

following passage, which you quote for that purpose. "If I am mistaken, it is without design. This is sufficient to prevent my errors from being imputed to me as a crime. And though you should be mistaken in the same manner, it is of very little consequence." "That is to say," continues your Lordship, "It is sufficient, according to this writer, to be persuaded you are in possession of the truth, in order that such persuasion, tho' attended with the most monstrous errors, should not be a subject of reproach; and that every man, who professes himself to be sincere and ingenuous, should be accounted religious and wise, tho' adopting even the horrid doctrines of atheism. Is not this throwing open the door to introduce all the modes of superstition, fanatical systems, and chimerical notions of the human mind?"

For your part, my Lord, I am persuaded, you cannot here say, with the Curate, *If I am mistaken, it is without design.* For it is very evident that it is with design you are pleased to give into a mistake yourself, and then impose it on your readers. This, my Lord, I engage unanswerably to prove; and make this previous declaration, that you may be more attentive to what I say.

"The profession of faith by the Savoyard Curate is composed of two parts. The first, which is the longest, of the greatest importance, and abounds most with new and striking truths, is intended to controvert the doctrines of modern materialism, and to confirm the existence of God and the principles of natural religion, with all the force the author's abilities would admit of. Neither your Lordship, nor the priests, have ta-

ken any notice of this part, the subject of it being indifferent to you ; for, in fact, the cause of God affects you but little, provided the interests of the clergy are secure.

The second part, much shorter, more irregular, and more superficial, contains certain doubts and difficulties relative to revelations in general; ascribing, however, to ours that real certitude which is evident in the purity and sanctity of its doctrines, and in that sublimity altogether divine which distinguished its great Author. The design of this second part, is to make every one more moderate and reserved in the profession of his own religion, and in taxing others of different persuasions with insincerity ; by shewing, that the proofs of the best were not so demonstrative as to authorise them to treat those as criminals who do not see so clearly as themselves. This second part, written modestly and with all possible respect, is that only which hath attracted the attention of your Lordship and of the magistrates. But you have nothing but persecution and abuse to offer in refutation of my arguments. You have weighed the evil consequences of doubting what is really doubtful ; but you have not considered the good consequences of proving what is really true.

In fact, the first part, which contains every thing which is really essential to religion, is absolute and decisive. The author here neither deliberates nor doubts. Both his conscience and reason are fully determined ; he believes, he affirms, and is most strongly persuaded of the truth of what is laid down.

As to the second part, he begins it, on the contrary, with declaring, that “ the examination
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tion he is going to make is very different from the former ; presenting to his view nothing but perplexity, mysteriousness, and obscurity ;" that no farther authority should be placed on his discourse than that of reason ; that he was ignorant himself whether he was right or wrong, and that all his affirmations are only so many rational doubts.

He proposes, therefore, his objections and difficulties. At the same time, also, he proposes the reasons and grounds of his belief : So that from the whole discussion there results a certitude in all the essential points of religion, and a respectful scepticism concerning the rest. Towards the end of the second part, he insists again on the circumspection with which he ought to be heard.

" If I were more positive in myself, I should have assumed a more decisive and dictatorial air ; but I am a man ignorant and subject to error. What can I do more ? I have opened to you my heart without reserve : What I have thought certain, I have given you as such ; my doubts I have declared as doubts, my opinions as opinions ; and have given you my reasons for both. It remains now for you to judge."

When the author of that paper, therefore, says, " If I am mistaken, it is without design, which is sufficient to prevent my errors from being imputed to me as a crime ;" I will ask every reader of common sense and the least sincerity, Whether it be on the first or second part that the suspicion must fall of his being in an error ? Whether it must fall on that which he positively affirms to be true, or on that which he hesitates upon ? Whether this suspicion relates

to his falsely believing in a God, or his being in the wrong as to his doubts concerning revelation? You, my Lord, have declared the first, against all reason, and with the sole view of making me appear criminal; I may defy your Lordship to assign any other motive. Where then is, I will not say justice, or Christian charity, but your sense and your humanity?

But, supposing you could have been mistaken as to the object of the Curate's suspicion in this case, the very passage you quote would have undeceived you in spite of yourself. For, when he says, *This is sufficient to prevent my error from being imputed to me as a crime*, he acknowledges that such an error might be a crime, and might be imputed to him, if he were not sincere: But on the supposition that there is no God, where is the crime of believing there is one? And supposing it to be a crime, who is to impute it to us? The fear, therefore, of being in an error, cannot relate to what is said of natural religion; the discourse of the Curate being, in fact, a very strange heap of absurdities indeed in the sense you have ascribed to it. It is then impossible to infer, from the passage you quote, either that *I do not admit of natural religion*, or that *I do not acknowledge its necessity*. It is still much less possible to infer from thence, *that every man who professes himself sincere and ingenuous should be accounted religious and wise, though adopting the horrid doctrines of atheism*. I will add also, that it was equally impossible for you to think the inference you thus drew a just one. If this be not demonstrated, nothing can possibly be so, or I must be totally void of common understanding.

To

To shew that no divine mission can authorise a man to propagate absurdities, the Curate conceives a dispute to arise between a pretender to inspiration, whom you are pleased to style a Christian, and a rationalist, whom you are pleased to call an unbeliever; these he supposes to talk in their own language, which he disapproves, and which is assuredly neither his nor mine. On this head, you charge me with notorious partiality and insincerity, and you prove it by the foolishness of the discourse of the first of these characters. But if what he says be so very foolish, why do you honour him with the name of Christian? And if the rationalist refutes only futile assertions, what right have you to tax him with infidelity? Doth it follow, from the absurdities advanced by a pretender to inspiration, that he must be a Catholic? or from those which a rationalist refutes, that the latter must be an infidel?

“*If reason and revelation contradict each other, you say, it is certain that God would contradict himself.*” This is a very great concession, my Lord; for it is very certain that God cannot contradict himself. Again, “*You tell us, ye impious infidels, that the tenets which we look upon to be revealed, contradict eternal truths: But it is not sufficient for you merely to assert this.*” Certainly it is not; let us endeavour, therefore, to do something more.

I dare say, you already foresee the point I aim at. Indeed, it is plain, you passed over this mysterious article as if you had walked on burning coals, on which you were afraid to trust your feet. You oblige me, however, to stop you for a moment, even in this painful situation. I

shall be prudent enough, however, to detain you as little as possible.

You will agree with me, I imagine, that one of those eternal truths, which serve as the first principles of ratiocination, is, that *a part is less than the whole*; and it is for having affirmed the contrary that the dogmatist appears to you to talk foolishly and absurdly. Now, according to your doctrine of transubstantiation, when Jesus held his last supper with his disciples, and having broken bread gave unto each of them his body, it is clear that he must hold his whole body in his hand; and if he eat of the consecrated bread himself, as he probably might, he must put his head into his mouth. Here then is a clear and sufficient proof that a part is greater than the whole, and that the thing containing is less than the thing contained. What say you to this, my Lord? For my part, I know nobody but the Chevalier de Caufans *, who can get you out of this difficulty.

I am not insensible, indeed, that you have the resource of St Augustin: but that amounts to the same thing; this good father, after having piled up a heap of unintelligible arguments about the Trinity, very ingenuously confessing they had no meaning: *But*, adds he, very frankly, *we express ourselves in this manner, not with the view of saying any thing, but only that we may not be totally silent* †.

Everything considered, my Lord, I think the best method you can take with regard to this article,

* A gentleman who undertakes to demonstrate various impossibilities.

† *Dictum est tamen tres personæ, non ut aliquid diceretur, sed ne taceretur. Sæg. de Trinit. l. vi. c. 9.*

article, as well as many others, is that which you have already taken with M. de Montazet, and for the very same reason.

“ *The insincerity of the author of Emilius is not less reprehensible in the language of his pretended Catholic.*” We Catholics, says he, make a great noise about the authority of the Church: But what do we gain by it, if it requires as many proofs to establish this authority as other sects require immediately to establish their doctrines: The church determines, that the church hath a right to determine: Is not this a special proof of its authority? “ Who would not think, my dear brethren, from the pretences of this impostor, that the authority of the church is to be proved only by its decisions, and that it proceeds arbitrarily thus; I determine that I am infallible, therefore I am infallible. A scandalous imputation! my dear brethren.”—This, my Lord, is your assertion; now let us examine your proofs. In the mean time, will you venture to affirm, that the Catholic divines have never established the authority of the church on that very authority itself, *ut in se virtualiter reflexum*? If they really have done it, I lay on them no scandalous or calumnious imputation.

