of the Representatives of France, to do good to all mankind, by levelling the barriers which obstruct the progress of truth, as it is the source of every blessing, and is diffused over the face of the whole Earth. Rome and Athens defended only their liberty. Modern Nations have aimed at the extension merely of their Religion and their Commerce. All have oppressed the Universe; you alone have defended it's rights by sacrificing your own privileges: Mankind will one day take an interest in your felicity, as you have interested yourselves in their destiny. May the virtuous Monarch who has called you together, and sanctioned your important labours, ever partake of the glory of them! His name



will be immortal as your laws. Ancient nations fixed their principal epocha from some circumstance that materially affected their pleasures, their power, or their liberty. The Greeks, so fond of festivity, from their Olympiads ; the Romans so patriotic, from the building of Rome ; oppressed people dated from the era of their religion : but the nations whom you are recalling to the felicity destined for them by Nature, will date the Rights of Man, as old as the creation, from the reign of *Louis XVI.*



THE  
INDIAN COTTAGE.

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A SOCIETY of intelligent Englishmen was formed at London about thirty years ago, the object of which was to prosecute scientific research, in various parts of the World, for the purpose of promoting the illumination and the happiness of mankind. The expense was to be defrayed by subscription, and the list presented persons of every description in the Nation, Merchants, Lords, Bishops, Universities, and the Royal Family of England ; to which several of the sovereigns of Northern Europe likewise added their names. The ingenious travellers engaged in this service were twenty in number, and the Royal Society of London had given to each of them a volume containing a statement of the questions, the solution of which was to be the end kept in view. These questions amounted to the number 3500. Though they all differed relatively to each of the learned men employed, and were adapted to the countries through which each was to travel, they all had a mutual relation, so that the light diffused over one must necessarily tend to the elucidation of all the others. The President of the Royal Society, who, with the aid of his associates, had digested them, felt completely that the solution of one difficulty frequently depends on the successful investigation of another, and this last on one which preceded it ; which, in an inquiry after truth, carries us much farther than is generally imagined. In a word, to avail myself of the expressions employed by the President himself, in delivering his instructions, it was the most superb encyclopedical structure ever reared by any Nation to the progress of human knowledge ; a full proof, added he, of the necessity of academic associations, in order to reduce to system the truths dispersed over the face of the whole Earth.



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

The Doctor of the highest reputation for learning, who understood Hebrew, Arabic, and the Hindoo Language, was sent over land to the East Indies, the cradle of all the Arts and Sciences. He began his tour by crossing over into Holland, and visited successively the Synagogue at Amsterdam, and the Synod of Dort; in France, the Sorbonne and Academy of Sciences at Paris; in Italy, a variety of Academies, Museums and Libraries, among others, the Museum of Florence, the Library of Saint *Mark* at Venice, and that of the Vatican at Rome. Being in this last City, he hesitated whether, before he directed his course Eastward, he should go into Spain to consult the famous University of Salamanca; but, under terror of the Inquisition, he thought proper to embark directly for Turkey. He arrived accordingly at Constantinople, where, by dint of money, he prevailed with an *Essendi* to grant him access to consult even all the books of the Mosque of *Sainte-Sophia*. From thence he passed into Egypt to converse with the Cophts; he then visited the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, the Monks of Mount Cassin; thence to Sana in Arabia; afterwards to Ispahan, to Kandabar, Delhi, Agra: Finally, after a peregrination of three years, he arrived on the banks of the Ganges at Benarès, the Athens of India, where he held frequent conferences with the Bramins. His collection of ancient editions of original books, of rare manuscripts, of copies, of extracts and annotations on every subject, was now much larger than ever had been made by any one individual. Let it suffice to say, that it composed fourscore and ten bales, weighing together nine thousand five hundred and forty pounds troy weight. He was on the point of embarking for London with this precious cargo



of illumination, transported with joy at the thought of having surpassed the expectation of the Royal Society, when a very simple reflection occurred, and overwhelmed him with vexation.

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

The Doctor caught this at a single glance. Among those questions, two hundred referred to the theology of the Hebrews ; four hundred and fourscore to the different Communion of the Greek and Roman Churches ; three hundred and twelve to the ancient Religion of the Bramins ; five hundred and eight to the Schanscrit or Sacred Language ; three to the existing state of the People of India ; two hundred and eleven to the Trade of the English with the East-Indies ; seven hundred and twenty-nine to the ancient Monuments of the Islands of Elephanta and Salsette, in the vicinity of Bombay ; five to the Antiquity of the World ; six hundred and seventy-three to the Origin of Ambergrise, and the properties of the different species of Bezoards ; one to the hitherto unexplored cause of the Current of the Indian Ocean, which flows for six months toward the East and six toward the West ; and three hundred and seventy-eight to the Sources and the periodical Inundations of the Ganges. This furnished the Doctor with an opportunity of collecting, by the way, all the information he could, respecting the Sources and the Inundations of the Nile, a subject



which has for so many ages engaged the researches of the European literati. But he looked on this as already sufficiently discussed, and at the same time as foreign to his mission. Now, on each of the questions proposed by the Royal Society, he procured, one with another, five different solutions, which, for the whole 3500, amounted to 17500 answers: and on the supposition that each of his nineteen colleagues should produce a like number, it followed, that the Royal Society would have about 350,000 difficulties to solve before they were able to establish any one truth on a solid foundation. Thus the aggregate of their collections, so far from directing every particular proposition toward a common centre, conformably to the instructions given, on the contrary produced a divergence, which excluded all possibility of approximation. Another reflection gave the learned Gentleman still greater uneasiness: namely this, That though he had employed, in his laborious researches, all the phlegm of his Country, and a politeness peculiar to himself, he had made implacable enemies in most of the Doctors with whom he had argued. "What then," said he, "will become  
"of the tranquil expectations of my countrymen, when I have  
"brought back to them, in my fourscore and ten bales, instead  
"of truth, new subjects of doubt and disputation?"

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

The learned Englishman immediately set out for Calcutta, and addressed himself to the Governor-General under the English East-India Company, who, for the honour of his Nation, and the glory of the Sciences, provided him, for his journey to Jagrenat, with a Palanquin shaded by an awning of crimson silk with gold tassels, with two relays of stout *coulis*, or bearers, of four men each; two porters; a water-carrier; another with gar-



*goulette* to refresh him ; a pipe-bearer ; a parasol-holder, to screen him from the Sun by day ; a *masalchi*, or torch-bearer, for the night ; a wood hewer ; two cooks ; two camels and their drivers, to carry his provisions and baggage ; two *pions*, or running footmen, to announce his approach ; four sepoy, or *reisputos*, mounted on Persian horses, to escort him ; and a standard-bearer displaying a flag emblazoned with the arms of England. The Doctor, with this splendid retinue, might have passed for a Writer to the East-India Company. There was however this difference between them, that the Doctor, instead of going in quest of presents, was entrusted with the distribution of some. As no one appears in India empty handed before persons of consequence, the Governor had him given, at the expense of the Nation, a fine telescope, and a Persian carpet for the Chief of the Bramins ; some magnificent shawls for his wife ; and three pieces of Chinese taffeta, red, white and yellow, to make scarfs for his disciples. The presents being put up among the other furniture of the camels, the Doctor set out in his palanquin with the book of the Royal Society in his hand.

