

including those who are not interested in it, has more to lose than gain by pillage. For he who has nothing is, if he likes, certain of acquiring something. It is not the same in other countries; the poor there are eternally poor, except by the effect of crime or chance: but amongst us the road is marked out, and conducts every one, by a progression protected by the law, to ease by the means of labor.

When the ministers speak of anarchy, there is not only error or bad faith in it, there is fatuity. You shall be overthrown to-morrow, and I will answer for it that two hours after your fall there will be no trace of anarchy; because there are proprietors everywhere, and order always answers the appeal made to it by property.

I do not say this to render the prospect of an overthrow less terrible. Every overthrow brings with it evils of longer or shorter duration, more or less disastrous, which it is desirable to avoid. I say it to reduce things to their just value, because truth is more forcible than emphasis, because exaggeration, when it is apparent, hurts its cause and fails in its object.

If you simply represent that the present is better than that which may be, I will support you zealously, particularly if you take care to consider the liberty which has been promised us as an integral and indispensable portion of that which is. But when you speak of anarchy; when you liberally bestow this injurious designation on all opposition to unjust power, on every appeal to recognized rights, on every manifestation of thought which authority feels importunate; when you degrade as anarchists our richest capitalists, our citizens who are the greatest lovers of peace,—your speeches are puerile, your declamations empty of idea, your rhetoric weak, and no one pays attention to you, or at least no one believes you.

But now you no longer fear anarchy, but military despotism. I am no more inclined than anybody else to judge favorably of it; but if there were reason to fear this despotism would you not have prepared the way? Do you not imprudently and unceasingly extol the services which the soldiers render, or have rendered you? Do you not produce them as the surest support of the throne and the arbiters of our destiny? and if by chance you had unawares gone still farther; if in the recent disturbances, military corps had declared themselves annoyed by the manifestation of an opinion different to theirs; if they had in the first place insulted the citizens who manifested that opinion, and afterward the deputies on whom the citizens heaped testimonies of esteem; if you had seen with an indifferent, perhaps an indulgent eye, deputies on whom the citizens heaped testimonies of esteem; a little anterior, and not less remarkable, these military corps had threatened with their vengeance a minister in office; if his sudden retreat might be attributed to their threats, and if you, the present ministers, were coolly seated in that place, thus become vacant,—would you not have been the first to suggest to the whole of the soldiery the dangerous doctrine of their importance? for the sword does not recognize privilege, and if it has been possible to abjure passive obedience in order to effect one overthrow it is deplorable, but not astonishing, that it should also be abjured to effect others.

Besides, this passive obedience which you recommended is it not the most direct road to military despotism? These pretorians, the habitual subject of the superficial and dull erudition of your editors, did they form an intelligent and reflecting army of citizens or traitors? Certainly not. These pretorians were blind instruments up to the moment in which they declared themselves rebels; that is, in which they conse-

crated to a second chief the implicit obedience which they had a long time professed to the first.

The best rampart against military despotism is patriotism. The best guarantee for patriotism is intelligence. Seek then no longer to make of your warriors machines which are strangers to reason. Place your strength even in their reason; in their reason, which will make them feel the necessity of discipline; in their reason, which will attach them more every day to a liberty which will protect their brothers, their wives, their fathers, and their children; in their reason, in a word, which will preserve them from the suggestions of the factious, and keep them on their guard against their immediate commanders should they be perfidious; for, mark it well, in the very conspiracy you announce it is the immediate chiefs, the subalterns, who have conspired, if you are to be believed about it. Now these immediate chiefs, these subaltern officers, were precisely those who had a provisional right to passive obedience; so their project, such at least as you relate it, was to profit by this passive obedience, to conduct their troops to the very place of crime without confiding to them what was expected from their insubordination. This would have been the masterpiece of that passive obedience which you represent as the best guarantee for the stability of governments.

Lastly, of what use are words against the eternal and immutable laws of our nature? This nature does not abdicate itself. I wrote so five years ago; why am I forced to repeat it? No one will ever succeed in making man become a total stranger to all inquiry, and to resign the intelligence which Providence has given him for his guidance, and of which no profession can absolve him from making use.

Of these physical means with which you take care to surround yourself, it is opinion which creates, assembles, retains around you, and directs these means. These soldiers, who appear to us and who are in effect at all times passive and unreflecting agents, these soldiers are men; they have moral faculties, sympathy, sensibility, and a conscience which may awake on a sudden. Opinion has the same empire over them as over the rest of their fellow creatures, and no proscription attacks its empire. See it traversing the French troops in 1789, transforming into citizens men collected from all parts, not only of France, but of the world; reanimating minds paralyzed by discipline, enervated by debauchery; causing notions of liberty to penetrate amongst them like a prejudice, and breaking, by this new prejudice, the bonds which so many ancient prejudices and rooted habits had interwoven. See afterward opinion, rapid and changeable, sometimes separating our warriors from their chiefs, sometimes reassembling them around them, rendering them by turns rebels or faithful subjects, sceptics, or enthusiasts.