The constitution of Christianity, the spirit of the Gospel, and even the errors and weakness of the human understanding, all serve to demonstrate, that the church, established by Jesus Christ, is an infallible church. All this, my Lord, is vague and indeterminate; these things, which you say serve to demonstrate, in fact demonstrate nothing. Let us proceed, therefore, directly to the substance of your demonstration. “ *We are assured,*
that

that, as the divine legislator always instructed mankind in the ways of truth, the church of Christ will ever do the same. But who are you that give us this as a sole and unanswerable proof! Are not you the church, or its heads? By the manner in which you argue, you seem to make yourselves very sure of the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Yet what is it you have said, and what says the impostor? You will examine this point yourselves; as I really have not the courage to do it.

I ought, however, to remark, that the force of the objection which you have thus attacked, lay in the words which you took care to suppress toward the end of the passage here pointed at, *And yet, depart from this, and we enter into endless discussions* *. The Curate's argument, in plain terms, is this: To make choice of one religion out of several, says he, one of these two methods is requisite: either to hear the proofs of every different sect, and then compare them together; or to rely altogether on the authority of those who instruct us in such tenets. Now the first method requires such a degree of knowledge as few persons are in a state of acquiring, and the second would justify every one in professing the religion of the country where he was born. As an instance of this, he brings that of the Roman Catholics, in which the authority of the church is held sacred; and on that he establishes his second dilemma. Either the church arrogates to itself this authority, and says, *I determine that I am infallible, therefore I am so*; by which means it falls into the sophistical error of reasoning in a circle: or else it must
 prove

* Emilius, vol. ii. p. 207.

prove that it received this authority from God; in which case, there is as great a multiplicity of proofs required to shew that the Romish church hath received this authority, as other sects require to establish directly the truth of their doctrine. No advantage, therefore, is gained in the way of instruction; nor are the people more capacitated to examine into the proofs of the authority of the church among the Catholics, than into those of the doctrine among the Protestants. How then are they to determine in any reasonable manner, otherwise than by the authority of their instructors? But, granting this, the Turk will determine in the same manner; and how will he in that be more to blame than you? This, my Lord, is the argument to which you have made no reply, and which I conceive indeed to be unanswerable*. But your Episcopal liberality hath extricated you from the difficulty, by disengenuously mangling the passage of the author.

Thank heaven I have now finished this very
 pain-

* This is one of those terrible objections which my opponents are very cautious of meddling with. Nothing is more easy than to reply by abuse and pious declamations. It is not very difficult to thift off what is embarrassing. Hence it must be confessed, that the divines have, in their controversies, many advantages, which they want, in disputing with the ignorant, and with whom they must make up the defect as well as they can. They can reciprocally amuse each other by suppositions which cannot be objected to by those who have themselves nothing better to offer. Of this nature is the expedient of I know not what kind of faith, which, in order to get rid of the difficulty, they oblige the Deity to transmit from father to son. This jargon, however, they reserve for their disputations with their own profession: Should they make use of them in their disputes with us profane cavillers, they would justly be afraid of being turned into ridicule.

painful task; in which I have pursued your arguments, quotations, and censures, step by step; having shewn, that as often as you have attacked my book you have been in the wrong. There remains only the single article of government. I am very ready however to forgive every thing that may be said on this head; being very certain, that when the man who groans under the miseries of a people, and himself experiences them, is accused by you of poisoning the sources of public felicity, every reader must be sensible of the weight of your arguments. If my Treatise on the Social Compact did not exist, and it were necessary to prove anew the important truths which are there displayed, the compliments you pay to governments at my expence would be one of the facts I should bring in proof of them; and the fate of the author would be still a more striking one. There remains nothing more for me to say on this head; my own example hath said every thing, and the passion of private interest ought not to obscure useful truths. The decree that hath been issued against my person; the burning of my book by the common hangman; these are the authentic pieces which I shall transmit to posterity in my justification; my sentiments are not less confirmed by my writings than by my misfortunes. -

Thus, my Lord, have I discussed every thing you have alledged against my book. I have not passed over one of your propositions without examination; but have shewn you to be wrong in every particular, and am not in the least afraid any exception will be taken against my proofs: they must appear, indeed, unanswerable, to all persons of common sense.

But

But supposing, after all, that I had been in some places mistaken, nay, if I had been mistaken throughout, surely a book might meet some indulgence, in which so sincere a love for virtue, and a real regard for truth, are manifested even in the midst of error, or the evil that may be found there! Surely some indulgence is due to an author so little dogmatical and positive, that he often cautions his readers against trusting to his notions, advises them to weigh his arguments, and to give them no authority but that of reason! A book that breathes nothing but peace, candour, patience, the love of harmony, and obedience to the laws in every thing, even in affairs of religion! A book, in short, wherein the cause of God is so boldly defended, the utility of religion so firmly established, good manners so much inculcated and respected; in which vice is disarmed of the weapons of ridicule, wickedness is described so void of sense, and virtue so truly amiable! Were there not even one word of truth in the work, the reveries it contains ought indeed to have been commended and encouraged as the most pleasing and delightful chimeras that could be invented to soothe a heart of sensibility and virtue. Yes, I will be bold to say, that a government truly enlightened, a government whose views are truly salutary and useful, if such a one existed in Europe, would have done public honour, would have erected a statue, to the Author of *Emilius*. I know mankind too well, indeed, to expect so much gratitude from them; but I did not know enough of them to expect what hath really happened.

After having proved that you are unreasonable
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in your censures, it remains for me to prove that you have calumniated me by your abuses. But, as you abuse me only in consequence of the errors you impute to my book, when I shew that those pretended errors are yours, not mine, do I not in fact shew that the consequent abuses belong to yourself, not to me! You load my work with the most odious epithets; and call me an abominable, rash, and impious impostor. What strange language doth Christian charity dictate to the ministers of Jesus Christ!

But pray, my Lord, what do you, who reproach me with blasphemy, when you make the apostles your accomplices in that calumny which you are pleased to load me with? To hear you talk, one would imagine that St Paul had done me the honour to think very particularly of me, and to predict my coming as that of Antichrist. And in what manner, pray, hath he predicted it? You tell, us in the beginning of your mandate,

“ St Paul, my dear brethren, hath foretold that perilous times should come, in which men should be lovers of themselves, proud, blasphemers, unholy, false accusers, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than of God, men of corrupt minds, reprobates concerning the faith.”

I will not conend that this prediction of St Paul is not fully accomplished; but if he had foretold, on the contrary, that there would ever be a time when such people were not to be found, I must confess I should have been more struck with the prediction, and still much more so at its accomplishment.

After this prophecy, so remarkably well applied, you have the goodness to draw my portrait,

trait, in which your Episcopal gravity condescends to amuse itself with antitheses, and I find myself a very droll personage indeed. This part, my Lord, appears to me the best of your whole Mandate. It is certainly not very easy to write a more agreeable satire, or to defame a man with more wit and spirit. *A writer hath here started up* [not very high,] *who, educated in the midst of error,* [it is very true, I was brought up in the Romish religion,] *is full of the language of philosophy* [it is somewhat strange I should speak in a language I do not understand,] *though no true philosopher.* [Oh! granted; I shall never be ambitious of that title, to which I acknowledge I have no just pretensions; nor do I renounce it, I assure you, out of modesty.] *Possessed of a multiplicity of knowledge* [I have learned to be ignorant, indeed, of a multiplicity of things which I imagined I knew] *which nevertheless hath not served to enlighten his understanding,* [it hath taught me to think it enlightened,] *though he hath made use of it to darken the understanding of others.* [The darkness of ignorance is much better than the false light of error.] *He is given up to paradoxes both in opinion and practice;* [certainly he is a great loser by not thinking and acting like the rest of the world!] *uniting simplicity of manners with ostentation of doctrine;* [simplicity of manners elevates the soul—as to ostentation of doctrine, I know not what is meant by it;] *A zeal for ancient maxims, with a passion for establishing the most singular novelties;* [there is nothing more new to us than ancient maxims;] *the obscurity of retirement, with the desire of being known to the whole world.* [Here, my Lord, you

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perfectly resemble our romance-writers, who know every thing their heroes said, or thought, even in their closets. If it were the desire of being known that made me take up the pen, how comes it that this desire influenced me so late, or that I delayed so long to gratify it? *We have seen his invectives against those very sciences which he himself cultivated.* [This proves, that I do not imitate the generality of men of letters, and that in my writings I prefer the interests of truth to my own.] *We hear him acknowledge the excellence of the Gospel,* [always, and with the greatest sincerity,] *while he is endeavouring to depreciate its tenets.* [Not so; I would promote the charity it inculcates, which is almost suppressed by the priests.] *We see him describing the beauty of virtue, at the same time that he is striving to extinguish the love of it in the hearts of his readers.* [Is this true, ye honest and well-meaning readers, have I extinguished in your hearts the love of virtue?]