As he travelled along, he meditated how he should open the conference with the Chief of the Bramins of Jagrenat ; whether he ought to begin with one of the 378 questions which related to the Sources of the Inundations of the Ganges ; or with that which led to the discussion of the alternate and half-yearly current of the seas of India, which might serve toward a discovery of the sources and periodical movements of the Ocean all over the Globe : but though this question affected the Science of Physics, infinitely more than all those which had undergone discussion during so many ages, respecting the sources and the overflowing of the Nile, it had not yet attracted the attention of the European Literati. He gave the preference therefore, in the order of consulting the Bramin, to the question relative to the universality of the deluge, which has excited such violent contention ; or, retiring to a still more remote antiquity, the inquiry into the truth of the Sun's having several times changed his course, rising in the West, and setting toward the East ; conformably to the traditions of the Egyptian Priests, detailed by *Herodotus* ; and even respecting the epoch of the creation of the Earth, to which the Indians ascribe an antiquity of several



millions of years. Sometimes he thought it would be more to the purpose to obtain his opinion concerning the best form of Government which a Nation could adopt, and even concerning the Rights of Man, of which there is no Code any where existing ; but these last questions were not in his book.

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

Such were the Doctor's private meditations. After travelling ten days he arrived on the Coast of the Gulf of Bengal ; he met, as he proceeded, great numbers of people returning from Jagrenat, quite enchanted with the wisdom of the Chief of the Pandects, whom they had been consulting. On the eleventh day, at Sun rising, he perceived the famous Pagoda of Jagrenat, built on the shore of the Sea, over which it seemed to exercise dominion, with it's enormous red walls and galleries, it's domes and it's turrets of white marble. It rose in the centre of nine avenues of ever-green trees, diverging toward the like number of Kingdoms. Each of these avenues is formed of a different species of tree ; of the arec-bearing palm, of the teak-wood tree, the cocoa, the manguiier, the latanier, the camphire, the bamboo, the badamier, the sandal ; and they lead toward Ceylon, Golconda, Arabia, Persia, Thibet, China, the Kingdom of Ava, of Siam, and the islands of the Indian Ocean. The doctor reached the Pagoda by the avenue of bamboos, which skirts the Ganges and the delicious isles which decorate it's flux into the Sea. This edifice, though reared in the middle of a plain, is so lofty, that though he came within sight of



it at the dawn of the morning, it was almost night before he got within the precincts. He was struck with admiration, on taking a nearer view of it's magnificence and magnitude. The gates of brass reflected with a dazzling lustre the rays of the setting Sun; and the eagles hovered round it's summit, which was lost in the clouds. It was surrounded by vast basons of white marble, which from the bottom of their transparent waters sent back to the delighted eye, it's domes, it's galleries, and it's gates: these were again enclosed by immense courts, and gardens embellished with superb structures for the accommodation of the Bramins on duty in the Temple.

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

\* Consult *Kircher*.



“ because she is an object of adoration to the Bramins ; and of  
“ swine’s hair, because she is an abomination to them.” “ What  
“ is to be done then,” replied the Doctor ? “ I bring as a pre-  
“ sent to the Chief of the Bramins, a Persian carpet, made of  
“ the goats-hair of Angora, and Chinese stuffs which are of  
“ silk.” “ All things,” resumed the Bramin, “ offered in the  
“ temple of Jagrenat, or presented to his High-Priest, are puri-  
“ fied by the gift itself ; but the same thing cannot be admitted  
“ as to your clothes.” The Doctor was under the necessity,  
therefore of parting with his coat of English wool, his goat-skin  
pumps, and his beaver hat ; after which he underwent the cere-  
mony of ablution three times, by the hands of the old Bramin,  
who then dressed him in cotton, of the colour of sandal-wood,  
and conducted him to the door of the apartment of the principal  
Bramin. The Doctor was going to step in, having under his  
arm the book of questions prepared by the Royal Society, when  
his Master of the Ceremonies demanded, what the covering of  
that book was made of. “ It is bound in calf,” answered the  
Doctor. “ How !” exclaimed the Bramin, in a transport of  
wrath, “ Did not I warn you that the heifer is worshipped by  
“ the Bramins ? and darest thou present thyself before their  
“ Chief with a book bound in calf-skin !” The Doctor would  
have been obliged to undergo a purification in the Ganges, had  
he not smoothed the difficulty, by administering a few pagodas,  
or pieces of gold, to his introducer. He left then the book of  
questions in his palanquin ; consoling himself with this reflec-  
tion : “ When all is done, I have only three questions to put to  
“ this Indian Doctor. I shall be perfectly satisfied if he inform  
“ me, by what means truth is to be discovered ; where it is to be  
“ found ; and whether it ought to be communicated to man-  
“ kind :”

The old Bramin then introduced the English Doctor, array-  
ed in sandal-coloured calico, bare-headed and bare-footed, to  
the High-priest of Jagrenat, into a vast saloon supported by co-  
lums of sandal wood. The walls of it were green, being lined  
with stucco mixed with cow-dung, so smooth and brought to  
such a polish that you might see your face reflected. The floor  
was covered with very fine mats, six feet long, and as many  
broad. At the extremity of the hall was an alcove, enclosed



with a balustrade of ebony ; in this recess, on a gentle elevation, you had a half view, through a lattice of Indian cane of a reddish varnish, of the venerable Chief of the Pandects, with his white beard, and three threads of cotton passed over his shoulder like a belt, after the manner of the Bramins. He was seated on a yellow carpet, with his legs crossed, in a state so completely immovable that his very eyes seemed motionless. Some of his disciples were driving away the flies which disturbed him, with fans composed of the feathers of the peacock's tail ; others were burning in censers of silver, perfumes of the wood of aloes ; and others were playing a most exquisite music on the dulcimer : the rest, to a very great number, among whom were faquirs, joguis and santons, were arranged in several rows on both sides of the hall, in profound silence, with eyes fixed on the ground, and arms crossed on the breast.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



“ In many cases,” said the old Pandect, “ prudence requires it to be concealed from the rest of mankind, but it is an indispensable duty to disclose it to the Bramins.”

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

No sooner had he uttered these words than a dreadful flame kindled in the Assembly. They had heard, without one expression of displeasure, God taxed with injustice ; but the case was very different when that censure pointed to themselves. The Pandects, the Faquirs, the Santons, the Joguis, the Bramins and their pupils were going to argue all in a breath with the English Doctor : but the High-priest of Jagrenat put an end to the tumult, by clapping his hands together, and saying in a very distinct voice : “ Bramins enter into no disputation, like the Doctors of Europe.” Then rising up he retired, amidst the acclamations of the whole multitude, who murmured aloud against the Doctor, and would perhaps have handled him roughly, had it not been for fear of the English, whose influence is irresistible on the banks of the Ganges. The Doctor having withdrawn from the saloon, his conductor said to him : “ Our venerable father would have given orders to present you with sherbet, betel and perfumes, according to custom ; but you have offended him.” “ I am the person injured,” replied the Doctor, “ to have travelled so far for no purpose whatever !” “ But of what, pray, does your chief pretend to complain?” “ How !” replied his guide, “ you presume to dispute with him !” “ know you not that he is the Oracle of India, and that every word he speaks is a ray of intellectual light ?” “ It is impossible to entertain the slightest doubt of it,” said the Doctor, resuming his coat, shoes and hat. The weather had become boisterous, and night was coming on ; he requested permission to pass it in one of the apartments of the Pagoda : but was told he could not sleep there, as being a Frangui. The ceremony having fatigued him very much, he begged to have something to drink. They brought him a little water in an earthen vessel, which was broken to pieces the moment he had finished his draught, because, being a Frangui, he had polluted it by his touch. Upon this the Doctor, extremely nettled, called for his



