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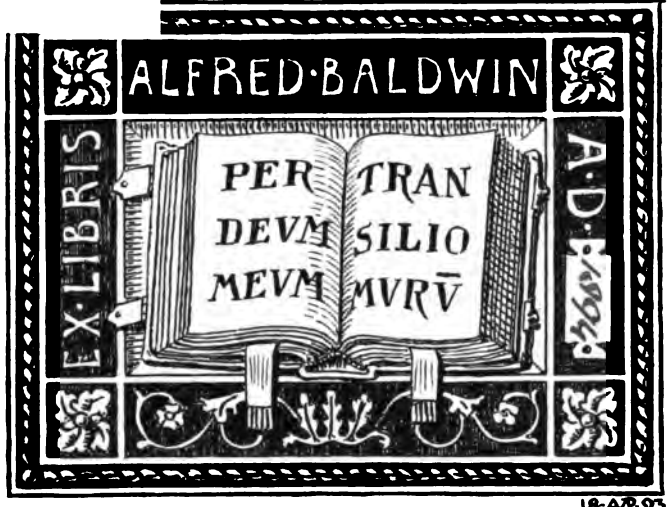
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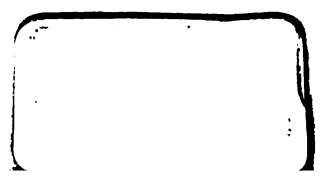


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15

T R A V E L S,

DURING

The Years 1787, 1788, and 1789.

Undertaken more particularly with a View of ascertaining the

CULTIVATION, WEALTH, RESOURCES, AND NATIONAL
PROSPERITY,

OF THE

KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

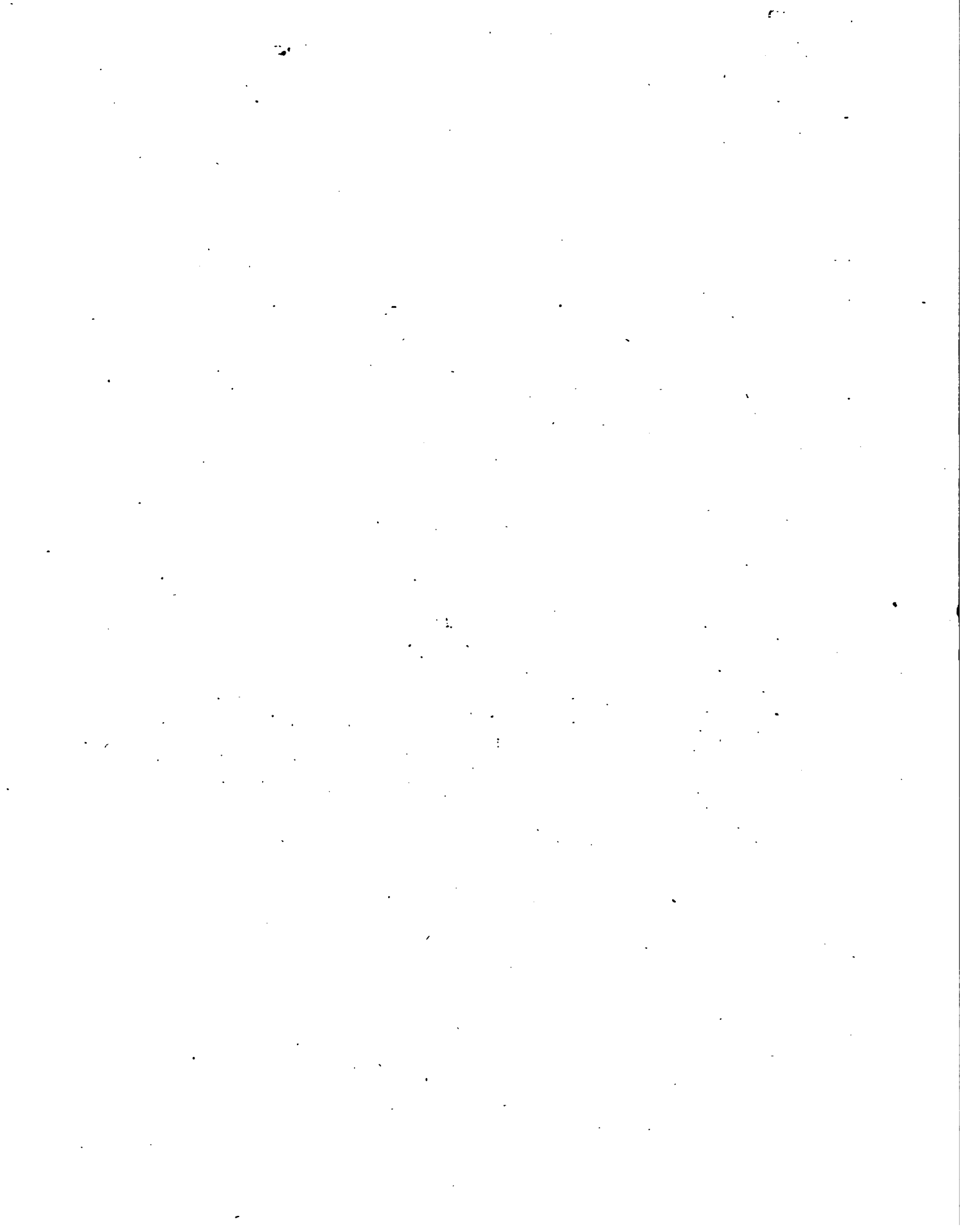
By ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. F. R. S.

Honorary Member of the Societies of DUBLIN, BATH, YORK, SALFORD, and ODIHAM; the
Philosophical and Literary Society of MANCHESTER; the Veterinary College of LONDON;
the Oeconomical Society of BERNE; the Physical Society of ZURICH; the Palatine
Academy of Agriculture at MANHEIM; the Imperial Oeconomical Society esta-
blished at PETERSBURGH; Associate of the Royal Society of Agriculture at
PARIS; and Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Agri-
culture at FLORENCE; and of the Patriotic Society at MILAN.

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MDCXCII.



P R E F A C E.

IT is a question whether modern history has any thing more curious to offer to the attention of the politician, than the progress and rivalship of the French and English empires, from the ministry of Colbert to the revolution in France. In the course of those 130 years, both have figured with a degree of splendour that has attracted the admiration of mankind.

In proportion to the power, the wealth, and the resources of these nations, is the interest which the world in general takes in the maxims of political œconomy by which they have been governed. To examine how far the system of that œconomy has influenced agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and public felicity, is certainly an inquiry of no slight importance; and so many books have been composed on the *theory* of these, that the public can hardly think that time misemployed which attempts to give **THE PRACTICE**.

The survey which I made, some years past, of the agriculture of England and Ireland (the minutes of which I published under the title of *Tours*), was such a step towards understanding the state of our husbandry as I shall not presume to characterise; there are but few of the European nations that do not read these *Tours* in their own language; and, notwithstanding all their faults and deficiencies, it has been often regretted, that no similar description of France could be resorted to, either by the farmer or the politician. Indeed it could not but be lamented, that this vast kingdom, which has so much figured in history, were likely to remain another century unknown, with respect to those circumstances that are the objects of my inquiries. An hundred and thirty years have passed, including one of the most active and conspicuous reigns upon record, in which the French power and resources, though much overstrained, were formidable to Europe. How far were that power and those resources founded on the permanent basis of an enlightened agriculture? How far on the more insecure support of manufactures and commerce? How far have wealth and power and exterior splendour, from whatever cause they may have arisen, reflected back upon the people the prosperity they implied? Very curious inquiries; yet resolved insufficiently by those whose political reveries are spun by their fire-sides, or caught flying as they are whirled through Europe in post-chaises. A man who is not practically acquainted with agriculture, knows not how to make
A 2 those

those inquiries; he scarcely knows how to discriminate the circumstances productive of misery, from those which generate the felicity of a people; an assertion that will not appear paradoxical, to those who have attended closely to these subjects. At the same time, the mere agriculturist, who makes such journeys, sees little or nothing of the connection between the practice in the fields, and the resources of the empire; of combinations that take place between operations apparently unimportant, and the general interest of the state; combinations so curious, as to convert, in some cases, well cultivated fields into scenes of misery, and accuracy of husbandry into the parent of national weakness. These are subjects that never will be understood from the speculations of the mere farmer, or the mere politician; they demand a mixture of both; and the investigation of a mind free from prejudice, particularly national prejudice; from the love of system, and of the vain theories that are to be found in the closets of speculators alone. God forbid that I should be guilty of the vanity of supposing myself thus endowed! I know too well the contrary; and have no other pretension to undertake so arduous a work, than that of having reported the agriculture of England with some little success. Twenty years experience, since that attempt, may make me hope to be not less qualified for similar exertions at present.

The clouds that, for four or five years past, have indicated a change in the political sky of the French hemisphere, and which have since gathered to so singular a storm, have rendered it yet more interesting, to know what France was previously to any change. It would indeed have been matter of astonishment, if monarchy had risen, and had set in that region, without the kingdom having had any examination professedly agricultural.

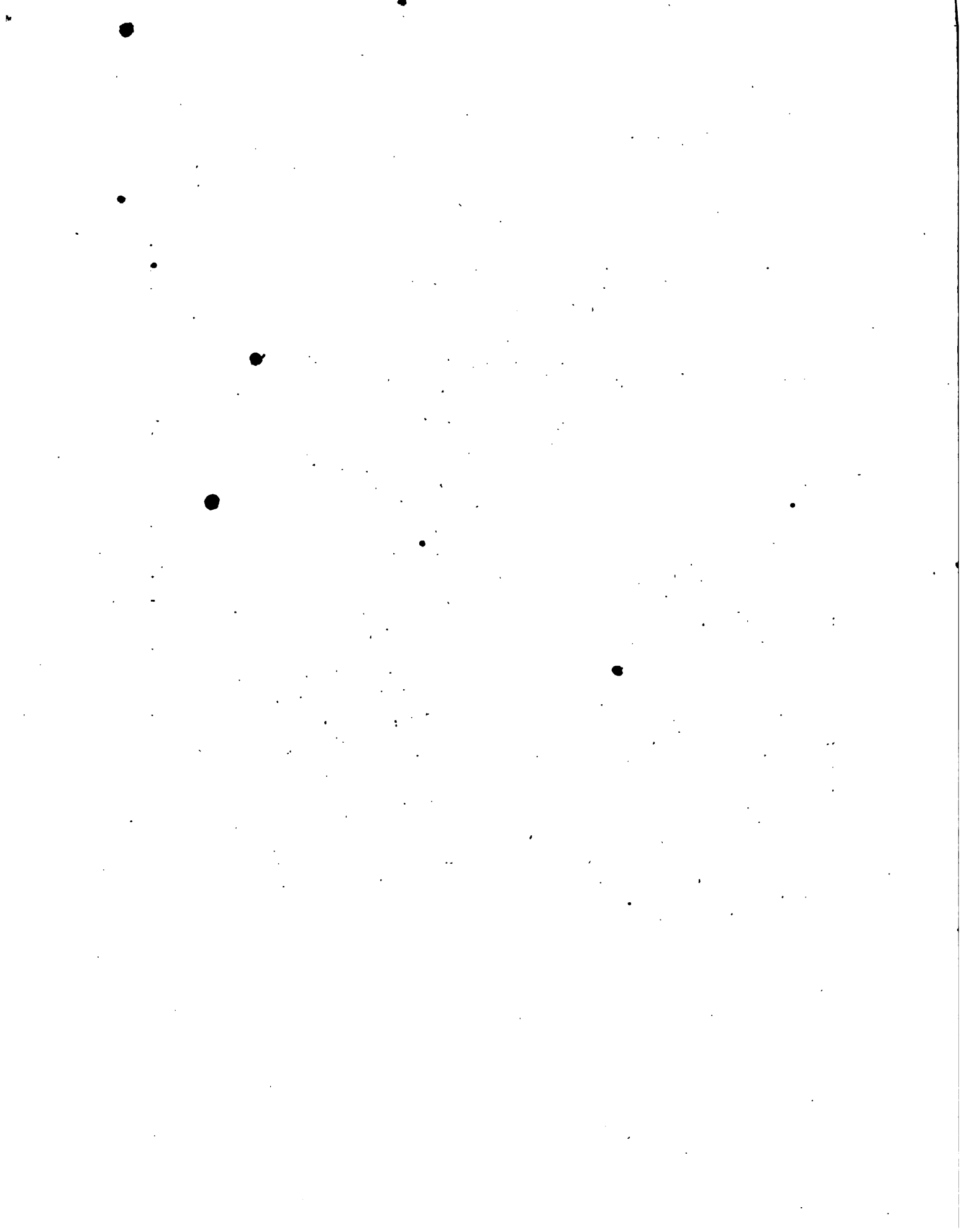
The candid reader will not expect, from the registers of a traveller, that minute analysis of common practice, which a man is enabled to give, who resides some months, or years, confined to one spot; twenty men, employed during twenty years, would not effect it; and supposing it done, not one thousandth part of their labours would be worth a perusal. Some singularly enlightened districts merit such attention; but the number of them, in any country, is inconsiderable; and the practices that deserve such a study, perhaps, still fewer: to know that unenlightened practices exist, and want improvement, is the chief knowledge that is of use to convey; and this rather for the statesman than the farmer. No reader, if he knows any thing of my situation, will expect, in this work, what the advantages of rank and fortune are necessary to produce—of such I had none to exert, and could combat difficulties with no other arms than unremitting attention, and unabating industry. Had my aims been seconded by that success in life, which gives energy to effort, and vigour to pursuit, the work would have been more worthy of the public eye; but such success must, in this kingdom,

P R E F A C E.

kingdom, be sooner looked for in any other path than in that of the plough; the *non ullus aratro dignus bonos*, was not more applicable to a period of confusion and bloodshed at Rome, than to one of peace and luxury in England.

One circumstance I may be allowed to mention, because it will shew, that whatever faults the ensuing pages contain, they do not flow from any presumptive expectation of success: a feeling that belongs to writers only, much more popular than myself: when the publisher agreed to run the hazard of printing these papers, and some progress being made in the journal, the whole MS. was put into the compositor's hand to be examined, if there were a sufficiency for a volume of sixty sheets; he found enough prepared for the press to fill 140: and I assure the reader, that the successive employment of striking out and mutilating more than the half of what I had written, was executed with more indifference than regret, even though it obliged me to exclude several chapters, upon which I had taken considerable pains. The publisher would have printed the whole; but whatever faults may be found with the author, he ought at least to be exempted from the imputation of an undue confidence in the public favour; since to expunge was undertaken as readily as to compose.—So much depended in the second part of the work on accurate figures, that I did not care to trust to myself, but employed a schoolmaster, who has the reputation of being a good arithmetician, for examining the calculations, and I hope he has not let any material errors escape him.

The revolution in France was a hazardous and critical subject, but too important to be neglected, the details I have given, and the reflections I have ventured, will, I trust, be received with candour, by those who consider how many authors, of no inconsiderable ability and reputation, have failed on that difficult theme: the course I have steered is so removed from extremes, that I can hardly hope for the approbation of more than a few; and I may apply to myself, in this instance, the words of Swift:—"I have the ambition, common with other reasoners, to wish at least that both parties may think me *in the right*; but if that is not to be hoped for, my next wish should be, that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would understand as an ample justification of myself, and a sure ground to believe that I have proceeded at least with impartiality, and perhaps with truth."



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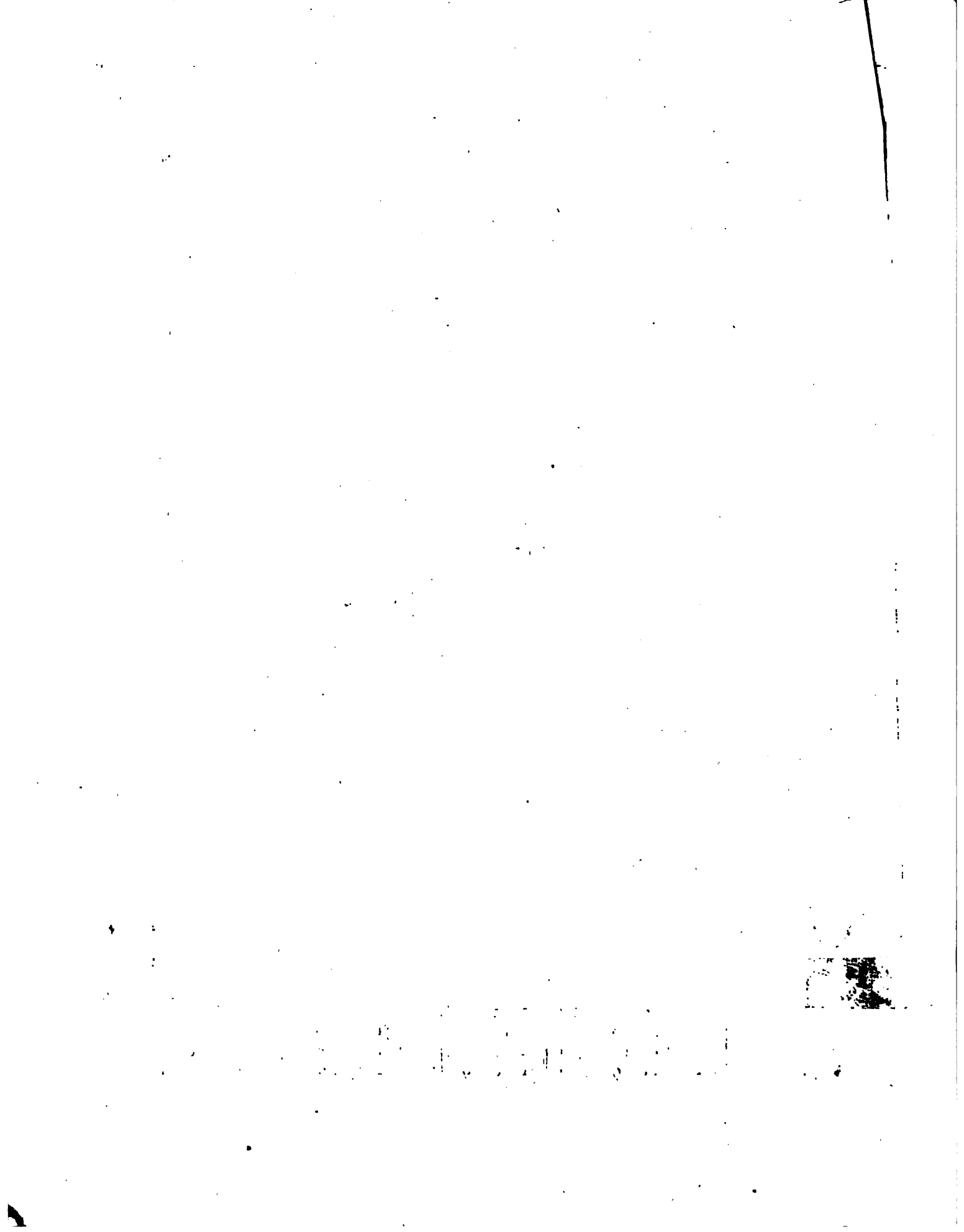
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35	1	10	7½	76	3	6	6	270	11	16	3	680	29	15	0	1900	83	2	6
36	1	11	6	77	3	7	4½	280	12	5	0	690	30	3	9	2000	87	10	0
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3800	166	5	0	500,000	21,875	0	0	80,000,000	3,500,000
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4100	179	7	6	800,000	35,000	0	0	200,000,000	8,750,000
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4300	188	2	6	1,000,000	43,750	0	0	400,000,000	17,500,000
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4500	196	17	6	3,000,000	131,250	0	0	600,000,000	26,250,000
4600	201	5	0	4,000,000	175,000	0	0	700,000,000	30,625,000
4700	205	12	6	5,000,000	218,750	0	0	800,000,000	35,000,000
4800	210	0	0	6,000,000	262,500	0	0	900,000,000	39,375,000
4900	214	7	6	7,000,000	306,250	0	0	1,000,000,000	43,750,000
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the reader has the satisfaction of being as safe from imposition either designed or involuntary, as the nature of the case will admit: all which advantages are wanted in the other method.

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T R A V E L S, &c.

THERE are two methods of writing travels; to register the journey itself, or the result of it. In the former case, it is a diary, under which heads are to be classed all those books of travels written in the form of letters. The latter usually falls into the shape of essays on distinct subjects. Of the former method of composing, almost every book of modern travels is an example. Of the latter, the admirable essays of my valuable friend Mr. Professor Symonds, upon Italian agriculture, are the most perfect specimens.

It is of very little importance what form is adopted by a man of real genius; he will make any form useful, and any information interesting. But for persons of more moderate talents, it is of consequence to consider the circumstances for and against both these modes.

The journal form hath the advantage of carrying with it a greater degree of credibility; and, of course, more weight. A traveller who thus registers his observations is detected the moment he writes of things he has not seen. He is precluded from giving studied or elaborate remarks upon insufficient foundations: If he sees little, he must register little: if he has few good opportunities of being well informed, the reader is enabled to observe it, and will be induced to give no more credit to his relations than the sources of them appear to deserve: if he passes so rapidly through a country as necessarily to be no judge of what he sees, the reader knows it: if he dwells long in places of little or no moment, with private views or for private business, the circumstance is seen; and thus the reader has the satisfaction of being as safe from imposition either designed or involuntary, as the nature of the case will admit: all which advantages are wanted in the other method.

But to balance them, there are on the other hand some weighty inconveniences ; among these the principal is, the prolixity to which a diary generally leads ; the very mode of writing almost making it inevitable. It necessarily causes repetitions of the same subjects and the same ideas ; and that surely must be deemed no inconsiderable fault, when one employs many words to say what might be better said in a few. Another capital objection is, that subjects of importance, instead of being treated *de suite* for illustration or comparison, are given by scraps as received, without order, and without connection ; a mode which lessens the effect of writing, and destroys much of its utility.

In favour of composing essays on the principal objects that have been observed, that is, giving the result of travels and not the travels themselves, there is this obvious and great advantage, that the subjects thus treated are in as complete a state of combination and illustration as the abilities of the author can make them ; the matter comes with full force and effect. Another admirable circumstance is brevity ; for by the rejection of all useless details, the reader has nothing before him but what tends to the full explanation of the subject : of the disadvantages, I need not speak ; they are sufficiently noted by shewing the benefits of the diary form ; for proportionably to the benefits of the one, will clearly be the disadvantages of the other.

After weighing the *pour* and the *contre*, I think that it is not impracticable in my peculiar case to retain the benefits of both these plans.

With one leading and predominant object in view, namely agriculture, I have conceived that I might throw each subject of it into distinct chapters, retaining all the advantages which arise from composing the result only of my travels.

At the same time, that the reader may have whatever satisfaction flows from the diary form, the observations which I made upon the face of the countries through which I passed ; and upon the manners, customs, amusements, towns, roads, seats, &c. may, without injury, be given in a journal, and thus satisfy the reader in all those points, with which he ought in candour to be made acquainted, for the reasons above intimated.

It is upon this idea that I have reviewed my notes, and executed the work I now offer to the public.

But travelling upon paper, as well as moving amongst rocks and rivers, hath its difficulties. When I had traced my plan, and begun to work upon it, I rejected, without mercy, a variety of little circumstances relating to myself only, and of conversations with various persons which I had thrown upon paper for the amusement of my family and intimate friends. For this I was remonstrated with by a person, of whose judgment I think highly, as having absolutely spoiled my diary, by expunging the very passages that would best please the mass of common readers ; in a word, that I must give up the journal plan entirely, or let

let it go as it was written.—To treat the public like a friend, let them see all, and trust to their candour for forgiving trifles. He reasoned thus: *Depend on it, Young, that those notes you wrote at the moment, are more likely to please than what you will now produce coolly, with the idea of reputation in your head: whatever you strike out will be what is most interesting, for you will be guided by the importance of the subject; and believe me, it is not this consideration that pleases so much as a careless and easy mode of thinking and writing, which every man exercises most when he does not compose for the press. That I am right in this opinion you yourself afford a proof. Your tour of Ireland (he was pleased to say) is one of the best accounts of a country I have read, yet it had no great success. Why? Because the chief part of it is a farming diary, which, however valuable it may be to consult, nobody will read. If, therefore, you print your journal at all, print it so as to be read; or reject the method entirely, and confine yourself to set dissertations. Remember the travels of Dr. — and Mrs. —, from which it would be difficult to gather one single important idea, yet they were received with applause; nay, the bagatelles of Baretta, amongst the Spanish muleteers, were read with avidity.*

The high opinion I have of the judgment of my friend, induced me to follow his advice; in consequence of which, I venture to offer my itinerary to the public, just as it was written on the spot: requesting my reader, if much should be found of a trifling nature, to pardon it, from a reflection, that the chief object of my travels is to be found in another part of the work, to which he may at once have recourse, if he wish to attend only to subjects of a more important character.

