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John (Baker)
1807

P R E F A C E
AND
A D D I T I O N S
TO THE
D I S C O U R S E
ON THE
LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.



BY
DOCTOR PRICE.

9.



P R E F A C E

TO THE

FOURTH EDITION.

SINCE the former Editions of the following Discourse, many animadversions upon it have been published. Under the abuse with which some of them are accompanied, I have been comforted by finding myself joined to the City of PARIS, and the National Assembly of FRANCE. I cannot think of employing my time in making any replies. Knowing that it has been the labour of my life to promote those interests of liberty, peace, and virtue, which I reckon the best interests of mankind; and believing that I have

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not

not laboured quite in vain; I feel a satisfaction that no opposition can take from me, and shall submit myself in silence to the judgment of the Public, without taking any other notice of the abuse I have met with, than by mentioning the following instance of it.

In p. 49, I have adopted the words of Scripture, *Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace*, and expressed my gratitude to God for having spared my life to see a “diffusion of knowledge
“ that has undermined superstition and
“ error, a vast kingdom spurning at
“ slavery, and an arbitrary Monarch
“ led in triumph and surrendering
“ himself to his subjects.” These words have occasioned a comparison of me (by Mr. BURKE, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*) to HUGH PETERS, attended
with

with an intimation that, like him, *I may not die in peace*; and he has described me, p. 99, &c. as a barbarian delighted with blood, profaning Scripture, and exulting in the riot and slaughter at *Versailles* on the 6th of October last year. I hope I shall be credited when, in answer to this horrid misrepresentation and menace, I assure the Public that the events to which I referred, in these words were not those of the 6th of October, but those only of the 14th of July and the subsequent days; when, after the conquest of the BASTILE, the King of FRANCE sought the protection of the National Assembly, and, by his own desire, was conducted, amidst acclamations never before heard in FRANCE, to PARIS, there to shew himself to his people as the restorer of their liberty.

I am indeed surpris'd that Mr. BURKE could want candour so much as to suppose that I had any other events in view. The letters quoted by him in p. 99 and 128, were dated in *July* 1789, and might have shewn him that he was injuring both me and the writer of those letters. But what candour or what moderation can be expected in a person so frantic with zeal for hereditary claims and aristocratical distinctions as to be capable of decrying popular rights and the aid of philosophy in forming governments; of lamenting that the age of Chivalry is gone; and of believing that the insults offered by a mob to the Queen of France have extinguished for ever the glory of EUROPE?

The Postscript in p. 4, and all in the *Appendix* after p. 34, have been added in this edition.

Note intended for p. 34, &c.

Mr. BURKE, in his Reflections on the Revolution in FRANCE, denies several of the principles which in these pages are said to be the principles of the Revolution. He asserts that our Kings do not derive their right to the Crown from the choice of their People, and that they are not responsible to them. And yet, with wonderful inconsistency, he intimates, p. 123, that a wicked King may be punished, provided it is done with dignity; and he is under the necessity of granting that King JAMES was justly deprived of his Crown for misconduct. In p. 19, he mentions the *legal conditions of the compact of sovereignty* by which our Kings are bound. The succession of the Crown he calls a succession by *law*; and the *law*, p. 28, he calls an *emanation from the common agreement and original*

original compact of the State, and the Constitution also he calls the *engagement and pact of Society*. In p. 26, he cites, as an authority against the right of the People to chuse their own Governors, the very Act for settling the crown on *William and Mary* which was an exercise of that right, and the words of which are : “ The Lords
“ and Commons do in the name of
“ all the people submit themselves,
“ their heirs and posterities for ever,”
&c. &c. This Act having been passed on purpose to establish a change in the succession for misconduct, it cannot be supposed that it was intended to deprive the nation for ever of the power of making again any such change, whatever reasons appearing to the nation sufficient might occur. That is, it cannot be supposed that it was the intention of the Act to sub-
ject

ject the nation for ever to any tyrants that might happen to arise in the new line of succession. And yet this is the sense in which Mr. BURKE seems to understand it; and he grounds upon it his assertion in p. 27, “ that so far
 “ was the nation from acquiring by
 “ the Revolution a right to elect our
 “ Kings, that, if we had possessed it
 “ before, the *English* nation did then
 “ most solemnly renounce and abdi-
 “ cate it for themselves and for all
 “ their posterity for ever.” Mr. BURKE, before he published this assertion, should have attended to a subsequent Act, which has been recommended to my notice by the truly patriotic EARL STANHOPE. I mean the Act of the 6th of Anne, chap. 7th, by which it is enacted that, “ if any person
 “ shall by writing or printing maintain
 “ and affirm that the Kings or Queens
 of

“ of this realm, with and by the autho-
“ rity of Parliament, ARE NOT ABLE TO
“ make laws and statutes of sufficient
“ validity to limit the Crown, and the
“ descent, inheritance and government
“ thereof, every such person shall be
“ guilty of HIGH TREASON, &c.”