See in England, in another sense, the Republicans, after the death of Cromwell, concentrating all the forces in their own hands, disposing of the army, the treasure, the civil authorities, the Parliament, and the courts of judicature. Dumb opinion only was against them, that wished to repose itself in royalty. Suddenly all their means are dissolved; everything totters; everything falls.

Doubtless a military government is a great scourge; but what are the means to prevent the fear of it? To reinforce the civil authority. Now, to reinforce the civil authority, what is necessary? To rest it upon justice; that is, on liberty. If you rest it upon force, you come back to a military government; for force and the sword are one and the same

thing. We make the citizens tremble before us, and we tremble before the Janizaries in our turn. . . .

To return to the elections and to the committees which it is said direct them, I repeat, the ministry gives to the committee all its power. On this point, as well as on so many others, they follow the route exactly opposite to the end they are desirous of attaining. When chance furnishes them with the means of influence they reject it at pleasure. I could cite for example many departments whose prefects, men of intelligence, moderate, clever, and tolerably ministerial, had gained the confidence of their district. These prefects would probably have acted in the elections. What did the ministry do? Hastened to displace them, in order to replace them by unknown persons, who might be perfectly worthy, but who will be found evidently without standing, without connections, without means at the ensuing elections, by which they will be surprised almost immediately on their arrival.

It is because the ministry does not guide itself according to its interests, it is domineered over by a faction whose ambition and hatred must be satiated by turns. Thus all the dangers at which it is alarmed are the result of its own errors. Will it still persist in a route which has already been so fatal to it? Will it persist in seeking its safety and ours in a useless complaisance towards an insatiable faction, in vexations always increasing and still inefficacious, in those laws of exception which nowadays wound the nation without alarming it?

But our ministers have enjoyed the laws of exception six months; and by their confession and complaints it does not appear that these laws have restored tranquillity to France. It depends upon them indeed to arrest every one; but they have had this power for six months; and for six months, if

they are to be credited on the subject, everybody is conspiring. They impose silence on the journals, but the most alarming and the least founded reports are in circulation. France fears everything, because it is told nothing; and as the price of having allowed nothing to be said, they are obliged to refute what has not been said. Would the ministers at length have recourse to these great measures, to these extreme means, to which, during a celebrated discussion, an orator less skilful than the generality of them made an imprudent allusion, and of which the journals which the ministry does not think it right to repress or contradict repeat the absurd threat?

I do not inquire what these great measures will be: the incarceration or the death of some individuals, their transportation or their interdiction, the destruction or suspension of the fundamental compact, an attack against men or things,—it is of little consequence to us; but what is of consequence to us is, that all this is possible, that all this would be inefficacious, that all this would be disastrous even for the authors of these criminal attempts.

I have described the moral disposition of the nation you govern. I have described that disposition agreeably to what you yourselves say of it. Do you think that an act of vigor, as those you persecute call it, would suddenly change this disposition? You deceive yourselves, revolutionary recollections lead you astray. When the question was the leading a people who had not yet received the severe education of misfortune; a people intoxicated with a recent victory over despotism, and restless at the duration of that victory; a people who, led to liberty by the Revolution, did not, in their ignorance, sufficiently distinguish revolution from liberty; fiery demagogues might avail themselves of their little information and draw from them a blind sentiment in favor of the

violation of the laws; but now every Frenchman knows the consequences of these criminal resources which, constituting the legal authorities into revolt against the law itself, prevent all return to justice and lawful authority.

The citizens know that they form a part of one another, they see the security of each in the security of the whole, they know that order established, consecrated, and sanctioned by oaths cannot be broken for a day or an hour; when once broken it is never re-established. The Legislative Assembly never returned to it after the 10th of August, nor the Convention after the 31st of May, nor the councils of the Republic after Fructidor. In vain they proclaimed that they and the country were saved; they perished, and the country had perished with them if nations were as perishable as power.

In fact, what is there left to a people after their constitution has been violated? Where is security? Where is confidence? Where the anchor of safety? Nothing but a spirit of usurpation is found in those who govern; a spirit which, pursuing them like remorse, frightens and drives them out of their course. Tyranny hovers over the heads of the governed. Does power wish to pronounce consoling words, to protest its future respect for a constitution which it has torn to pieces, to promise it will no more attempt it? Where is the guarantee that this fresh homage is not a fresh derision? Do the people dare, even in a partial interest, without reference to great political questions, invoke that constitution which has been trampled under foot? The very name of constitution seems a hostility. On all sides a habit of illegal means is contracted. It forms the afterthought of the government, it nourishes the spirit of the factious. With perfidious joy they contemplate power taken in its own trammels, march-

ing from convulsion to convulsion, from violence to violence, revolting justice, preparing excuses in despair, and destined to suffer the fate of those whom iniquity directs and hatred surrounds.

Such certainly will not be the destiny to which an enlightened monarch will condemn France. Ministers will not dare to advise him to it; and if they did, they would neither find in the prince an approver, nor, in the great body of the state, instruments.