J O U R N A L.

MAY 15, 1787.

THE freight that separates England, so fortunately for her, from all the rest of the world, must be crossed many times before a traveller ceases to be surpris'd at the sudden and universal change that surrounds him on landing at Calais. The scene, the people, the language, every object is new; and in those circumstances in which there is most resemblance, a discriminating eye finds little difficulty in discovering marks of distinction.

The noble improvement of a salt marsh, worked by Mons. Mouron of this town, occasioned my acquaintance some time ago with that gentleman; and I

had found him too well informed, upon various important objects, not to renew it with pleasure. I spent an agreeable and instructive evening at his house.—165 miles.

The 17th. Nine hours rolling at anchor had so fatigued my mare, that I thought it necessary for her to rest one day; but this morning I left Calais. For a few miles the country resembles parts of Norfolk and Suffolk; gentle hills, with some inclosures around the houses in the vales, and a distant range of wood. The country is the same to Boulogne. Towards that town, I was pleased to find many seats belonging to people who reside there. How often are false ideas conceived from reading and report! I imagined that nobody but farmers and labourers in France lived in the country; and the first ride I take in that kingdom shews me a score of country seats. The road excellent.

Boulogne is not an ugly town; and from the ramparts of the upper part the view is beautiful, though low water in the river would not let me see it to advantage. It is well known that this place has long been the resort of great numbers of persons from England, whose misfortunes in trade, or extravagance in life, have made a residence abroad more agreeable than at home. It is easy to suppose that they here find a *level* of society that tempts them to herd in the same place. Certainly it is not cheapness, for it is rather dear. The mixture of French and English women makes an odd appearance in the streets; the latter are dressed in their own fashion; but the French heads are all without hats, with close caps, and the body covered with a long cloak that reaches to the feet. The town has the appearance of being flourishing: the buildings good, and in repair, with some modern ones; perhaps as sure a test of prosperity as any other. They are raising also a new church, on a large and expensive scale. The place on the whole is cheerful, and the environs pleasing; and the sea-shore is a flat strand of firm sand as far as the tide reaches. The high land adjoining is worth viewing by those who have not already seen the petrification of clay; it is found in the stoney and argillaceous state, just as what I described at Harwich. (*Annals of Agriculture*, vol. vi. p. 218.)—24 miles.

The 18th. The view of Boulogne from the other side, at the distance of a mile is a pleasing landscape; the river meanders in the vale, and spreads in a fine reach under the town, just before it falls into the sea, which opens between two high lands, one of which backs the town.—The view wants only wood; for if the hills had more, fancy could scarcely paint a more agreeable scene. The country improves, more inclosed, and some parts strongly resembling England. Some fine meadows about Bonbrie, and several chateaus. I am not professedly in this diary on husbandry, but must just observe, that it is to the full as bad as the country is good; corn miserable and yellow with weeds, yet all summer fallowed with lost attention. On the hills, which are at no great distance from the sea, the trees

turn

turn their heads from it, shorn of their foliage: it is not therefore to the S. W. alone that we should attribute this effect.—If the French have not husbandry to shew us, they have roads; nothing can be more beautiful, or kept in more garden order, if I may use the expression, than that which passes through a fine wood of *Monf. Neuwillier's*; and indeed for the whole way from *Samer* it is wonderfully formed: a vast causeway, with hills cut to level vales; which would fill me with admiration, if I had known nothing of the abominable *corvées*, that make me commiserate the oppressed farmers, from whose extorted labour, this magnificence has been wrung. Women gathering grafs and weeds by hand in the woods for their cows is a trait of poverty.

Pas turberries, near *Montreuil*, like those at *Newbury*. The walk round the ramparts of that town is pretty: the little gardens in the bastions below are singular. The place has many English; for what purpose not easy to conceive, for it is unenlivened by those circumstances that render towns pleasant. In a short conversation with an English family returning home, the lady, who is young, and I conjecture agreeable, assured me I should find the court of *Verfailles* amazingly splendid. Oh! how she loved France!—and should regret going to England if she did not expect soon to return. As she had crossed the kingdom of France, I asked her what part of it pleased her best; the answer was, such as a pair of pretty lips would be sure to utter, “Oh! Paris and *Verfailles*.” Her husband, who is not so young, said “*Touraine*.” It is probable, that a farmer is much more likely to agree with the sentiments of the husband than of the lady, notwithstanding her charms.—24 miles.

The 19th. Dined, or rather starved, at *Bernay*, where for the first time I met with that wine of whose ill fame I had heard so much in England, that of being worse than small beer. No scattered farm-houses in this part of *Picardy*, all being collected in villages which is as unfortunate for the beauty of a country, as it is inconvenient to its cultivation. To *Abbeville*, unpleasant, nearly flat; and though there are many and great woods, yet they are uninteresting. Pass the new chalk chateau of *Monf. St. Maritan*, who, had he been in England, would not have built a good house in that situation, nor have projected his walls like those of an alms-house.

Abbeville is said to contain 22,000 souls; it is old, and disagreeably built; many of the houses of wood, with a greater air of antiquity than I remember to have seen; their brethren in England have been long ago demolished. Viewed the manufacture of *Van Robais*, which was established by *Lewis XIV.* and of which *Voltaire* and others have spoken so much. I had many enquiries concerning wool and woollens to make here; and, in conversation with the manufacturers, found them great politicians, condemning with violence the new commercial treaty with England.—30 miles.

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The 21st. It is the same flat and unpleasing country to Flixcourt.—15 miles.

The 22d. Poverty and poor crops to Amiens; women are now ploughing with a pair of horses to sow barley. The difference of the customs of the two nations is in nothing more striking than in the labours of the sex; in England, it is very little that they will do in the fields except to glean and make hay; the first is a party of pilfering, and the second of pleasure: in France, they plough and fill the dung-cart. Lombardy poplars seem to have been introduced here about the same time as in England.

Picquigny has been the scene of a remarkable transaction, that does great honour to the tolerating spirit of the French nation. Mons. Colmar, a Jew, bought the seignory and estate, including the viscounty of Amiens, of the Duke of Chaulnes, by virtue of which he appoints the canons of the cathedral of Amiens. The bishop resisted his nomination, and it was carried by appeal to the parliament of Paris, whose decree was in favour of Mons. Colmar. The immediate seignory of Picquigny, but without its dependences, is refold to the Count d'Artois.

At Amiens, view the cathedral, said to be built by the English; it is very large, and beautifully light and decorated. They are fitting it up in black drapery, and a great canopy, with illuminations for the burial of the Prince de Tingry, colonel of the regiment of cavalry, whose station is here. To view this was an object among the people, and crowds were at each door. I was refused entrance, but some officers being admitted, gave orders that an English gentleman without should be let in, and I was called back from some distance and desired very politely to enter, as they did not know at first that I was an Englishman. These are but trifles, but they shew liberality; and it is fair to report them. If an Englishman receives attentions in France, *because he is an Englishman*, what return ought to be made to a Frenchman in England, is sufficiently obvious. The chateau d'eau, or machine for supplying Amiens with water, is worth viewing; but plates only could give an idea of it. The town abounds with woollen manufactures. I conversed with several masters, who united entirely with those of Abbeville in condemning the treaty of commerce.—15 miles.

The 23d. To Breteuil the country is diversified, woods every where in sight the whole journey.—21 miles.

The 24th. A flat and uninteresting chalky country continues almost to Clermont; where it improves; is hilly and has wood. The view of the town, as soon as the dale is seen, with the Duke of Fitzjames's plantations, is pretty.—24 miles.

The 25th. The environs of Clermont are picturesque. The hills about Liancourt are pretty; and spread with a sort of cultivation I had never seen before,

fore, a mixture of vineyard (for here the vines first appear); garden, and corn. A piece of wheat; a scrap of lucerne; a patch of clover or vetches; a bit of vines; with cherry, and other fruit-trees scattered among all, and the whole cultivated with the spade: it makes a pretty appearance, but must form a poor system of trifling.

Chantilly!—magnificence is its reigning character; it is never lost. There is not taste or beauty enough to soften it into milder features: all but the chateau is great; and there is something imposing in that, except the gallery of the Great Condé's battle, and the cabinet of natural history which is rich in very fine specimens, most advantageously arranged, it contains nothing that demands particular notice; nor is there one room which in England would be called large. The stable is truly great, and exceeds very much indeed any thing of the kind I had ever seen. It is 580 feet long, and 40 broad, and is sometimes filled with 240 English horses. I had been so accustomed to the imitation in water, of the waving and irregular lines of nature, that I came to Chantilly prepossessed against the idea of a canal; but the view of one here is striking, and had the effect which magnificent scenes impress. It arises from extent, and from the right lines of the water uniting with the regularity of the objects in view. It is Lord Kaimes, I think, who says, the part of the garden contiguous to the house should partake of the regularity of the building; with much magnificence about a place, this is almost unavoidable. The effect here, however, is lessened by the parterre before the castle, in which the divisions and the diminutive jets-d'eau are not of a size to correspond with the magnificence of the canal. The menagerie is very pretty, and exhibits a prodigious variety of domestic poultry, from all parts of the world; one of the best objects to which a menagerie can be applied; these, and the Corsican stag, had all my attention. The *bameau* contains an imitation of an English garden; the taste is but just introduced into France, so that it will not stand a critical examination. The most English idea I saw is the lawn in front of the stables; it is large, of a good verdure, and well kept; proving clearly that they may have as fine lawns in the north of France as in England. The labyrinth is the only complete one I have seen, and I have no inclination to see another: it is in gardening what a rebus is in poetry. In the *Sylvæ* are many very fine and scarce plants. I wish those persons who view Chantilly, and are fond of fine trees would not forget to ask for the great beech; this is the finest I ever saw; strait as an arrow, and, as I guess, not less than 80 or 90 feet high; 40 feet to the first branch, and 12 feet diameter at five from the ground. It is in all respects one of the finest trees that can any where be met with. Two others are near it, but not equal to this superb one. The forest around Chantilly, belonging to the Prince of Condé is immense, spreading far and wide; the Paris road crosses it for ten miles,

miles, which is its least extent. They say the capitainerie, or paramountship, is above 100 miles in circumference. That is to say, all the inhabitants for that extent are pestered with game, without permission to destroy it, in order to give one man diversion. Ought not these capitaineries to be extirpated?

At Luzarch, I found that my mare, from illness, would travel no further; French stables, which are covered dung-hills, and the carelessness of *garçons d'ecuries*, an execrable set of vermin, had given her cold. I therefore left her to send for from Paris, and went thither post; by which experiment I found that posting in France is much worse, and even, upon the whole, dearer than in England. Being in a post-chaise I travelled to Paris, as other travellers in post-chaises do, that is to say, knowing little or nothing. The last ten miles I was eagerly on the watch for that throng of carriages which near London impede the traveller. I watched in vain; for the road, quite to the gates, is, on comparison, a perfect desert. So many great roads join here, that I suppose this must be accidental. The entrance has nothing magnificent; ill built and dirty. To get to the Rue de Varenne Fauxbourg St. Germain, I had the whole city to cross, and passed it by narrow, ugly, and crowded streets.

At the hotel de la Rochefoucauld I found the Duke of Liancourt and his sons, the Count de la Rochefoucauld, and the Count Alexander, with my excellent friend Monsieur de Lazowski, all of whom I had the pleasure of knowing in Suffolk. They introduced me to the Duchesse D'Estillac, mother of the Duke of Liancourt, and to the Duchesse of Liancourt. The agreeable reception and friendly attentions I met with from all this liberal family were well calculated to give me the most favourable impression * * * * *.—42 miles.

The 26th. So short a time had I passed before in France, that the scene is totally new to me. Till we have been accustomed to travelling, we have a propensity to stare at and admire every thing—and to be on the search for novelty, even in circumstances in which it is ridiculous to look for it. I have been upon the full silly gape to find out things that I had not found before, as if a street in Paris could be composed of any thing but houses, or houses formed of any thing but brick or stone—or that the people in them, not being English, would be walking on their heads. I shall shake of this folly as fast as I can, and bend my attention to mark the character and disposition of the nation. Such views naturally lead us to catch the little circumstances which sometimes express them; not an easy task, but subject to many errors.

I have only one day to pass at Paris, and that is taken up with buying necessaries. At Calais, my abundant care produced the inconvenience it was meant to avoid; I was afraid of losing my trunk, by leaving it at Dessen's for the diligence; so I sent it to M. Mouron's.—The consequence is, that it is not to be found at Paris, and its contents are to be bought again before I can leave this city

city on our journey to the Pyrenees. I believe it may be received as a maxim, that a traveller should always trust his baggage to the common voitures of the country, without any extraordinary precautions.

After a rapid excursion, with my friend Lazowski, to see many things, but too hastily to form any correct idea, spend the evening at his brother's, where I had the pleasure of meeting *Monf. de Broussonet*, secretary of the Royal Society of Agriculture, and *Monf. Desmarests*, both of the Academy of Sciences. As *Monf. Lazowski* is well informed in the manufactures of France, in the police of which he enjoys a post of consideration, and as the other gentlemen have paid much attention to agriculture, the conversation was in no slight degree instructive, and I regretted that a very early departure from Paris would not let me promise myself a further enjoyment so congenial with my feelings, as the company of men, whose conversation shewed a marked attention to objects of national importance. On the breaking up of the party, went with count Alexander de la Rochefoucauld post to Versailles, to be present at the fête of the day following; (whituesday) slept at the duke de Liancourt's hotel.

The 27th. Breakfasted with him at his apartments in the palace, which are annexed to his office of grand master of the wardrobe, one of the principal in the court of France.—Here I found the duke surrounded by a circle of noblemen, among whom was the duke de la Rochefoucauld, well known for his attention to natural history; I was introduced to him, as he is going to Bagnere de Luchon in the Pyrenees, where I am to have the honour of being in his party.

The ceremony of the day was, the King's investing the Duke of Berri, son of the count D'Artois, with the cordon blue. The Queen's band was in the chapel where the ceremony was performed, but the musical effect was thin and weak. During the service the King was seated between his two brothers, and seemed by his carriage and inattention to wish himself a hunting. He would certainly have been as well employed, as in hearing afterwards from his throne a feudal oath of chivalry, I suppose, or some such nonsense, administered to a boy of ten years old. Seeing so much pompous folly I imagined it was the dauphin, and asked a lady of fashion near me; at which she laughed in my face, as if I had been guilty of the most egregious idiotism: nothing could be done in a worse manner; for the stifling of her expression only marked it the more. I applied to *Monf. de la Rochefoucauld* to learn what gross absurdity I had been guilty of so unwittingly; when, forsooth, it was because the dauphin, *as all the world knows in France*, has the cordon blue put around him as soon as he is born. So unpardonable was it for a foreigner to be ignorant of such an important part of French history, as that of giving a babe a blue slobbering bib instead of a white one!

After this ceremony was finished, the King and the knights walked in a sort of procession to a small apartment in which he dined, saluting the Queen as they passed. There appeared to be more ease and familiarity than form in this part of the ceremony; her majesty, who, by the way, is the most beautiful woman I saw to-day, received them with a variety of expression. On some she smiled; to others she talked; a few seemed to have the honour of being more in her intimacy. Her return to some was formal, and to others distant. To the gallant Sufferin it was respectful and benign. The ceremony of the King's dining in public is more odd than splendid. The Queen sat by him with a cover before her, but ate nothing; conversing with the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Liancourt, who stood behind her chair. To me it would have been a most uncomfortable meal, and were I a sovereign, I would sweep away three-fourths of these stupid forms; if Kings do not dine like other people, they lose much of the pleasure of life; their station is very well calculated to deprive them of much, and they submit to nonsensical customs, the sole tendency of which is to lessen the remainder. The only comfortable or amusing dinner is a table of ten or twelve covers for the people whom they like; travellers tell us that this was the mode of the late King of Prussia, who knew the value of life too well to sacrifice it to empty forms on the one hand, or to a monastic reserve on the other.

The palace of Versailles, one of the objects of which report had given me the greatest expectation, is not in the least striking: I view it without emotion: the impression it makes is nothing. What can compensate the want of unity? From whatever point viewed, it appears an assemblage of buildings; a splendid quarter of a town, but not a fine edifice; an objection from which the garden front is not free, though by far the most beautiful.—The great gallery is the finest room I have seen; the other apartments are nothing; but the pictures and statues are well known to be a capital collection. The whole palace, except the chapel, seems to be open to all the world; we pushed through an amazing croud of all sorts of people to see the procession, many of them not very well dressed, whence it appears, that no questions are asked. But the officers at the door of the apartment in which the King dined, made a distinction, and would not permit all to enter promiscuously.

Travellers speak much, even very late ones, of the remarkable interest the French take in all that personally concerns their King, shewing by the eagerness of their attention not curiosity only, but love. Where, how, and in whom those gentlemen discovered this I know not.—It is either misrepresentation, or the people are changed in a few years more than is credible. Dine at Paris, and in the evening the dutchess of Liancourt, who seems to be one of the best of women, carried me to the opera at St. Cloud, where also we viewed the palace
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which the Queen is building; it is large, but there is much in the front that does not please me.—20 miles.

The 28th. Finding my mare sufficiently recovered for a journey, a point of importance to a traveller so weak in cavalry as myself, I left Paris, accompanying the count de la Rochefoucauld and my friend Lazowski, and commencing a journey that is to cross the whole kingdom to the Pyrenees. The road to Orleans is one of the greatest that leads from Paris, I expected, therefore, to have my former impression of the little traffic near that city removed; but on the contrary it was confirmed; it is a desert compared with those around London. In ten miles we met not one stage or diligence; only two messageries, and very few chaises; not a tenth of what would have been met had we been leaving London at the same hour. Knowing how great, rich, and important a city Paris is, this circumstance perplexes me much. Should it afterwards be confirmed, conclusions in abundance are to be drawn.

For a few miles, the scene is every where scattered with the shafts of quarries, the stone drawn up by lanthorn wheels of a great diameter. The country diversified; and its greatest want to please the eye is a river; woods generally in view; the proportion of the French territory covered by this production for want of coals, must be prodigious, for it has been the same all the way from Calais. At Arpajon, the maréchal duke de Mouchy has a small house, which has nothing to recommend it.—20 miles.

The 29th. To Estamps is partly through a flat country, the beginning of the famous Pays de Beauce. To Toury, flat and disagreeable, only two or three gentlemen's seats in sight.—31 miles.

The 30th. One universal flat, uninclosed, uninteresting, and even tedious, though small towns and villages are every where in sight; the features that might compound a landscape are not brought together. This Pays de Beauce contains, by reputation, the cream of French husbandry; the soil excellent; but the management all fallow. Pass through part of the forest of Orleans belonging to the duke of that name: it is one of the largest in France.

From the steeple of the cathedral at Orleans, the prospect is very fine. The town large, and its suburbs, of single streets, extend near a league. The vast range of country, that spreads on every side, is an unbounded plain, through which the magnificent Loire bends his stately way, in sight for 14 leagues; the whole scattered with rich meadows, vineyards, gardens, and forests. The population must be very great; for, beside the city, which contains near 40,000 people, the number of smaller towns and villages strewed thickly over the plain is such as to render the whole scene animated. The cathedral, from which we had this noble prospect is a fine building, the choir raised by Henry IV. The new church is a pleasing edifice; the bridge a noble structure of stone, and the

first experiment of the flat arch made in France, where it is now so fashionable. It contains nine, and is 410 yards long, and 45 feet wide. To hear some Englishmen talk, one would suppose there was not a fine bridge in all France; not the first, nor the last error I hope that travelling will remove. There are many barges and boats at the quay, built upon the river in the Bourbonnois, &c. loaded with wood, brandy, wine, and other goods; on arriving at Nantes, the vessels are broken up and sold with the cargo. Great numbers built with spruce fir. A boat goes from hence to that city, when demanded by six passengers, each paying a louis-d'or: they lie on shore every night, and reach Nantes in four days and an half. The principal street leading to the bridge is a fine one all busy and alive, for trade is brisk here. Admire the fine acacias scattered about the town.—20 miles.

The 31st. On leaving it, enter soon the miserable province of Sologne, which the French writers call the *triste* Sologne. Through all this country they have had severe spring frosts, for the leaves of the walnuts are black and cut off. I should not have expected this unequivocal mark of a bad climate after passing the Loire. To La Ferté Lowendahl, a dead flat of hungry sandy gravel, with much heath. The poor people, who cultivate the soil here, are *metayers*, that is, men who hire the land without ability to stock it; the proprietor is forced to provide cattle and seed, and he and his tenant divide the produce; a miserable system, that perpetuates poverty and excludes instruction. Meet a man employed on the roads who was prisoner at Falmouth four years; he does not seem to have any rancour against the English; nor yet was he very well pleased with his treatment. At La Ferté is a handsome chateau of the marquis de Coix, with several canals, and a great command of water. To Nonant-le-Fuzelier, a strange mixture of sand and water. Much inclosed, and the houses and cottages of wood filled between the studs with clay or bricks, and covered not with slate but tile, with some barns boarded like those in Suffolk—rows of pollards in some of the hedges; an excellent road of sand; the general features of a woodland country; all combined to give a strong resemblance to many parts of England; but the husbandry is so little like that of England, that the least attention to it destroyed every notion of similarity.—27 miles.

JUNE 1. The same wretched country continues to La Loge; the fields are scenes of pitiable management, as the houses are of misery. Yet all this country highly improveable, if they knew what to do with it: the property, perhaps, of some of those glittering beings, who figured in the procession the other day at Versailles. Heaven grant me patience while I see a country thus neglected—and forgive me the oaths I swear at the absence and ignorance of the possessors.—Enter the generality of Bourges, and soon after a forest of oak belonging to the count d'Artois; the trees are dying at top, before they attain any size. There
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the miserable Sologne ends ; the first view of Verſon and its vicinity is fine. A noble vale ſpreads at your feet, through which the river Cheere leads, ſeen in ſeveral places to the diſtance of ſome leagues, a bright ſun burniſhed the water, like a ſtring of lakes amidſt the ſhade of a vaſt woodland. See Bourges to the left.—18 miles.

The 2d. Paſs the rivers Cheere and Lave ; the bridges well built ; the ſtream fine, and with the wood, buildings, boats, and adjoining hills, form an animated ſcene. Several new houſes, and buildings of good ſtone in Verſon ; the place appears thriving, and doubtleſs owes much to the navigation. We are now in Berri, a province governed by a provincial aſſembly, conſequently the roads good, and made without *corvées*. Vatan is a little town that ſubſiſts chiefly by ſpinning. We drank there excellent Sancerre wine, of a deep colour, rich flavour, and good body, 20*ſ*. the bottle ; but in the country 10. An extenſive proſpect before we arrived at Chateauroux where we viewed the manufactures.—40 miles.

The 3d. Within about three miles of Argenton come upon a fine ſcene, beautiful, yet with bold features ; a narrow vale bounded on every ſide with hills covered with wood, all of which are immediately under the eye, without a level acre, except the bottom of the vale, through which a river flows, by an old caſtle pictureſquely ſituated to the right ; and to the left, a tower riſing out of a wood.

At Argenton, walk up a rock that hangs almoſt over the town. It is a delicious ſcene. A natural ledge of perpendicular rock pushes forward abruptly over the vale, which is half a mile broad, and two or three long : at one end cloſed by hills, and at the other filled by the town with vineyards riſing above it ; the ſurrounding ſcene that hems in the vale is high enough for relief ; vineyards, rocks or hills covered with wood. The vale cut into incloſures of a lovely verdure, and a fine river winds through it, with an outline that leaves nothing to wiſh. The venerable fragments of a caſtle's ruins, near the point of view, are well adapted to awaken reflections on the triumph of the arts of peace over the barbarous ravages of the feudal ages, when every claſs of ſociety was involved in commotion, and the lower ranks were worſe ſlaves than at preſent.

The general face of the country, from Verſon to Argenton, is an uninterſting flat with many heaths of ling. No appearance of population, and even towns are thin. The huſbandry poor and the people miſerable. By the circumſtances to which I could give attention I conceive them to be honeſt and induſtrious ; they ſeem clean ; are civil, and have good countenances. They appear to me as if they would improve their country, if they formed the part of a ſyſtem, the principles of which tended to national proſperity.—18 miles.

The 4th. Paſs an incloſed country, which would have a better appearance if the oaks had not loſt their foliage by infects, whoſe webs hang over the buds

buds. They are but now coming into leaf again. Cross a stream which separates Berri from La Marche; chestnuts appear at the same time; they are spread over all the fields, and yield the food of the poor. A variety of hill and dale, with fine woods, but little signs of population. Lizards for the first time also. There seems a connection relative to climate between the chestnuts and these harmless animals. They are very numerous, and some of them near a foot long. Sleep at La Ville au Brun.—24 miles.