He hath assumed the preceptorship of human kind, in order to deceive them; he hath erected himself into a public monitor, to lead the world astray; and hath played the oracle of the age, in order to complete its destruction. [I have already examined your proofs of this.] *In a Treatise on the Inequality of Mankind, he hath reduced man to a level with the brutes:* [I will appeal to the reader, whether a man be debased most, by being accounted merely stupid, or naturally wicked?] *In another production still more recent, he hath insinuated all the poison of inordinate pleasure, under pretence of prohibiting it.* [Oh that I could but, indeed, substitute the real charms of pleasure instead of the false ones of debauchery!

ery! But be assured, my Lord, the clergy of your diocese are proof against *Eloisa*; they have got a preservative in *Aloisia* *.] *In the present, he takes advantage of the earliest moments of life, to establish in the mind of man the maxims of irreligion and infidelity.* [This imputation hath been already examined and refuted.]

Such, my Lord, and even yet more cruel, is the manner in which you treat me; with whom you are not acquainted, and of whom you know nothing but by hearsay. Is this behaviour dictated by that evangelical morality of which you pretend to be the defender? We will suppose you desirous of preserving your flock from the contagious principles contained in my book; but why should you, on this account, break out into personal abuse of the author? I know not what end you promise yourself by such unchristian-like conduct; but I know, that, to defend one's religion by such means, is the way to render it very suspicious among all honest well-meaning people.

And yet it is you who call me rash and presumptuous! Can I have deserved that appellation merely for proposing my doubts, and even that with the greatest modesty, without attacking or naming any one? In particular, my Lord, it ill becomes you to treat, in this manner, one whom you speak of with so little justice and decorum, and whom you so wantonly and so indecently abuse.

You treat me as impious; but of what impiety can you accuse me, who never speak of a Supreme Being but to render him the honours which are his due, nor of my neighbour but to

H h 2 excite.

* An infamous, obscene book, well known in France.

excite every one to love theirs? The impious are those who unworthily profane the cause of God, in making him act subservient to the passions of men. The impious are those who, setting themselves up for interpreters of the divine will, the arbiters between God and man, exact to themselves those honours which should be paid only to the Deity. The impious are those who assume the right of exercising the power of God upon earth, and would open and shut the gates of heaven at pleasure. The impious are those who order libels to be read in their churches—At this horrible idea my blood is all inflamed, and tears of indignation start from mine eyes. Ye priests of the God of peace, doubt not but ye will one day be called on to give an account of the use you have made of his temples!

You treat me as an impostor; and why? I am in your opinion in an error; but where is my imposture? Is to reason and to be mistaken, an imposition? Even a Sophist, who deceives others without deceiving himself, is not an impostor, while he confines himself to the authority of reason, tho' he abuses it. An impostor desires to be credited on his own word; he would even have it taken implicitly. An impostor is a knave who imposes on others for his own interest; but pray, my Lord, what interest could I propose to myself in this business? Impostors, according to Ulpian, are those who play delusive tricks, and use imprecations and exorcisms: now, my Lord, I have never done any thing of this kind.

You men of place and dignity can talk away at your ease. Acknowledging no other prerogative than your own, no other laws than such

as

as yourselves impose, you are so far from thinking yourselves under a necessity to be just, that you do not think yourselves obliged to observe the common rules of humanity. You proudly oppress the feeble, without being called to account by any one for your injustice; and whenever your own interest or the policy of state requires it, you sweep us before you like the dust. Some pronounce sentence or burn, others dishonour and abuse, without right, without reason, without disdain, and even without anger; but merely because they are on their route of business, and the unhappy wretch falls in their way. While you insult us with impunity, it is not even permitted us to complain; but if we attempt to demonstrate our innocence and your injustice, we are still farther accused of wanting respect for you.

You, my Lord, have openly insulted me: I have proved that you have falsely aspersed my reputation. Were you a private man, as I am, that I might cite you to appear before an equitable tribunal, there to have a fair hearing, I on the behalf of my book, and you with your Mandate, you will certainly be cast, and sentenced to make me a reparation as public as hath been the offence. But you, my Lord, are in so high a station, that you can easily dispense with being just: and I am nothing. As you profess the Gospel, however, as^r you are a Prelate, whose business it is to teach others their duty, you certainly know your own, in such a case. For my part, I have done mine, and have nothing farther to say.

I am, my Lord,

A. Motiers,
Nov. 18, 1762. }

With profound respect, &c.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

A N E C D O T E S

Relative to the

P E R S E C U T I O N

O F

Mr J. J. R O U S S E A U ;

C O N T A I N E D I N

A LETTER from a Gentleman at *Neuf-*
chatel to his FRIEND.

YOU require of me, Sir, a particular account of the disturbances Mr Rousseau hath occasioned and received, in the new asylum he lately made choice of in this country. I am not surpris'd to find you so greatly interested in the minutest circumstances respecting a writer almost as famous for his personal misfortunes, as celebrated for his literary merit.

I know not if it be in my power, however, to gratify your curiosity so far as it may extend; being ignorant of many of the steps which Rousseau's enemies have taken to persecute him, as well as of the greater part of their motives for such persecution. Indeed the few that have come to my knowledge have by no means en-

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give too much pain to a candid and ingenuous mind to contemplate such means and motives. I shall leave their recapitulation, therefore, to the severe and caustic pen of the Satirist, who may possibly take a cruel pleasure in delineating a picture at once disgraceful both to religion and humanity.

From me you will receive only a faithful narrative of facts, elucidated by a few annotations, and authenticated by copies of the original papers which have appeared in the course of this extraordinary scene of inquisitorial persecution.

It will be necessary, first of all, to inform you, that towards the latter end of last year, Mr. Rousseau had proposals made to him for the publication of a complete edition of his works, as well those in manuscript as what have been already printed. The conditions were accepted; and, on the first application to government, permission was readily granted for the publication intended.

This undertaking appearing very lucrative, it excited the envy and disgusted the avarice of many who could not come in for a share. Being, at the same time, advantageous to the author, who would have derived from it a little fortune, sufficient for his wants, and equal to his desires, it gave no little umbrage to the invidious dispositions of his enemies.

Things were in this train when his *Letters written from the Mountains* made their appearance; a work which hath served as the pretended foundation for all that disturbance of which I am going to give you an account.

I need not tell you, Sir, with what avidity
those

those letters were received by the public, or in how many countries they were proscribed and burnt by the common hangman. For our part, we remained peaceable spectators of such ridiculous bonfires, till about the end of February, when the zeal of our ecclesiastics, which had so long lain smothering in darkness, had acquired sufficient warmth and fuel to burst into a blaze. The Reverend Assembly of our Clergy complained to the Government and to the Magistrates against the *Letters written from the Mountains*; representing that work as an impious and scandalous performance, and soliciting its proscription, as also the suppression of the projected edition of the author's works in general.

This proceeding of the Reverend Assembly bore so striking a contrast to the silence they kept on the publication of *Emilius* *, when its author was admitted to the holy communion, that one would have been apt to suspect some personal interest affected by the work in question, had it not been certainly known, that those members of the sacred college who were the most zealous for the proscription of the *Letters from the Mountains*, had never once read them.