P O S T S C R I P T

To the Observations on the Population of France, p. 1, &c.

In the JOURNAL of the Debates and Decrees of the National Assembly of FRANCE for Oct. 4th, 1790, I find an Extract from a Report delivered to the Assembly by M. DU PONT, in the name of the Committee of Finances, which states, that an enumeration (in which only deficiencies could be suspected) made in 1786, of the inhabitants of the Generality of PARIS, *exclusive of the City itself*, had discovered the number of inhabitants to be 1,198,000, though a multiplication of the births by 26 had made them only 998,000. In this case, therefore, the right multiplier of the births was $31\frac{1}{4}$; and if this was also the right multiplier of the births for the whole Kingdom in 1780, the inhabitants of *France* were then THIRTY MILLIONS, even on the supposition that the returns were not deficient in the manner that has been specified.

A D D I T I O N S, &c.

ON the 14th of July a very respectable company, consisting of several hundreds of Gentlemen, met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, to celebrate the first Anniversary of the glorious Revolution in France, Earl STANHOPE in the Chair. At this meeting Dr. Price gave, as a toast,

An ALLIANCE between FRANCE and GREAT-BRITAIN, for perpetuating peace, and making the world happy.

This toast was introduced by the following Address to the company.

GENTLEMEN,

IN consequence of five wars in which we have been involved since the Revolution in 1688, the kingdom is now sinking under a load of debts, which render it incapable of meeting another war without the utmost danger. For certainly there is a limit, beyond which if we go in adding to our debts, ruin must follow; and one more war may bring us to that limit.

A long period of peace, therefore, to give us time for the redemption of our debts, is necessary to our security; and, perhaps, even to our existence.—In France there is a disposition to unite itself to us, by an alliance for maintaining and perpetuating peace. Such an alliance would be an union between the two first kingdoms in the world, for the noblest purpose. It would be an effect worthy of that union of philosophy to politics, which distinguishes the present æra of the world. It might save Britain. It would bless the world, and complete the hopes of all the friends of human liberty and happiness. I can say, from very respectable authority, that there has been a design formed

ed, in the National Assembly of France, to make a proposal of such an alliance to this country:—"O heavenly philanthropists! well do you deserve the admiration not only of your own country, but of all countries. You have already determined to renounce, for ever, all views of conquest, and all *offensive* wars. This is an instance of wisdom and attention to human rights which has no example. But you will do more. You will invite Great-Britain to join you in this determination, and to enter into a compact with you for promoting *peace on earth and good-will among men.*"

GENTLEMEN,

SUCH are the fruits of the glorious Revolution which we are this day celebrating. It promises a new and better order in human affairs. The passions of Kings and their Ministers have too often and too long involved nations in the calamities of war. But now (thanks to the National Assembly of France) the axe is laid to the root of this cause of human misery, and the intrigues of Courts are likely to lose their power of embroiling the world.

In this kingdom we have been used to speak of the people of France as our *natural enemies*; and however absurd, as well as ungenerous and wicked, such language was, it admitted of some excuse while they consisted only of a monarch and his slaves. But now, with a spirit that astonishes mankind, and that makes tyrants tremble, they have broke their yoke, they have asserted their rights, and made themselves as free as ourselves. In doing this, we have been an example to THEM. THEY are now become an example to US; and we have reason to expect, that they will soon
crown

crown their glorious work by calling upon us to *meet* them (not as formerly in fields of blood at the command of a despot), but on the sacred ground of liberty, to embrace us as brethren, to exchange vows with us of eternal amity, and to settle the terms of a confederation for extending the blessings of peace and liberty through the world—Thus united, the two kingdoms will be omnipotent. They will soon draw into their confederation HOLLAND, and other countries on this side the Globe, and the United States of AMERICA on the other; and, when alarms of war come, they will be able to say to contending nations, PEACE, and there will be PEACE.

I have therefore thought that it would be worthy of this respectable company on this most animating occasion, to express its wishes of success to the proposal I have mentioned, by drinking,

An Alliance between FRANCE and GREAT-BRITAIN for perpetuating Peace, and making the world happy. Amen and Amen !!!

This address, together with a resolution proposed by *Mr. Sheridan*, expressive of the joy of the company in the extension of liberty to *France*, and of its wishes of eternal amity between the two kingdoms, were conveyed to the National Assembly of FRANCE, and there received with applause—The sentiments in this address have also been echoed, with the warmest zeal, in letters from many different societies and districts in *France*. One of these letters has been selected for publication in this *Appendix*, because directed more particularly to the proposer of the toast just mentioned, and answered by him.