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

While the Doctor thus mused in his palanquin, he was overtaken by one of those tempests which in India they call a *typhon*. The wind blew from the Sea, and driving the waters of the Ganges furiously up it's channel, dashed the foaming billows over the islands which guard it's entrance. It raised along their shores columns of sand, and from their forests clouds of leaves, which it hurled across the river and over the plains, to the utmost height of the atmosphere. At intervals it attacked the alley of bamboos, and though these Indian reeds are as tall as the loftiest trees, tossed them about like the grass of the meadow. Through a tempest of dust and leaves appeared the lengthening avenue in a state of undulation, on one side levelled to the ground, on the other raised aloft with a hollow murmuring noise. The Doctor's retinue, under mortal apprehension of being swept away by the storm, or swallowed up by the waves of the Ganges, which already overflowed it's banks, directed their course across the fields, as chance led the way, toward the neighbouring heights. They were at length involved in the shades of night, and travelled on for three hours in profound darkness, not knowing whither they went, when a flash of lightning bursting from the clouds, and illuminating the whole horizon, discovered at a considerable distance on the right, the Pagoda of Jagrenat, the islands of the Ganges, the enraged Ocean, and close by in front, a narrow valley and a wood between two little hills. Thither they fled for shelter, and now the thunder was roaring tremendously, when they reached the entrance of the valley. It was skirted by rocks, and filled with aged trees of a prodigious



size. Though the tempest tore their summits with a fearful noise, their enormous trunks remained immovable as the rocks which surrounded them. This ancient forest appeared to be the destined asylum of languid Nature, but it was no easy matter to penetrate into it. Ratans winding along it's skirts covered the roots of those trees, and *liannes* interwoven from trunk to trunk, presented on every side a rampart of foliage through which caverns of verdure were visible, but which discovered no outlet. The *Reispoutes* however having opened a passage with their sabres, the whole suit entered with the palanquin. They imagined they should here be under cover from the storm, but the rain which fell in torrents formed a thousand cascades around them. In this perplexity, they perceived under the trees, in the narrowest part of the valley, a light and a cottage. The *masalchi* ran thither to light his flambeau; but returned hastily a few moments after, panting for breath and calling aloud: "Come not this way; here is a *Paria*." Immediately the terrified company joined in the cry of "a *Paria*! a *Paria*!" The Doctor, supposing it to be some ferocious beast of prey, laid hold of his pistols. "What is a *Paria*?" says he to his torch-bearer. "A man," replied the other, "faithless and lawless." "He is an Indian," added the Chief of the *Reispoutes*, "of a cast so infamous, that you are at liberty to kill him if he so much as touches you. Should we enter his habitation, we durst not for nine Moons set foot in any Pagoda; and in order to be cleansed from the pollution we must bathe nine times in the Ganges, and have ourselves washed as often from head to foot with cow's urine by the hand of a Bramin." All the Indians exclaimed together: "We will not enter the abode of a *Paria*." "How did you know," said the Doctor to his torch-bearer, "that your countryman was a *Paria*, in other words, a wretch faithless and lawless?" "Because," replied the torch-bearer, "when I opened the door of his hut, I saw him squatted close by his dog on the same mat with his wife, to whom he was presenting drink in a cow's horn." All the persons of the Doctor's retinue repeated aloud: "We will not enter the door of a *Paria*." "Remain where you are, if you will," said the Englishman; "for my part, all the castes of India are the same thing to me, when shelter from foul weather is the object."



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

The Paria sat down on the same mat with his guest, and both began to eat. The Doctor had the additional pleasure of finding himself completely sheltered and secure in the midst of a



storm. The cottage was unassailable : besides it's being situated in the narrowest part of the valley, it was built under a *waar* tree, or *banyan* fig, the branches of which striking bunches of roots from their extremities, form so many arcades which support the principal trunk. The foliage of this tree was so thick that not a single drop of rain could penetrate it ; and though the tempest was heard roaring, with frequent loud peals of thunder, neither the smoke ascending from the hearth, and escaping through an aperture in the roof, nor the flame of the lamp, were disturbed in the least. The Doctor contemplated with admiration the composure of the Indian and of his wife, still more placid than elementary tranquillity. The infant, black and polished like ebony, was asleep in his cradle : the mother rocked it with her foot, while she amused herself in making him a necklace of red and black Angola pease. The father cast looks expressive of tenderness alternately on the one and on the other. In a word, all, down to the very dog, participated in the common felicity ; stretched along with the cat by the fire-side, he from time to time half-opened his eyes, sighing as he looked at his master.

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

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



“ in these tempestuous climates, having bestowed on the ban-  
“ yan fig-tree a very thick foliage, and arcades to serve as a  
“ shelter to men from the storm, has likewise been pleased to  
“ render it thunder-proof.” “ Your reply is a very religious  
“ one,” said the Doctor. “ It is your confidence, in God then  
“ that tranquillizes your mind. Conscience inspires fortitude  
“ far better than science can. Tell me, I pray, of what sect you  
“ are ; it is impossible you should be of any of those of India,  
“ as no Indian will hold any communication with you. In the  
“ list of intelligent castes whom I was to consult in my pro-  
“ gress, I find no mention made of the Parias. In what nation  
“ of India is your Pagoda ?” “ Every where,” replied the Pa-  
ria : “ Nature is my Pagoda. I adore her Author at the rising  
“ of the Sun, and pour out my heart in gratitude when he  
“ sets. Instructed by calamity, I never refuse assistance to  
“ one more wretched than myself. I endeavour to render  
“ my wife and child happy, nay my very cat and dog. I look  
“ forward to death at the close of life, as to a gentle sleep when  
“ the labour of the day is over.” “ From what book,” de-  
manded the Doctor, “ have you imbibed these principles ?”  
“ From that of Nature,” answered the Paria ; “ I know no  
“ other.” “ A grand volume indeed !” said the Englishman :  
“ but who taught you to read in it ?” “ Calamity,” replied the  
Paria : “ being of a caste reputed infamous in my own country,  
“ incapable of attaining the rank of Indian, I made an effort to  
“ become a man ; repelled by society, I took refuge in Nature.”  
“ But you must have had at least a few books to relieve your  
“ solitude,” said the Doctor. “ Not one ;” returned the Paria,  
“ I cannot even read or write.” “ You have saved yourself  
“ many a doubt,” said the Doctor, rubbing his forehead : “ for my  
“ own part, I have been sent from England, my native country,  
“ to search for truth among the intelligent of many nations, in  
“ the view of promoting the illumination and the happiness of  
“ mankind ; but after many a vain research, and many a serious  
“ disputation, I have been forced to conclude that the investiga-  
“ tion of truth is a folly, because, supposing it found, a man  
“ does not know to whom he should tell it, without stirring up  
“ a host of foes against himself. Tell me sincerely, do not you  
“ think as I do ?” “ Though I be but a poor ignorant creature,”



answered the Paria, "since you condescend to ask my opinion, I consider every man as laid under an obligation to search after truth, for the sake of his individual happiness; otherwise, he will be a miser, ambitious, superstitious, mischievous, nay a cannibal, according to the prejudices or the interests of the persons who may have brought him up."