The Council of State, indeed, does not easily take fire at this kind of Remonstrances; but the Civil Magistracy took the complaint into consideration, and proscribed the book. The officer charged with the execution of this business acquitted himself also to a miracle; proclaiming the said *Letters* to be prohibited, as attacking e-
very

* As also his letter to the archbishop of Paris. It is true, that letter makes no attack on the Protestant clergy any more than *Emilius*.

very thing the most *reprehensible* † in our holy religion. What do you think, Sir, of this blunder? How egregiously pertinent was it to stumble so luckily on the truth!

The reverend Assembly adjourned, however, to the 13th of March, when they determined to proceed against the author; who, being advised of the disturbance which the fermentation of this venerable body might occasion in the state, thought it his duty, as a good citizen, to endeavour to prevent the storm. To this end he sent the following paper to Professor de Montmollin, the pastor of his church, in order to have it communicated to the reverend Assembly.

The Declaration of Mr Rousseau to the Assembly of the Clergy; transmitted them by Professor de Montmollin.

“ Out of the deference I owe to Professor
“ de Montmollin my pastor, and the respect I
“ bear to the reverend Assembly of the Clergy,
“ I offer *, if they will admit of it, to engage
“ myself, by a writing signed with my own
“ hand, never to publish any new work relative
“ in any shape to matters of religion; nor ever
“ to treat of religion cursorily in any new work
“ I may hereafter publish on any other subject:
“ Promising farther, to continue to display,
“ both in my sentiments and conduct, the va-
lue

† Probably instead of *respectable*.

* This offer, which has lately been made public, hath dissipated much of that prepossession which had irritated the people against Mr ROUSSEAU: and this consequence of its being made known, sufficiently accounts for this declaration's being so long and so carefully kept secret.

“ I set upon the happiness of being united
 “ to the church.

“ Mr Professor is desired to communicate this
 “ Declaration to the venerable Assembly.

Motiers, March

10, 1765.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.”

Would you not think, Sir, you who know the extent of Christian charity, and are a lover of peace and tranquillity—would you not readily conceive, I say, that the reverend Assembly should, on the receipt of this paper, accept the offer it contained, publish it abroad, and have it transcribed in letters of gold in their Registers?

But, no—Undeceive yourself; and guess, if you can, at the motives which induced the clergy to make no reply to this offer of Mr. Rousseau; to keep it from transpiring; and to proceed precipitately, the same day, to their final determination of this business.

You may guess, also, at the reason for the members then present entering into a solemn and inviolable engagement of secrecy, with regard to the questions determined to be proposed to Mr Rousseau, as well as with regard to every thing that had passed, or should pass, in this *inquisitorial Synod*. Their silence on this head was thought a matter of importance; as by this means those members of the clergy who were not present at their deliberations, could not penetrate the secret. Vain precaution! This impenetrable secret was even known long before the Assembly had begun to deliberate: in consequence of which, some persons, who correspond with the court, had time to inform the king, and that even on the strength of
 ad-

advices received from Paris and Geneva. You may be surpris'd, Sir, at all this; and indeed so am I; but the fact is nevertheless true. For certain it is, that M. M * * *, Counsellor of State and Solicitor-general, received soon after the following letter:

“ The King is displeas'd that your fellow-
“ countrymen are exasperated at a man whom
“ he protects; and hath declared, that he will
“ highly resent any farther persecution of Mr.
“ Rousseau. This I have from his Majesty's
“ own mouth; you may report it to whom you
“ please.”

This letter was dated the 10th of March, and came from my Lord Marshall; that illustrious Briton, who is so good a judge of merit, so firm a protector of oppressed innocence, and, in a word, so truly worthy the friendship and confidence of a king, who is himself so eminently skilled in the knowledge of mankind.

Compare the date of this letter with the distance of places, and you will see it required very early advice, to be inform'd, at such a distance, of what should happen in the Assembly of our Clergy, appointed for the 13th of March.

Notwithstanding this circumstance, however, a report prevail'd, which every day increas'd, that Mr Rousseau had written a new tract, entitled *Des Princes*. Nobody pretend'd, indeed, to have seen it; but it was boldly affirm'd, notwithstanding, that all aristocratical governments, and in particular that of Berne, were very ill treated in it. So mighty officious, indeed, were some persons in this affair, that they
even

even wrote from Berne, to Mr F * * *, Printer at Yverdon, desiring him to procure the book of Mr Rousseau, in order to print and publish it; in consideration, as they said, that it was a *very good thing*.

Mr Rousseau saw into the design of this officiousness, and accordingly wrote to Mr F * * * in the manner following, desiring him to print and publish his letter.

“ SIR, *Motiers, March 14, 1765.*

“ I did not write the work, entitled *Des Princes*; I have not even seen it; nay, I doubt whether any such work exists. I can easily guess whence such a story proceeds, and for what purpose it is calculated. At the same time, my enemies do themselves justice in attacking me with arms so worthy of their cause. As I have never disavowed any work I have really written, I ought to be believed when I speak of such as are not mine. I desire, Sir, you will publish this Declaration, for the sake of truth, and in justice to a man who hath no other defence.

“ Your humble servant,

“ J. J. ROUSSEAU.”

I observed, that the reverend Assembly proceeded precipitately to pass sentence on Mr Rousseau, without allowing a second day for their deliberations. In fact, Sir, during their convocation on the 13th of March, they fulminated against him, in direct opposition to the constitution of this country, a sentence of Excommunication. Very prudently, however, this
Af-

Assembly suppressed this irregular sentence, on the receipt of the following anonymous letter, very probably addressed to it by one of its own members.

LETTER *to the Assembly of the* CLERGY.

“ I find you are solemnly met to sit in judge-
“ ment on Mr Rousseau, or rather on his *Let-*
“ *ters from the Mountains.* I have not entered
“ into your sanctuary; permit me nevertheless
“ to offer the advice of one of its best friends.
“ This advice is, that the Writer in question,
“ if we consider him in the light of a Christian,
“ as he appears in the first volume, needs ra-
“ ther to be slightly reprehended, than perfe-
“ cuted by Protestant churches: and as to his
“ character of a citizen, which he displays in
“ the second volume; so far from deserving to
“ be reprehended, he merits almost to be cano-
“ nized in every republican state. The reason
“ is, that tyranny and arbitrary power are sub-
“ jects he understands better than either the
“ Gospel or the Reformation. He hath pur-
“ sued the phrensy of despotism into its inmost
“ recesses, and exposed its most refined artifi-
“ ces; without having suffered the enchanting
“ beauty of style in the least to enervate the
“ masculine vigour of his reasoning. But as
“ for the Scriptures and the Reformation, he
“ appears to have overlooked several essential
“ points which he should have observed in the
“ one, and to be ignorant of many useful things
“ he might have learned from the other. Add
“ to this, that it is unfortunate, or rather for-
“ tunate, that the more attractive we find his

“ diction, the less seductive will be the scepti-
 “ cism of his arguments ; because the oftener we
 “ are induced to read them, the more shall we
 “ perceive them to be only a legendary farrago
 “ of chimeras, dropt from a fantastical pen,
 “ under the influence only of an imagination
 “ perhaps itself already too chimerically affected.
 “ As to what relates to the holy communion,
 “ or the alternative of prohibiting or permitting
 “ his attendance at the Lord’s table ; I am a-
 “ fraid, that, so long as it pleases our Sovereign
 “ to protect him, it would be an hazardous at-
 “ tempt to deny him such privilege ; as, by
 “ thus endeavouring to build castles in the air,
 “ you may come down yourselves to the ground.
 “ It would be dangerous also to infringe the
 “ judgement of the Consistories in this matter ;
 “ whose independence hath been too often
 “ occasionally pretended and acknowledged
 “ by the reverend Assembly itself. It is not
 “ proper it should act inconsistently ; the mat-
 “ ter may become intricate ; and it is equally
 “ important both to Religion and to the State,
 “ that the Assembly should not expose itself.
 “ The only business in which the Assembly can
 “ with propriety interfere, is an examination
 “ into the works of the writer ; the dispersion
 “ and propagation of which it is its duty to op-
 “ pose, by prudent admonitions addressed to
 “ the author by means of his pastor, exhorting
 “ him to write and publish no more ; and also
 “ by making earnest remonstrances to the Go-
 “ vernment, in order that the privilege granted
 “ for printing the projected edition be repeal-
 “ ed. If the assembly act prudentially, they will
 “ insist no farther than to obtain these ends ;
 “ which

“ which will be two very considerable and difficult points gained *.