The 5th. The country improves in beauty greatly; pass a vale, where a causeway stops the water of a small rivulet and swells it into a lake, that forms one feature of a delicious scene. The indented outlines and the swells margined with wood are beautiful; the hills on every side in unison; one now covered with ling the prophetic eye of taste may imagine lawn. Nothing is wanted to render the scene a garden, but to clear away rubbish.

The general face of the country, for 16 miles, by far the most beautiful I have seen in France; it is thickly inclosed, and full of wood; the umbrageous foliage of the chestnuts gives the same beautiful verdure to the hills, as watered meadows (seen for the first time to day) to the vales. Distant mountainous ridges form the back ground, and make the whole interesting. The declivity of country, as we go down to Bassies, offers a beautiful view; and the approach to the town, presents a landscape fancifully grouped of rock, and wood, and water. To Limogé, pass another artificial lake between cultivated hills; beyond are wilder heights, but mixed with pleasant vales; still another lake more beautiful than the former, with a fine accompaniment of wood; across a mountain of chestnut copse, which commands a scene of a character different from any I have viewed either in France or England, a great range of hill and dale all covered with forest, and bounded by distant mountains. Not a vestige of any human residence; no village: no house or hut, no smoke to raise the idea of a peopled country; an American scene; wild enough for the tomohawk of the savage. Stop at an execrable auberge, called Maison Rouge, where we intended to sleep; but, on examination, found every appearance so forbidding, and so beggarly an account of a larder, that we passed on to Limogé. The roads through all this country, are truly noble, far beyond any thing I have seen in France or elsewhere.—44 miles.

The 6th. View Limogé, and examine its manufactures. It was certainly a Roman station, and some traces of its antiquity are still remaining. It is ill built, with narrow and crooked streets, the houses high and disagreeable. They are raised of granite, or wood with lath and plaster, which saves lime, an expensive article here, being brought from a distance of twelve leagues; the roofs are of pantiles, with projecting eaves, and almost flat; a sure proof we have quitted the region of heavy snows. The best of their public works is a noble fountain,
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the water conducted three quarters of a league by an arched aqueduct, brought under the bed of a rock 60 feet deep to the highest spot in the town, where it falls into a basin 15 feet diameter, cut out of one piece of granite; thence the water is let into reservoirs, closed by sluices, which are opened for watering the streets, or in case of fires.

The cathedral is ancient, and the roof of stone; there are some arabesque ornaments cut in stone, as light, airy, and elegant as any modern house can boast, whose decorations are in the same taste.

The present bishop has erected a large and handsome palace, and his garden is the finest object to be seen at Limoge, for it commands a landscape hardly to be equalled for beauty: it would be idle to give any other description than just enough to induce travellers to view it. A river winds through a vale, surrounded by hills that present the gayest and most animated assemblage of villas, farms, vines, hanging meadows, and chestnuts blended so fortunately as to compose a scene truly smiling. This bishop is a friend of the count de la Rochefoucauld's family; he invited us to dine, and gave us a very handsome entertainment. Lord Macartney, when a prisoner in France, after the Grenades were taken, spent some time with him; there was an instance of French politeness shewn to his lordship, that marks the urbanity of this people. The order came from court to sing *Te Deum* on the very day that Lord Macartney was to arrive. Conceiving that the public demonstrations of joy for a victory that brought his noble guest a prisoner, might be personally unpleasant to him, the bishop proposed to the intendant to postpone the ceremony for a few days, in order that he might not meet it so abruptly; this was instantly acceded to, and conducted in such a manner afterwards as to mark as much attention to Lord Macartney's feelings as to their own. The bishop told me, that Lord Macartney spoke French better than he could have conceived possible for a foreigner, had he not heard him; better than many well educated Frenchmen.

The post of intendant here was rendered celebrated by being filled by that friend of mankind, Turgot, whose well earned reputation in this province placed him at the head of the French finances, as may be very agreeably learned, in that production of equal truth and elegance, his life by the marquis of Condorcet. The character which Turgot left here is considerable. The noble roads we have passed, so much exceeding any other I have seen in France, were amongst his *good* works; an epithet due to them because not made by *corvées*. There is here a society of agriculture, which owes its origin to the same distinguished patriot: but in that most unlucky path of French exertion he was able to do nothing: evils too radically fixed were in the way of the attempt. This society does like other societies,—they meet, converse, offer premiums, and publish nonsense. This is not of much consequence, for the people, instead

stead of reading their memoirs, are not able to read at all. They can however *see*; and if a farm was established in that good cultivation which they ought to copy, something would be presented from which they *might* learn. I asked particularly if the members of this society had land in their own hands, from which it might be judged if they knew any thing of the matter themselves: I was assured that they had; but the conversation presently explained it: they had *metayers* around their country-seats, and this was considered as farming their own lands, so that they assume something of a merit from the identical circumstance, which is the curse and ruin of the whole country. In the agricultural conversations we have had on the journey from Orleans, I have not found one person who seemed sensible of the mischief of this system.

The 7th. No chesnuts for a league before we reach Piere Buffiere, they say because the basis of the country is a hard granite; and they assert also at Limoge, that in this granite there grow neither vines, wheat, nor chesnuts, but that on the softer granites these plants thrive well: it is true, that chesnuts and this granite appeared together when we entered Limosin. The road has been incomparably fine, and much more like the well kept alleys of a garden than a common high way. See for the first time old towers, that appear numerous in this country.—33 miles.

The 8th. Pass an extraordinary spectacle for English eyes, of many houses too good to be called cottages, without any glass windows. Some miles to the right is Pompadour, where the King has a stud; there are all kinds of horses, but chiefly Arabian, Turkish, and English. Three years ago four Arabians were imported, which had been procured at the expence of 72,000 livres (3149l.) the price of covering a mare is only three livres to the groom; the owners are permitted to sell their colts as they please, but if these come up to the standard height, the King's officers have the preference, provided they give the price offered by others. These horses are not saddled till six years old. They pasture all day, but at night are confined on account of wolves, which are so common as to be a great plague to the people. A horse of six years old, a little more than four feet six inches high, is sold for 70l.; and 15l. has been offered for a colt of one year old. Pass Uzarch; dine at Douzenac; between which place and Brive meet the first maize, or Indian corn.

The beauty of the country, through the 34 miles from St. George to Brive, is so various, and in every respect so striking and interesting, that I shall attempt no particular description, but observe in general, that I am much in doubt, whether there be any thing comparable to it either in England or Ireland. It is not that a fine view breaks now and then upon the eye to compensate the traveller for the dulness of a much longer district; but a quick succession of landscapes, many of which would be rendered famous in England, by the resort of travellers

travellers to view them. The country is all hill or valley; the hills are very high, and would be called with us mountains, if waste and covered with heath; but being cultivated to the very tops, their magnitude is lessened to the eye. Their forms are various: they swell in beautiful semi-globes; they project in abrupt masses, which inclose deep glens: they expand into amphitheatres of cultivation that rise in gradation to the eye: in some places tossed into a thousand inequalities of surface; in others the eye reposes on scenes of the softest verdure. Add to this, the rich robe with which nature's bounteous hand has dressed the slopes, with hanging woods of chestnut. And whether the vales open their verdant bosoms, and admit the sun to illumine the rivers in their comparative repose; or whether they be closed in deep glens, that afford a passage with difficulty to the water rolling over their rocky beds, and dazzling the eye with the lustre of cascades; in every case the features are interesting and characteristic of the scenery. Some views of singular beauty rivetted us to the spots; that of the town of Uzarch, covering a conical hill, rising in the hollow of an amphitheatre of wood, and surrounded at its feet by a noble river, is unique. Derry in Ireland has something of its form, but wants some of its richest features. The water-scenes from the town itself, and immediately after passing it, are delicious. The immense view from the descent to Douzenach is equally magnificent. To all this is added the finest road in the world, every where formed in the perfect manner, and kept in the highest preservation, like the well ordered alley of a garden, without dust, sand, stones, or inequality, firm and level, of pounded granite, and traced with such a perpetual command of prospect, that had the engineer no other object in view, he could not have executed it with a more finished taste.

The view of Brive, from the hill is so fine, that it gives the expectation of a beautiful little town, and the gaiety of the environs encourages the idea; but on entering, such a contrast is found as disgusts completely. Close, ill built, crooked, dirty, stinking streets, exclude the sun, and almost the air from every habitation, except a few tolerable ones on the promenade.—34 miles.

The 9th. Enter a different country, with the new province of Quercy, which is a part of Guienne; not near so beautiful as Limosin, but, to make amends, it is far better cultivated. Thanks to maize, which does wonders! Pass Noailles, on the summit of a high hill, the chateau of the Marshal Duke of that name.—Enter a calcareous country, and lose chestnuts at the same time.

In going down to Souillac, there is a prospect that must universally please: it is a bird's-eye view of a delicious little valley, sunk deep amongst some very bold hills that inclose it; a margin of wild mountain contrasts the extreme beauty of the level surface below, a scene of cultivation scattered with fine walnut trees; nothing can apparently exceed the exuberant fertility of this spot.

Souillac is a little town in a thriving state, having some rich merchants. They receive staves from the mountains of Auvergne by their river Dordonne, which is navigable eight months in the year; these they export to Bourdeaux and Libourn; also wine, corn, and cattle, and import salt in great quantities. It is not in the power of an English imagination to figure the animals that waited upon us here, at the Chapeau Rouge. Some things that called themselves by the courtesy of Souillac women, but in reality walking dung-hills.—But a neatly dressed clean waiting girl at an inn, will be looked for in vain in France.—34 miles.

The 10th. Cross the Dordonne by a ferry; the boat well contrived for driving in at one end, and out at the other, without the abominable operation, common in England, of beating horses till they leap into them; the price is as great a contrast as the excellence; we paid for an English whisky, a French cabriolet, one saddle-horse, and six persons, no more than 50*s.* (2*s.* 1*d.*) I have paid half-a-crown a wheel in England for execrable ferries, passed over at the hazard of the horses limbs.—This river runs in a very deep valley between two ridges of high hills: extensive views, all scattered with villages and single houses; an appearance of great population. Chestnuts on a calcaréous soil, contrary to the Limosin maxim.

Pass Payrac, and meet many beggars, which we had not done before. All the country, girls and women, are without shoes or stockings; and the ploughmen at their work have neither sabots nor feet to their stockings. This is a poverty, that strikes at the root of national prosperity; a large consumption among the poor being of more consequence than among the rich: the wealth of a nation lies in its circulation and consumption; and the case of poor people abstaining from the use of manufactures of leather and wool ought to be considered as an evil of the first magnitude. It reminded me of the misery of Ireland. Pass Pont-de-Rodez, and come to high land, whence we enjoyed an immense and singular prospect of ridges, hills, vales, and gentle slopes, rising one beyond another in every direction, with few masses of wood, but many scattered trees. At least forty miles are tolerably distinct to the eye, and without a level acre; the sun, on the point of being set, illumined part of it, and displayed a vast number of villages and scattered farms. The mountains of Auvergne, at the distance of 100 miles, added to the view. Pass by several cottages, exceedingly well built, of stone and slate or tiles, yet without any glass to the windows; can a country be likely to thrive where the great object is to spare manufactures? Women picking weeds into their aprons for their cows, another sign of poverty I observed, during the whole way from Calais.—30 miles.

The 11th. See for the first time the Pyrenees, at the distance of 150 miles.—To me, who had never seen an object farther than 60 or 70, I mean the Wick-
low

low mountains, as I was going out of Holyhead, this was interesting. Wherever the eye wandered in search of new objects it was sure to rest there. Their magnitude, their snowy height, the line of separation between two great kingdoms, and the end of our travels altogether account for this effect. Towards Cahors the country changes, and has something of a savage aspect; yet houses are seen every where, and one-third of it under vines.

That town is bad; the streets neither wide nor strait, but the new road is an improvement. The chief object of its trade and resource are vines and brandies. The true Vin de Cahors, which has a great reputation, is the produce of a range of vineyards, very rocky, on a ridge of hills full to the south, and is called Vin de Grave, because growing on a gravelly soil. In plentiful years, the price of good wine here does not exceed that of the cask; last year it was sold at 10s. 6d. a barique, or 8d. a dozen. We drank it at the Trois Rois from three to ten years old, the latter at 30*s.* (1*s.* 3d.) the bottle; both excellent, full bodied, great spirit, without being fiery, and to my palate much better than our ports. I liked it so well, that I established a correspondence with Monf. Andoury, the innkeeper*. The heat of this country is equal to the production of strong wine. This was the most burning day we had experienced.

On leaving Cahors, the mountain of rock rises so immediately, that it seems as if it would tumble into the town. The leaves of walnuts are now black with frosts that happened within a fortnight. On enquiry, I found they are subject to these frosts all through the spring months; and though rye is sometimes killed by them, the mildew in wheat is hardly known;—a fact sufficiently destructive of the theory of frosts being the cause of that distemper. It is very rare that any snow falls here. Sleep at Ventillac.—22 miles.

The 12th. The shape and colour of the peasants houses here add a beauty to the country; they are square, white, and with rather flat roofs, but few windows. The peasants are for the most part land-proprietors. Immense view of the Pyrenees before us, of an extent and height truly sublime: near Porges, the view of a rich vale, that seems to reach uninterruptedly to those mountains is a glorious scenery; one vast sheet of cultivation; every where chequered with these well built white houses;—the eye losing itself in the vapour, which ends only with that stupendous ridge, whose snow-capped heads are broken into the boldest outline. The road to Caussade leads through a very fine avenue of six rows of trees, two of them mulberries, which are the first we have seen. Thus we have travelled almost to the Pyrenees before we met with an article of culture which some want to introduce into England. The vale here is all on a dead level; the road finely made, and mended with gravel. Montauban is old, but

* I since had a barique of him; but whether he sent bad wine, which I am not willing to believe, or that it came through bad hands, I know not. It is however so bad, as to be item for folly.

not ill built. There are many good houses, without forming handsome streets. It is said to be very populous, and the eye confirms the intelligence. The cathedral is modern, and pretty well built, but too heavy. The public college, the seminary, the bishop's palace, and the house of the first president of the court of aids are good buildings: the last large, with a most shewy entrance. The promenade is finely situated; built on the highest part of the rampart, and commanding that noble vale, or rather plain, one of the richest in Europe, which extends on one side to the sea, and in front to the Pyrenees; whose towering masses, heaped one upon another, in a stupendous manner, and covered with snow, offer a variety of lights and shades from indented forms, and the immensity of their projections. This prospect, which contains a semi-circle of an hundred miles diameter, has an oceanic vastness, in which the eye loses itself; an almost boundless scene of cultivation; an animated, but confused mass of infinitely varied parts—melting gradually into the distant obscure, from which emerges the amazing frame of the Pyrenees, rearing their silvered heads far above the clouds. At Montauban, I met Capt. Plampin, of the royal navy; he was with Major Crew, who has a house and family here, to which he politely carried us; it is sweetly situated on the skirts of the town, commanding a fine view; they were so obliging as to resolve my enquiries upon some points, of which a residence made them complete judges. Living is reckoned cheap here; a family was named to us, whose income was supposed to be about 1500 louis a-year, and who lived as handsomely as in England on 5000l. The comparative dearness and cheapness of different countries, is a subject of considerable importance, but difficult to analyze. As I conceive the English to have made far greater advances in the useful arts, and in manufactures, than the French have done, England ought to be the cheaper country. What we meet with in France, is a cheap *mode of living*, which is quite another consideration. — 30 miles.

The 13th. Pass Grisolles, where are well built cottages without glass, and some with no other light than the door. Dine at Pompinion, at the Grand Soleil, an uncommonly good inn, where Capt. Plampin, who accompanied us thus far, took his leave. Here we had a violent storm of thunder and lightning, with rain much heavier I thought than I had known in England; but, when we set out for Toulouze, I was immediately convinced that such a violent shower had never fallen in that kingdom; for the destruction it had poured on the noble scene of cultivation, which but a moment before was smiling with exuberance, was terrible to behold. All now one scene of distress: the finest crops of wheat beaten so flat to the ground, that I question whether they can ever rise again; other fields so inundated, that we were actually in doubt whether we were looking on what was lately land, or always water. The ditches had been filled rapidly with mud, had overflowed the road, and swept dirt and gravel over the crops.

Cross

Cross one of the finest plains of wheat that is any where to be seen ; the storm, therefore, was fortunately partial. Pass St. Jorry ; a noble road, but not better than in Limosin. It is a desert to the very gates ; meet not more persons than if it were 100 miles from any town.—31 miles.

The 14th. View the city, which is very ancient and very large, but not peopled in proportion to its size : the buildings are a mixture of brick and wood, and have consequently a melancholy appearance. This place has always prided itself on its taste for literature and the fine arts. It has had a university since 1215 ; and it pretends that its famous academy of Jeux Floraux is as old as 1323. It has also a royal academy of sciences, another of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The church of the Cordeliers has vaults, into which we descended, that have the property of preserving dead bodies from corruption ; we saw many that they assert to be 500 years old. If I had a vault well lighted, that would preserve the countenance and physiognomy as well as the flesh and bones, I should like to have it peopled with all my ancestors ; and this desire would, I suppose, be proportioned to their merit and celebrity ; but to one like this, that preserves cadaverous deformity, and gives perpetuity to death, the voracity of a common grave is preferable. But Toulouze is not without objects more interesting than churches and academies ; these are the new quay, the corn mills, and the canal de Brien. The quay is of a great length, and in all respects a noble work : the houses intended to be built will be regular like those already erected, in a stile awkward and inelegant. The canal de Brien, so called from the archbishop of Toulouze, afterwards prime minister and cardinal, was planned and executed in order to join the Garonne at Toulouze with the canal of Languedoc, which is united at two miles from the town with the same river. The necessity of such a junction arises from the navigation of the river in the town being absolutely impeded by the wear which is made across it in favour of the corn mills. It passes arched under the quay to the river, and one sluice levels the water with that of the Languedoc canal. It is broad enough for several barges to pass abreast. These undertakings have been well planned, and their execution is truly magnificent : there is however more magnificence than trade ; for while the Languedoc canal is alive with commerce, that of Brien is a desert.

Among other things we viewed at Toulouze, was the house of *Monf. du Barrè*, brother of the husband of the celebrated countess. By some transactions, favourable to anecdote, which enabled him to draw her from obscurity, and afterwards to marry her to his brother, he contrived to make a pretty considerable fortune. On the first floor is one principal and complete apartment, containing seven or eight rooms, fitted up and furnished with such profusion of expence, that if a fond lover, at the head of a kingdom's finances, were decorating for his mistress, he could hardly give in large any thing that is not here to be seen on a moderate scale.

scale. To those who are fond of gilding here is enough to satiate; so much that to an English eye it has too gaudy an appearance. But the glasses are large and numerous. The drawing-room very elegant (gilding always excepted).—Here I remarked a contrivance which has a pleasing effect; that of a looking-glass before the chimnies, instead of those various screens used in England: it slides backwards and forwards into the wall of the room. There is a portrait of Madame du Barrè, which is said to be very like; if it really is, one would pardon a King some follies committed at the shrine of so much beauty.—As to the garden, it is beneath all contempt, except as an object to make a man stare at the efforts to which folly can arrive: in the space of an acre, there are hills of genuine earth, mountains of pasteboard, rocks of canvass; abbeés, cows, sheep, and shepherdesses in lead; monkeys and peasants, asses and altars, in stone. Fine ladies and blacksmiths, parrots and lovers, in wood. Windmills and cottages, shops and villages, nothing excluded except nature.

The 15th. Meet Highlanders, who put me in mind of those of Scotland; saw them first at Montauban; they have round flat caps, and loose breeches: "Pipers, blue bonnets, and oat-meal, are found," says Sir James Stuart, "in Catalonia, Auvergne and Swabia, as well as in Lochabar." Many of the women here are without stockings. Meet them coming from the market, with their shoes in their baskets. The Pyrenees, at sixty miles distance, appear now so distinct, that one would guess it not more than fifteen; the lights and shades of the snow are seen clearly.—30 miles.

The 16th. A ridge of hills on the other side of the Garonne, which began at Toulouze, became more and more regular yesterday; and is undoubtedly the most distant ramification of the Pyrenees, reaching into this vast vale quite to Toulouze, but no farther. Approach the mountains; the lower ones are all cultivated, but the higher seem covered with wood: the road now is bad all the way. Meet many waggons, each loaded with two casks of wine, quite backward in the carriage and as the hind wheels are much higher than the fore ones, it shews that these mountaineers have more sense than John Bull. The wheels of these waggons are all shod with wood instead of iron. Here, for the first time, see rows of maples, with vines, trained in festoons, from tree to tree; they are conducted by a rope of bramble, vine cutting, or willow. They give many grapes, but bad wine. Pass St. Martino, and then a large village of well built houses, without a single glass window.—30 miles.

The 17th. St. Gaudens is an improving town, with many new houses, something more than comfortable. An uncommon view of St. Bertrand; you break at once upon a vale sunk deep enough beneath the point of view to command every hedge and tree, with that town clustered round its large cathedral, on a rising ground; if it had been built purposely to add a feature to a singular prospect,

spect, it could not have been better placed. The mountains rise proudly around, and give their rough frame to this exquisite little picture.

Cross the Garonne, by a new bridge of one fine arch, built of hard blue limestone. Medlars, plumbs, cherries, maples in every hedge, with vines trained.— Stop at Laureffe; after which the mountains almost close, and leave only a narrow vale, the Garonne and the road occupying some portion of it. Immense quantities of poultry in all this country; most of it the people salt and keep in grease. We tasted a soup made of the leg of a goose thus kept, and it was not nearly so bad as I expected.

Every crop here is backward, and betrays a want of sun; no wonder, for we have been long travelling on the banks of a rapid river, and must now be very high, though still apparently in vales. The mountains, in passing on, grow more interesting. Their beauty, to northern eyes, is very singular; the black and dreary prospects which our mountains offer are known to every one; but here the climate cloaths them with verdure, and the highest summits in sight are covered with wood; there is snow on still higher ridges.

Quit the Garonne some leagues before Sirpe, where the river Neste falls into it. The road to Bagnere is along this river, in a very narrow valley, at one end of which is built the town of Luchon, the termination of our journey; which to me has been one of the most agreeable I ever undertook; the good humour and good sense of my companions are well calculated for travelling; one renders a journey pleasing, and the other instructive.—Having now crossed the kingdom, and been in many French inns, I shall in general observe, that they are on an average better in two respects, and worse in all the rest, than those in England. We have lived better in point of eating and drinking beyond a question, than we should have done in going from London to the Highlands of Scotland, at double the expence. But if in England the best of every thing is ordered, without any attention to the expence, we should for double the money have lived better than we have done in France; the common cookery of the French gives great advantage. It is true, they roast every thing to a chip, if they are not cautioned: but they give such a number and variety of dishes, that if you do not like some, there are others to please your palate. The desert at a French inn has no rival at an English one; nor are the liqueurs to be despised.— We sometimes have met with bad wine, but upon the whole, far better than such port as English inns give. Beds are better in France; in England they are good only at good inns; and we have none of that torment, which is so perplexing in England, to have the sheets aired; for we never trouble our heads about them, doubtless on account of the climate. After these two points, all is a blank. You have no parlour to eat in; only a room with two, three, or four beds. Apartments badly fitted up; the walls white-washed; or paper of different

different forts in the same room; or tapestry so old, as to be a fit nidus for moths and spiders; and the furniture such, that an English innkeeper would light his fire with it. For a table, you have every where a board laid on cross bars, which are so conveniently contrived, as to leave room for your legs only at the end.—Oak chairs with rush bottoms, and the back universally a direct perpendicular, that defies all idea of rest after fatigue. Doors give music as well as entrance; the wind whistles through their chinks; and hinges grate discord. Windows admit rain as well as light; when shut they are not easy to open; and when open not easy to shut. Mops, brooms, and scrubbing-brushes are not in the catalogue of the necessaries of a French inn. Bells there are none; the *filie* must always be bawled for; and when she appears, is neither neat, well dressed, nor handsome. The kitchen is black with smoke; the master commonly the cook, and the less you see of the cooking, the more likely you are to have a stomach to your dinner; but this is not peculiar to France. Copper utensils always in great plenty, but not always well tinned. The mistress rarely classes civility or attention to her guests among the requisites of her trade.—30 miles.