The Doctor, who never lost sight of the three questions which he had proposed to the Chief of the Pandects, was delighted with the Paria's reply. "Since you believe," said he to him, "that every man is bound to search after truth, tell me then, first of all, what means are to be employed in order to find it; for our senses deceive us, and our reason misleads us still more. Reason differs among almost every division of mankind, and I believe it is nothing more at bottom than the particular interest of each of them: this is the cause that it is so variable all the world over. There are no two religions, no two nations, no two tribes; What do I say? there are no two men, whose sentiments perfectly coincide. With what sense then ought a man to investigate truth if that of his intellect be insufficient?" "I think," replied the Paria, "he should do it with a single heart. The senses and the understanding may be misled; but a single heart, granting it might be deceived, never deceives."

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



“ in order to preserve it pure, it must be collected in a pure vessel.”

“ Charminglly expressed, thou man of sincerity !” exclaimed the Englishman: “ but the most difficult enquiry is behind. “ Where are we to go in quest of truth? Singleness of heart “ depends upon ourselves, but truth depends on other men. “ Where shall we find it, if those who surround us are seduced “ by their prejudices, or corrupted by their interests, as is generally the case? I have travelled over many countries; I have “ ransacked their libraries; I have consulted their Doctors, and “ I have every where found contradictions only, doubts and “ opinions a thousand times more various than their languages. “ If then truth is not to be found in the most celebrated repositories of human knowledge, whither are we to go in search “ of it? What would singleness of heart avail among men “ whose heart is depraved, and their understanding perverted?” “ Truth would come to me in a very suspicious form,” replied the Paria, “ if it were transmitted only through the medium of “ men: it is not among them we are to search for it, but in “ Nature. Nature is the source of every thing that exists; her “ language is not unintelligible and variable like that of men “ and of their books. Men made books, but Nature makes “ things. To found truth upon a book, is much the same with “ founding it on a picture, or on a statue, which is capable of “ interesting one country only, and which the hand of time is “ impairing every day. Every book is the art of a man, but “ Nature is the art of God.”

“ You are perfectly right,” resumed the Doctor, “ Nature is “ the source of natural truths; but where is, for instance, the “ source of historical truth, except in books? Where is the “ possibility then of ascertaining, at this day, the truth of a “ fact which happened two thousand years ago? Were the persons who have transmitted it to us free from prejudice, free “ from the spirit of party? Did they possess singleness of “ heart? Besides, the books too, which are the medium of “ transmission, do they not need to be copied, printed, commented on, translated; and in passing through so many “ hands, is not truth less or more liable to alteration? As you



“ very well expressed it, a book is nothing more than the art of  
“ man. We must therefore renounce all historical truth, as it  
“ can reach us only through the intervention of men liable to  
“ error.” “ Of what importance to our happiness,” said the  
Indian, “ is the history of things past? The history of what is,  
“ is the history of what has been, and of that which shall be.”

“ Very well,” says the Englishman; “ but you must admit  
“ that moral truths are necessary to the felicity of the human  
“ race. How then are we to find them in Nature? Animals  
“ in that state wage war, kill and devour each other; the very  
“ elements contend with elements; will men act the same part  
“ toward one another?” “ Oh! no,” replied the good Paria,  
“ but every man will find the rule of his conduct in his own  
“ heart, provided his heart be single. Nature has inscribed  
“ this law upon it: *Do not to others what you would not wish*  
“ *others should do to you.*” “ It is true,” answered the Doctor;  
“ she has regulated the interests of mankind by the standard of  
“ our own: but as to religious truths, How shall we discover  
“ them amidst the multitude of traditions and modes of worship  
“ which divide the Nations of the earth?” “ In Nature her-  
“ self,” returned the Paria; “ if we consider her with single-  
“ ness of heart, we shall behold in her, Deity in his power, in  
“ his intelligence, in his goodness; and as we are weak, igno-  
“ rant and miserable, here is enough to engage us to adore him,  
“ to pray to him, and to love him all the days of our life, with-  
“ out disputing.

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



“breaking his teeth with the effort, and will then fly upon you  
“in a rage.”

“There is only one objection I have to make,” said the Englishman; “from what you have said it must follow that  
“men are condemned to error, though truth be necessary to  
“them; for, as they persecute those who tell it, Where is the  
“teacher bold enough to undertake the task of instructing  
“them?” “A teacher,” replied the Paria, “who himself persecutes men to force the knowledge of truth upon them; Calamity.” “Oh! for once, Man of Nature,” cried the Englishman, “I believe you must be mistaken. Calamity plunges  
“men into superstition; it degrades both the heart and the understanding. The more wretched that men are, the more  
“contemptible, credulous and grovelling they become.” It is  
“because they are not sufficiently wretched,” replied the Paria.  
“Calamity resembles the black mountain of Bember, at the extremity of the burning kingdom of Lahor: as long as you are  
“upon the ascent, you see nothing before you but barren rocks;  
“but when you get to the summit, you perceive the Heavens over  
“your head, and the kingdom of Cachemire under your feet.”

“Delightful and just comparison!” exclaimed the Doctor: “every one has, in truth, through the progress of life, his own  
“mountain to scramble up. Yours, virtuous recluse, must have  
“been a very rough one, for you have risen higher than ever I  
“knew man do. Have you been then very wretched? But tell  
“me first of all, Wherefore is your caste so vilely degraded in  
“India, and that of the Bramins so highly respected? I am just  
“on my return from a visit to the Superior of the Pagoda of  
“Jagrenat, who has no more sense than his idol, and who nevertheless exacts the adoration due to GOD.” “The reason  
“is,” replied the Paria, “that the Bramins allege they originally issued out of the head of the God Brama, and that the  
“Parias sprung from his feet; they farther pretend, that Brama one day, being on a journey, asked a Paria to give him  
“something to eat, and that the Paria presented him with human flesh; in consequence of this tradition their caste is venerated, and ours held in execration all over India. We are  
“not permitted to approach a City; and every Nair or Reis-



“poute may put us to death, if we come within reach of breathing on them.” “By *St. George*,” cried the Englishman, “it is ridiculously absurd, and detestably unjust! How have the Bramins been able to persuade the Nations of India to adopt a folly so very gross?” “By inculcating it upon them from infancy,” said the Paria, “and by incessantly repeating it: men are taught like parrots.” “Unfortunate man!” said the Englishman, “How did you contrive to escape from that abyss of infamy into which the Bramins had thrown you from your birth? I consider nothing to be so oppressive to a man, as to be rendered vile in his own eyes; it is to rob him of the first of human consolations: for the most assured of all, is that which he finds on retiring within himself.”