“ It is certain, that it is of very dangerous consequence to extend the privilege of toleration to foreigners; as this would be, in a manner, giving an invitation to the authors and editors of pernicious books to seek an asylum in this country, and risk the making it a rendezvous for those poultry scribblers of the present times, whose disposition principally induces them to employ their pens against the doctrines of religion and morality.

“ There is yet another reason why the

I i 2

As-

* Not at all. On the contrary, nothing so easy. For, with regard to the first, the assembly had nothing to do but to admit of Mr Rousseau's offer. And as to the second, it might have been obtained on speaking half a word to him. Witness the following extracts of letters written to one of his friends on these occasions.

“ I must confess to you, I shall look with some anxiety on the engagements I am going to form with the company in question, should we come to an agreement; so that if we break off, I shall not be much mortified.” — Again, in another letter to the same, he says: “ You will please to proceed no farther with the company, till they have got the formal consent of the Council of State; which I doubt, however, of their being able to obtain. And, as to the permission they have solicited from the Court, I doubt the grant of that still more. My Lord Marshall is well acquainted with my sentiments on that head: he knows very well that I not only ask for nothing for myself, but that I am determined never to make use of his interest at Court, to obtain any thing whatever relative to the country I live in, which may be disagreeable to the particular government of it. I do not mean to interfere in any shape with these matters, nor to proceed farther in our treaty till they are determined.”

The light which Mr Rousseau then looked upon the projected edition of his Works, was well known to the six persons who were desirous to engage in it; and could not, therefore, be a secret to all the members of the reverend Assembly of the Clergy.

“ Assembly, convened to deliberate on the pre-
 “ sent affair, should act with caution. It is
 “ said that the first mover of all its proceedings
 “ resides in a neighbouring capital, in the per-
 “ son of an apostate ecclesiastic; one who seeks
 “ only, in this business, to do himself credit
 “ with a D’Alembert or a Voltaire; the rivals
 “ or enemies of our celebrated Rousseau.
 “ Would it not be scandalous for an Assembly
 “ of Divines and Pastors, so greatly distinguished
 “ in the reformed part of Europe, to permit
 “ themselves thus to be actuated, in a matter
 “ of religious importance, by an intriguing
 “ ecclesiastic, given up wholly to worldly pur-
 “ suits and personal prospects? How can they
 “ think of listening to such a person, when the
 “ matter in question relates to the means of si-
 “ lencing or reclaiming a poor and honest, tho’
 “ mistaken unbeliever? How can they think of
 “ being advised or directed by a man, who is
 “ known to have the strictest connection with
 “ an inventor of bawdy tales, defamatory hi-
 “ stories, and the revivers of systems of impiety
 “ and materialism? by one who piques himself,
 “ as the highest merit, on being the creature,
 “ the favourite, of the Ambassadors of a Crown
 “ which is daily imprisoning or hanging up his
 “ countrymen and brethren for preaching the
 “ Gospel in its purity; rendering himself by
 “ this means even an accomplice in all the anti-
 “ christian cruelties of Popery*? What a con-
 “ trast! Of what influence should be the sug-
 “ gestions of such a cabal over an Assembly of
 “ Protestant Divines?”

This

* Let not any reader be offended at these expressions, as they are consecrated by the preachers of the gospel.

This letter occasioned a new deliberation on the 13th; when, at the request of Mr de Montmollin, pastor at Motiers, a written order was formally given him, to cite J. J. Rousseau to appear before the Consistory, and to propose to him the following questions:

First; Whether John James Rousseau doth not believe in Jesus Christ, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification?

Secondly; Whether he doth not believe in Revelation, and regard the Holy Scripture as divine.

Mr de M * * * was further commissioned and directed, that, in case Mr Rousseau did not make satisfactory answers to the above questions; he, the said Pastor, should proceed to excommunicate him, doubtless *at all events*. There is good reason, at least, to conclude as much from the measures that were taken in the church of Motiers to bring about this conclusion; all, as it was pretended, for the greater glory of God. In the first place, endeavours were used to stagger the consciences, and intimidate the elders of the church, being members of the Consistory, by telling them, that J. J. Rousseau was the Antichrist; that the security of the country depended on his excommunication; that all the different members of the State highly interested themselves in it; that the allied Cantons, and particularly that of Berne, had threatened to renounce its ancient alliance with this country, if Rousseau was not excommunicated. Nay, reports were even spread among the women in the town and its neighbourhood, that Rousseau, in his last work, had affirmed that women had no souls, but were

merely on a footing with the brutes. By these, and a thousand other stories calculated for the same purpose, the common people seemed very ripe for serving poor Rousseau like another Orpheus †, or at least making him to undergo the fate of a Servetus.

Matters were in this situation when our pretended Antichrist addressed the following letter to Mr N * * *, Solicitor-general.

“ Motiers, Mar. 23, 1765.

“ I know not, Sir, whether I ought not to
 “ rejoice at misfortunes which are accompa-
 “ nied with so many consolations. Those I ex-
 “ perienced from your letter were very agree-
 “ able, tho’ less so than what I received from
 “ the paquet it contained. I had communi-
 “ cated to my Lord Marshall the reasons which
 “ made me desirous of quitting this country, to
 “ seek tranquillity for myself, and to leave it
 “ here behind me. I have the satisfaction to
 “ find he approves of those reasons, and is of
 “ my opinion that I ought to go. Thus, Sir,
 “ my resolution is taken; and, though I protest
 “ it is taken with regret, it is irrevocable. Is
 “ it possible the goodness of any of my friends
 “ can disapprove of a desire, in my present me-
 “ lancholy situation, to find some peaceful spot
 “ whereon

* This is by no means an exaggerated state of the case. It is well known that we have here more than one zealot, who, for the love of God, and the salvation of souls, would willingly have furnished faggots on this occasion for an Auto-da-fe. The friends of Mr Rousseau were very glad indeed, that the severity of the season confined him to his room; he might otherwise have been in great danger of being torn to pieces by our modern Bacchants, whose termagant spirits were enraged to the highest degree in behalf of their souls.

“ whereon to lay my bones? With a greater
“ share of health and strength, I should have
“ consented, for the good of the public, to meet
“ my persecutors face to face: but, debilitated
“ by infirmities and misfortunes without ex-
“ ample, I am very unfit to act a part, which,
“ indeed, it would now be cruel to impose on
“ me. Wearied out with disputes and quarrels,
“ I can no longer support them. Let me go
“ hence, therefore, and die elsewhere in peace;
“ for here that would be impossible, though less
“ on account of the ill disposition of the inha-
“ bitants, than from their too great vicinity to
“ Geneva; an inconvenience, which all the
“ good-will in the world cannot enable them
“ to remove.

“ My resolution, Sir, of leaving this coun-
“ try, being what my enemies have sought to
“ reduce me to, it ought naturally to prevent
“ any farther proceedings against me. I am
“ not, indeed, as yet in a state of health to un-
“ dertake a journey; and it will require some
“ little time to settle my affairs here before I
“ go. In the mean time, I hope not to be
“ treated worse than a Turk, a Jew, a Pagan,
“ or an Atheist; but that I may be permitted,
“ for a few weeks at least, to enjoy that hospi-
“ tality which is not refused to the greatest
“ stranger. Not that I mean, Sir, for the fu-
“ ture, to consider myself as such: On the con-
“ trary, the honour of being enrolled among
“ the citizens of this country, will be always
“ dear to me, as well for its own sake as for
“ that of the hand by which it was presented to
“ me. At the same time, the zeal and fidelity
“ which I owe the king, as my prince and pro-
“ tector,

“ tector, will be numbered among the first of
 “ my duties. Let me add to this, that I leave
 “ behind me some possessions truly to be re-
 “ gretted, but of which I do not mean altoge-
 “ ther to divest myself; these are, the love and
 “ esteem of those friends which I have been so
 “ happy as to find even in the midst of my dis-
 “ graces, and which I hope to preserve tho’ at
 “ a distance.