The 28th. Having been now ten days fixed in our lodgings, which the Count de la Rochefoucauld's friends had provided for us; it is time to minute a few particulars of our life here. Monf. Lazowski and myself have two good rooms on a ground floor, with beds in them, and a servant's room, for 4 liv. (3s. 6d.) a-day. We are so unaccustomed in England to live in our bed-chambers, that it is at first awkward in France to find that people live no where else: At all the inns I have been in, it has been always in bed-rooms; and here I find, that every body, let his rank be what it may, lives in his bed-chamber. This is novel; our English custom is far more convenient, as well as more pleasing. But this habit I class with the œconomy of the French. The day after we came, I was introduced to the La Rochefoucauld party, with whom we have lived; it consists of the duke and dutchess de la Rochefoucauld, daughter of the duke de Chabot; her brother, the prince de Laon and his princess, the daughter of the duke de Montmorenci; the count de Chabot, another brother of the dutchess de la Rochefoucauld; the marquis D'Aubourval, who, with my two fellow-travellers and myself, make a party of nine at dinner and supper. A *traiteur* serves our table at 4 liv. a head for the two meals, two courses and a good thing that is in supper one and a desert: the whole very well served, with every desert, and at season: the wine separate, at 6*s.* (3d.) a bottle. With difficulty the Count's groom found a stable. Hay is little short of 5*l.* English per ton; oats much the same price as in England, but not so good: straw dear, and so scarce, that very often there is no litter at all.

The States of Languedoc are building a large and handsome bathing house, to contain various separate cells, with baths, and a large common room, with two
arcades

arcades to walk in, free from sun and rain. The present baths are horrible holes ; the patients lie up to their chins in hot sulphureous water, which, with the beastly dens they are placed in, one would think sufficient to causé as many distempers as they cure. They are resorted to for cutaneous eruptions. The life led here has very little variety. Those who bathe or drink the waters, do it at half after five or six in the morning ; but my friend and myself are early in the mountains, which are here stupendous ; we wander among them to admire the wild and beautiful scenes which are to be met with in almost every direction. The whole region of the Pyrenees is of a nature and aspect so totally different from every thing that I had been accustomed to ; that these excursions were productive of much amusement. Cultivation is here carried to a considerable perfection in several articles, especially in the irrigation of meadows : we seek out the most intelligent peasants, and have many and long conversations with those who understand French, which however is not the case with all, for the language of the country is a mixture of Catalan, Provençal, and French.— This, with examining the minerals (an article for which the duke de la Rochefoucauld likes to accompany us, as he possesses a considerable knowledge in that branch of natural history), and with noting the plants with which we are acquainted, serves well to keep our time employed sufficiently to our taste. The ramble of the morning finished, we return in time to dress for dinner, at half after twelve or one : then adjourn to the drawing-room of madam de la Rochefoucauld, or the countess of Grandval alternately, the only ladies who have apartments large enough to contain the whole company. None are excluded ; as the first thing done, by every person who arrives, is to pay a morning visit to each party already in the place ; the visit is returned, and then every body is of course acquainted at these assemblies, which last till the evening is cool enough for walking. There is nothing in them but cards, trick-track, chess, and sometimes music ; but the great feature is cards : I need not add, that I absented myself often from these parties, which are ever mortally insipid to me in England, and not less so in France. In the evening, the company splits into different parties, for their promenade, which lasts till half an hour after eight ; supper is served at nine ; there is, after it, an hour's conversation in the chamber of one of our ladies ; and this is the best part of the day,—for the chat is free, lively, and unaffected ; and uninterrupted, unless on a post-day, when the duke has such packets of papers and pamphlets, that they turn us all into politicians. All the world are in bed by eleven. In this arrangement of the day, no circumstance is so objectionable as that of dining at noon, the consequence of eating no breakfast ; for as the ceremony of dressing is kept up, you must be at home from any morning's excursion by twelve o'clock. This single circumstance, if adhered to, would be sufficient to destroy any pursuits, except the

most frivolous. Dividing the day exactly in halves, destroys it for any expedition, enquiry, or business that demands seven or eight hours attention, uninterrupted by any calls to the table or the toilette: calls which, after fatigue or exertion, are obeyed with refreshment and with pleasure. We dress for dinner in England with propriety, as the rest of the day is dedicated to ease, to converse, and relaxation: but by doing it at noon, too much time is lost. What is a man good for after his silk breeches and stockings are on, his hat under his arm, and his head *bien poudré*?—Can he botanize in a watered meadow?—Can he clamber the rocks to mineralize?—Can he farm with the peasant and the ploughman?—He is in order for the conversation of the ladies, which to be sure is in every country, but particularly in France, where the women are highly cultivated, an excellent employment; but it is an employment that never relishes better than after a day spent in active toil or animated pursuit; in something that has enlarged the sphere of our conceptions, or added to the stores of our knowledge.—I am induced to make this observation, because the noon dinners are customary all over France, except by persons of considerable fashion at Paris. They cannot be treated with too much ridicule or severity, for they are absolutely hostile to every view of science, to every spirited exertion, and to every useful pursuit in life.

Living in this way, however, with several persons of the first fashion in the kingdom, is an object to a foreigner solicitous to remark the manners and character of the nation. I have every reason to be pleased with the experiment, as it affords me a constant opportunity to enjoy the advantages of an unaffected and polished society, in which an invariable sweetness of disposition, mildness of character, and what in English we emphatically call *good temper*, eminently prevails:—seeming to arise—at least I conjecture it, from a thousand little nameless and peculiar circumstances; not resulting entirely from the personal character of the individuals, but apparently holding of the national one.—Beside the persons I have named, there are among others at our assemblies, the marquis and marchioness de Hautfort; the duke and dutchess de Ville (this dutchess is among the good order of beings); the chevalier de Peyrac; Mons. l'Abbé Bastard; baron de Serres; viscountess Duhamel; the bishops of Croire and Montauban; Mons. de la Marche; the baron de Montagu, a chess player; the chevalier de Cheyron; and Mons. de Bellecomb, who commanded in Pondicherry, and was taken by the English. There are also about half a dozen young officers, and three or four abbés.

If I may hazard a remark on the conversation of French assemblies, from what I have known here, I should praise them for equanimity but condemn them for insipidity. All vigour of thought seems so excluded from expression, that characters of ability and of inanity meet nearly on a par: tame and
elegant,

elegant, uninteresting and polite, the mingled mass of communicated ideas has powers neither to offend nor instruct; where there is much polish of character there is little argument; and if you neither argue nor discuss, what is conversation?—Good temper, and habitual ease, are the first ingredients in private society; but wit, knowledge, or originality, must break their even surface into some inequality of feeling, or conversation is like a journey on an endless flat.

Of the rural beauties we have to contemplate, the valley of Larbouffe, in a nook of which the town of Luchon is situated, is the principal, with its surrounding accompaniment of mountain. The range that bounds it to the north, is bare of wood but covered with cultivation; and a large village, about three parts of its height, is perched on a steep, that almost makes the unaccustomed eye tremble with apprehension, that the village, church, and people will come tumbling into the valley. Villages thus perched, like eagles nests on rocks, are a general circumstance in the Pyrenees, which appear to be wonderfully peopled. The mountain, that forms the western wall of the valley, is of a prodigious magnitude. Watered meadow and cultivation rise more than one-third the height. A forest of oak and beech forms a noble belt above it; higher still is a region of ling; and above all snow. From whatever point viewed, this mountain is commanding from its magnitude, and beautiful from its luxuriant foliage. The range which closes in the valley to the east is of a character different from the others; it has more variety, more cultivation, villages, forests, glens, and cascades. That of Gouzat, which turns a mill as soon as it falls from the mountain, is romantic, with every accompaniment necessary to give a high degree of picturesque beauty. There are features in that of Montauban, which Claude Lorraine would not have failed transfusing on his canvass; and the view of the vale from the chestnut rock is gay and animated. The termination of our valley to the south is striking; the river Neste pours in incessant cascades over rocks that seem an eternal resistance. The eminence in the centre of a small vale, on which is an old tower, is a wild and romantic spot; the roar of the waters beneath unites in effect with the mountains, whose towering forests, finishing in snow, give an awful grandeur, a gloomy greatness to the scene; and seem to raise a barrier of separation between the kingdoms, too formidable even for armies to pass. But what are rocks, and mountains, and snow, when opposed to human ambition?—In the recesses of the pendent woods, the bears find their habitation, and on the rocks above, the eagles have their nests. All around is great; the sublime of nature, with imposing majesty, impresses awe upon the mind; attention is rivetted to the spot; and imagination, with all its excursive powers, seeks not to wander beyond the scene.

Deepens the murmurs of the falling floods,
And breathes a browner horror o'er the woods.

To view these scenes tolerably, is a business of some days ; and such is the climate here, or at least has been since I was at Bagnere de Luchon, that not more than one day in three is to be depended on for fine weather. The heights of the mountains is such, that the clouds, perpetually broken, pour down quantities of rain. From June 26th to July 2d, we had one heavy shower, which lasted without intermission for sixty hours. The mountains, though so near, were hidden to their bases in the clouds. They do not only arrest the fleeting ones, which are passing in the atmosphere, but seem to have a generative power ; for you see small ones at first, like thin vapour rising out of glens, forming on the sides of the hills, and increasing by degrees, till they become clouds heavy enough to rest on the tops, or else rise into the atmosphere, and pass away with others.

Among the original tenants of this immense range of mountains, the first in point of dignity, from the importance of the mischief they do, are the bears. There are both sorts, carnivorous and vegetable-eaters ; the latter are more mischievous than their more terrible brethren, coming down in the night and eating the corn, particularly buck-wheat and maize ; and they are so nice in choosing the sweetest ears of the latter, that they trample and spoil infinitely more than they eat. The carnivorous bears wage war against the cattle and sheep, so that no stock can be left in the fields at night. Flocks must be watched by shepherds, who have fire-arms, and the assistance of many stout and fierce dogs ; and cattle are shut up in stables every night in the year. Sometimes, by accident, they wander from their keepers, and if left abroad, they run a considerable risque of being devoured.—The bears attack these animals by leaping on their back, force the head to the ground, and thrust their paws into the body in the violence of a dreadful hug. There are many hunting days every year for destroying them ; several parishes joining for that purpose. Great numbers of men and boys form a cordon, and drive the wood where the bears are known or suspected to be. They are the fattest in winter, when a good one is worth three louis. A bear never ventures to attack a wolf ; but several wolves together, when hungry, will attack a bear, and kill and eat him. Wolves are here only in winter. In summer, they are in the very remotest parts of the Pyrenees—the most distant from human habitations : they are here, as every where else in France, dreadful to sheep.

A part of our original plan of travelling to the Pyrenees, was an excursion into Spain. Our landlord at Luchon had before procured mules and guides for persons travelling on business to Saragossa and Barcelona, and at our request wrote to Vielle, the first Spanish town across the mountains, for three mules and a conductor, who speaks French ; and being arrived according to appointment, we set out on our expedition. *For the register of this Tour into Spain, I must refer the reader to the Annals of Agriculture, vol. viii. p. 193.*

JULY 21. Return.—Leave Jonquieres, where the countenances and manners of the people would make one believe all the inhabitants were smugglers. Come to a most noble road, which the King of Spain is making; it begins at the pillars that mark the boundaries of the two monarchies, joining with the French road: it is admirably executed. Here take leave of Spain and re-enter France: the contrast is striking. When one crosses the sea from Dover to Calais, the preparation and circumstance of a naval passage, lead the mind by some gradation to a change: but here, without going through a town, a barrier, or even a wall, you enter a new world. From the natural and miserable roads of Catalonia, you tread at once on a noble causeway, made with all the solidity and magnificence that distinguishes the highways of France. Instead of beds of torrents you have well built bridges; and from a country wild, desert, and poor, we found ourselves in the midst of cultivation and improvement. Every other circumstance spoke the same language, and told us by signs not to be mistaken, and some great and operating cause worked an effect too clear to be misunderstood. The more one sees, the more I believe we shall be led to think, that there is but one all-powerful cause that instigates mankind, and that is GOVERNMENT!—Others form exceptions, and give shades of difference and distinction, but this acts with permanent and universal force. The present instance is remarkable; for Rouffillon is in fact a part of Spain; the inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs; but they are under a French government.

Great range of the Pyrenees at a distance. Meet shepherds that speak the Catalan. The cabriolets we meet are Spanish. The farmers thresh their corn like the Spaniards. The inns and the houses are the same. Reach Perpignan; there I parted with *Monf. Lazowski*. He returned to *Bagnere de Luchon*, but I had planned a tour in *Languedoc*, to fill up the time to spare.—15 miles.

The 22d. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld had given me a letter to *Monf. Barri de Lasseuses*, major of a regiment at Perpignan, and who, he said, understood agriculture, and would be glad to converse with me on the subject. I sallied out in the morning to find him, but being Sunday, he was at his country-seat at *Pia*, about a league from the town. I had a roasting walk thither, over a dry stoney country under vines. *Monf. Madame*, and *Mademoiselle de Lasseuses*, received me with great politeness. I explained the motives of my coming to France, which were not to run idly through the kingdom with the common herd of travellers, but to make myself a master of their agriculture; that if I found any thing good and applicable to England, I might copy it. He commended the design greatly; said it was travelling with a truly laudable motive; but expressed much astonishment, as it was so uncommon; and was very sure there was not a single Frenchman in all England on such an errand.

errand. He desired I would spend the day with him. I found the vineyard the chief part of his husbandry, but he had some arable land, managed in the singular manner of that province. He pointed to a village which he said was Rivesalta, which produced some of the most famous wine in France; at dinner I found that it merited its reputation. In the evening returned to Perpignan, after a day fertile in useful information.—8 miles.

The 23d. Take the road to Narbonne. Pass Rivesalta. Under the mountain there is the largest spring I ever saw. Otters-Pool and Holywell are bubbles to it. It rises at the foot of the rock, and is able to turn immediately many mills; being at once rather a river than a spring. Pass an uninterrupted flat waste, without a single tree, house, or village for a considerable distance: by much the ugliest country I have seen in France. Great quantities of corn every where treading out with mules, as in Spain. Dine at Sejean, at the Soleil, a good new inn, where I accidentally met with the marquis de Tressan. He told me, that I must be a singular person to travel so far with no other object than agriculture: he never knew nor heard of the like; but approved much of the plan, and wished he could do the same.

The roads here are stupendous works. I passed a hill, cut through to ease a descent, that was all in the solid rock, and cost 90,000 liv. (3,937l.) yet it extends but a few hundred yards. Three leagues and an half from Sejean to Narbonne cost 1,800,000 liv. (78,750l.) These ways are superb even to a folly. Enormous sums have been spent to level even gentle slopes. The causeways are raised and walled on each side, forming one solid mass of artificial road, carried across the vallies to the height of six, seven, or eight feet, and never less than 50 wide. There is a bridge of a single arch, and a causeway to it, truly magnificent; we have not an idea of what such a road is in England. The traffic of the way, however, demands no such exertions; one-third of the breadth is beaten, one-third rough, and one-third covered with weeds. In 36 miles, I have met one cabriolet, half a dozen carts, and some old women with asses. For what all this waste of treasure?—In Languedoc, it is true, these works are not done by corvées; but there is an injustice in levying the amount not far short of them. The money is raised by tailles, and, in making the assessment, lands held by a noble tenure are so much eased, and others by a base one so burthened, that 120 arpents in this neighbourhood, held by the former, pay 90 liv. and 400 possessed by a plebeian right, which ought proportionally to pay 300 liv. is, instead of that, assessed at 1400 liv. At Narbonne, the canal which joins that of Languedoc, deserves attention; it is a very fine work, and will, they say, be finished next month.—36 miles.

The 24th. Women without stockings, and many without shoes; but if their feet are poorly clad they have a *superb* consolation in walking upon magnificent cause-

causeways: the new road is 50 feet wide, and 50 more digged away or destroyed to make it.

The vintage itself can hardly be such a scene of activity and animation as this universal one of treading out the corn, with which all the towns and villages in Languedoc are now alive. The corn is all roughly stacked around a dry firm spot, where great numbers of mules and horses are driven on a trot round a centre, a woman holding the reins, and another, or a girl or two, with whips drive; the men supply and clear the floor; other parties are dressing, by throwing the corn into the air for the wind to blow away the chaff. Every soul is employed, and with such an air of cheerfulness, that the people seem as well pleased with their labour, as the farmer himself with his great heaps of wheat. The scene is uncommonly animated and joyous. I stopped and alighted often to see their method; I was always very civilly treated, and my wishes for a good price for the farmer, and not too good a one for the poor, well received. This method, which entirely saves barns, depends absolutely on climate: from my leaving Bagnere de Luchon to this moment, all through Catalonia, Rouffillon, and this part of Languedoc, there has been nothing like rain; but one unvarying clear bright sky and burning sun, yet not at all suffocating, or to me even unpleasant. I asked whether they were not sometimes caught in the rain? they said, very rarely indeed; but if rain did come, it is seldom more than a heavy shower, which a hot sun quickly succeeds and dries every thing speedily.

The canal of Languedoc is the capital feature of all this country. The mountain through which it pierces is insulated, in the midst of an extended valley, and only half a mile from the road. It is a noble and stupendous work, goes through the hill about the breadth of three toises, and was digged without shafts.

Leave the road, and crossing the canal, follow it to Beziers; nine sluice-gates let the water down the hill to join the river at the town.—A noble work! The port is broad enough for four large vessels to lie abreast; the greatest of them carries from 90 to 100 tons. Many of them were at the quay, some in motion, and every sign of an animated business. This is the best sight I have seen in France. Here Lewis XIV. thou art truly great!—Here, with a generous and benignant hand, thou dispens'est ease and wealth to thy people!—*Si sic omnia*, thy name would indeed have been revered. To effect this noble work, of uniting the two seas, less money was expended than to besiege Turin, or to seize Strasbourg like a robber. Such an employment of the revenues of a great kingdom is the only laudable way of a monarch's acquiring immortality; all other means make their names survive with those only of the incendiaries, robbers, and violators of mankind. The canal passes through the river for about half a league, separated from it by walls which are covered in floods; and then turns off for Cette. Dine at Beziers. Knowing that Mons. l'Abbé Rozier,
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the celebrated editor of the *Journal Physique*, and who is now publishing a dictionary of husbandry, which in France has much reputation, lived and farmed near Beziers, I enquired at the inn the way to his house. They told me that he had left Beziers two years, but that the house was to be seen from the street, and accordingly shewed it me from something of a square open on one side to the country; adding, that it belonged now to a *Monf. de Rieuſe*, who had purchased the estate of the *Abbé*. To view the farm of a man celebrated for his writings, was an object as it would, at least, enable me, in reading his book, to understand better the allusions he might make to the soil, situation, and other circumstances. I was sorry to hear, at the table d'hôte, much ridicule thrown on the *Abbé Rozier's* husbandry, that it had *beaucoup de fantaisie mais rien solide*; in particular, they treated his paving his vineyards as a ridiculous circumstance. Such an experiment seemed remarkable, and I was glad to hear it, that I might desire to see these paved vineyards. The *Abbé* here, as a farmer, has just that character which every man will be sure to have who departs from the methods of his neighbours; for it is not in the nature of countrymen, that any body should come among them who can presume with impunity to think for themselves. I asked why he left the country? and they gave me a curious anecdote of the bishop of Beziers cutting a road through the *Abbé's* farm, at the expence of the province, to lead to the house of his (the bishop's) mistress, which occasioned such a quarrel that *Monf. Rozier* could stay no longer in the country. This is a pretty feature of a government: that a man is to be forced to sell his estate, and driven out of a country, because bishops make love.—I suppose to their neighbours wives, as no other love is fashionable in France. Which of my neighbours wives will tempt the bishop of Norwich to make a road through my farm, and drive me to sell Bradfield?—I give my authority for this anecdote, the chat of a table d'hôte; it is as likely to be false as true; but Languedocian bishops are certainly not English ones.—*Monf. de Rieuſe* received me politely, and satisfied as many of my enquiries as he could; for he knew little more of the *Abbé's* husbandry than common report, and what the farm itself told him. As to paved vineyards, there was no such thing: the report must have taken rise from a vineyard of Burgundy grapes, which the *Abbé* planted in a new manner; he set them in a curved form, in a foss, covering them only with flints instead of earth; this succeeded well. I walked over the farm, which is beautifully situated, on the slope and top of a hill, which commands Beziers, its rich vale, its navigation, and a fine accompaniment of mountains.

Beziers has a fine promenade; and is becoming, they say, a favourite residence for the English, preferring the air to that of Montpellier. Take the road to Pezenas. It leads up a hill, which commands, for some time, a view of the Mediterranean. Through all this country, but particularly in the olive grounds,
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the cricket (*cicala*) makes a constant, sharp, monotonous noise; a more odious companion on the road can hardly be imagined. Pezenas opens on a very fine country, a vale of six or eight leagues extent all cultivated; a beautiful mixture of vines, mulberries, olives, towns, and scattered houses, with a great deal of fine lucerne; the whole bounded by gentle hills, cultivated to their tops.—At supper, at the table d'hôte, we were waited on by a female without shoes or stockings, exquisitely ugly, and diffusing odours not of roses: there were, however, a croix de St. Louis, and two or three mercantile-looking people that prated with her very familiarly: at an ordinary of farmers, at the poorest and remotest market village in England, such an animal would not be allowed by the landlord to enter his house; or by the guests their room.—32 miles.

The 25th. The road, in crossing a valley to and from a bridge, is a magnificent walled causeway, more than a mile long, ten yards wide, and from eight to twelve feet high; with stone posts on each side at every six yards—a prodigious work.—I know nothing more striking to a traveller than the roads of Languedoc: we have not in England a conception of such exertions; they are splendid and superb; and if I could free my mind of the recollection of the unjust taxation which pays them, I should travel with admiration at the magnificence displayed by the states of this province. The police of these roads is however execrable—for I scarcely meet a cart but the driver is asleep in it.

Taking the road to Montpellier, pass through a pleasing country; and by another immense walled causeway, twelve yards broad and three high, leading close to the sea. To Pijan, and near Frontignan and Montbasin, famous for their muscat wines.—Approach Montpellier; the environs, for near a league, are delicious, and more highly ornamented than any thing I have seen in France.—Villas well built, clean, and comfortable, with every appearance of wealthy owners, are spread thickly through the country. They are, in general, pretty square buildings; some very large. Montpellier, with the air rather of a great capital than of a provincial town, covers a hill that swells proudly to the view.—But on entering it, you experience a disappointment from narrow, ill-built, crooked streets, but full of people, and apparently alive with business; yet there is no considerable manufacture in the place; the principal are verdigrease, silk handkerchiefs, blankets, perfumes and *liqueurs*. The great object for a stranger to view is the promenade or square, for it partakes of both, called the Perou.—There is a magnificent aqueduct on three tiers of arches for supplying the city with water, from a hill at a considerable distance; a very noble work; a *chateau d'eau* receives the water in a circular basin, from which it falls into an external reservoir, to supply the city, and the *jets d'eau* that cool the air of a garden

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below, the whole in a fine square considerably elevated above the surrounding ground, walled in with a ballustrade, and other mural decorations, and in the centre a good equestrian statue of Louis XIV. There is an air of real grandeur and magnificence in this useful work, that struck me more than any thing at Versailles. The view is also singularly beautiful. To the south, the eye wanders with delight over a rich vale, spread with villas, and terminated by the sea. To the north, a series of cultivated hills. On one side, the vast range of the Pyrenees trend away till lost in remoteness. On the other, the eternal snows of the Alps pierce the clouds. The whole view one of the most stupendous to be seen, when a clear sky approximates these distant objects.—32 miles.

The 26th. The fair of Beaucaire fills the whole country with business and motion; meet many carts loaded; and nine diligences going or coming. Yesterday and to day the hottest I ever experienced; we had none like them in Spain—the flies much worse than the heat.—30 miles.

The 27th. The amphitheatre of Nismes is a prodigious work, which shews how well the Romans had adapted these edifices to the abominable uses to which they were erected. The convenience of a theatre that could hold 17000 spectators without confusion; the magnitude; the massive and substantial manner in which it is built without mortar, that has withstood the attacks of the weather, and the worse depredations of the barbarians in the various revolutions of sixteen centuries, all strike the attention forcibly.