“I said to myself first of all,” replied the Paria, “Can the history of the God Brama be founded in truth? It is related only by the Bramins, who have an interest to serve in claiming a celestial origin. They have undoubtedly feigned the story of a Paria’s attempt to render Brama a cannibal, to avenge themselves of the Parias, who were slow to admit their pretensions to superior sanctity. I proceeded to reason within myself: Supposing the fact to have a foundation in truth; GOD is just; it is impossible for him to impute to a whole caste the culpability of one of it’s members, and in which the community has had no concern. But on the supposition that the whole caste of Parias had been involved in that criminality, their posterity could not have been accomplices. GOD no more punishes on children the sins of their forefathers whom they never saw, than he would punish on grandfathers the sins of their grandchildren who had not yet come into the world. But let us go on to suppose that I am this day involved in the punishment of a Paria perfidious to his God many thousand years ago, without being at all accessory to his crime; Where is the possibility of any thing subsisting under the displeasure of GOD, without being instantly destroyed? Were I under the curse of GOD nothing that I planted would grow. Finally, said I to myself: supposing I lie under the displeasure of GOD, who is continually doing me good; I will endeavour to render myself acceptable to him, by follow-



“ing his example, in doing good to those whom I ought to  
“hate.”

“But,” asked the Englishman, “How did you contrive to  
“live, thus become an outcast from society?” “First,” says  
the Indian, “I argued thus with myself: If the whole world is  
“thine enemy, be thine own friend. Thy calamity surpasses  
“not the patience and fortitude of a man. Be the rain ever so  
“heavy, a little bird feels but a single drop at once. I went  
“into the woods and along the banks of rivers in quest of food;  
“but all I could do was now and then to pick up some wild  
“fruits, and all the while under the terror of falling a prey to  
“ferocious animals. Hence I discovered that Nature had  
“scarcely done any thing for solitary man, and that she had at-  
“tached my existence to that very society which spurned me  
“from it’s bosom. On this I began to frequent abandoned re-  
“gions, which abound in India, and I always found in them  
“some alimentary plant which had survived the ruin of him  
“who cultivated it. I travelled thus from Province to Pro-  
“vince, assured of finding every where the means of subsistence  
“in the refuse of agriculture. When I found the seeds of any  
“useful vegetable, I resowed them, saying, If not to myself,  
“this may prove beneficial to others. I found myself less mi-  
“serable, seeing it was in my power to do some good. I con-  
“ceived a violent inclination for one thing, namely, to see the  
“interior of some great City. I had admired at a distance their  
“ramparts and their towers, the prodigious concourse of barges  
“on their rivers and of caravans on their great roads, loaded  
“with merchandise to be delivered there from every point of  
“the horizon; troops of soldiers on their march thither to  
“mount guard, from the remotest Provinces; Ambassadors  
“with their numerous and splendid retinues arriving from fo-  
“reign Kingdoms, to announce prosperous events, or to form  
“new alliances. I approached the avenues which led to them  
“as near as I durst, contemplating with astonishment the length-  
“ened columns of dust raised by such multitudes of travellers,  
“and my heart thrilled with desire at hearing the confused  
“noise which issues out of great Cities, and which in the adja-  
“cent fields resembles the murmuring of the billows when they



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

“ I was in the vicinity of Delhi when these reflections pas-  
“ sed through my mind ; they emboldened me to such a de-  
“ gree that I ventured to enter the City as night was setting in :  
“ the track I pursued was by the gate of Lahor. At first I tra-  
“ versed a long solitary street, formed, to the right and left, of  
“ houses skirted by terraces, supported by arcades, containing  
“ the shops of tradesmen. From interval to interval I encoun-  
“ tered magnificent caravansaries carefully shut up, and vast *ba-*  
“ *zars* or markets, in which the most profound silence reigned.  
“ As I penetrated into the heart of the City, I pervaded the  
“ superb quarter of the *Omrahs*, consisting of palaces and gar-  
“ dens situated along the banks of the Gemna. Here the air  
“ re-echoed with the sound of instruments of music, and of the  
“ songs of the *Bayaderes*, who were dancing on the river’s side  
“ by torch-light. I drew nigh the gate of a garden to enjoy a  
“ spectacle so delicious ; but was driven back by the slaves,  
“ who put the miserable to flight by dint of blows. As I with-  
“ drew from the quarter of the great, I passed close by several  
“ of the Pagodas consecrated to my religion, where crowds of  
“ miserable wretches, prostrated on the ground, were crying  
“ bitterly. I hastened away from the sight of those monuments  
“ of superstition and terror. Farther on, the shrill voices of the  
“ *Molhahs*, announcing from on high the hours of the night,  
“ informed me that I was under the turrets of a Mosque. Close  
“ by were the factories of the Europeans distinguished by their  
“ several flags, with watchmen incessantly calling aloud : *kaber*  
“ *dar !* Take care ! I afterwards encompassed a very large  
“ building, which I perceived to be a prison by the clanking of



“ chains and the groans of the inhabitants. I soon after heard  
“ the shrieks of pain issuing from an immense hospital, which  
“ was vomiting forth whole cart-loads of dead bodies. As I  
“ proceeded I met parties of thieves fleeing along the streets,  
“ and patrols of guards in close pursuit of them; groups of beg-  
“ gars who, regardless of the strokes of the ratan, were solicit-  
“ ing, at the gates of Palaces, for some of the fragments of  
“ their feasts; and at every corner women prostituting them-  
“ selves publicly for bread. At last, after a tedious walk along  
“ the same street, I arrived at a prodigious square, which sur-  
“ rounds the fortress inhabited by the great Mogul. It was fil-  
“ led with the tents of the *Rajahs*, or Nabobs of his guard,  
“ and of their squadrons, distinguished from each other by  
“ flambeaus, standards, and tall canes terminated by the cow-  
“ tails of Thibet. A broad ditch full of water, and fortified  
“ with artillery, enclosed, as well as the square, the royal for-  
“ tress on every side. I surveyed, by the help of the guards’  
“ fire lights, the towers of the Castle, which pierced the clouds,  
“ and the length of it’s ramparts, which lost themselves in the  
“ horizon. I felt a strong inclination to get to the inside;  
“ but large *korahs*, or whips, suspended from stakes, soon cu-  
“ red me of all desire of so much as entering the square. I  
“ stopped short therefore at one of it’s extremities, close by  
“ some negro slaves, who permitted me to rest myself near a  
“ fire round which they were sitting. I thence contemplated,  
“ with admiration, the Imperial Palace: This then, said I to  
“ myself, is the habitation of the happiest of mankind! To en-  
“ sure subjection to his authority so many Religious preach;  
“ to promote his glory so many Ambassadors arrive; to fill his  
“ treasures so many Provinces are exhausted; to minister to  
“ his pleasure so many Caravans travel; and to preserve his  
“ security it is that so many armed men keep watch in silence!”

“ While I was engaged in making these reflections, loud  
“ shouts of joy filled the square, and I saw eight camels pass,  
“ decorated with streamers. I found they were loaded with  
“ the heads of rebels which the Mogul’s Generals had sent him  
“ from the Province of Decan, where one of his own sons,  
“ whom he had appointed Governor of it, waged war against  
“ him for three years past. Soon after arrived, at full speed,



“ a courier mounted on a dromedary ; he came with news of  
“ the loss of a frontier City of India, through the treachery of  
“ one of his Commanders, who had given it up to the King  
“ of Persia. Scarcely had this messenger gone by, when  
“ another dispatched by the Governor of Bengal, brought in-  
“ telligence that certain Europeans, to whom the Emperor,  
“ for the extension of commerce, granted permission to esta-  
“ blish a factory at the mouth of the Ganges, had erected a  
“ fort on the spot, which commanded the navigation of the ri-  
“ ver. A few moments after the arrival of these two couriers, an  
“ officer appeared, coming out of the Castle at the head of a de-  
“ tachment of the guards. The Mogul had given him orders to  
“ repair to the quarter of the *Omrahs*, and to bring to him three  
“ of the highest rank in irons, to answer a charge of carrying  
“ on a secret intelligence with the enemies of the State. He  
“ had commanded a *Molnah* to be arrested the evening before,  
“ for having in one of his sermons pronounced an eulogium  
“ on the King of Persia, and for having declared openly that  
“ the Emperor of the Indies was an infidel, because, in viola-  
“ tion of the Law of *Mahomet*, he drank wine. Finally, it was  
“ confidently affirmed, that one of his wives had just been stran-  
“ gled and thrown into the Gemna, with two Captains of his  
“ guard, convicted of being accessory to the rebellion of his  
“ son.”