“ As to the reverend gentlemen the Clergy,
 “ if they think proper to proceed against me
 “ before a Consistory, I shall crawl as well as I
 “ can to appear on their citation, since they
 “ will have it so; but they will find, that, for
 “ any thing I shall have to say to them, they
 “ might have dispensed with all this formality
 “ and parade. They have the power, and are
 “ at liberty, to excommunicate me, if it affords
 “ them any amusement; and, indeed, I should
 “ be greatly amused too, were I only excom-
 “ municated after the manner of Mr. de Vol-
 “ taire *.

“ Permit me, Sir, to address this letter in
 “ common to the two gentlemen who have
 “ had the goodness to write to me in so gene-
 “ rous and interesting a manner on this occa-
 “ sion. You will readily perceive, that, in my
 “ present state of embarrassment, I have nei-
 “ ther

* The reader will possibly be surprised to find the name of this celebrated writer so closely connected with that of the reverend Assembly of our Clergy. It was occasioned, however, by a letter which M. de Voltaire is said to have written to Paris; and in which it is assured, that he piqued himself much on his power and interest to get poor Rousseau expelled from his new country, in spite of the protection afforded him by its sovereign.

“ their time nor words to express how much I
“ am affected with your and their concern for
“ my welfare.

“ I am, Sir,

“ with greatest respect, &c.

“ J. J. ROUSSEAU.”

On Sunday the 24th of March, twelve days after the deliberations of the reverend Assembly, the pastor of Motiers convened the admonitory Consistory: having, by the election of two new elders, completed the number required, so as to suit with his plan of reserving two voices to himself.

The Consistory being met, he produced the orders, which he had brought in his pocket from the Assembly; and which he now displayed with ample reflections on the subject, concluding at length, as might be very naturally expected, with a charge adapted to his design.

This interval of twelve days had been fully employed, and that with so much success, that M. de Montmollin, writing to a friend at Geneva, is said to have positively assured him, the sentence of excommunication would pass on Mr Rousseau.

This being resolved on, it was to no purpose that the King's officer, who is always present at the meetings of the Consistory, reminded it of infringing the laws and constitution of the State. It was in vain he exclaimed against that species of inquisition which the assembly of the Clergy had introduced, in open defiance of that con-
sti-

stitution, and in direct violation of the rights and privileges of the people: his voice was not heard; or, if heard, was neglected; whilst the majority determined, that Mr Rousseau should be cited, on the 28th instant, to appear before the Consistory on the 29th.

This determination was accordingly transmitted and received with politeness on the side of both parties. But Mr Rousseau, by the advice of his friends, which was founded on very sufficient reasons, very prudently declined making his personal appearance; sending in writing what he had to say to the Consistory on this occasion, accompanied with the declaration he made to Mr de Montmollin when he was received to the holy communion in 1762.

Letter from Mr ROUSSEAU to the Consistory, consisting of the Pastor and the Elders of the Church of Motiers.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ On receiving your citation of yesterday, I
 “ determined, in spite of my ill state of health,
 “ to appear before you to-day; but find it im-
 “ possible, notwithstanding the goodness of my
 “ inclination, to sustain the fatigue of a tedious
 “ audience: having reflected also, that, with
 “ regard to the matter of faith, which is the
 “ single object of that citation, I may as well
 “ explain myself in writing. I doubt not also
 “ that the charity, which must ever accompany
 “ your zeal for religion, will induce you to ad-
 “ mit of the same reply by letter, as I should
 “ give to the questions of Mr de Montmollin,
 “ should I have done it by word of mouth.

“ It

“ It appears to me, then, Gentlemen, that
“ the severity, with which the reverend Assem-
“ bly have thought proper to proceed against
“ me, should have been founded on some posi-
“ tive law; which I am assured does not now
“ exist in *this* country *. Nothing, indeed,
“ can be more novel, more irregular, and more
“ destructive to civil liberty, and, above all,
“ more contrary to the true spirit of our holy
“ religion, than such violent proceedings in a
“ matter of pure faith †.

“ For

* And which never did exist there, but to the terrible misfortune of the inhabitants.

† Mr Rousseau might have added, that nothing could be a greater contrast to such proceedings, than even the conduct of our own clergy; who, towards the end of the last century, absolutely refused to adopt the *Consensus*, notwithstanding it was the profession of faith adopted by all the other Protestant churches of Switzerland, because they would lay no restraint on the conscience. Nay, the same clergy have even persisted to this day in the like refusal; though *now* they are desirous of imposing on individuals the yoke which they and their Protestant forefathers were unable to bear. Let these gentlemen begin at least by laying down a regular and uniform creed of their own. For till then we shall hardly be disposed to forget a notorious and recent fact; which is, that in the last edition of a little work, received into all our public schools, and published under the immediate direction of our pastors, without any regard to the inspection of the civil magistrate, there are a number of texts of Scripture omitted, (doubtless for very good reasons,) and among others the following: 1 John v. 7. “ For there are *three* that bear record in heaven, the Father, “ the Word, and the Holy Ghost; *and these three are ONE.*” 1 Cor. xiv. 40. “ Let all things be done *decently* and in *or-
“ der.*”

Ibid. xiii. 13. “ And now abideth faith, hope, charity, “ these three; but *the greatest of these is charity.*”

See also, 1 Tim. i. 5. John v. 39, 58. Rom. x. 9, 13. Tit. iii. 8. 1 Pet. iii. 13. Jude 20, 21, &c.

It is certainly high time for the clergy to make some alteration in the doctrines commonly received. But to pretend to add an inquisition to their instruction, is rather too great a
slide,

“ For let me beg of you to consider, that,
 “ having long been received into the bosom of
 “ the church; and, being neither Pastor nor
 “ Professor, nor invested in any manner with
 “ the authority of public instruction, but only
 “ a simple individual among the number of the
 “ faithful; I ought not to be subjected to any
 “ examination or inquisition concerning matters
 “ of belief. Such an inquisition, unheard of
 “ in this country, tends indeed to sap all the
 “ foundations of the reformed religion; at once
 “ infringing both gospel-liberty and Christian
 “ charity, as well as the authority of the Prince
 “ and the rights of the subject, whether we
 “ consider the latter as a member of the church
 “ or of the state. An account of my actions, or
 “ moral conduct, is certainly due, at all times,
 “ to the magistracy and to my fellow-citizens.
 “ But these not admitting of any infallible
 “ church that hath the authority to prescribe
 “ what their members shall believe; as I have
 “ been once received into its communion, I am
 “ responsible only to God for the articles of
 “ my future faith.

“ To this let me add, that, when I was ad-
 “ mitted to the holy communion in this parish,
 “ about three years ago, soon after the publi-
 “ cation of *Emilius*, I gave to Mr de Mont-
 “ mollin himself, a declaration in writing;
 “ with which he seemed fully satisfied, requi-
 “ ring

stride, in a country whose inhabitants have imbibed the love
 of liberty with their mother's milk. Let our pastors reflect on
 the rivers of blood which such an attempt once caused to be
 shed in the Netherlands, and the *spirit of party* will certainly
 yield, either through probity or compassion, to the *spirit of pa-*
triotism.

“ ring no farther explanation of me with regard
“ to matters of belief, but promising he never
“ should require any other.

“ I abide by his promise ; and particularly
“ by my own declaration : how inconsistent,
“ how absurd, how scandalous will it be, there-
“ fore, to have been satisfied with it on the
“ publication of a book in which Christianity
“ itself appeared to be so violently attacked ; and
“ yet not to be satisfied with it on the publica-
“ tion of another book, in which the author
“ may doubtless be guilty of some errors, the
“ natural attendants on human frailty ; but in
“ which he certainly errs like a Christian *,
“ as he constantly refers to the authority of the
“ gospel. In the former case, they might in-
“ deed, with some propriety, have denied me
“ the participation of the holy communion, but
“ in the present they ought to allow it me. If
“ you act otherwise, gentlemen, at the peril
“ of your own consciences be it ; for my part,
“ act as you will, mine is at ease.

“ I am ready, gentlemen, to pay you all
“ that deference which is justly your due ; I
“ therefore heartily wish you would not entirely
“ forget the protection with which I am ho-
“ noured by the King, lest you compel me to
“ apply for that of the government.