I viewed the Maison Quarré last night; again this morning, and twice more in the day; it is beyond all comparison the most light, elegant, and pleasing building I ever beheld. Without any magnitude to render it imposing; without any extraordinary magnificence to surprize, it rivets attention. There is a magic harmony in the proportions that charms the eye. One can fix on no particular part of pre-eminent beauty; it is one perfect whole of symmetry and grace. What an infatuation in modern architects, that can overlook the chaste and elegant simplicity of taste, manifest in such a work; and yet rear such piles of laboured foppery and heaviness as are to be met with in France. The temple of Diana, as it is called, and the ancient baths, with their modern restoration, and the promenade, form parts of the same scene, and are magnificent decorations of the city. I was, in relation to the baths, in ill luck; for the water was all drawn off, in order to clean them and the canals.—The Roman pavements are singularly beautiful, and in high preservation. My quarters at Nismes were at the Louvre, a large, commodious, and excellent inn, the house was almost as much a fair from morning to night as Beaucaire itself could be. I dined and supped at the table d'hôte; the cheapness

cheapness of these tables suits my finances, and one sees something of the manners of the people; we sat down from twenty to forty at every meal, most motley companies of French, Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, with a Greek and Armenian; and I was informed, that there is hardly a nation in Europe or Asia, that have not merchants at this great fair, chiefly for raw silk, of which many millions in value are sold in four days: all the other commodities of the world are to be found there.

One circumstance I must remark on this numerous table d'hôte, because it has struck me repeatedly, which is the taciturnity of the French. I came to the kingdom expecting to have my ears constantly fatigued with the infinite volubility and spirits of the people, of which so many persons have written, sitting, I suppose, by their English fire-sides. At Montpellier, though 15 persons and some of them ladies were present, I found it impossible to make them break their inflexible silence with more than a monosyllable, and the whole company sat more like an assembly of tongue-tied quakers, than the mixed company of a people famous for loquacity. Here also, at Nîmes, with a different party at every meal it is the same; not a Frenchman will open his lips. To-day at dinner, hopeless of that nation, and fearing to lose the use of an organ they had so little inclination to employ, I fixed myself by a Spaniard, and having been so lately in his country, I found him ready to converse, and tolerably communicative; but we had more conversation than thirty other persons maintained among themselves.

The 28th. Early in the morning to the Pont du Gard, through a plain covered with vast plantations of olives to the left, but much waste rocky land. At the first view of that celebrated aqueduct, I was rather disappointed, having expected something of greater magnitude; but soon found the error: I was, on examining it more nearly, convinced that it possessed every quality that ought to make a strong impression. It is a stupendous work; the magnitude, and the massive solidity of the architecture, which may probably endure two or three thousand years more, united with the undoubted utility of the undertaking, to give us a high idea of the spirit of exertion which executed it for the supply of a provincial town: the surprize, however, may cease, when we consider the nations enslaved that were the workmen.—Returning to Nîmes, meet many merchants returning from the fair; each with a child's drum tied to their cloak-bag: my own little girl was too much in my head not to love them for this mark of attention to their children;—but why a drum?—Have they not had enough of the military in a kingdom, where they are excluded from all the honours, respect, and emolument, that can flow from the sword?—I like Nîmes much; and if the inhabitants are at all on a par with the appearance of their city, I should prefer it for a residence to most, if not all the towns I have seen in France.

The theatre, however, is a capital point, in that Montpellier is said to exceed it.—24 miles.

The 29th. Pass six leagues of disagreeable country to Sauve. Vines and olives. The chateau of Monf. Sabbatier strikes in this wild country; he has inclosed much with dry walls, planted many mulberries and olives, which are young, thriving, and well inclosed, yet the soil is so stoney, that no earth is visible; some of his walls are four feet thick, and one of them twelve thick and five high, whence it seems, he thinks moving the stones a necessary improvement, which I much question. He has built three or four new farm-houses; I suppose he resides on this estate for improving it. I hope he does not *serve*; that no moon-shine pursuit may divert him from a conduct honourable to himself, and beneficial to his country.—Leaving Sauve, I was much struck with a large tract of land, seemingly nothing but huge rocks; yet most of it inclosed and planted with the most industrious attention. Every man has an olive, a mulberry, an almond, or a peach-tree, and vines scattered among them; so that the whole ground is covered with the oddest mixture of these plants, and bulging rocks that can be conceived. The inhabitants of this village deserve encouragement for their industry; and if I was a French minister, they should have it. They would soon turn all the deserts around them into gardens. Such a knot of active husbandmen, who turn their rocks into scenes of fertility, because I suppose THEIR OWN, would do the same by the wastes, if animated by the same omnipotent principle. Dine at St. Hyppolite, with eight protestant merchants returning home to Rouverge, from the fair of Beaucaire; as we parted at the same time, we travelled together; and from their conversation, I learned some circumstances of which I wanted to be informed; they told me also, that mulberries extend beyond Vigan, but then, and especially about Milhaud, almonds take their place, and are in very great quantities.

My Rouverge friends pressed me to pass with them to Milhaud and Rodez, assured me, that the cheapness of their province was so great, that it would tempt me to live some time amongst them. That I might have a house at Milhaud, of four tolerable rooms on a floor furnished, for 12 louis a-year; and live in the utmost plenty with all my family, if I would bring them over, for 100 louis a-year: that there were many families of noblesse, who subsisted on 50, and even on 25 a-year. Such anecdotes of cheapness are only curious when considered in a political light, as contributing on one hand to the welfare of individuals; and on the other, as contributing to the prosperity, wealth, and power of the kingdom; if I should meet with many such instances, and also with others directly contrary, it will be necessary to consider them more at large.—30 miles.

The 30th. Going out of Gange, I was surprised to find by far the greatest exertion in irrigation which I had yet seen in France; and then pass by some steep

steep mountains, highly cultivated in terraces. Much watering at St. Lawrence. The scenery very interesting to a farmer. From Gange, to the mountain of rough ground which I crossed, the ride has been the most interesting which I have taken in France; the efforts of industry the most vigorous; the animation the most lively. An activity has been here, that has swept away all difficulties before it, and has clothed the very rocks with verdure. It would be a disgrace to common sense to ask the cause: the enjoyment of property *must* have done it. Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert. To Montadier, over a rough mountain covered with box and lavender; it is a beggarly village, with an auberge that made me almost shrink. Some cut-throat figures were eating black bread, whose visages had so much of the galls that I thought I heard their chains rattle. I looked at their legs, and could not but imagine they had no business to be free. There is a species of countenance here so horridly bad, that it is impossible to be mistaken in one's reading. I was quite alone, and absolutely without arms. Till this moment, I had not dreamt of carrying pistols: I should now have been better satisfied if I had had them. The master of the auberge, who seemed first cousin to his guests, procured for me some wretched bread with difficulty, but it was not black.—No meat, no eggs, no legumes, and execrable wine: no corn for my mule; no hay; no straw; no grass: the loaf fortunately was large; I took a piece, and sliced the rest for my four-footed Spanish friend, who ate it thankfully, but the aubergiste growled.—Descend by a winding and excellent road to Maudieres, where a vast arch is thrown across the torrent. Pass St. Maurice, and cross a ruined forest amongst fragments of trees. Descend three hours, by a most noble road hewn out of the mountain side to Lodeve, a dirty, ugly, ill built town, with crooked close streets, but populous, and very industrious.—Here I drank excellent light and pleasing white wine, at 5*s.* a bottle.—36 miles.

The 31st. Cross a mountain by a miserable road, and reach Beg de Rieux, which shares with Carcassonne, the fabric of fondrins, for the Levant trade.—Cross much waste to Beziers.—I met to-day with an instance of ignorance in a well dressed French merchant, that surprised me. He had plagued me with abundance of tiresome foolish questions, and then asked for the third or fourth time what country I was of. I told him I was a Chinese. How far off is that country?—I replied, 200 leagues. *Deux cents lieus! Diable! c'est un grand chemin!* The other day a Frenchman asked me, after telling him I was an Englishman, If we had trees in England?—I replied, that we had a few. Had we any rivers?—Oh, none at all. *Ab ma foi c'est bien triste!* This incredible ignorance, when compared with the knowledge so universally disseminated in England, is to be attributed, like every thing else, to government.—40 miles.

AUGUST

AUGUST 1. Leave Beziers, in order to go to Capetan by the pierced mountain. Cross the canal of Languedoc several times; and over many wastes to Pleraville. The Pyrenees now full to the left, and their roots but a few leagues off. At Carcassonne they carried me to a fountain of muddy water, and to a gate of the barracks; but I was better pleased to see several large good houses of manufacturers, that shew wealth.—40 miles.

The 2d. Pass a considerable convent, with a long line of front, and rise to Fanjour.—16 miles.

The 3d. At Mirepoix they are building a most magnificent bridge of seven flat arches, each of 64 feet span, which will cost 1,800,000 liv. (78,750l.); it has been 12 years erecting, and will be finished in two more. The weather for several days has been as fine as possible, but very hot; to-day the heat was so disagreeable, that I rested from twelve to three at Mirepoix; and found it so burning, that it was an effort to go half a quarter of a mile to view the bridge. The myriads of flies were ready to devour me, and I could hardly support any light in the room. Riding fatigued me, and I enquired for a carriage of some sort to carry me, while these great heats should continue; I had done the same at Carcassonne; but nothing like a cabriolet of any sort was to be had. When it is recollected that that place is one of the most considerable manufacturing towns in France, containing 15,000 people, and that Mirepoix is far from being a mean place, and yet not a voiture of any kind to be had, how will an Englishman bless himself for the universal conveniences that are spread through his own country, in which I believe there is not a town of 1500 people in the kingdom where post chaises and able horses are not to be had at a moment's warning? What a contrast! This confirms the fact deducible from the little traffic on the roads even around Paris itself. Circulation is stagnant in France.—The heat was so great that I left Mirepoix disordered with it: This was by far the hottest day that I ever felt. The hemisphere seemed almost in a flame with burning rays that rendered it impossible to turn ones eyes within many degrees of the radiant orb that now blazed in the heavens.—Cross another fine new bridge of three arches; and come to a woodland, the first I have seen for a great distance. Many vines about Pamiers, which is situated in a beautiful vale, upon a fine river. The place itself is ugly striking, and ill built; with an inn! Adieu, Monf. Gascit; if fate sends me to such another house as thine—be it an expiation for my sins! —28 miles.

The 4th. Leaving Amous, there is the extraordinary spectacle of a river issuing out of a cavern in a mountain of rock; on crossing the hill you see where it enters by another cavern.—It pierces the mountain. Most countries, however, have instances of rivers passing under ground. At St. Geronds go to the Croix Blanche, the most execrable receptacle of filth, vermin, impudence, and imposition

sition that ever exercised the patience, or wounded the feelings of a traveller. A withered hag, the dæmon of beastliness, presides there. I laid, not rested, in a chamber over a stable, whose effluviæ through the broken floor were the least offensive of the perfumes afforded by this hideous place.—It could give me nothing but two stale eggs, for which I paid, exclusive of all other charges, 20*s*. Spain brought nothing to my eyes that equalled this *suk*, from which an English hog would turn with disgust. But the inns all the way from Nîmes are wretched, except at Lodeve, Gange, Carcassonne, and Mirepoix. St. Geronds must have, from its appearance, four or five thousand people. Pamiers near twice that number. What can be the circulating connection between such masses of people and other towns and countries, that can be held together and supported by such inns? There have been writers who look upon such observations as arising merely from the petulance of travellers, but it shews their extreme ignorance. Such circumstances are political data. We cannot demand all the books of France to be opened in order to explain the amount of circulation in that kingdom; a politician must therefore collect it from such circumstances as he can ascertain; and among these, traffic on the great roads, and the convenience of the houses prepared for the reception of travellers, tell us both the number and the condition of those travellers; by which term I chiefly allude to the natives, who move on business or pleasure from place to place; for if they are not considerable enough to cause good inns, those who come from a distance will not, which is evident from the bad accommodations even in the high road from London to Rome. On the contrary, go in England to towns that contain 1500, 2000, or 3000 people, in situations absolutely cut off from all dependence, or almost the expectation of what are properly called travellers, yet you will meet with neat inns, well dressed and clean people keeping them, good furniture, and a refreshing civility; your senses may not be gratified, but they will not be offended, and if you demand a post chaise and a pair of horses, the cost of which is not less than 8*l*. in spite of a heavy tax, it will be ready to carry you whither you please. Are no political conclusions to be drawn from this amazing contrast? It proves that such a population in England have connections with other places to the amount of supporting such houses. The friendly clubs of the inhabitants, the visits of friends and relations, the parties of pleasure, the resort of farmers, the intercourse with the capital and with other towns, form the support of good inns; and in a country where they are not to be found, it is a proof that there is not the same quantity of motion; or that it moves by means of less wealth, less consumption, and less enjoyment. In this journey through Languedoc, I have passed an incredible number of splendid bridges, and many superb causeways. But this only proves the absurdity and oppression of government. Bridges that cost 70 or 80,000*l*. and immense causeways to connect towns, that
have

have no better inns than such as I have described, appear to be gross absurdities. They cannot be made for the mere use of the inhabitants, because one-fourth of the expense would answer the purpose of real utility. They are therefore objects of public magnificence, and consequently for the eye of travellers. But what traveller, with his person surrounded by the beggarly filth of an inn, and with all his senses offended, will not condemn such inconsistencies as folly, and will not wish for more comfort and less appearance of splendour.—30 miles.

The 5th. To St. Martory is an almost uninterrupted range of well inclosed and well cultivated country.—For an hundred miles past, the women generally without shoes, even in the towns; and in the country many men also.—The heat yesterday and to-day as intense as it was before: there is no bearing any light in the rooms; all must be shut close, or none are tolerably cool: in going out of a light room into a dark one, though both to the north, there is a very sensible coolness; and out of a dark one into a roofed balcony, is like going into an oven. I have been advised every day not to stir till four o'clock. From ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, the heat makes all exercise most uncomfortable; and the flies are a curse of Egypt. Give me the cold and fogs of England, rather than such a heat, should it be lasting. The natives, however, assert, that this intensity has now continued as long as it commonly does, namely, four or five days; and that the greatest part even of the hottest months is much cooler than the weather is at present.—In 250 miles distant, I have met on the road two cabriolets only, and three miserable things like old English one-horse chaises; not one gentleman; though many merchants, as they call themselves, each with two or three cloak-bags behind him:—a paucity of travellers that is amazing.—28 miles.

The 6th. To Bagnere de Luchon, rejoining my friends, and not displeas'd to have a little rest in the cool mountains, after so burning a ride.—28 miles.

The 10th. Finding our party not yet ready to set out on their return to Paris, I determin'd to make use of the time there was yet to spare, ten or eleven days, in a tour to Bagnere de Bigorre, to Bayonne, and to meet them on the way to Bourdeaux, at Auch. This being settled, I mounted my English mare, and took my last leave of Luchon.—28 miles.

The 11th. Pass a convent of Bernardine monks, who have a revenue of 30,000 liv. It is situated in a vale, watered by a charming chrysal stream, and some hills, covered with oak, shelter it behind.—Arrive at Bagnere, which contains little worthy of notice, but it is much frequented by company on account of its waters. To the valley of Campan, of which I had heard great things, and which yet much surpass'd my expectation. It is quite different from all the other vales I have seen in the Pyrenees or in Catalonia. The features and the arrangement novel.

In

In general the richly cultivated slopes of those mountains are thickly inclosed; this, on the contrary, is open. The vale itself is a flat range of cultivation and watered meadow, spread thickly with villages and scattered houses. The eastern boundary is a rough, steep, and rocky mountain, and affords pasturage to goats and sheep; a contrast to the western, which forms the singular feature of the scene. It is one noble sheet of corn and grass uninclosed, and intersected only by lines that mark the division of properties, or the channels that conduct water from the higher regions for irrigating the lower ones; the whole hanging is one matchless slope of the richest and most luxuriant vegetation. Here and there are scattered some small masses of wood, which chance has grouped with wonderful happiness for giving variety to the scene. The season of the year, by mixing the rich yellow of ripe corn, with the green of the watered meadows, added greatly to the colouring of the landscape, which is upon the whole the most exquisite for *form* and *colour* that my eye has ever been regaled with.—Take the road to Lourde, where is a castle on a rock, garrisoned for the mere purpose of keeping state prisoners, sent hither by *lettres de cachet*. Seven or eight are *known* to be here at present; thirty have been here at a time; and many for life—torn by the relentless hand of jealous tyranny from the bosom of domestic comfort; from wives, children, friends, and hurried for crimes unknown to themselves—more probably for virtues—to languish in this detested abode of misery—and die of despair. Oh, liberty! liberty!—and yet this is the mildest government of any considerable country in Europe, our own excepted. The dispensations of providence seem to have permitted the human race to exist only as the prey of tyrants, as it has made pigeons for the prey of hawks.—35 miles.

The 12th. Pau is a considerable town, that has a parliament and a linen manufacture; but it is more famous for being the birth-place of Henry IV. I viewed the castle, and was shewn, as all travellers are, the room in which that amiable prince was born, and the cradle, the shell of a tortoise, in which he was nursed. What an effect on posterity have great and distinguished talents! This is a considerable town, but I question whether any thing would ever carry a stranger to it but its possessing the cradle of a favourite character.

Take the road to Moneng, and come presently to a scene which was so new to me in France, that I could hardly believe my own eyes. A succession of many well built, tight, and COMFORTABLE farming cottages, built of stone, and covered with tiles; each having its little garden, inclosed by cleft thorn hedges, with plenty of peach and other fruit-trees, some fine oaks scattered in the hedges, and young trees nursed up with so much care, that nothing but the fostering attention of the owner could effect any thing like it. To every house belongs a farm, perfectly well inclosed, with

grafs borders mown and neatly kept around the corn fields, with gates to pass from one inclosure to another. The men are all dressed with red caps, like the highlanders of Scotland. There are some parts of England (where small yeomen still remain) that resemble this country of Bearne; but we have very little that is equal to what I have seen in this ride of twelve miles from Pau to Moneng. It is all in the hands of little proprietors, without the farms being so small as to occasion a vicious and miserable population. An air of neatness, warmth, and comfort breathes over the whole. It is visible in their new built houses and stables; in their little gardens; in their hedges; in the courts before their doors; even in the coops for their poultry, and the sties for their hogs. A peasant does not think of rendering his pig comfortable, if his own happiness hangs by the thread of a nine years lease. We are now in Bearne, within a few miles of the cradle of Henry IV. Do they inherit these blessings from that good prince? The benignant genius of that good monarch, seems to reign still over the country; each peasant has *the fowl in the pot*.—34 miles.

The 13th. The agreeable scene of yesterday continues; many small properties; and every appearance of rural happiness. Navareen is a small walled and fortified town, consisting of three principal streets, which cross at right angles, with a small square. From the ramparts there is the view of a fine country. The linen fabric spreads through it. To St. Palais the country is mostly inclosed, and much of it with thorn-hedges, admirably trained, and kept neatly clipped.—25 miles.

The 14th. Left St. Palais, and took a guide to conduct me four leagues to Anspan. Fair day, and the place crowded with farmers; I saw the soup prepared for what we should call the farmer's ordinary. There was a mountain of sliced bread, the colour of which was not inviting; ample provision of cabbage, grease, and water, and about as much meat for some scores of people, as half a dozen English farmers would have eaten, and grumbled at their host for short commons.—26 miles.

The 15th. Bayonne is by much the prettiest town I have seen in France; the houses are not only well built of stone, but the streets are wide, and there are many openings which, though not regular squares, have a good effect. The river is broad, and many of the houses being fronted to it, the view of them from the bridge is fine. The promenade is charming; it has many rows of trees, whose heads join and form a shade delicious in this hot climate. In the evening, it was thronged with well dressed people of both sexes: and the women, through all the country, are the handsomest I have seen in France. In coming hither from Pau, I saw what is very rare in that kingdom, clean and pretty country girls; in most of the provinces, hard labour destroys both person and complexion. The bloom of health on the cheeks of a well

well dressed country girl is not the worst feature in any landscape. I hired a chaloup for viewing the embankment at the mouth of the river. By the water spreading itself too much, the harbour was injured; and government, to contract it, has built a wall on the north bank a mile long, and another on the south shore of half the length. It is from ten to twenty feet wide, and about twelve high, from the top of the base of rough stone, which extends twelve or fifteen feet more. Towards the mouth of the harbour, it is twenty feet wide, and the stones on both sides cramp together with irons. They are now driving piles of pine 16 feet deep, for the foundation. It is, on the whole, a work of great expence, magnificence and utility.

The 16th. To Dax is not the best way to Auch, but I had a mind to see the famous waste called *Les Landes de Bourdeaux*, of which I had long heard and read so much. I was informed, that by this route, I should pass through more than twelve leagues of them. They reach almost to the gates of Bayonne; but broken by cultivated spots for a league or two. These *landes* are sandy tracts covered with pine trees, cut regularly for resin. Historians report, that when the moors were expelled from Spain, they applied to the court of France for leave to settle on and cultivate these *landes*; and that the court was much condemned for refusing them. It seems to have been taken for granted, that they could not be peopled with French; and therefore ought rather to be given to Moors, than to be left waste.—At Dax, there is a remarkably hot spring in the middle of the town. It is a very fine one, bubbling powerfully out of the ground in a large basin, walled in; it is boiling hot; it tastes like common water, and I was told that it was not impregnated with any mineral. The only use to which it is applied is for washing linen. It is at all seasons of the same heat, and in the same quantity. — 27 miles.

The 27th. Pass a district of sand as white as snow, and so loose as to blow; yet has oaks two feet in diameter, by reason of a bottom of white adhesive earth like marl. Pass three rivers, the waters of which might be applied in irrigation, yet no use made of them. The duke de Bouillon has vast possessions in these lands. A Grand Seigneur will at any time, and in any country, explain the reason of improveable land being left waste.— 29 miles.

The 18th. As dearth is, in my opinion, the general feature of all money exchanges in France, it is but candid to note instances to the contrary. At Airé, they gave me, at the Croix d'Or, soup, eels, sweet bread, and green-peas, a pigeon, a chicken, and veal-cutlets, with a dessert of biscuits, peaches, nectarines, plumbs, and a glass of *liqueur*, with a bottle of good wine, all for 40*s*. (2*od*.) oats for my mare 20*s*. and hay 10*s*. At the same price at St. Severe, I had a supper last night not inferior to it. Every thing at Airé seemed good and clean; and what is very uncommon, I had a parlour to eat my

dinner in, and was attended by a neat well dressed girl. The last two hours to Airé it rained so violently, that my silk surtout was an insufficient defence; and the old landlady was in no haste to give me fire enough to be dried. As to supper, I had the idea of my dinner.—35 miles.

The 19th. Pass Beek, which seems a flourishing little place, if we may judge by the building of new houses. The Clef d'Or is a large, new, and good inn.

In the the 270 miles, from Bagnere de Luchon to Auch, a general observation I may make is, that the whole, with very few exceptions, is inclosed; and that the farm-houses are every where scattered, instead of being, as in so many parts of France collected in towns. I have seen scarcely any gentlemen's country-seats that seem at all modern; and, in general, they are thin to a surprising degree. I have not met with one country equipage, nor any thing like a gentleman riding to see a neighbour. Scarcely a gentleman at all. At Auch, met by appointment my friends, on their return to Paris. The town is almost without manufactures or commerce, and is supported chiefly by the rents of the country. But they have many of the noblesse in the province, too poor to live here; some indeed so poor, that they plough their own fields; and these may possibly be much more estimable members of society, than the fools and knaves that laugh at them.—31 miles.

The 20th. Pass Fleuran, which contains many good houses, and go through a populous country to La Tour, a bishoprick, the diocesan of which we left at Bagnere de Luchon. The situation is beautiful on the point of a ridge of hills.—20 miles.

The 22d. By Leyrac, through a fine country, to the Garonne, which we cross by a ferry. This river is here a quarter of a mile broad, with every appearance of commerce. A large barge passed loaded with cages of poultry; of such consequence throughout the extent of this navigation is the consumption of the great city of Bourdeaux. The rich vale continues to Agen, and is very highly cultivated; but has not the beauty of the environs of La Tour. If new buildings are a criterion of the flourishing state of a place, Agen prospers. The bishop has raised a magnificent palace, the centre of which is in good taste; but the junction with the wings not equally happy.—23 miles.

The 23d. Pass a rich and highly cultivated vale to Aguilon; much hemp, and every woman in the country employed on it. Many neat well built farm-houses on small properties, and all the country very populous. View the chateau of the Duc d'Aguillon, which, being in the town, is badly situated, according to all rural ideas; but a town is ever an accompaniment of a chateau in France, as it was formerly in most parts of Europe; it seems to have resulted from a feudal arrangement, that the Grand Seigneur might keep his slaves the nearer to his call,

call, as a man builds his stables near his house. This edifice is a considerable one, built by the present Duke; begun about twenty years ago, when he was exiled here during eight years. And, thanks to that banishment, the building went on nobly; the body of the house done, and the detached wings almost finished. But as soon as the sentence was reversed, the duke went to Paris, and has not been here since, consequently all now stands still. It is thus that banishment alone will force the French nobility to execute what the English do for pleasure—reside upon and adorn their estates. There is one magnificent circumstance, namely, an elegant and spacious theatre; it fills one of the wings. The orchestra is for twenty-four musicians, the number kept, fed, and paid, by the duke when here. This elegant and agreeable luxury, which falls within the compass of a very large fortune is known in every country in Europe except England: the possessors of great estates here preferring horses and dogs very much before any entertainment a theatre can yield. To Tonnance.—25 miles.