“ While I was meditating on these tragical events, a long co-  
“ lumn of fire suddenly burst from the kitchens of the Seraglio :  
“ a vast stream of smoke arose and mingled with the clouds,  
“ and the ruddy glare illuminated the towers of the fortress, it’s  
“ fosses, the square, the spires of the City, and extended to the  
“ boundaries of the horizon. Immediately the huge copper  
“ tymbals, and the *karnas*, or great hautboys of the guard, sound-  
“ ed the alarm with a fearful noise : squadrons of cavalry gal-  
“ lopped over the City, breaking open the doors of the houses  
“ adjoining to the Castle, and driving their inhabitants, with  
“ reiterated strokes of the *korah*, to assist in extinguishing the  
“ flames. I myself had proof how dangerous the vicinity of  
“ the great is to the little. The great are like the fire, which  
“ burns even those who throw incense into it, if they approach  
“ too nigh. I wished to make my escape, but all the avenues



“ of the square were obstructed. It would have been impos-  
“ sible for me to get away, unless, by the Providence of GOD,  
“ the side on which I took my station had been that of the Se-  
“ raglio. As the eunuchs were removing the women on ele-  
“ phants, they facilitated my elopement. For while the guards  
“ on all sides were whipping the people to hasten them to assist  
“ at the Castle, the elephants, by dealing about strokes of their  
“ probosces, obliged them to retreat. Thus, sometimes pursued  
“ by the one, sometimes driven back by the other, I at length  
“ got clear of this frightful chaos : and by the light of the con-  
“ flagration, I reached the farther extremity of the suburb,  
“ where, under huts, and far removed from the great, the people  
“ were resting quietly from their labours. There I began to  
“ recover breath. I said within myself : “ Well then, I have  
“ seen a City ! I have seen the abode of the Lords of the Na-  
“ tions ! Oh ! of how many masters are not they themselves  
“ the slaves ! They obey, even at the season of repose, the ty-  
“ rants of voluptuousness, of ambition, of superstition, of avarice :  
“ they are exposed, even in sleep, to a multitude of mi-  
“ serable and malefic beings who surround them, robbers, men-  
“ dicants, courtezans, incendiaries, to say nothing of their sol-  
“ diers, their grandees, and their priests. What must a City  
“ be in the day-time, if it be thus disturbed in the night ? The  
“ calamities of man increase with his enjoyments. How much  
“ is the Emperor to be pitied, in whom they all centre ? He has  
“ danger to apprehend from wars foreign and domestic, nay  
“ from the very objects which are his consolation and defence,  
“ his generals, his guards, his *malhas*, his wives and his chil-  
“ dren. The ditches which encompass his Castle are unable to  
“ exclude the phantoms of superstition, and his elephants, so  
“ curiously disciplined, unable to keep gloomy care at a dis-  
“ tance from him. For my own part I am haunted with no  
“ such terrors : no tyrant exercises dominion over either my  
“ body or my mind. I have it in my power to serve GOD ac-  
“ cording to my conscience, and I have nothing to fear from  
“ Man, unless I choose to become a self-tormentor : of a truth  
“ a Paria is less miserable than an Emperor. On uttering these  
“ words the tears rushed to my eyes ; and falling on my knees,  
“ I offered up thanks to Heaven for having, to teach me how to



“ support my own distresses, shewn me wretchedness far more  
“ intolerable than mine.

“ From that time forward I confined my rambles towards  
“ Delhi to the suburbs ; from thence I beheld the stars illumine  
“ the habitations of men, and mingle with their fires, as if the  
“ Heavens and the City had formed but one domain. When  
“ the Moon appeared to enlighten that landscape, I perceived  
“ colours diffused over it varying from the tints of day.  
“ I admired the towers, the houses and the trees, at once silver-  
“ ed over and clad in sable, softly reflected at a distance from  
“ the smooth surface of the Gemna. I traversed in perfect  
“ liberty the vast solitary and silent quarters that surround the  
“ capital, and then it was I considered the whole City as my  
“ own. Humanity, nevertheless, would have refused me a  
“ handful of rice in it, in such a detestable light had Religion  
“ placed me. Unable therefore to find subsistence among the  
“ living, I went in quest of it among the dead : I frequented  
“ the cemeteries, and ate the food deposited by pious affection  
“ on the tombs of departed relations. In places such as these  
“ I delighted to muse. I said to myself: This is the City of  
“ peace ; here power and pride are seen no more ; innocence  
“ and virtue are in complete security : here lie dead all the  
“ terrors which haunted life, even that of dying : this is the  
“ inn where the carman has for ever unyoked his team, and  
“ where the Paria finds repose. In meditating thus, death ap-  
“ peared to me an object of desire, and I began to look down  
“ upon the world. I turned my eyes toward the East, out of  
“ which every moment arose a multitude of stars. Though  
“ their destination was unknown to me, I felt that their destiny  
“ was allied to that of Man, and that Nature who has accommo-  
“ dated to his necessities so many objects which he sees not,  
“ had at least rendered visible objects a matter of importance to  
“ him. My soul then ascended into the firmament with the  
“ stars, and when Aurora returned to blend with their gentle  
“ and unchanging lustre, her own rosy tints, I thought myself  
“ at the gates of Heaven. But as soon as the dawn, brightened  
“ into the fire of day, gilded the Pagados, I disappeared like a  
“ shadow : I withdrew, far from the haunts of men, to rest



“ myself in the fields at the foot of a tree, where I was lulled  
“ to sleep by the music of the grove.”