And who then will take these great measures, and on what force will they rely for their execution? On the ordinances? Do we not remember the ordinances of 1815? Has opinion ceased a single moment, for these three years, to call for their revocation? The ordinances of 1815 have done much harm. They would have done still more had not their instigators been the old tools of demagogism and slavery, so that the constitutional monarchy was enabled to disown them. At the present moment the mischief that such ordinances would occasion would be without remedy.

Will they invoke the support of the Chamber of Peers? I conceive in a faction that nothing makes recede, nothing enlightens, that disposition to parodize the acts of a tyranny whose chief it detested and whose system it approved; but if this faction has its forgetfulness the nation has its recollections. It knows that the first *Senatus-Consulte* was an order for the transportation of a hundred and thirty citizens, and it has not forgotten what the *Senatus-Consultes* cost her afterward.

All authority which exceeds its bounds ceases to be legitimate; and this fundamental principle of natural, political, and civil law is corroborated by the charter. The charter points out the case in which the assembling of the Chamber of Peers

would be illicit; the simple want of royal convocation renders it so; and what the Chamber of Peers would do, trampling under foot the laws and the Charter—the Chamber of Peers proscribing individuals who have the same guarantees and are protected by the same safeguards as the first Peer in France—the Chamber of Peers suppressing or suspending political bodies which emanate from the same source as themselves, which exist by the same title—what the Chamber of Peers would do, constituting itself the rival or legatee of the Convention of the Imperial Senate, would it have any authority, any validity whatever? No; all would be null in the strongest sense of the word.

I like to pay public respect to an illustrious assembly. Such thoughts will never enter the heads of any member of the House of Peers who has occasion to identify himself with our institutions and to nationalize himself in France.

The Chamber of Peers knows both the nature of its attributes and the limits of its power. It contributes to the making the laws and to the vote of taxes, but it only participates in these things. It would be a usurpation if they voted laws without the concurrence of the other Chamber, and no one would be obliged to obey such laws. It would be a usurpation if they voted taxes without the previous discussion and consent of the deputies, and no one could be compelled to pay such taxes. For a still stronger reason it would be a flagrant usurpation if they intermeddled with the right of citizens or with the existence of other power. Their decrees, their ordinances, their judgment, their *Senatus-Consultes*, whatever they may be called, although sanctioned by the unanimity of the members, would be as little binding as the decree of the three first individuals you may meet by chance.

I have examined many arguments, I have gone through many hypotheses. The result of the considerations which I have hastily put together in these few pages appears to me easy to comprehend.

The ministry, by persevering in a system which it has followed these six months, cannot maintain itself or save France. It relies on a faction which has twenty times committed the throne and will commit it again. It makes use of those means of which all anterior governments have made use, and which have ended in the fall of all these governments. It is shaking that which time had begun to consolidate.

But in the present state of civilization, the people, whatever adulators may say on the one hand, and enemies on the other, have neither affection nor hatred. The resources which individuals find in themselves, the distance which the extent of empires establishes between the governing and the governed, the enjoyments which industry procures to the latter, commerce, private speculations, and domestic life, cause every one to set his happiness, for the most part, apart from authority.

It follows, therefore, that there is not, nor can be, a doubt of the attachment of the people to some form or other of political organization. This moral disposition of the human species renders it impossible to govern long and govern badly. The example of Bonaparte by no means weakens this assertion. What must he not have been obliged to do to have governed badly for fourteen years; the conquest of the world is not a diversion that everyone has within his reach to give the people.

I wish this truth could make its way into the little minds of these little pupils of Napoleon who think they have grown large in his atmosphere because they have breathed the air

of his ante-chambers, and who repeat after him, with a ridiculous spirit of despotism, that power serves for everything; as if, being passive instruments of power, they had on that account alone learned to handle it; but this disposition of the human species, which renders it impossible to govern long and govern badly, gives to power the certitude of governing in safety when it governs well. For by the same rule, according to which no nation devotes itself to sustain a government which has put itself in a false position, no nation will expose itself in an attempt to overthrow a government when it is tolerable. The mass always prefer stability. If they depart from it, it would not be on the suggestion of the seditious, but because the government began gratuitously to interfere in their interest, their security, and their habits.

It follows further, from this moral disposition of modern nations, that when men can abjure their faults those faults are forgotten. Feeling only has memory, the indifferent are always ready to clear the table and begin at fresh account. It is only necessary to believe the sincerity of conversion, and in order that it may be believed it must exist.

The dissolution of the present Chamber, the convocation of an assembly composed of fresh elements, is then a marvellous chance; but this chance will be spoiled in falsifying the electors by an illegal influence. If the ministry should obtain a factious majority it would not be the stronger for it; and they would run this risk in that factious majority, that if in the sequel they should come to their senses they would be prevented by it from following the light they would have acquired.

Let then the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved, let the nation return faithful representatives, and let the nation be governed at length by these ministers or by others, as they

desire or deserve to be. The fall of the ministry is equally indifferent to me as its duration. I have traced, without circumlocution and without winding, the errors of those of its members whose errors appeared to me to be the greatest; but political hatred, as political affection, are equally unknown to me. Persons are the same to me, and the past appears to me important only as it serves as a guide for the future.