The 24th. Many new and good country seats of gentlemen, well built, and set off with gardens, plantations, &c. These are the effects of the wealth of Bourdeaux. These people, like other Frenchmen, eat little meat; in the town of Leyrac five oxen only are killed in a year; whereas an English town with the same population would consume two or three oxen a week. A noble view towards Bourdeaux for many leagues, the river appearing in four or five places. Reach Langon, and drink of its excellent white wine.—32 miles.

The 25th. Pass through Barsac, famous also for its wines: They are now ploughing with oxen between the rows of the vines, the operation which gave Tull the idea of horse-hoeing corn. Great population, and country seats all the way. At Castres the country changes to an uninteresting flat. Arrive at Bourdeaux, through a continued village.—30 miles.

The 26th. Much as I had read and heard of the commerce, wealth, and magnificence of this city, they greatly surpassed my expectations. Paris did not answer at all, for it is not to be compared to London; but we must not name Liverpool in competition with Bourdeaux. The grand feature here, of which I had heard most, answers the least; I mean the quay, which is respectable only for length, and its quantity of business, neither of which, to the eye of a stranger, is of much consequence, if devoid of beauty. The row of houses is regular, but without either magnificence or beauty. It is a dirty, sloping, muddy shore; parts without pavement, incumbered with filth and stones; barges lie here for loading and unloading the ships, which cannot approach to what should be a quay. Here is all the dirt and disagreeable circumstances of trade, without the order, arrangement, and magnificence of a quay. Barcelona is unique in this respect. When I presumed to find fault with the buildings on the river, it must not be supposed that I include the whole;

whole; the crescent which is in the same line is better. The *place royale*, with the statue of Lewis XV. in the middle, is a fine opening, and the buildings which form it regular and handsome. But the quarter of the *chapeau rouge* is truly magnificent, consisting of noble houses, built, like the rest of the city, of white hewn stone. It joins the *chateau trompette*, which occupies near half a mile of the shore. This fort is bought of the king, by a company of speculators, who are now pulling it down with an intention of building a fine square and many new streets, to the amount of 1800 houses. I have seen a design of the square and the streets, and it would, if executed, be one of the most splendid additions to a city that is to be seen in Europe. This great work stands still at present through a fear of resumptioms. The theatre, built about ten or twelve years ago, is by far the most magnificent in France. I have seen nothing that approaches it. The building is insulated; and fills up a space of 306 feet by 165, one end being the principal front, containing a portico the whole length of it, of twelve very large Corinthian columns. The entrance from this portico is by a noble vestibule, which leads not only to the different parts of the theatre, but also to an elegant oval concert-room and saloons for walking and refreshments. The theatre itself is of a vast size; in shape the segment of an oval. The establishment of actors, actresses, singers, dancers, orchestra, &c. speak the wealth and luxury of the place. I have been assured, that from thirty to fifty louis a night have been paid to a favourite actress from Paris. Larrive, the first tragic actor of that capital, is now here, at 500 liv. (21l. 12s. 6d.) a night, with two benefits. Dauberval, the dancer, and his wife (the Mademoiselle Theodore of London) are retained as principal ballet-master and first female dancer, at a salary of 28,000 liv. (1225l.) Pieces are performed every night, Sundays not excepted, as every where in France. The mode of living that takes place here among merchants is highly luxurious. Their houses and establishments are on expensive scales. Great entertainments, and many served on plate: high play is a much worse thing;—and the scandalous chronicle speaks of merchants keeping the dancing and singing girls of the theatre at salaries which ought to import no good to their credit. This theatre, which does so much honour to the pleasures of Bourdeaux, was raised at the expence of the town, and cost 270,000l. The new tide corn mill, erected by a company, is very well worth viewing. A large canal is dug and formed in masonry of hewn stone, the walls four feet thick, leading under the building for the tide coming in, to turn the water wheels. It is then conducted in other equally well formed canals to a reservoir; and when the tide returns it gives motion to the wheels again. Three of these canals pass under the building for containing 24 pairs of stones. Every part of the work is on a scale of solidity and duration, admirably executed. The estimate of the expence is 8,000,000 liv. (350,000l.)

(350,000l.) ; but I know not how to credit such a sum. How far the erection of steam engines to do the same business would have been found a cheaper method, I shall not enquire ; but I should apprehend that the common water mills, on the Garonne, which start without such enormous expences for their power, must in the common course of common events ruin this company. The new houses that are building in all quarters of the town, mark, too clearly to be misunderstood, the prosperity of the place. The skiffs are every where composed of new streets ; with still newer ones marked out, and partly built. These houses are in general small, or on a middling scale, for inferior tradesmen. They are all of white stone, and add, as they are finished, much to the beauty of the city. I enquired into the date of these new streets, and found that four or five years were in general the period : that is to say, since the peace ; and from the colour of the stone of those streets next in age, it is plain that the spirit of building was at a stop during the war. Since the peace they have gone on with great activity. What a satire on the government of the two kingdoms, to permit in one the prejudices of manufacturers and merchants, and in the other the insidious policy of an ambitious court, to hurry the two nations forever into wars that check all beneficial works, and spread ruin where private exertion was busied in deeds of prosperity. The rent of houses and lodgings rises every day, as it has done since the peace considerably, at the same time that so many new houses have been and are erecting, unites with the advance in the prices of every thing : they complain that the expences of living have risen in ten years full 30 per cent.—There can hardly be a clearer proof of an advance in prosperity.

The commercial treaty with England being a subject too interesting not to have demanded attention, we made the necessary enquiries.—Here it is considered in a very different light from Abbeville and Rouen : at Bourdeaux they think it a wise measure, that tends equally to the benefit of both countries. This is not the place for being more particular on the trade of this town.

We went twice to see Larrive do his two capital parts of the Black Prince in Monf. du Belloy's *Pierre le Cruel*, and *Philoctete*, which gave me a very high idea of the French theatre. The inns at this city are excellent ; the hotel d'Angleterre and the Prince of Asturias ; at the latter we found every accommodation to be wished, but with an inconsistency that cannot be too much condemned : we had very elegant apartments, and were served on plate, yet the necessary-house the same temple of abomination that is to be met in a dirty village.

The 28th. Leave Bourdeaux ;—cross the river by a ferry, which employs twenty-nine men and fifteen boats, and lets at 18,000 liv. (787l.) a year. The view of the Garonne is very fine, appearing to the eye twice as broad as the Thames

Thames at London; and the number of large ships lying in it, makes it, I suppose, the *richest* water view that France has to boast. From hence to the Dordonne, a noble river, though much inferior to the Garonne, which we cross by another ferry that lets at 6000 liv. Reach Cavaignac.—20 miles.

The 29th. To Barbefieux, situated in a beautiful country, finely diversified and wooded; the marquisate of which, with the chateau, belongs to the duke de la Rochefoucauld, whom we met here; he inherits this estate from the famous Louvois, the minister of Louis XIV. In this thirty-seven miles of country, lying between the great rivers Garonne, Dordonne, and Charente, and consequently in one of the best parts of France for markets, the quantity of waste land is surprising; it is the predominant feature the whole way. Much of these wastes belonged to the prince de Soubise, who would not sell any part of them. Thus it is whenever you stumble on a Grand Seigneur, even one that was worth millions, you are sure to find his property desert. The duke of Bouillon's and this prince's are two of the greatest properties in France; and all the signs I have yet seen of their greatness, are wastes, *landes*, deserts, fern, ling.—Go to their residence, wherever it may be, and you would probably find them in the midst of a forest, very well peopled with deer, wild boars, and wolves. Oh! if I was the legislator of France for a day, I would make such great lords skip again*. We supped with the duke de la Rochefoucauld; the provincial assembly of Saintonge is soon to meet, and this nobleman, being the president, is waiting for their assembling.

The 30th. Through a chalk country, well wooded, though without inclosures to Angoulême; the approach to that town is fine; the country around being beautiful with the fine river Charente, here navigable, flowing through it, the effect striking.—25 miles.

The 31st. Quitting Angoulême, pass through a country almost covered with vines, and across a noble wood belonging to the duchess d'Anville, mother of the duke de la Rochefoucauld, to Verteul, a chateau of the same Lady, built in 1459, where we found every thing that travellers could wish in a hospitable mansion. The Emperor Charles V. was entertained here by Anne de Polignac, widow of Francis II. count de la Rochefoucauld, and that prince, said aloud, *n'avoir jamais été en maison qui sentit mieux sa grande vertu bonnêteté & seigneurie que celle la.*—It is excellently kept; in thorough repair, fully furnished, and all in order, which merits praise, considering that the family rarely are here for more than a few days in a year, having many other and more considerable seats in different parts of the kingdom. If this just attention to the interests of poste-

* I can assure the reader that these sentiments were those of the moment; the events that have taken place almost induced me to strike many such passages out, but it is fairer to all parties to leave them.

rity was more general, we should not see the melancholy spectacle of ruined chateaus in so many parts of France. In the gallery is a range of portraits from the tenth century ; by one of which it appears, that this estate came by a Mademoiselle la Rochefoucauld, in 1470. The park, woods, and river Charente here are fine : the last abounds greatly in carp, tench, and perch. It is at any time easy to get from 50 to 100 brace of fish that weigh from three to 10lb. each : we had a brace of carp for supper, the sweetest, without exception, I ever tasted. If I pitched my tent in France, I should choose it to be by a river that gave such fish. Nothing provokes one so in a country residence as a lake, a river, or the sea within view of the windows, and a dinner every day without fish, which is so common in England.—27 miles.

SEPTEMBER 1st. Pass Caudec, Ruffec, Maisons-Blanches, and Chaunay. At the first of these places, view a very fine flour-mill built by the late count de Broglio, brother of the marechal de Broglio, one of the ablest and most active officers in the French service. In his private capacity, his undertakings were of a national kind ; this mill, an iron forge, and the project of a navigation, proved, that he had a disposition for every exertion that could, according to the prevalent ideas of the times, benefit his country ; that is to say, in every way except the one in which it would have been effective—practical agriculture. This day's journey has been, with some exceptions, through a poor, dull, and disagreeable country.—35 miles.

The 2d. Poitou, from what I see of it, is an unimproved, poor, and ugly country. It seems to want communication, demand, and activity of all kinds ; nor does it, on an average, yield the half of what it might. The lower part of the province is much richer and better.

Arrive at Poitiers, which is one of the worst built towns I have seen in France ; very large and irregular, but containing scarcely any thing worthy of notice, except the cathedral, which is well built, and very well kept.—The finest thing by far in the town is the promenade, which is the most extensive I have seen ; it occupies a considerable space of ground, with gravelled walks, &c. excellently kept.—12 miles.

The 3d. A white chalky country to Chateaurault, open, and thinly peopled, though not without country-seats. That town has some animation, owing to its navigable river, which falls into the Loire. There is a considerable cutlery manufacture : we were no sooner arrived, than our apartment was full of the wives and daughters of manufacturers, each with her box of knives, scissars, toys, &c. and with so much civil solicitude to have something bought, that had we wanted nothing it would have been impossible to let so much urgency prove vain. It is remarkable, as the fabrics made here are cheap, that there is scarcely any division of labour in this manufacture ; it is in the hands of dis-

tinct and unconnected workmen, who go through every branch on their own account, and without assistance, except from their families.—25 miles.

The 4th. Pass a better country, with many chateaus, to Les Ormes, where we stopped to see the seat built by the late count de Voyer d'Argenson. This chateau is a large handsome edifice of stone, with two very considerable wings for offices and strangers' apartments: the entrance is into a neat vestibule, at the end of which is the saloon, a circular marble room, extremely elegant and well furnished: in the drawing-room are paintings of the four French victories of the war of 1744: in every apartment there is a strong disposition to English furniture and modes. This pleasing residence belongs at present to the count d'Argenson. The late count who built it formed with the present duke of Grafton, in England, the scheme of a very agreeable party. The duke was to go over with his horses and pack of fox-hounds, and live here for some months, with a number of friends. It originated in the proposal to hunt French wolves with English fox-dogs. Nothing could be better planned than the scheme, for Les Ormes is large enough to have contained a numerous party; but the count's death destroyed the plan. This is a sort of intercourse between the nobility of two kingdoms, which I am surprised does not take place sometimes; it would vary the common scenes of life very agreeably, and be productive of some of the advantages of travelling in the most eligible way.—23 miles.

The 5th. Through a dead flat and unpleasant country, but on the finest road I have seen in France—nor does it seem possible that any should be finer; not arising from great exertions, as in Languedoc, but from being laid flat with admirable materials. Chateaus are scattered every where in this part of Touraine; but farm houses and cottages thin, till you come in sight of the Loire, the banks of which seem one continued village. The vale, through which that river flows, may be three miles over; a dead level of burnt ruffet meadow.

The entrance of Tours is truly magnificent, by a new street of large houses, built of hewn white stone, with regular fronts. This fine street, which is wide, and with foot pavements on each side, is cut in a strait line through the whole city to the new bridge, of fifteen flat arches, each of seventy-five feet span. It is altogether a noble exertion for the decoration of a provincial town. Some houses remain yet to be built, the fronts of which are done; some reverend fathers are satisfied with their old habitations, and do not choose the expence of filling up the elegant design of the Tours projectors; they ought, however, to be unroofed if they will not comply, for fronts without houses behind them have a ridiculous appearance. From the tower of the cathedral there is an extensive view of the adjacent country; but the Loire,
for

for so considerable a river, and for being boasted as the most beautiful in Europe, exhibits such a breadth of shoals and sands as to be almost subversive of beauty. In the chapel of the old palace of Louis XI. Les Pleffis les Tours, are three pictures which deserve the travellers notice; a holy family, St. Catharine, and the daughter of Herod; they seem to be of the best age of Italian art. There is a very fine promenade here; long and admirably shaded by four rows of noble and lofty elms, which for shelter against a burning sun can have no superior; parallel with it is another on the rampart of the old walls, which looks down on the adjacent gardens; but these walks, of which the inhabitants have long boasted, are at present objects of melancholy; the corporation has offered the trees to sale, and I was assured they would be cut down the ensuing winter.—One would not wonder at an English corporation sacrificing the ladies' walk for plenty of turtle, venison, and madeira; but that a French one should have so little gallantry, is inexcusable.

The 9th. The count de la Rochefoucauld having a feverish complaint when he arrived here, which prevented our proceeding on the journey, it became the second day a confirmed fever; the best physician of the place was called in, whose conduct I liked much, for he had recourse to very little physick, but much attention to keep his apartment cool and airy; and seemed to have great confidence in leaving nature to throw off the malady that oppressed her. Who is it that says there is a great difference between a good physician and a bad one; yet very little between a good one and none at all?

Among other excursions, I took a ride on the banks of the Loire towards Saumur, and found the country the same as near Tours; but the chateaus not so numerous or good. Where the chalk hills advance perpendicularly towards the river, they present a most singular spectacle of uncommon habitations; for a great number of houses are cut out of the white rock, fronted with masonry, and holes cut above for chimnies, so that you sometimes know not where the house is from which you see the smoke issuing. These cavern-houses are in some places in tires one above another. Some with little scraps of gardens have a pretty effect. In general, the proprietors occupy them; but many are let at 10, 12, and 15 liv. a year. The people I talked with seemed well satisfied with their habitations, as good and comfortable: a proof of the dryness of the climate. In England the rheumatism would be the chief inhabitant. Walked to the Benedictine convent of Marmoutier, of which the cardinal de Rohan, at present here, is abbot.

The 10th. Nature, or the Tours doctor, having recovered the count, we set forward on our journey. The road to Chanteloup is made on an embankment, that secures a large level tract from floods. The country more uninteresting than I could have thought it possible for the vicinity of a great river to be.—View Chanteloup,

the magnificent feat of the late duke de Choiseul. It is situated on an rising ground, at some distance from the Loire, which in winter, or after great floods, is a fine object, but at present is scarcely seen. The ground-floor in front consists of seven rooms: the dining-room of about thirty by twenty, and the drawing-room thirty by thirty-three: the library is seventy-two by twenty, but now fitted up by the present possessor, the duke de Penthièvre, with very beautiful tapestry from the Gobelins.—In the pleasure-ground, on a hill commanding a very extensive prospect, is a Chinese pagoda, 120 feet high, built by the duke, in commemoration of the persons who visited him in his exile. On the walls of the first room in it their names are engraved on marble tablets. The number and rank of the persons do honour to the duke and to themselves. The idea was a happy one. The forest you look down on from this building is very extensive; they say eleven leagues across: ridings are cut pointing to the pagoda; and when the duke was alive, these glades had the mischievous animation of a vast hunt, supported so liberally as to ruin the master of it, and transferred the property of this noble estate and residence from his family to the last hands I should wish to see it in—a prince of the blood. Great lords love too much an environ of forest, boars, and huntsmen, instead of marking their residence by the accompaniment of neat and well cultivated farms, clean cottages, and happy peasants. In such a method of shewing their magnificence, rearing forests, gilding domes, or bidding aspiring columns rise, might be wanting; but they would have, instead of them, erections of comfort, establishments of ease, and plantations of felicity: and their harvest, instead of the flesh of boars, would be in the voice of chearful gratitude—they would see public prosperity flourish on its best basis of private happiness.—As a farmer, there is one feature which shews the duke had some merit; he built a noble cow-house; a platform leads along the middle, between two rows of mangers, with stalls for seventy-two, and another apartment, not so large, for others, and for calves. He imported 120 very fine Swiss cows, and visited them with his company every day, as they were kept constantly tied up. To this I may add the best built sheep-house I have seen in France: and I thought I saw from the pagoda part of the farm better laid out and ploughed than common in the country, so that he probably imported some ploughmen.—This has merit in it; but it was all the merit of banishment. Chanteloup would neither have been built nor decorated, nor furnished, if the duke had not been exiled. It was the same with the duke d'Aguillon. These ministers would have sent the country to the devil before they would have reared such edifices, or formed such establishments, if they had not both been sent from Versailles. View the manufacture of steel at Amboise, established by the duke de Choiseul. Vineyards the chief feature of agriculture.—37 miles.

The

The 11th. To Blois, an old town, prettily situated on the Loire, with a good stone bridge of eleven arches. We viewed the castle, for the historical monument it affords that has rendered it so famous. They shew the room where the council assembled, and the chimney in it before which the duke of Guise was standing when the king's page came to demand his presence in the royal closet: the door he was entering when stabbed: the tapestry he was in the act of turning aside: the tower where his brother the cardinal suffered; with a hole in the floor into the dungeon of Louis XI. of which the guide tells many horrible stories, in the same tone, from having told them so often, in which the fellow in Westminster Abbey gives his monotonous history of the tombs. The best circumstance attending the view of the spots, or the walls within which great, daring, or important actions have been performed, is the impression they make on the mind, or rather on the heart of the spectator, for it is an emotion of feeling, rather than an effort of reflection. The murders, or political executions perpetrated in this castle, though not uninteresting, were inflicted on, and by men that command neither our love, nor our veneration. The character of the period, and of the men that figured in it, were alike disgusting. Bigotry and ambition, equally dark, insidious, and bloody, allow no feelings of regret. The parties could hardly be better employed than in cutting each others throats. Quit the Loire, and pass to Chambord. The quantity of vines is very great; they have them very flourishing on a flat poor blowing sand. How well satisfied would my friend Le Blanc be if his poorest sands at Cavenham gave him 100 dozen of good wine per acre per annum! See at one *coup d'œil* 2000 acres of them. View the royal chateau of Chambord, built by that magnificent prince Francis I. and inhabited by the late marechal de Saxe. I had heard much of this castle, and it more than answered my expectation. It gives a great idea of the splendor of that prince. Comparing the centuries, and the revenues of Louis XIV. and Francis I. I prefer Chambord infinitely to Versailles. The apartments are large, numerous, and well contrived. I admired particularly the stone stair-case in the centre of the house, which, being in a double spiral line, contains two distinct stair-cases, one above another, by which means people are going up and down at the same time, without seeing each other. The four apartments in the attic, with arched stone roofs, were in no mean taste. One of these count Saxe turned into a neat well contrived theatre. We were shewn the apartment which that great soldier occupied, and the room in which he died. Whether in his bed or not is yet a problem for anecdote hunters to solve. A report not uncommon in France was, that he was ran through the heart in a duel with the Prince of Conti, who came to Chambord for that purpose; and great care was taken to conceal it from the king (Louis XV.), who had such a friendship for the marechal, that he would certainly have driven the prince

prince out of the kingdom. There are several apartments modernized, either for the marechal or for the governors that have resided here since. In one there is a fine picture of Louis XIV. on horseback. Near the castle are the barracks for the regiment of 1500 horse, formed by marechal de Saxe, and which Louis XV. gave him, by appointing them to garrison Chambord while their colonel made it his residence. He lived here in great splendour, and highly respected by his sovereign, and the whole kingdom.—The situation of the castle is bad; it is low, and without the least prospect that is interesting; indeed the whole country is so flat that a high ground is hardly to be found in it. From the battlements we saw the environs, of which the park or forest forms three-fourths; it contains within a wall about 20,000 arpents, and abounds with all sorts of game to a degree of profusion. Great tracts of this park are waste or under heath, &c. or at least a very imperfect cultivation: I could not help thinking, that if the king of France ever formed the idea of establishing one complete and perfect farm under the turnip culture of England, here is the place for it. Let him assign the chateau for the residence of the director and all his attendants; and the barracks, which are now applied to no use whatever, for stalls for cattle, and the profits of the wood would be sufficient to stock and support the whole undertaking. What comparison between the utility of such an establishment, and that of a much greater expence applied here at present for supporting a wretched haras (stud), which has not a tendency but to mischief! I may, however, recommend such agricultural establishments; but they never were made in any country, and never will be, till mankind are governed on principles absolutely contrary to those which prevail at present—until something more is thought requisite for a national husbandry than academies and memoirs.—35 miles.

The 12th. In two miles from the park wall regain the high road on the Loire. In discourse with a vigneron, we were informed that it froze this morning hard enough to damage the vines; and I may observe, that for four or five days past the weather has been constantly clear, with a bright sun, and so cold a north-east wind as to resemble much our cold clear weather in England in April; we have all our great coats on the day through. Dine at Clarey, and view the monument of that able but bloody tyrant Louis XI. in white marble; he is represented in a kneeling posture, praying forgiveness, I suppose, which doubtless was promised him by his priests for his basenesses and his murders. Reach Orleans.—30 miles.

The 13th. Here my companions, wanting to return as soon as possible to Paris, took the direct road thither; but, having travelled it before, I preferred that by Petivier in the way to Fountainbleau. One motive for my taking this road was its passing by Denainvilliers, the seat of the late celebrated
Monf.

Monf. du Hamel, and where he made thofe experiments in agriculture which he has recited in many of his works. At Petivier I was juft by, and walked thither for the pleafure of viewing grounds I had read of fo often, confidering them with a fort of claffic reverence. His *homme d'affaire*, who conducted the farm, being dead, I could not get many particulars to be depended upon. Monf. Fougeroux, the prefent poffeffor, was not at home, or I fhould doubtlefs have had all the information I wifhed. I examined the foil, a principal point in all experiments, when conclufions are to be drawn from them; and I alfo took notes of the common husbandry. Learning from the labourer who attended me that the drill-ploughs, &c. were yet in being, on a loft in one of the offices, I viewed them with pleafure, and found them, as well as I can remember, very accurately reprefented in the plates which their ingenious author has given. I was glad to find them laid up in a place out of common traffic, where they may remain fafe till fome other farming traveller, as enthusiastic as myfelf, may view the venerable remains of a ufeul genius. Here is a stove and bath for drying wheat, which he alfo has defcribed. In an inclofure behind the houfe is a plantation of various curious exotic trees, finely grown, alfo feveral rows of afh, elm, and poplar along the roads, near the chateau, all planted by Monf. du Hamel. It gave me ftill greater pleafure to find that Denainvilliers is not an inconfiderable eftate. The lands extenfive; the chateau refpectable; with offices, gardens, &c. that prove it the refidence of a man of fortune; from which it appears, that this indefatigable author, however he might have failed in fome of his purfuits, met with that reward from his court which did it credit to beftow; and that he was not, like others, left in obfcurity to the fimple rewards which ingenuity can confer on itfelf. Four miles before Malherbs a fine plantation of a row of trees on each fide the road begins, formed by Monf. de Malherbs, and is a ftriking inftance of attention to decorating an open country. More than two miles of them are mulberries. They join his other noble plantations at Malherbs, which contain a great variety of the moft curious trees that have been introduced in France.—36 miles,

The 14th. After paffing three miles through the foreft of Fontainbleau, arrive at that town, and view the royal palace, which has been fo repeatedly added to by feveral kings, that the fhare of Francis I. its original founder, is not eafily afcertained. He does not appear to fuch advantage as at Chambord. This has been a favourite with the Bourbons, from there having been fo many Nimrods of that family. Of the apartments which are fhewn here, the king's, the queen's, monfieur's, and madame's, are the chief. Gilding feems the prevalent decoration: but in the queen's cabinet it is well and elegantly employed. The painting of that delicious little room is exquisite; and nothing can exceed the
extremity

extremity of ornament that is here with taste bestowed. The tapestries of Beauvais and the Gobelins, are seen in this palace to great advantage. I liked to see the gallery of Francis I. preserved in its ancient state, even to the andirons in the chimney, which are those that served that monarch. The gardens are nothing; and the grand canal, as it is called, not to be compared with that at Chantilly. In the pond that joins the palace, are carp as large and as tame as the Prince of Condè's. The landlord of the inn at Fontainebleau thinks that royal palaces should not be seen for nothing; he made me pay 10 liv. for a dinner, which would have cost me not more than half the money at the star and garter at Richmond. Reach Meulan.—34 miles.