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

“ It was a great point gained,” replied the Indian, “ to be  
“ happy in the night. Nature resembles a beautiful woman,  
“ who in the day-time exhibits the charms of her face only, to  
“ the vulgar eye, and unveils more hidden beauties to her lover  
“ when it is night. But if solitude has it’s peculiar enjoyments,  
“ it is likewise subjected to it’s privations : it appears to the  
“ child of misfortune as a quiet harbour from whence he beholds  
“ the tide of other mens’ passions roll on, without being him-  
“ self hurried along by the current ; but, while he congratulates  
“ himself on being immovable, time is insensibly carrying him  
“ down the stream. There is no such thing as casting anchor  
“ in the river of human life ; it sweeps away together the man  
“ who struggles against it’s flux, and him who voluntarily goes  
“ with it ; the wise man and the fool, and both reach the termi-  
“ nation of life, the one after having abused it, and the other  
“ without having enjoyed it. I did not pretend to be wiser than  
“ Nature, nor to find my happiness without the sphere of those  
“ laws which she has prescribed to Man. I longed above all  
“ things for a friend to whom I could communicate my plea-  
“ sures and my pains. I sought him long among my equals,  
“ but found no one who was not under the dominion of envy. I  
“ nevertheless at length lighted on one possessing sensibility,  
“ susceptible of gratitude, faithful, and inaccessible to prejudice :  
“ he was not indeed of my own species, but one of the brute  
“ creation ; the very dog you see there. He had been exposed  
“ while quite a whelp at the corner of a street, where he lay  
“ perishing with hunger. My compassion was excited ; I lifted  
“ him up : he conceived an attachment to me, and I made him  
“ my inseparable companion. This was not yet sufficient ; I stood  
“ in need of a friend still more wretched than a dog ; one who



“ knew all the evils of human society, and who could assist me  
“ in supporting them ; one who desired only the blessings which  
“ Nature bestows, and with whom I could enjoy them. It is  
“ only by interlacing their branches that two feeble shrubs are  
“ capable of resisting the storm. Providence gratified my de-  
“ sire to the uttermost in giving me a good wife. It was at the  
“ very source of wo that I found the fountain of bliss. One  
“ night being at the burial place of the Bramins, I perceived by  
“ moon-light, a young woman of that caste, half covered with  
“ her yellow veil. At sight of a female of the blood of my ty-  
“ rants, I recoiled with horror, but felt myself attracted towards  
“ her by compassion on seeing the occupation in which she was  
“ engaged. She came to deposit victuals on a little hillock  
“ which covered the ashes of her mother, who had lately been  
“ burnt alive with the body of her father, conformably to the  
“ practice of her caste ; and she was now burning incense over  
“ it as an invocation of the departed spirit. Tears started to  
“ my eyes at sight of one more unfortunate than myself. I  
“ thus meditated : Alas ! I am bound in fetters of infamy, but  
“ thou in those of glory : I live at least in tranquillity at the  
“ bottom of my precipice ; and thou art always trembling on  
“ the brink of thine. The same destiny which has robbed thee  
“ of thy mother, likewise threatens to rob thee one day of thy  
“ own life. Thou hast received but a single life and art doom-  
“ ed to die two deaths : if thy own carry thee not to the tomb,  
“ that of thy husband will drag thee thither while yet alive. I  
“ wept, and so did she : our eyes, suffused with tears, met, and  
“ spoke to each other the language of the unfortunate : she  
“ turned away hers, dropped her veil, and withdrew.

“ The night following I repaired to the same place. This  
“ time she had placed a more ample provision on her mother’s  
“ tomb ; she took it for granted that I might stand in need of  
“ some ; and as the Bramins frequently poison those funereal  
“ messes, to prevent their being devoured by the Parias,  
“ that I might have full confidence in the wholesomeness of  
“ hers, she had brought nothing but fruit. I was deeply affected  
“ by this display of humanity ; and by way of expressing to her  
“ the respect which I entertained for her filial oblation, instead  
“ of taking her fruits, I added flowers to them. They were



“poppies, significant of the interest which I took in her sorrow.  
“Next night I saw, with joy, that my homage had been accept-  
“able to her; the poppies had been watered, and she had put a  
“new basket of fruits at a little distance from the tomb. Pity  
“and gratitude emboldened me. Not daring to speak to her  
“as a Paria, for fear of lowering her dignity, I attempted as a  
“man to express to her all the affections which she had excited  
“in my bosom. According to the custom of India I borrowed  
“the language of flowers to convey my meaning; I added ma-  
“rigolds to poppies. The night after I found my poppies and  
“my marigolds copiously besprinkled with water. Next night  
“I waxed bolder; to the poppies and marigolds I added a  
“flower of *foulsapatte*, employed by shoemakers to dye their  
“leather black, as the expression of an humble and unfortunate  
“love. I flew to the tomb with the first dawn of the morning;  
“but had the mortification to see the *foulsapatte* withered, be-  
“cause it had not been watered. The following night I planted,  
“with a trembling hand, a tulip whose red petals and black heart  
“represented the flame which preyed upon me. In the morn-  
“ing I found my tulip in the same state with the *foulsapatte*. I  
“was overwhelmed with grief; nevertheless the day after I  
“brought to the place a rose-bud with the thorns upon it, the  
“symbol of my hopes, blended with mortal apprehension. But  
“who can describe my despair, when I saw, by the first rays of  
“Aurora, my rose-bud removed entirely from the tomb! I  
“thought I should have gone distracted. Let what would be  
“the consequence, I resolved to speak to her. The night fol-  
“lowing, as soon as she appeared, I threw myself at her feet,  
“but without the power of utterance, presenting my rose to her.  
“She broke silence, and said: Unfortunate man! thou talkest  
“to me of love, and in a little while I shall be no more. I must,  
“like my mother, accompany my husband to the funeral pile.  
“He is just dead. He was an old man, I was married to him  
“while a child: farewell; retire, and forget me; in three days  
“I shall be reduced to a handful of ashes. She uttered these  
“words with a sigh. Penetrated with grief, I said to her:  
“Wretched Bramine, Nature has burst asunder the ties which  
“Society had imposed upon thee; finish the work by breaking  
“off those of superstition. It is now in your power, in accepting



“ me as your husband. How ! replied she, in a flood of tears,  
 “ I flee from death to live with thee in a state of degradation !  
 “ Ah ! if thou lovest me, leave me and let me die. GOD for-  
 “ bid, exclaimed I, that I should attempt to draw you out of  
 “ your own calamities, only to involve you in mine ! My beloved  
 “ Bramine, let us flee together to the recesses of the forests ; it  
 “ is still better to put confidence in tigers than in men. But that  
 “ Heaven in which I trust will not abandon us. Let us flee :  
 “ love, the night, thy unhappy situation, thy innocence, all, all  
 “ favour us. Let us make haste, ill-fated widow ! Thy funeral  
 “ pile is already prepared, and thy dead husband is calling thee  
 “ to it. Poor downcast ivy, rest thy feebleness on me. I will  
 “ be thy supporting palm-tree. On this she cast, with a sigh, a  
 “ look on her mother’s tomb, then raising her eyes to Heaven,  
 “ and dropping one of her hands into mine, with the other she  
 “ accepted my rose. I immediately caught her by the arm, and  
 “ we began our march. I threw her veil into the Ganges, to  
 “ make her relations believe she had drowned herself in it. We  
 “ travelled several nights by the river’s side, concealing ourselves  
 “ during the day in the rice-grounds. We at length arrived in  
 “ this part of the country which war had formerly thinned of in-  
 “ habitants. I penetrated into the bosom of this wood, where  
 “ I have built the cottage which now covers you, and planted a  
 “ little garden ; and here we live in perfect happiness. I revere  
 “ my wife as the Sun, and I love her as the Moon. In this  
 “ solitude we are the whole world to each other : we were des-  
 “ pised of mankind ; but as we mutually esteem each other, the  
 “ praises which I bestow on her, or receive from her, commu-  
 “ nicate to us a purer delight than the applause of Nations could  
 “ confer.” As he pronounced these words, he looked first on  
 his infant in the cradle, then on his wife who was shedding  
 tears of joy.