Copy of a Letter from the District of QUIMPER, in the Department of FINISTERRE, conveyed by the Duke de la ROCHEFOUCAULD, and signed by M. Francois Noel Bremaudiere, President of the District, and the other principal Magistrates and Citizens.

Bretagne, Aug. 4, 1790.

MONSIEUR,

Nous, avons été attendris jusqu'aux larmes en lisant le Discours que que l'amour de l'humanité vous a dicté dans l'Assemblée des amis de la Revolution de la Grande Bretagne. C'est avec une emotion que nos expressions ne peuvent rendre, que nous voyons des citoyens *Anglais* developper des principes de liberté que le Cœur des *Français* chérit avec tant d'Enthousiasme. Vous l'avez observe, homme genereux, quand le despotisme avilissait les Français, alors nos deux Nations ne pouvaient être unies ; mais aujourd'hui l'amour de la liberté nous eleve à votre niveau, et les deux premiers empires de l'univers ne peuvent plus former en le jour qu'une même famille qui par l'union de ses enfans doit eveiller le courage de tous les peuples esclaves en donnant à leurs despotes insenses la leçon la plus accablante.

Nous ne le croirons jamais, non jamais des *Anglais* voudront profiter leurs bras à combattre la liberté naissante ; et si des ministres temeraires osaient les armer contre nous, à la première rencontre de nos Armées les amis de la liberté se reconnaitraient et loin de se combattre ils cimenteraient par des embrassemens fraternels l'union qui doit rassembler à jamais deux peuples destinés à montrer à l'univers étonné l'exemple de toutes les vertus sociales.

Et

El est cher a nos cœurs d'avoir á vous rendre compte de l'admiration que cause à nos cités votre patriotisme personnel. Des opinions aussi belles, quand vous les professez, ne peuvent manquer de rallier sur le globe tous les vrais amis de l'humanité.

DES CITOYENS DU DISTRICT DE QUIMPER
DEPARTMENT DE FINNISTERRE.

FRANCOIS NOEL BREMAUDIERE PRESIDENT
DU DISTRICT.

CHARLES LE SAUN DU DIRECTOIRE DU
DISTRICT.

AMBROSE DU HAFFORD ADMINISTRATEUR
DU DISTRICT, &c. &c.

T R A N S L A T I O N

Of the foregoing Letter.

S I R,

We have been affected even to tears in reading the discourse which the love of mankind dictated to you at the meeting of the friends of the *British* Revolution. It is with an emotion which we cannot express that we see English Citizens developing those principles of liberty which the hearts of *Frenchmen* cherish with so much enthusiasm. You have observed, that when *Frenchmen* were debased by despotism, the two kingdoms could not unite; but now, since the love of liberty has raised us to your level, the two first kingdoms in the world ought to form only one family, encouraging by the union of its children all enslaved countries, and giving to unfeeling despots a lesson that may overwhelm them.

It has not been possible for us to believe that the people of England would prostitute their arms by opposing them to the rising liberty of FRANCE; but should any rash and daring ministers attempt this, we are persuaded that, at the first onset, the friends of liberty in the two countries would recognize one another, and, far from fighting, would cement by fraternal embraces that union which ought ever to subsist between two nations destined to exhibit to the astonished world an example of all the social virtues. We are happy in giving you this testimony of our admiration. Principles so excellent when professed by you, cannot fail to draw together, throughout the world, all the true friends of mankind.

THE CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT
OF QUIMPER.

A N S W E R.

LONDON, Oct. 14, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

THE letter which has been conveyed to me by your excellent fellow-citizen and co-patriot M. de *Rochefoucauld*, brought me a testimony of your approbation, on which I set a high value. Such notice confers a greater honour than any that titles can give or kings bestow. Accept my thanks for thus encouraging the attempts of a feeble individual to serve the best of all causes. The Discourse delivered on the 14th of July, at the feast in *London* for celebrating the Anniversary of the glorious Revolution in *France*, and which you have

have thus honoured, was indeed an emanation from a heart warm with zeal to promote peace and philanthropy among nations, and with an admiration of that disdain of slavery which now pervades your country, and which has produced there a Revolution unparalleled in history, to which philosophers and virtuous men are now looking as a noble burst of the human mind from the fetters of slavery and superstition, and the commencement of a general reformation in the governments of EUROPE. May Heaven prosper the great work, and grant that no adverse event may interrupt its progress, or prevent its happy completion!—Hitherto the world has groaned under despots; and the best interests of society have fallen a sacrifice to their passions and follies. We are now seeing the dawn of better times, and the example of France is likely to increase it into a glorious effulgence. From the instruction there given, the world will learn, that, as subjects of government and law, all men are equal; that in every State the Majesty of the People is the only Sacred Majesty; that all civil authority is a *trust* from them; that its end is not to take away, but to establish liberty, by protecting equally all honest citizens; and that the governing power in every nation ought to be, not the will of any man or classes of men pretending to hereditary rights, but the collected wisdom of the nation drawn from the general mass*, and centered in a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, by such modes of election, and such an extension of its