The 15th. Cross, for a considerable distance, the royal oak forest of Senár.—About Montgeron, all open fields, which produce corn and partridges to eat it, for the number is enormous. There is on an average a covey of birds on every two acres, besides favourite spots, where they abound much more. At St. George the Seine is a much more beautiful river than the Loire. Enter Paris once more, with the same observation I made before, that there is not one-tenth of the motion on the roads around it that there is around London. To the hotel de la Rochefoucauld.—20 miles.

The 16th. Accompanied the count de la Rochefoucauld to Liancourt.—38 miles.

I went thither on a visit for three or four days; but the whole family contributed so generally to render the place in every respect agreeable, that I staid more than three weeks. At about half a mile from the chateau is a range of hill that was chiefly a neglected waste: the duke of Liancourt has lately converted this into a plantation, with winding walks, benches, and covered seats, in the English style of gardening. The situation is very fortunate. These ornamented paths follow the edge of the declivity to the extent of three or four miles. The views they command are every where pleasing, and in some places great. Nearer to the chateau the dutchess of Liancourt has built a menagerie and dairy in a pleasing taste. The cabinet and anti-room are very pretty; the saloon elegant, and the dairy entirely constructed of marble. At a village near Liancourt, the duke has established a manufacture of linen and stuffs mixed with thread and cotton, which promises to be of considerable utility; there are 25 looms employed, and preparations making for more. As the spinning for these looms is also established, it gives employment to great numbers of hands who were idle, for they have no sort of manufacture in the country though it is populous. Such efforts merit great praise. Connected with this is the execution of an excellent plan of the duke's for establishing habits of industry in the rising generation. The daughters of the poor people are received into an institution to be educated to useful industry: they are instructed

structed in their religion, taught to write and read, and to spin cotton: are kept till marriageable, and then a regulated proportion of their earnings given them as a marriage portion. There is another establishment of which I am not so good a judge; it is for training the orphans of soldiers to be soldiers themselves. The duke of Liancourt has raised some considerable buildings for their accommodation well adapted to the purpose. The whole is under the superintendance of a worthy and intelligent officer, *Monf. le Roux*, captain of dragoons, and *croix de St. Louis*, who sees to every thing himself. There are at present 120 boys, all dressed in uniform.—My ideas have all taken a turn which I am too old to change: I should have been better pleased to see 120 lads educated to the plough, in habits of culture superior to the present; but certainly the establishment is humane, and the conduct of it excellent.

The ideas I had formed, before I came to France, of a country residence in that kingdom, I found at Liancourt to be far from correct. I expected to find it a mere transfer of Paris to the country, and that all the burthensome forms of a city were preserved, without its pleasures; but I was deceived: the mode of living, and the pursuits, approach much nearer to the habits of a great nobleman's house in England, than would commonly be conceived. A breakfast of tea for those that chose to repair to it; riding, sporting, planting, gardening, till dinner, and that not till half after two o'clock, instead of their old fashioned hour of twelve; music, chess, and the other common amusements of a rendezvous-room, with an excellent library of seven or eight thousand volumes, were well calculated to make the time pass agreeably; and to prove that there is a great approximation in the modes of living at present in the different countries of Europe. Amusements, in truth, ought to be numerous within doors; for, in such a climate, none are to be depended on without: the rain that has fallen here is hardly credible. I have, for five-and-twenty years past, remarked in England, that I never was prevented by rain from taking a walk every day without going out while it actually rains; it may fall heavily for many hours; but a person who watches an opportunity gets a walk or a ride. Since I have been at Liancourt, we have had three days in succession of such incessantly heavy rain, that I could not go an hundred yards from the house to the duke's pavilion, without danger of being quite wet. For ten days more rain fell here, I am confident, had there been a gauge to measure it, than ever fell in England in thirty. The present fashion in France, of passing some time in the country is new; at this time of the year, and for many weeks past, Paris is, comparatively speaking, empty. Every body that have country-seats are at them; and those who have none visit others who have. This remarkable revolution in the French manners is certainly one of the best customs they have taken from England; and its introduction was effected the easier, being assisted by the magic of *Rousseau's* writings. Mankind are much indebted

to that splendid genius, who, when living, was hunted from country to country, to seek an asylum, with as much venom as if he had been a mad dog; thanks to the vile spirit of bigotry, which has not yet received its death's wound. Women of the first fashion in France are now ashamed of not nursing their own children; and stays are universally proscribed from the bodies of the poor infants, which were for so many ages tortured in them, as they are still in Spain. The country residence may not have effects equally obvious; but they will be no less sure in the end, and in all respects beneficial to every class in the state.

The duke of Liancourt being president of the provincial assembly of the election of Clermont, and passing several days there in business, asked me to dine with the assembly, as he said there were to be some considerable farmers present. These assemblies, which had been proposed many years past by the French patriots, and especially by the marquis de Mirabeau, the celebrated *l'ami des hommes*; which had been treated by M. Necker, and which were viewed with eyes of jealousy by certain persons who wished for no better government than one whose abuses were the chief foundation of their fortunes; these assemblies were to me interesting to see. I accepted the invitation with pleasure. Three considerable farmers, renters, not proprietors of land, were members, and present. I watched their carriage narrowly, to see their behaviour in the presence of a great lord of the first rank, considerable property, and high in royal favour; and it was with pleasure that I found them behaving with becoming ease and freedom, and though modest, and without any thing like flippancy, yet without any obsequiousness offensive to English ideas. They started their opinions freely, and adhered to them with becoming confidence. A more singular spectacle, was to see two ladies present at a dinner of this sort, with five or six and twenty gentlemen; such a thing could not happen in England. To say that the French manners, in this respect, are better than our own, is the assertion of an obvious truth. If the ladies are not present at meetings where the conversation has the greatest probability of turning on subjects of more importance than the frivolous topics of common discourse, the sex must either remain on one hand in ignorance, or, on the other, filled with the foppery of over education, learned, affected, and forbidding. The conversation of men, not engaged in trifling pursuits, is the best school for the education of a woman.

The political conversation of every company I have seen has turned much more on the affairs of Holland than on those of France. The preparations going on for a war with England, are in the mouths of all the world; but the finances of France are in such a state of derangement, that the people best informed assert a war to be impossible; the marquis of Verac, the late French ambassador at the Hague, who was sent thither, as the English politicians assert, expressly to bring about a revolution in the government, has been at Liancourt three days. It may easily be supposed, that he is cautious in what he says in such a mixed company;

pany; but it is plain enough, that he is well persuaded that that revolution, change, or lessening the Stadtholder's power; that plan, in a word, whatever it was, for which he negotiated in Holland, had for some time been matured and ready for execution, almost without a possibility of failure, had the count de Vergennes consented, and not spun out the business by refinement on refinement, to make himself the more necessary to the French cabinet; and it unites with the idea of some sensible Dutchmen, with whom I have conversed on the subject.

During my stay at Liancourt, my friend Lazowski accompanied me on a little excursion of two days to Ermenonville, the celebrated seat of the marquis de Girardon. We passed by Chantilly to Morefontain, the country-seat of Monf. de Morefontain, *prevost des merchants* of Paris; the place has been mentioned as decorated in the English style. It consists of two scenes; one a garden of winding walks, and ornamented with a profusion of temples, benches, grottos, columns, ruins, and I know not what: I hope the French who have not been in England, do not consider this as the English taste. It is in fact as remote from it as the most regular stile of the last age. The water view is fine. There is a gaiety and cheerfulness in it that contrast well with the brown and unpleasing hills that surround it, and which partake of the waste character of the worst part of the surrounding country. Much has been done here; and it wants but few additions to be as perfect as the ground admits.

Reach Ermenonville, through another part of the prince of Condè's forest, which joins the ornamented grounds of the marquis Girardon. This place, after the residence and death of the persecuted but immortal Rousseau, whose tomb every one knows is here, became so famous as to be resorted to very generally. It has been described, and plates published of the chief views; to enter into a particular description would therefore be tiresome, I shall only make one or two observations, which I do not recollect having been touched on by others. It consists of three distinct water scenes; or of two lakes and a river. We were first shewn that which is so famous for the small isle of poplars, in which reposes all that was mortal of that extraordinary and inimitable writer. This scene is as well imagined, and as well executed as could be wished. The water is between forty and fifty acres; hills rise from it on both sides, and it is sufficiently closed in by tall wood at both ends, to render it sequestered. The remains of departed genius stamp a melancholy idea, from which decoration would depart too much, and accordingly there is little. We viewed the scene in a still evening. The declining sun threw a lengthened shade on the lake, and silence seemed to repose on its unruffled bosom; as some poet says, I forget who. The worthies to whom the temple of philosophers is dedicated, and whose names are marked on the columns, are, NEWTON, *Lucem.*—DESCARTES, *Nil in rebus inane.*—VOLTAIRE, *Ridiculum.*—ROUSSEAU, *Naturam.*

—And on another unfinished column, *Quis hoc perficiet?* The other lake is larger; it nearly fills the bottom of the vale, around which are some rough, rocky, wild, and barren sand hills; either broken or spread with heath; in some places wooded, and in others scattered thinly with junipers. The character of the scene is that of wild and undecorated nature, in which the hand of art was meant to be concealed as much as was consistent with ease of access. The last scene is that of a river, which is made to wind through a lawn, receding from the house, and broken by wood: the ground is not fortunate; it is too dead a flat, and no where viewed to much advantage.

From Ermenonville we went, the morning after, to Brasseuse, the seat of Madame du Pont, sister of the dutchess of Liancourt. What was my surprize at finding this viscountess a great farmer! A French lady, young enough to enjoy all the pleasures of Paris, living in the country and minding her farm, was an unlooked for spectacle. She has probably more lucerne than any other person in Europe—250 arpents. She gave me, in a most unaffected and agreeable manner, both lucerne and dairy intelligence; but of that more elsewhere. Returned to Liancourt by Pont, where there is a handsome bridge, of three arches, the construction uncommon, each pier consisting of four pillars, with a towing-path under one of the arches for the barge-horses, the river being navigable.

Amongst the morning amusements I partook at Liancourt was *la chasse*. In deer shooting, the sportsmen place themselves at distances around a wood, then beat it, and seldom more than one in a company gets a shot; it is more tedious than is easily conceived: like angling, incessant expectation, and perpetual disappointment. Partridge and hare shooting are almost as different from that of England. We took this diversion in the fine vale of Catnoir, five or six miles from Liancourt; arranging ourselves in a file at about thirty yards from person to person, and each with a servant and a loaded gun, ready to present when his master fires: thus we marched across and cross the vale, treading up the game. Four or five brace of hares, and twenty brace of partridges were the spoils of the day. I like this mode of shooting but little better than waiting for deer. The best circumstance to me of exercise in company (it was not so once) is the festivity of the dinner at the close of the day. To enjoy this, it must not be pushed to great fatigue. Good spirits, after violent exercise, are always the affectation of silly young folks (I remember being that sort of fool myself, when I was young), but with something more than moderate, the exhilaration of body is in unison with the flow of temper, and agreeable company is then delicious. On such days as these we were too late for the regular dinner, and had one by ourselves, with no other dressing than the refreshment of clean linen; and these were not the repasts when the dutchess's champagne had the worst flavour. A man is not worth hanging that does not drink
a little

a little too much on such occasions: *mais prenez-y-garde*: repeat it often; and make it a mere drinking party, the lustre of the pleasure fades, and you become what *was* an English fox-hunter. One day while we were thus dining *à l'Anglois*, and drinking the plough, the chace, and I know not what, the dutchess of Liancourt and some of her ladies came in sport to see us. It was a moment for them to have betrayed ill-nature in the contempt of manners not French, which they might have endeavoured to conceal under a laugh:—but nothing of this; it was a good humoured curiosity; a natural inclination to see others pleased and in spirits. *Ils ont été de grands chasseurs aujourd'hui*, said one. *Oh! ils s'applaudissent de leurs exploits*. Do they drink the gun? said another. *Leurs maitresses certainement*, added a third. *J'aime a les voir en gaieté; il y a quelque chose d'aimable dans tout ceci*. To note such trifles may seem superfluous to many: but what is life when trifles are withdrawn? and they mark the temper of a nation better than objects of importance. In the moments of council, victory, flight, or death, mankind, I suppose, are nearly the same. Trifles discriminate better, and the number is infinite that gives me an opinion of the good temper of the French. I am fond neither of a man nor a recital that can appear only on stilts, and dressed in holiday geers. It is every-day feelings that decide the colour of our lives; and he who values them the most plays the best for the stake of happiness. But it is time to quit Liancourt, which I do with regret. Take leave of the good old dutchess, whose hospitality and kindness ought long to be remembered.—51 miles.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th. Return by Beauvais and Pontoise, and enter Paris for the fourth time, confirmed in the idea that the roads immediately leading to that capital are deserts, comparatively speaking, with those of London. By what means can the connection be carried on with the country? The French must be the most stationary people upon earth, when in a place they must rest without a thought of going to another. Or the English must be the most restless; and find more pleasure in moving from one place to another, than in resting to enjoy life in either. If the French nobility went to their country seats only when exiled there by the court, the roads could not be more solitary.—25 miles.

The 12th. My intention was to take lodgings; but on arriving at the hotel de la Rochefoucauld, I found that my hospitable dutchess was the same person at the capital as in the country; she had ordered an apartment to be ready for me. It grows so late in the season, that I shall make no other stay in this capital than what will be necessary for viewing public buildings. This will unite well enough with delivering some letters I brought to a few men of science; and it will leave me the evenings for the theatres, of which there are many in Paris. In throwing on paper a rapid *coup d'œil*, of what I see of a city, so well known in
England,

England, I shall be apt to delineate my own ideas and feelings, perhaps more than the objects themselves; and be it remembered, that I profess to dedicate this careless itinerary to trifles, much more than to objects that are of real consequence. From the tower of the cathedral, the view of Paris is complete. It is a vast city, even to the eye that has seen London from St. Paul's; being circular, gives an advantage to Paris; but a much greater is the atmosphere. It is now so clear, that one would suppose it the height of summer: the clouds of coal-smoke that envelope London, always prevent a distinct view of that capital, but I take it to be one-third at least larger than Paris. The buildings of the parliament-house are disfigured by a gilt and taudry gate, and a French roof. The hotel des Monnoies is a fine building; and the façade of the Louvre one of the most elegant in the world, because they have (to the eye) no roofs; in proportion as a roof is seen a building suffers. I do not recollect one edifice of distinguished beauty (unless with domes) in which the roof is not so flat as to be hidden, or nearly so. What eyes then must the French architects have had, to have loaded so many buildings with coverings of a height destructive of all beauty? Put such a roof as we see on the parliament-house or on the Thuilleries, upon the façade of the Louvre, and where would its beauty be?—At night to the opera, which I thought a good theatre, till they told me it was built in six weeks; and then it became good for nothing in my eyes, for I suppose it will be tumbling down in six years. Durability is one of the essentials of building: what pleasure would a beautiful front of painted pasteboard give? The *Alceste* of Gluck was performed; that part by Mademoiselle St. Huberti, their first singer, an excellent actress. As to scenes, dresses, decorations, dancing; &c. this theatre beats the Haymarket to nothing.

The 13th. Across Paris to the rue des blancs Manteaux, to Mons. Broussonet, secretary of the Society of Agriculture; he is in Burgundy. Called on Mr. Cook from London, who is at Paris with his drill-plough, waiting for weather to shew its performance to the duke of Orleans: this is a French idea, improving France by drilling. A man should learn to walk before he learns to dance. There is agility in cutting capers, and it may be done with grace; but where is the necessity to cut them at all. There has been much rain to day; and it is almost incredible to a person used to London, how dirty the streets of Paris are, and how horribly inconvenient and dangerous walking is without a foot-pavement. We had a large party at dinner, with politicians among them, and some interesting conversation on the present state of France. The feeling of every body seems to be that the archbishop will not be able to do any thing towards exonerating the state from the burthen of its present situation; some think that he has not the inclination; others that he has not the courage; others that he has not the ability. By some he is thought to be attentive only
to

to his own interest; and by others, that the finances are too much deranged to be within the power of any system to recover, short of the states-general of the kingdom; and that it is impossible for such an assembly to meet without a revolution in the government ensuing. All seem to think that something extraordinary will happen; and a bankruptcy is an idea not at all uncommon. But who is there that will have the courage to make it?

The 14th. To the benedictine abbey of St Germain, to see pillars of African marble, &c. It is the richest abbey in France: the abbot has 300,000 liv. a year (13,125l.) I lose my patience at such revenues being thus bestowed; consistent with the spirit of the tenth century, but not with that of the eighteenth. What a noble farm would the fourth of this income establish! what turnips, what cabbages, what potatoes, what clover, what sheep, what wool!—Are not these things better than a fat ecclesiastic? If an active English farmer was mounted behind this abbot, I think he would do more good to France with half the income than half the abbots of the kingdom with the whole of theirs. Pass the bastille; another pleasant object to make agreeable emotions vibrate in a man's bosom. I search for good farmers, and run my head at every turn against monks and state prisons.—To the arsenal, to wait on Mons. Lavoisier, the celebrated chemist, whose theory of the non-existence of phlogiston, has made as much noise in the chemical world as that of Stahl, which established its existence. Dr. Priestley had given me a letter of introduction. I mentioned in the course of conversation his laboratory, and he appointed Tuesday. By the Boulevards, to the *Place Louis XV.* which is not properly a square, but a very noble entrance to a great city. The façades of the two buildings erected are highly finished. The union of the *Place Louis XV.* with the *champs Elisées*, the gardens of the *Thuilleries* and the *Seine* is open, airy, elegant, and superb; and is the most agreeable and best built part of Paris; here one can be clean and breathe freely. But by far the finest thing I have yet seen at Paris is the *Halle aux bleds*, or corn market: it is a vast rotunda; the roof entirely of wood, upon a new principle of carpentry, to describe which would demand plates and long explanations; the gallery is 150 yards round, consequently the diameter is as many feet: it is as light as if suspended by the fairies. In the grand area, wheat, pease, beans, lentils, are stored and sold. In the surrounding divisions, flour on wooden stands. You pass by stair-cases doubly winding within each other to spacious apartments for rye, barley, oats, &c. The whole is so well planned, and so admirably executed, that I know of no public building that exceeds it in either France or England. And if an appropriation of the parts to the conveniences wanted, and an adaptation of every circumstance to the end required, in union with that elegance which is consistent with use, and that magnificence which results from stability and duration are the

the criteria of public edifices, I know nothing that equals it :—it has but one fault, and that is situation ; it should have been upon the banks of the river, for the convenience of unloading barges without land carriage. In the evening, to the *Comedie Italienne*, the edifice fine ; and the whole quarter regular and new built, a private speculation of the duke de Choiseul, whose family has a box entailed for ever.—L'Aimant jaloux. Here is a young singer, Mademoiselle Rénard, with so sweet a voice, that if she sung Italian, and had been taught in Italy, would have made a delicious performer.

To the tomb of Cardinal de Richlieu, which is a noble production of genius : by far the finest statue I have seen. Nothing can be wished more easy and graceful than the attitude of the cardinal, nor more expressive nature than the figure of weeping science. Dine with my friend at the Palais Royale, at a coffee-house ; well dressed people ; every thing clean, good, and well served : but here, as every where else, you pay a good price for good things ; we ought never to forget that a low price for bad things is not cheapness. In the evening to *l'Ecole des Peres*, at the *Comedie Française*, a crying *larmoyant* thing. This theatre, the principal one at Paris, is a fine building, with a magnificent portico. After the circular theatres of France, how can any one relish our ill-contrived oblong holes of London ?

The 16th. To Monf. Lavoisier, by appointment. Madame Lavoisier, a lively, sensible, scientific lady, had prepared a *dejeuné Anglois* of tea and coffee, but her conversation on Mr. Kirwan's Essay on Phlogiston, which she is translating from the English, and on other subjects, which a woman of understanding, that works with her husband in his laboratory, knows how to adorn, was the best repast. That apartment, the operations of which have been rendered so interesting to the philosophical world, I had pleasure in viewing. In the apparatus for ærial experiments, nothing makes so great a figure as the machine for burning inflammable and vital air, to make, or deposit water ; it is a splendid machine. Three vessels are held in suspension with indexes for marking the immediate variations of their weights ; two that are as large as half hogsheds, contain the one inflammable, the other the vital air, and a tube of communication passes to the third, where the two airs unite and burn ; by contrivances, too complex to describe without plates, the loss of weight of the two airs, as indicated by their respective balances, equal at every moment to the gain in the third vessel from the formation or deposition of the water, it not being yet ascertained whether the water be actually made or deposited. If accurate (of which I must confess I have little conception), it is a noble machine. Monf. Lavoisier, when the structure of it was commended, said, *Mais oui monsieur, & même par un artiste Francoi !* with an accent of voice that admitted their general inferiority to ours. It is well known that we have a considerable exportation of mathematical and other curious instruments

instruments to every part of Europe, and to France amongst the rest. Nor is this new, for the apparatus with which the French academicians measured a degree in the polar circle was made by Mr. George Graham *. Another engine Monf. Lavoisier shewed us was, an electrical apparatus inclosed in a balloon, for trying electrical experiments in any sort of air. His pond of quicksilver is considerable, containing 250lb. and his water apparatus very great, but his furnaces did not seem so well calculated for the higher degrees of heat as some others I have seen. I was glad to find this gentleman splendidly lodged, and with every appearance of a man of considerable fortune. This ever gives one pleasure: the employments of a State can never be in better hands than of men who thus apply the superfluity of their wealth. From the use that is generally made of money, one would think it the assistance of all others of the least consequence in affecting any business truly useful to mankind, many of the great discoveries that have enlarged the horizon of science having been in this respect the result of means seemingly inadequate to the end: the energetic exertions of ardent minds, bursting from obscurity, and breaking the bands inflicted by poverty, perhaps by distress. To the *hotel des invalids*, the major of which establishment had the goodness to shew the whole of it. In the evening to Monf. Lomond, a very ingenious and inventive mechanic, who has made an improvement of the jenny for spinning cotton. Common machines are said to make too hard a thread for certain fabrics, but this forms it loose and spongy. In electricity he has made a remarkable discovery: you write two or three words on a paper; he takes it with him into a room, and turns a machine inclosed in a cylindrical case, at the top of which is an electrometer, a small fine pith ball; a wire connects with a similar cylinder and electrometer in a distant apartment; and his wife, by remarking the corresponding motions of the ball, writes down the words they indicate: from which it appears that he has formed an alphabet of motions. As the length of the wire makes no difference in the effect, a correspondence might be carried on at any distance: within and without a besieged town, for instance; or for a purpose much more worthy, and a thousand times more harmless, between two lovers prohibited or prevented from any better connection. Whatever the use may be, the invention is beautiful. Monf. Lomond has many other curious machines, all the entire work of his own hands: mechanical invention seems to be in him a natural propensity. In the evening to the *Comedie Française*. Mola did the *Bourru Bienfaisant*, and it is not easy for acting to be carried to greater perfection.