The Doctor, as he wiped away his own, said to his host : “ Of  
 “ a truth, that which is highly honoured of men frequently me-  
 “ rits their contempt, and what they despise often deserves to  
 “ be highly esteemed. But GOD is just : you are a thousand  
 “ times happier in your obscurity, than the Chief of the Bra-  
 “ mins of Jagrenat in all his glory. He is exposed, as is his  
 “ whole caste, to all the revolutions of fortune ; on the Bramins



“ principally fall most of the plagues occasioned by the civil  
“ and foreign wars which have for so many ages desolated your  
“ beautiful country ; to them are addressed the demands of  
“ forced contributions, because of the empire which they exer-  
“ cise over public opinion. But the most cruel circumstance  
“ in their condition is this, they are themselves the first vic-  
“ tims of their own inhuman Religion. By dint of preaching  
“ error they imbibe it themselves so thoroughly as to lose all  
“ sense of truth, of justice, of humanity, of piety ; they are  
“ bound in the fetters of superstition which they wish to rivet  
“ round the necks of their countrymen ; they are obliged to per-  
“ form incessant ablutions and purifications, and rigorously to  
“ abstain from innumerable harmless enjoyments ; finally, what  
“ cannot be mentioned without horror, as one of the consequen-  
“ ces of their barbarous dogmas, they behold their nearest fe-  
“ male relations burnt alive, their mothers, their sisters, their  
“ own daughters : thus Nature, whose laws they violate, in-  
“ flicts punishment on them. As for you, it is in your power  
“ to be sincere, good, just, hospitable, pious ; and you escape  
“ the strokes of fortune and the mischiefs of opinion, by the  
“ very meanness of your station.”

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

Next morning, at the dawn, the Doctor was awakened by the singing of the birds, nestled in the branches of the Indian fig-tree, and by the voices of the Paria and his wife, who were offering up together their matin prayer. He arose, and was not a little vexed, when on the good couple's opening their door to bid him good morrow, he discovered there was no bed in the cottage but the nuptial couch, and that they had watched all night long to accommodate him with it. After having saluted him with the *salam* they hastened to prepare breakfast. Meanwhile he went to take a turn in the garden : he found it, like the hut, encompassed by arcades of Indian fig-tree, so closely interwoven as to form a hedge impenetrable even to the eye. He only perceived rising above the foliage the red-coloured sides of the rock which flanked the valley in every direction : there issued from it a small spring which watered the artlessly disposed



garden. In all the wild variety of Nature were to be seen the *mangoustan*, the orange, the cocoa, the *litchis*, the *durion*, the mango, the *jacquier*, the banana, and many other vegetables, dressed in flowers or loaded with fruits. Their very trunks were covered with them; the *betel* winded round the *arecqua* palm-tree, and the pepper plant along the sugar-cane. The air was impregnated with their perfumes. Though most of the trees were still in the shade, the first rays of Aurora already illuminated their summits; there were to be seen fluttering about the *colibris*, sparkling with the glowing tints of the ruby and the topaz, while the *bengali* and the *sensa-soulés*, or five hundred voices, concealed under the humid foliage, emitted their delicious notes in concert from their nests. The Doctor was walking under these enchanting shades, totally disengaged from scientific and ambitious ideas, when the Paria came out to call him to breakfast. "Your garden is delightful," said the Englishman; "I find no fault with it but that it is too small: had I been in your place I should have enclosed a spot for a bowling-green, and borrowed a little more from the forest." "Sir," replied the Paria, "the less room one occupies, the more easily is he sheltered: a single leaf serves for a nest to the humming-bird." While he spake they entered the cottage, where they found the Paria's wife in a corner suckling her infant: she had served up breakfast. After a silent repast, the Doctor preparing to take his leave, the Indian said to him: "My much respected guest, the plains are still inundated with the rains of the night; the roads are unpassable; spend this day with us." "It is not in my power," said the Doctor, "My retinue is too numerous." "I see how it is," answered the Paria, "you are in haste to quit the country of the Bramins, and to return to that of Christians, whose religion teaches all men to live together as brothers." The Doctor rose from his place with a sigh; on which the Paria made a sign to his wife, who, with downcast eyes, and without uttering a word, presented the Doctor with a basket of flowers and fruit. The Paria, supplying her want of speech, said to the Englishman: "Sir, have the goodness to excuse our poverty: we have neither ambergrise nor aloes wood to perfume our guests, after the manner of India; we have only flowers and fruits; but I hope



“ you will not disdain to accept this little basket filled by the  
“ hands of my wife: it contains neither poppies nor marigolds,  
“ but jasmin, some *mougris* and bergamot, the symbol, from  
“ the duration of their perfumes, of the affection which we  
“ bear you, and of which the recollection will remain with us  
“ when we shall see you no more.” The Doctor took the basket, and said to the Paria: “ I want language to express the  
“ grateful sense I have of your hospitality, and to convey an  
“ idea of the esteem I bear you: please to accept of this gold  
“ watch; it is one of *Graham's*, the most eminent artist in London; it needs winding up only once a year.” “ Sir,” replied the Paria, “ we have no occasion for a watch: there is one  
“ provided for us whose motion is perpetual, and which is never out of order: I mean the Sun.” “ My watch strikes the  
“ hours,” subjoined the Doctor. “ Our birds sing them,” answered the Paria. “ Accept at least,” said the Doctor, “ of these strings of coral to make red necklaces for your wife and  
“ child.” “ My wife and child,” replied the Indian, “ can never want red necklaces so long as our garden shall produce  
“ the peas of angola.” “ Take then,” said the Doctor, “ these pistols to defend you from thieves in this solitude.” “ Poverty,” said the Paria, “ is a bulwark which keeps all thieves at  
“ a distance; the silver mounting of your pistols would be a temptation to attack us. In the name of the God who protects us, and from whom we expect our reward, do not seek  
“ to rob us of the price of our hospitality.” “ I could wish  
“ however,” replied the Englishman, “ to leave some token of remembrance behind me.” “ Well, my honoured guest,” said the Paria, “ since you insist upon it, may I presume to  
“ propose an exchange? Give me your pipe, and accept of mine: as often as I smoke from yours, I shall gratefully recollect  
“ that a European Pandect did not think himself dishonoured in accepting the hospitality of a poor Paria.” On this the Doctor presented to him his pipe of English leather-manufacture, the mouth of which was of yellow amber, and received that of the Paria in return, whose tube was a bamboo, and the bowl of baked earth.

He then summoned his attendants, who were quite stupified with the comfortless night which they had passed; and, having



embraced the Paria, mounted his palanquin. The Paria's wife, in tears, stopped at the threshold of the cottage, with her infant in her arms ; but the husband accompanied the Doctor to the outlet of the wood, pouring out his heart in blessings upon him.

" May God reward you," said he, for your goodness to the

" miserable ! May He accept me as a sacrifice in your stead !

" May He grant you a prosperous voyage to England, that land

" of learned men and friends, who range over the whole Globe

" in quest of truth, to promote the happiness of mankind !"

The Doctor replied ; " I have visited half the Globe, and

" found, wherever I went, error and discord only : never did

" I meet with truth and happiness till I entered your cottage."

As he pronounced those words they separated from each other, not without shedding tears. The Doctor had made a considerable progress over the plain while he still perceived the good Paria at the foot of a tree, waving his hands in token of bidding him a last adieu.

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







## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER

FOR PLACING THE PLATES.



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