* The Government of BRITAIN would be nearly such a Government as is here meant, and its constitution *all* that the writer of this letter can wish to see it, were the three States that compose it perfectly independent of one another, and the House of COMMONS in particular, an equal and fair representation of the kingdom, guarded against corruption by being frequently renewed, and the exclusion of placemen and pensioners.

rights, as form a part of the new constitution of France.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

RICHARD PRICE.

On the 4th of November, in this year 1790, the Anniversary of the *British* Revolution was celebrated, as usual, at the LONDON Tavern.

At this Feast Dr. Price gave, as a toast,

The Parliament of *Britain*—May it become a NATIONAL Assembly.

By this toast no more was meant than to express wishes of such a reform in the representation of the kingdom, as that the Parliament, consisting of Lords and Commons, might be justly deemed a *National* Assembly; that is, an assembly truly representing the nation, and speaking its voice.—But another sense having been given it, totally foreign to the intention of the proposer and of the company that applauded it, it becomes proper to publish the following introduction to it and explanation of it, which the proposer had prepared, but was not able to deliver.

“ It is a truth almost self-evident, that it is the collected wisdom and virtue of a nation that ought to govern it: and that, consequently, in order to constitute the best form of government, it is necessary to establish such modes of election, and such an extension of the rights of election, as shall best tend to collect into the legislative assembly of a nation the
“ greatest

“greatest quantity possible of the national wisdom and
 “virtue.—There can scarcely be better arrange-
 “ments for this purpose than those which have been
 “lately adopted in FRANCE, and which form a part of
 “its new constitution.

“That kingdom has been divided into nine re-
 “gions; and these regions have been subdivided into
 “83 departments. It has been further divided into
 “249 equal sections, called territories; and to each
 “of these territories a right is given to one representa-
 “tive in the National Assembly. Its population is
 “likewise to be divided into 249 equal parts, to each
 “of which is in like manner annexed a right to one
 “representative; and the same is true of the contribu-
 “tions to the revenue; so that the number of repre-
 “sentatives constituting the legislative body will be here-
 “after three times 249, that is 747, or nine for each
 “of the departments taking them one with another,
 “some departments sending more than nine, and some
 “fewer., according to the greater or smaller number of
 “the equal parts just mentioned, of population and
 “contributions which they contain. In consequence
 “of these arrangements, France must continue always
 “equally and fairly represented: and a body of consti-
 “tuents, equal in number and in their contributions,
 “will always appoint an equal number of representa-
 “tives.

“But what deserves most to be attended to, is the
 “manner in which these representatives are to be
 “elected.

“The mass of the people (not paupers, or mi-
 “nors, or in servitude), are entitled to votes. Their
 “votes are to be delivered in the cantons where
 “they

“ they reside ; but the persons thus elected are not to
 “ be the representatives, but the *electors* of the repre-
 “ sentatives : that is, the body of the people are to
 “ select such persons in every department as they shall
 “ think fittest for the office of chusing for them such
 “ persons as shall be best qualified to represent them in
 “ the National Assembly. This mode of appointing
 “ the members of a Legislative Assembly in a great
 “ kingdom was first suggested by Mr. HUME, in one
 “ of his political essays, entitled, ‘ An Idea of a per-
 “ fect Commonwealth.’ And perhaps a method better
 “ fitted to exclude corruption from elections, and to
 “ collect into a legislature as much as possible of the
 “ ability and wisdom of a kingdom, can scarcely be
 “ conceived.

“ Compared with such a representation, What is
 “ ours?—The comparison is too humiliating.

“ The correction of the abuses in our representation
 “ ought to be the first object of the zeal of every Bri-
 “ ton. While these abuses continue, our constitution
 “ cannot be considered as a free constitution, except
 “ in theory and form. It wants that counterpoise or
 “ independence of the three states on one another, in
 “ which its essence as a free constitution consists; and
 “ the boasts we make of it are ridiculous.

“ Equality of representation is the basis of public
 “ liberty. It is the *one thing needful* in our government.
 “ Let us then drink the Parliament of Britain—may it
 “ become a NATIONAL Assembly.”

F I N I S.