“ Let me beg of you, gentlemen, to receive
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* It might be also added, And with one of the principal ad-
vocates for the reformation, the celebrated THEODORE de
BEZA ; who nevertheless was not cited before a Consistory
for having said, in a note on John ii. 23, 24. “ *Non satis tuta*
“ *fides eorum qui miraculis nituntur.*” It is true, that in his time
the word *Reformation* was not an unmeaning term.

“ in good part the strongest assurances of my
 “ profound respect.

“ Annexed, you will find a copy of the de-
 “ claration abovementioned; on which I was
 “ admitted to the holy communion in 1762,
 “ and which I now confirm.

“ J. J. ROUSSEAU.”

This declaration hath appeared in public long
 since; but I think it would not be improper to
 insert it on this occasion. Here, therefore, it is.

*The Declaration of Mr ROUSSEAU, previous to
 his being admitted to the holy communion, after
 the publication of his Emilius: Addressed to the
 Pastor of the church of Motiers.*

“ SIR,

“ The respect I owe your character, and my
 “ duty as a parishioner, obliges me, before I
 “ offer to approach the communion-table, to
 “ impart to you my sentiments respecting the
 “ objects of our faith; a declaration which is
 “ become necessary from the strange prejudices
 “ that have arisen against some of my writings.

“ It is to be lamented, that the Ministers of
 “ the gospel should, on this occasion, revenge
 “ the cause of the church of Rome, for want of
 “ hearing what I have to offer, or even of ha-
 “ ving read my book.

“ You, Sir, do not stand, indeed, in this
 “ predicament; I expect, therefore, at your
 “ hands, more equitable treatment. Be this,
 “ however, as it may, the work carries its
 “ own explanation with it; and as I can justify
 “ it only by means of itself, I abandon it, such
 “ as it is, either to the approbation or censure
 “ of

“ of the judicious reader, without undertaking
“ to defend or pretending to disavow it.

“ Confining what I have to say at present,
“ therefore, to my own person, I declare to
“ you, Sir, with all respect, that, since my
“ being re-united to the church in which I was
“ born, I have always made profession of the
“ reformed religion; the less suspected, in-
“ deed, as in the country where I resided no-
“ thing farther was required of me than to keep
“ silence; even some doubt of such profession
“ being suffered to remain, in order that I
“ might continue to enjoy those political advan-
“ tages, of which I should otherwise have been
“ deprived on account of my religion. To this
“ true and holy religion I now profess myself
“ also sincerely attached, and shall continue
“ so to the latest hour of my life: I desire,
“ therefore, to be externally united to the
“ church, as I am internally from the very bot-
“ tom of my heart. And this I protest to you,
“ Sir, I desire not only from the consolation
“ which I promise myself from a participation
“ in the communion of the faithful, but even
“ as much with a view to their public edification
“ as my own private advantage; for it is by no
“ means proper, that a sincere and ingenuous
“ reasoner should not openly appear a member
“ of the church of Christ.

“ I shall wait on you, Sir, to receive a verbal
“ answer to this letter, and to consult you re-
“ specting the manner in which I ought to con-
“ duct myself on this occasion; that I may give
“ no cause of offence to a Minister whom I ho-
“ nour, nor of scandal to the congregation I
“ would wish to edify.”

After many difficulties, which arose on the part of Mr de Montmollin respecting the reception of these papers, the King's officer carried his point so far as to obtain the permission of having this read: in doing which, the pastor reversed the order of their mission, and recited the declaration first. During the lecture also, he was observed to be greatly agitated; every now and then shrugging up his shoulders, and stopping short to comment on what he had read, in a manner very expressive and edifying, though not a little singular in a pastor who for two years and a half past had judged this very declaration sufficient to justify his admitting the author to the communion.

Nor was this the only indecency committed in this Assembly, the same servant of God endeavouring constantly to interrupt the servant of his Prince, when the latter made any representation on the subject. Nay, he went so far as to propose an adjournment of the Assembly, when he saw what turn their deliberations were likely to take; and that merely on the frivolous and unprecedented pretext of one of the elders being absent; on whose voice he doubtless imagined he could depend.

These efforts, however, being insufficient, he tried another scheme; and modestly pretended, that he himself had two voices in the chapter. Yet one would have naturally thought his delicacy should have made him refrain from voting at all on this particular occasion, as he was now become in a manner a party in the affair, by representing the Assembly of the Clergy in exhibiting the orders they had given him; and which he now insisted should be conformed to,

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in the deliberations of the consistory: but it appears he was determined to carry his point *per fas & nefas*.

At the breaking up of the Consistory, our Pastor's dissatisfaction broke forth, in the rudest manner, against those of the elders who had differed from him in opinion. He reproached them in the severest terms for not having listened to the voice of their spiritual conductor; to all which, however, they honestly and plainly told him, "they thought it much safer to listen to the voice of their own consciences."

They had, in fact, had time sufficient to reflect on the conduct of this spiritual guide; on the measures he had taken to deceive them, and the false steps he would have them take in this business. Being apprehensive of the ill consequences that might attend on their proceedings, therefore, four of them thought it expedient to address themselves to the Council of State, the proper Assembly to judge of order.

But here I imagine that I hear you exclaiming with surprise, in the words of Boileau,

Tant de fiel entre-t-il dans l'ame des devots!

Whence, say you, can such spleen and malice arise? What can afford a sufficient cause for this furious animosity? A Pastor, of whom Mr Rousseau had spoken more than once with high encomiums*, must surely have very singular

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* Particularly in his letter to the archbishop of Paris, and in the first volume of the *Letters written from the Mountains*. In regard to these encomiums, a lady of this country, who knows the world well, very pleasantly said, that she had been offended, as well as others, at the writings of Mr Rousseau, and that not less with his assertions than with his doubts; in proof

motives to falsify these encomiums by his own conduct! Doubtless, Sir! It is, indeed, whispered, that he was certainly touched with that powerful influence, which is usually denominated the *Auri sacra fames*.

I leave you to guess the rest; and pass on to the abovementioned address of the four elders.

To the President and members of the Council State.

“ *Respectable Lords,*

“ The subscribing elders, members of the
 “ admonitory Consistory of Motiers and Bove-
 “ resse, take the liberty of addressing your Ex-
 “ cellencies; being greatly surpris'd to find
 “ themselves required to deliberate on a case
 “ which surpasses the bounds of their very limi-
 “ ted knowledge. For which reason they in-
 “ treat your Lordships to give them directions
 “ for their conduct with regard to the three
 “ following points:

“ 1. Whether we are obliged to engage in a
 “ rigorous scrutiny concerning matters of
 “ religious belief?

“ With regard to this first article, we must
 “ ingenuously avow the incompetence of our
 “ knowledge in theology; nor can we think it
 “ reasonable that such knowledge should be re-
 “ quired of us, who have always imagined the
 “ duties of our charge confined to the repre-
 “ hension and suppression of indecencies and
 “ irregularities of manners; without venturing
 “ to

of which, she alledged these passages respecting his pastor. All the world were of her opinion; and when it was told Mr Rouffieau, he answered in the bitterness of his heart, “ True, I ought to have been aware of the danger of commending an ecclesiastic while he was living.”

“ to encroach upon the *sovereign authority* on
“ which we depend.

“ 2. Whether a Pastor has, or ought to
“ have, two votes in the Consistory?

“ On this second point we beg leave to ob-
“ serve, that the Consistory of Motiers and
“ Boveresse being composed of six elders, with
“ the Pastor as president, if this maxim were
“ established, the members of the said Consistory
“ would serve only for mere cyphers in any fu-
“ ture debate.

“ 3. and lastly, Whether the deacon of Val
“ de Travers hath a right to sit and vote
“ in the Consistory of Motiers and Bove-
“ resse?

“ With regard to this last article, it appears
“ to us, that if the deacon is desirous to inter-
“ fere in matters of *correction*, he ought also to
“ labour in those of *instruction* and *edification*.
“ Nor should the Pastors prevent his catechising,
“ as he is legally bound to do, in the chapel of
“ Boveresse*.

“ Your

* For the explanation of this circumstance, it is necessary to observe, that, at the instance of the pastors, the communities of Val de Travers, who enjoyed a foundation for a schoolmaster, consented to suppress that place, and to transfer the pension to a deacon, charged to assist the clergy in the execution of their functions. The inhabitants of Boveresse stipulated in particular, that the deacon should come every fortnight to teach and explain the catechism in their chapel, in order to prevent their children being deprived of all instruction. For these two years past, however, the poor people solicit in vain for their catechism and their abandoned chapel.

Our modern pastors are by no means like those of the primitive churches, who would brave the cross and stake to spread abroad their instructions, and solicit the people to receive them *gratis*. Ours, on the contrary, find it more easy and commodious to confine their pastoral solicitude to the emolument of the prebend. To do justice to all parties, however,
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“ Your Lordships will please to take under
 “ consideration the *first* article of our most hum-
 “ ble remonstrances; which gives us the more
 “ concern, as the object of it so far surpasses
 “ our judgment and abilities. In regard to the
 “ *two latter*, we are also by so much the more
 “ interested in them, as we are anxious for the
 “ faithful discharge of our duty, and may sub-
 “ ject ourselves to censure, while our intentions
 “ are perfectly innocent. We flatter ourselves
 “ that your Lordships will please to direct our
 “ conduct by an arret of Council; which will
 “ be an additional motive to those already sub-
 “ sisting for putting up our most earnest pray-
 “ ers to the Almighty for your preservation.

Signed,

A. H. BAZENCENET, A. FAVRE,
 L. BARRELET, A. JEANRENAUD.”

This request being presented the first of April, the government judged it necessary to expedite the following preliminary orders.

“ *April 1.*

“ The Council of State, having received the
 “ informations of Mr. Martinet, member of
 “ the Council, and Captain-governor of Val de
 “ Travers, bearing date the 25th and 30th of
 “ March last, with regard to what passed in the
 “ Admonitory Consistory, assembled on Sunday
 “ the 24th and on Friday the 29th of the same
 “ month, respecting the Sieur Rousseau; as also
 “ the joint representations of four elders of the
 “ church, Favre, Bazencenet, Barrelet and
 “ Jean-

it must be owned, that these emoluments are but small, and little proportioned to the value of that instruction for which they were intended as a salary.

“ Jeanrenaud, and deliberated thereon; it is
“ *resolved*, That the conduct of the said Gover-
“ nor hitherto is fully approved; and that, in
“ expectation of receiving further orders con-
“ cerning the final determination of this affair,
“ he do signify to the said Sieur Rousseau, that
“ the Council of State will secure to him the full
“ enjoyment of the protection granted him by
“ the King, of the favour he is honoured with
“ by my Lord Marshall, and of that which is
“ due to him as a subject of the state. In con-
“ sequence of which, the Council dispense with
“ his paying any regard to all or any of the ci-
“ tations which may be sent him from the Con-
“ sistory; whose whole procedure against him
“ is hereby superseded, and with regard to
“ which a definite order will speedily be issued.”

The next day was published the Arret follow-
ing.

“ *April 2.*

“ At the request of the four elders of the
“ Consistory of Motiers and Boveresse, Favre,
“ Bazencenet, Barrelet, and Jeanrenaud, it is
“ *resolved*, That the delicacy and prudence with
“ which the said elders proceeded in the pre-
“ sentation of their address to the Council of
“ State, is approved and commended.

“ *Resolved* concerning the three articles con-
“ tained in their said request, That the council
“ pronounce, in order,

“ On the *first*, That the Admonitory Con-
“ sistory is to take cognisance only of divisions,
“ disorders, and licentious of manners; having
“ no right to interfere in any other business
“ whatever, but particularly having no autho-
“ rity

“ rity to call any one to account for matters of
 “ faith or private judgment: That the mem-
 “ bers of the Consistory have still less right or
 “ pretension to proceed rigorously in the pro-
 “ secution of any such business; as the Consisto-
 “ ry itself depends on a superior power, to
 “ which its members should refer their discove-
 “ ries of this kind when of importance to the
 “ state; and to which alone it belongs to take
 “ cognisance and to punish in its own prudence,
 “ if the case require, agreeable to the forms of
 “ law.

“ That the said four elders are consequently
 “ justifiable in refusing to take cognisance of
 “ such subjects, notwithstanding they may be
 “ required so to do by their pastor; as they
 “ ought not in any manner to aid or assist in
 “ such proceedings as are contrary to the con-
 “ stitution of the State, whatever means may be
 “ taken to engage them therein *.

“ With regard to the *second* article, *resolved*,
 “ That it is unprecedented for the pastor
 “ presiding over the Admonitory Consistory to
 “ have more than one vote; and that whosoever
 “ hath, in such a case, assumed a double vote,
 “ be properly reprehended and restrained to the
 “ due discharge of his proper functions: That
 “ it is not permitted such presiding pastor to
 “ present to the Consistory the resolutions, or e-
 “ ven final determinations, of the Assembly of
 “ the Clergy; by which the Consistory cannot,
 “ and ought not, to be affected, that Assembly
 “ having no authority over the Consistory:

“ That

* Observe this, ye ministers of the God of peace, who com-
mands obedience to the powers that be.

“ That a pastor may, indeed, consult such Af-
“ sembly for his own particular direction, and
“ even follow their advice, if he thinks proper;
“ but that he ought in no case whatever to lay
“ any the least restraint on the free votes and
“ suffrages of the other members of the said
“ Consistory; and of this the officer of the
“ State, who is present, is required to take par-
“ ticular note.

“ As to the *third* article of the said request
“ of the four elders abovementioned, it is *or-*
“ *dered*, That Mr Martinet, Counsellor of State,
“ Captain and Governor of Val de Travers, do
“ make proper inquiry into the late practices,
“ as well as into the former customs on which
“ such practices may have been founded, respect-
“ ing the pretended right of the deacon of Val
“ de Travers to sit and vote in the Admonitory
“ Consistory of Motiers and Boveresse; and
“ upon his report deliberation will be held, and
“ farther resolutions taken therein *.”

Such, my dear Sir, is the present situation of things here: and it is hoped the reverend Assembly of the Clergy will, on this occasion, have the good sense to apply the ancient maxim, *noli movere camarinam*, and so much patriotism at least to be quiet †; especially after Mr Rousseau

* This arret, coming directly from the Council of State, and serving to authenticate the facts above recited, reflects no little honour also on our government; and will, to every good citizen, be as valuable as the *Magna Charta* to Englishmen.

† We are assured, indeed, that our clergy will now sit down in tranquillity; and that M. de Montmollin, in particular, comforts himself with the pleasing hope, that in *another reign* things will go better both with him and with the venerable Assembly. This may serve as another encomium on that sovereign, under whose government we have the happiness to live.

seau hath sent the following letter to Mr N***, Solicitor-general: with a cobby of which I shall conclude mine.

*Letter from Mr ROUSSEAU to Mr N***, Solicitor-general.*

“ Motiers, April 6, 1765.

“ Permit me, Sir, before your departure, to
 “ intreat you to add another favour to the many
 “ you have obligingly conferred upon me;
 “ that is, to present my sincerest acknowledge-
 “ ments and profound respects to the mem-
 “ bers of the Council of State. It is greatly
 “ consolatory for me to enjoy, under the au-
 “ spices of government, that protection with
 “ which the King hath honoured me, and the
 “ favours which my Lord Marshall hath so
 “ kindly bestowed. These instances of genero-
 “ sity and goodness are so great and valuable,
 “ that they lay me under new obligations, which
 “ my heart will ever duely acknowledge, not
 “ only as a faithful subject to the State, but as
 “ a man particularly obliged to that illustrious
 “ body by which it is governed. I flatter my-
 “ self, that hitherto a perfect simplicity hath
 “ been observed in my conduct, and as great
 “ an aversion to controversy, as a love for peace
 “ and tranquillity. I will venture to say, no
 “ man hath endeavoured less to spread his opi-
 “ nions, or hath been less an author in his so-
 “ cial and private character: and tho’, during
 “ the course of my misfortunes, the sollicita-
 “ tions of my friends, my duty, and even my
 “ honour, may have obliged me to take up the
 “ pen in my own defence, or in that of others,

I can