The 17th. To Monf. l'Abbé Messier, astronomer royal, and of the Academy of Sciences. View the exhibition, at the Louvre, of the Academy's paintings. For one history piece in our exhibitions at London here are ten; abundantly

* Whitehurst's Formation of the Earth, 2d edit. p. 6.

more than to balance the difference between an annual and biennial exhibition: Dined to-day with a party, whose conversation was entirely political. Monf. de Calonne's *Requête au Roi* is come over, and all the world are reading and disputing on it. It seems, however, generally agreed that, without exonerating himself from the charge of the agiotage, he has thrown no inconsiderable load on the shoulders of the archbishop of Toulouze, the present premier, who will be puzzled to get rid of the attack. But both these ministers were condemned on all hands in the lump; as being absolutely unequal to the difficulties of so arduous a period. One opinion pervaded the whole company, that they are on the eve of some great revolution in the government: that every thing points to it: the confusion in the finances great; with a *deficit* impossible to provide for without the states-general of the kingdom, yet no ideas formed of what would be the consequence of their meeting: no minister existing, or to be looked to in or out of power, with such decisive talents as to promise any other remedy than palliative ones: a prince on the throne, with excellent dispositions, but without the resources of a mind that could govern in such a moment without ministers: a court buried in pleasure and dissipation; and adding to the distress, instead of endeavouring to be placed in a more independent situation: a great ferment amongst all ranks of men, who are eager for some change, without knowing what to look to, or to hope for: and a strong leaven of liberty, increasing every hour since the American revolution; altogether form a combination of circumstances that promise e'er long to ferment into motion, if some master hand, of very superior talents, and inflexible courage, is not found at the helm to guide events, instead of being driven by them. It is very remarkable, that such conversation never occurs, but a bankruptcy is a topic: the curious question on which is, *would a bankruptcy occasion a civil war, and a total overthrow of the government?* The answers that I have received to this question, appear to be just: such a measure, conducted by a man of abilities, vigour, and firmness, would certainly not occasion either one or the other. But the same measure, attempted by a man of a different character, might possibly do both. All agree, that the states of the kingdom cannot assemble without more liberty being the consequence; but I meet with so few men that have any just ideas of freedom, that I question much the species of this new liberty that is to arise. They know not how to value the privileges of **THE PEOPLE**: as to the nobility and the clergy, if a revolution added any thing to their scale, I think it would do more mischief than good*.

* In transcribing these papers for the press, I smile at some remarks and circumstances which events have since placed in a singular position; but I alter none of these passages; they explain what were the opinions in France, before the revolution, on topics of importance; and the events which have since taken place render them the more interesting. June, 1790.

The 18th. To the Gobelins, which is undoubtedly the first manufacture of tapestry in the world, and such an one as could be supported only by a crowned head. In the evening to that incomparable comedy *La Metromanie*, of Pyron, and well acted. The more I see of it the more I like the French theatre; and have no doubt in preferring it far to our own. Writers, actors, buildings, scenes, decorations, music, dancing, take the whole in a mass, and it is unrivalled by London. We have certainly a few brilliants of the first water; but throw all in the scales, and that of England kicks the beam. I write this passage with a lighter heart than I should do were it giving the palm to the French plough.

The 19th. To Charenton, near Paris, to see *l'Ecole Veterinaire*, and the farm of the Royal Society of Agriculture. *Monf. Chabert*, the directeur-general, received us with the most attentive politeness. *Monf. Flandrein*, his assistant, and son-in-law, I had had the pleasure of knowing in Suffolk. They shewed the whole veterinary establishment, and it does honour to the government of France. It was formed in 1766: in 1783 a farm was annexed to it, and four other professorships established; two for rural œconomy, one for anatomy, and another for chemistry.—I was informed that *Monf. d'Aubenton*, who is at the head of this farm with a salary of 6000 liv. a year, reads lectures of rural œconomy, particularly on sheep, and that a flock was for that purpose kept in exhibition. There is a spacious and convenient apartment for dissecting horses and other animals; a large cabinet, where the most interesting parts of all domestic animals are preserved in spirits; and also of such parts of their bodies that mark the visible effect of distempers. This is very rich. This, with a similar one near Lyons, is kept up (exclusive of the addition of 1783), at the moderate expence, as appears by the writings of *M. Necker*, of about 60,000 liv. (2600l.) Whence, as in many other instances, it appears that the most useful things cost the least. There are at present about one hundred élèves from different parts of the kingdom, as well as from every country in Europe, *except England*; a strange exception, considering how grossly ignorant our farriers are; and that the whole expence of supporting a young man here does not exceed forty louis 2-year; nor more than four years necessary for his complete instruction. As to the farm, it is under the conduct of a great naturalist, high in royal academies of science, and whose name is celebrated through Europe for merit in superior branches of knowledge. It would argue in me a want of judgment in human nature, to expect good practice from such men. They would probably think it beneath their pursuits and situation in life to be good ploughmen, turnip-hoers, and shepherds; I should therefore betray my own ignorance of life, if I was to express any surprize at finding this farm in a situation that—I had rather forget than describe. In the evening, to a field much more successfully cultivated, *Mademoiselle St. Huberti*, in the *Penelope* of *Picini*.

The 20th. To the *Ecole Militaire*, established by Louis XV. for the education of 140 youths, the sons of the nobility; such establishments are equally ridiculous and unjust. To educate the son of a man who cannot afford the education himself, is a gross injustice, if you do not secure a situation in life answerable to that education. If you do secure such a situation, you destroy the result of the education, because nothing but merit ought to give that security. If you educate the children of men, who are well able to give the education themselves, you tax the people who cannot afford to educate their children, in order to ease those who can well afford the burthen; and in such institutions, this is sure to be the case. At night to *l'Ambigu Comique*, a pretty little theatre, with plenty of rubbish on it. Coffee-houses on the boulevards, music, noise, and *filles* without end; every thing but scavengers and lamps. The mud is a foot deep; and there are parts of the boulevards without a single light.

The 21st. *Monf. de Broussonet* being returned from Burgundy, I had the pleasure of passing a couple of hours at his lodgings very agreeably. He is a man of uncommon activity, and possessed of a great variety of useful knowledge in every branch of natural history; and he speaks English perfectly well. It is very rare that a gentleman is seen better qualified for a post than *Monf. de Broussonet* for that which he occupies, of secretary to a Royal Society.

The 22d. To the bridge of Neuilié, said to be the finest in France. It is by far the most beautiful one I have any where seen. It consists of five vast arches; flat, from the Florentine model; and all of equal span; a mode of building incomparably more elegant, and more striking than our system of different sized arches. To the machine at Marly; which ceases to make the least impression. *Madame du Barré's* residence, *Lufienne*, is on the hill just above this machine; she has built a pavilion on the brow of the declivity, for commanding the prospect, fitted up and decorated with much elegance. There is a table formed of *Seve* porcelain, exquisitely done. I forget how many thousand *louis d'ors* it cost. The French, to whom I spoke of *Lufienne*, exclaimed against mistresses and extravagance, with more violence than reason in my opinion. Who, in common sense, would deny a king the amusement of a mistress, provided he did not make a business of his play-thing? *Mais Frederic le Grand avoit-il une maitresse, lui faisoit-il batir des pavillons, et les meubloit-il de tables de porcelaine?* No: but he had that which was fifty times worse: a king had better make love to a handsome woman than to one of his neighbour's provinces. The king of Prussia's mistress cost an hundred millions sterling, and the lives of 500,000 men; and before the reign of that mistress is over, may yet cost as much more. The greatest genius and talents are lighter than a feather, weighed philosophically, if rapine, war, and conquest, are the effects of them.

To *St. Germain's*, the terrace of which is very fine. *Monf. de Broussonet* met
met

met me here, and we dined with Monf. Breton, at the maréchal duc de Noailles, who has a good collection of curious plants. Here is the finest *sophora japonica* I have seen.—10 miles.

The 23d. To Trianon, to view the Queen's *Jardin Anglois*. I had a letter to Monf. Richard, which procured admittance. It contains about 100 acres, disposed in the taste of what we read of in books of Chinese gardening, whence it is supposed the English style was taken. There is more of Sir William Chambers here than of Mr. Brown—more effort than nature—and more expence than taste. It is not easy to conceive any thing that art can introduce in a garden that is not here; woods, rocks, lawns, lakes, rivers, islands, cascades, grottos, walks, temples, and even villages. There are parts of the design very pretty, and well executed. The only fault is too much crouding; which has led to another, that of cutting the lawn by too many gravel walks, an error to be seen in almost every garden I have met with in France. But the glory of *La Petite Trianon* is the exotic trees and shrubs. The world has been successfully rified to decorate it. Here are curious and beautiful ones to please the eye of ignorance; and to exercise the memory of science. Of the buildings, the temple of love is truly elegant.

Again to Versailles. In viewing the king's apartment, which he had not left a quarter of an hour, with those slight traits of disorder that shewed he *lived* in it, it was amusing to see the blackguard figures that were walking uncontrouled about the palace, and even in his bed-chamber; men whose rags betrayed them to be in the last stage of poverty, and I was the only person that stared and wondered how the devil they got there. It is impossible not to like this careless indifference and freedom from suspicion. One loves the master of the house, who would not be hurt or offended at seeing his apartment thus occupied, if he returned suddenly; for if there was danger of this, the intrusion would be prevented. This is certainly a feature of that *good temper* which appears to me so visible every where in France. I desired to see the Queen's apartments, but I could not. Is her majesty in it? No. Why then not see it as well as the king's? *Ma foi, Monf. c'est un autre chose*. Ramble through the gardens, and by the grand canal, with absolute astonishment at the exaggerations of writers and travellers. There is magnificence in the quarter of the orangerie, but no beauty any where; there are some statues good enough to wish them under cover. The extent and breadth of the canal are nothing to the eye; and it is not in such good repair as a farmer's horse-pond. The menagerie is well enough, but nothing great. Let those who desire that the buildings and establishments of Louis XIV. should continue the impression made by the writings of Voltaire, go to the canal of Languedoc, and by no means to Versailles. Return to Paris.—14 miles.

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The 24th. With Monf. de Brouffonet to the King's cabinet of natural history and the botanical garden, which is in beautiful order. Its riches are well known, and the politeness of Monf. Thouin, which is that of a most amiable disposition, renders this garden the scene of other rational pleasures besides those of botany. Dine at the Invalides, with Monf. Parmentier, the celebrated author of many oeconomic works, particularly on the *boulangerie* of France. This gentleman, to a considerable mass of useful knowledge, adds a great deal of that fire and vivacity for which his nation has been distinguished, but which I have not recognized so often as I expected.

The 25th. This great city appears to be in many respects the most ineligible and inconvenient for the residence of a person of small fortune of any that I have seen; and vastly inferior to London. The streets are very narrow, and many of them crowded, nine-tenths dirty, and all without foot-pavements. Walking, which in London is so pleasant and so clean, that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well dressed woman. The coaches are numerous, and, what are much worse, there are an infinity of one-horse cabriolets, which are driven by young men of fashion and their imitators, alike fools, with such rapidity as to be real nuisances, and render the streets exceedingly dangerous, without an incessant caution. I saw a poor child run over and probably killed, and have been myself many times blackened with the mud of the kennels. This beggarly practice, of driving a one-horse booby hutch about the streets of a great capital, flows either from poverty or a wretched and despicable oconomy; nor is it possible to speak of it with too much severity. If young noblemen at London were to drive their chaises in streets without foot-ways, as their brethren do at Paris, they would speedily and justly get very well threshed, or rolled in the kennel. This circumstance renders Paris an ineligible residence for persons, particularly families that cannot afford to keep a coach; a convenience which is as dear as at London. The *fiacres*, hackney-coaches, are much worse than at that city; and chairs there are none, for they would be driven down in the streets. To this circumstance also it is owing, that all persons of small or moderate fortune, are forced to dress in black, with black stockings; the dusky hue of this in company is not so disagreeable a circumstance as being too great a distinction; too clear a line drawn in company between a man that has a good fortune, and another that has not. With the pride, arrogance, and ill temper of English wealth this could not be borne; but the prevailing good humour of the French eases all such untoward circumstances. Lodgings are not half so good as at London, yet considerably dearer. If you do not hire a whole suite of rooms at an hotel, you must probably mount three, four, or five pair of stairs, and in general have nothing but a bed-chamber. After the horrid fatigue of the streets,
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such an elevation is a delectable circumstance. You must search with trouble before you will be lodged in a private family, as gentlemen usually are at London, and pay a higher price. Servants wages are about the same as at that city. It is to be regretted that Paris should have these disadvantages, for in other respects I take it to be a most eligible residence for such as prefer a great city. The society for a man of letters, or who has any scientific pursuit, cannot be exceeded. The intercourse between such men and the great, which, if it is not upon an equal footing, ought never to exist at all, is respectable. Persons of the highest rank pay an attention to science and literature, and emulate the character they confer. I should pity the man who expected, without other advantages of a very different nature, to be well received in a brilliant circle at London, because he was a fellow of the Royal Society. But this would not be the case with a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; he is sure of a good reception every where. Perhaps this contrast depends in a great measure on the difference of the governments of the two countries. Politics are too much attended to in England to allow a due respect to be paid to any thing else; and should the French establish a freer government, academicians will not be held in such estimation, when rivalled in the public esteem by the orators who hold forth liberty and property in a free parliament.

The 28th. Quit Paris, and take the road to Flanders. *Monf. de Brouffonet* was so obliging as to accompany me to *Dugny*, to view the farm of *Monf. Cretté de Palluel*, a very intelligent cultivator. Take the road to *Senlis*: at *Dammertin*, I met by accident a French gentleman, a *Monf. du Pré du St. Cotin*. Hearing me conversing with a farmer on agriculture, he introduced himself as an amateur, gave me an account of several experiments he had made on his estate in Champagne, and promised a more particular detail; in which he was as good as his word.—22 miles.

The 29th. Pass *Nanteul*, where the Prince of *Condé* has a chateau, to *Villes-Coterets*, in the midst of immense forests belonging to the duke of *Orleans*. The crop of this country, therefore, is princes of the blood; that is to say, hares, pheasants, deer, boars!—26 miles.

The 30th. *Soissons* seems a poor town, without manufactures, and chiefly supported by a corn-trade, which goes hence by water to *Paris* and *Rouen*.—25 miles.

The 31st. *Coucy* is beautifully situated on a hill, with a fine vale winding beside it. At *St. Gobin*, which is in the midst of great woods, I viewed the fabric of plate-glass the greatest in the world. I was in high luck, arriving about half an hour before they began to run glasses for the day. Pass *La Fere*. Reach *St. Quintin*, where are considerable manufactures that employed me all the afternoon. From *St. Gobin*, are the most beautiful slate roofs I have any where seen.—30 miles.

NOVEMBER I. Near Belle Angloise I turned aside half a league to view the canal of Picardy, of which I had heard much. In passing from St. Quentin to Cambray the country rises so much, that it was necessary to carry it in a tunnel under ground for a considerable depth, even under many vales as well as hills. In one of these vallies there is an opening for visiting it by an arched stair-case, on which I descended 134 steps to the canal, and, as this valley is much below the adjacent and other hills, the great depth at which it is dug, may be conceived. Over the door of the descent, is the following inscription:—*L'ann. 1781. — Mons. le Comte d'Agay etant intendant de cette province, Mons. Laurent de Lionni etant directeur de l'ancien & nouveau canal de Picardie, & Mons. de Champrose inspecteur, Joseph II. Empereur Roi des Romains, a parcourru en bateau le canal sous terrain depuis cet endroit jusques au puit, No. 20, le 28, & a temoigné sa satisfaction d'avoir vu cet ouvrage en ces termes: " Je suis fier d'etre homme, quand je vois qu'un de mes semblables a osé imaginer & executer un ouvrage aussi vaste et aussi hardie. Cette idea me leve l'ame."*—These three Messieurs lead the dance here in a very French style. The great Joseph follows humbly in their train; and as to poor Louis XVI. at whose expence the whole was done, these gentlemen certainly thought that no name less than that of an emperor ought to be annexed to theirs. When inscriptions are fixed to public works, no names ought to be permitted but those of the king, whose merit patronizes, and the engineer or artist whose genius executes the work. As to a mob of intendants, directors, and inspectors, let them go to the devil! The canal at this place is ten French feet wide and twelve high, hewn entirely out of the chalk rock, imbedded, in which are many flints—no masonry. There is only a small part finished of ten toises long for a pattern, twenty feet broad and twenty high. Five thousand toises are already done in the manner of that part which I viewed; and the whole distance under ground, when the tunnel will be complete, is 7020 toises (each six feet) or about nine miles. It has already cost 1,200,000 liv. (52,500l.) and there wants 2,500,000 liv. (109,375l.) to complete it; so that the total estimate is near four millions. It is executed by shafts. At present there is not above five or six inches of water in it. This great work has stood still entirely since the administration of the archbishop of Toulouze. When we see such works stand still for want of money, we shall reasonably be inclined to ask, What are the services that continue supplied? and to conclude, that amongst kings, and ministers, and nations, œconomy is the first virtue:—without it, genius is a meteor; victory a sound; and all courtly splendour a public robbery.

At Cambray, view the manufacture. These frontier towns of Flanders are built in the old style, but the streets broad, handsome, well paved, and lighted. I need not observe, that all are fortified, and that every step in this country has been rendered famous or infamous according to the feelings of the spectator, by many of
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the bloodiest wars that have disgraced and exhausted christendom. At the hotel de Bourbon I was well lodged, fed, and attended: an excellent inn.—22 miles.

The 2d. Pass Bouchaine to Valenciennes, another old town, which, like the rest of the Flemish ones, manifests more the wealth of former than of present times.—18 miles.

The 3d, to Orchees; and the 4th to Lisle, which is surrounded by more windmills for expressing the oil of colseed, than are to be seen any where else I suppose in the world. Pass fewer drawbridges and works of fortification here than at Calais; the great strength of this place is in its mines and other *souteraines*. In the evening to the play.

The cry here for a war with England amazed me. Every one I talked with said, it was beyond a doubt the English had called the Prussian army into Holland; and that the motives in France for a war were numerous and manifest. It is easy enough to discover, that the origin of all this violence is the commercial treaty, which is execrated here, as the most fatal stroke to their manufactures they ever experienced. These people have the true monopolizing ideas; they would involve four-and-twenty millions of people in the certain miseries of a war, rather than see the interest of those who consume fabrics, preferred to the interest of those who make them. The advantages reaped by four-and-twenty millions of consumers are lighter than a feather compared with the inconveniences sustained by half a million of manufacturers. Meet many small carts in the town, drawn each by a dog: I was told by the owner of one, what appears to me incredible, that his dog would draw 700 lb. half a league. The wheels of these carts are very high, relative to the height of the dog, so that his chest is a good deal below the axle.

The 6th. In leaving Lisle, the reparation of a bridge made me take a road on the banks of the canal, close under the works of the citadel. They appear to be very numerous, and the situation exceedingly advantageous, on a gently rising ground, surrounded by low watry meadows, which may with ease be drowned. Pass Darmentiers, a large paved town. Sleep at Mont Cassel.—30 miles.

The 7th. Cassel is on the summit of the only hill in Flanders. They are now repairing the basin at Dunkirk, so famous in history for an imperiousness in England, which she must have paid dearly for. Dunkirk, Gibraltar, and the statue of Louis XIV. in the *Place de Victoire*, I place in the same political class of national arrogance. Many men are now at work on this basin, and, when finished, it will not contain more than twenty or twenty-five frigates; and appears to an unlearned eye, a ridiculous object for the jealousy of a great nation, unless it professes to be jealous of privateers.—I made enquiries concerning the import of wool from England, and was assured that it was a very trifling object. I may here observe, that when I left the town, my little cloak-bag was examined as scrupulously as if I had just left England, with a cargo of prohibited

goods, and again at a fort two miles off. Dunkirk being a free port, the custom-house is at the gates. What are we to think of our woollen manufacturers in England, when suing for their wool-bill, of infamous memory, bringing one Thomas Wilkinfon from Dunkirk quay, to the bar of the English House of Lords to *swear* that wool passes from Dunkirk without entry, duty, or any thing being required, at double custom-houses, for a check on each other, where they examine even a cloak-bag. On such evidence, did our legislature, in the true shop-keeping spirit, pass an act of fines, pains, and penalties against all the wool-growers of England. Walk to Rosfendal near the town, where Mons. le Brun has an improvement on the Dunes, which he very obligingly shewed me. Between the town and that place are a great number of neat little houses, built with each its garden, and one or two fields inclosed of most wretched blowing *dune* sand, naturally as white as snow, but improved by industry. The magic of PROPERTY turns sand to gold.—18 milés.

The 8th. Leave Dunkirk, where the *Concierge* a good inn, as indeed I have found all in Flanders. Pass Gravelline, which, to my unlearned eyes, seems the strongest place I have yet seen, at least the works above ground are more numerous than at any other. Ditches, ramparts, and drawbridges without end. This is a part of the art military I like: it implies defence, and leaving rascality to neighbours. If Gengischan or Tamerlane had met with such places as Gravelline or Lisle in their way, where would their conquests and extirpations of the human race have been?—Reach Calais. And here ends a journey which has given me a great deal of pleasure, and more information than I should have expected in a kingdom not so well cultivated as our own. It has been the first of my foreign travels; and has with me confirmed the idea, that to know our own country well, we must see something of others. Nations figure by comparison; and those ought to be esteemed the benefactors of the human race, who have most established public prosperity on the basis of private happiness. To ascertain how far this has been the case with the French, has been one material object of my tour. It is an enquiry of great range, and no trifling complexity; but a single excursion is too little to trust to. I must come again and again before I venture conclusions.—25 miles,

Wait at Desseins three days for a wind (the duke and dutchess of Gloucester are in the same inn and situation) and for a packet. A captain behaved shabbily: deceived me, and was hired by a family that would admit nobody but themselves:—I did not ask what nation this family was of.—Dover—London—Bradfield;—and have more pleasure in giving my little girl a French doll, than in viewing Versailles.

1788.

THE long journey I had last year taken in France, suggested a variety of reflections on the agriculture, and on the sources and progress of national prosperity in that kingdom; in spite of myself, these ideas fermented in my mind; and while I was drawing conclusions relative to the political state of that great country, in every circumstance connected with its husbandry. I found, at each moment of my reflection, the importance of making as regular a survey of the whole as was possible for a traveller to effect. Thus instigated, I determined to attempt finishing what I had fortunately enough begun.

JULY 30. Left Bradfield; and arrived at Calais.—161 miles.

AUGUST 5. The next day I took the road to St. Omers. Pass the bridge *Sans Pareil*, which serves a double purpose, passing two streams at once; but it has been praised beyond its merit, and cost more than it was worth. St. Omers contains little deserving notice; and if I could direct the legislatures of England and Ireland, should contain still less:—why are catholics to emigrate in order to be ill educated abroad, instead of being allowed institutions that would educate them well at home? The country is seen to advantage from St. Bertin's steeple.—25 miles.

The 7th. The canal of St. Omers is carried up a hill by a series of sluices. To Aire, and Lilliers, and Bethune, towns well known in military story.—25 miles.

The 8th. The country now a champaign, one changes; from Bethune to Arras an admirable gravel road. At the last town there is nothing but the great and rich abbey of Var, which they would not shew me—it was not the right day—or some frivolous excuse. The cathedral is nothing.—17½ miles.

The 9th. Market-day; coming out of the town I met at least an hundred asses, some loaded with a bag, others a sack, but all apparently with a trifling burthen, and swarms of men and women. This is called a market, being plentifully supplied; but a great proportion of all the labour of a country is idle in the midst of harvest, to supply a town which in England would be fed by ¼ of the people: whenever this swarm of triflers buz in a market, I take a minute and vicious division of the soil for granted. Here my only companion *de voyage*, the English mare that carries me, discloses by her eye a secret not the most agreeable, that she is going rapidly blind. She is moon-eyed; but our fool of a Bury farrier assured me I was safe for above a twelvemonth. It must be confessed this is one of those agreeable situations which not many will believe a man would put himself into. *Ma foy!* this is a piece of my good luck;—the journey at best is but a drudgery, that others are paid for performing on a good horse, and I pay myself for doing it on a blind one;—I shall feel this inconvenience perhaps at the expence of my neck.—20 miles.

The 10th. To Amiens. Mr. Fox slept here last night, and it was amusing to hear the conversation at the table d'hôte; they wondered that so great a man should not travel in a greater style:—I asked what was his style? Monsieur and Madame were in an English post-chaise, and the fille and valet de chambre in a cabriolet, with a French courier to have horses ready. What would they have? but a style both of comfort and amusement? A plague on a blind mare!—But I have worked through life; and he TALKS.

The 11th. By Poix to Aumale; enter Normandy.—25 miles.

The 12th. From thence to Newchatel, by far the finest country since Calais. Pass many villas of Rouen merchants.—40 miles.

The 13th. They are right to have country villas—to get out of this great ugly, stinking, close, and ill built town, which is full of nothing but dirt and industry. What a picture of new buildings does a flourishing manufacturing town in England exhibit! The choir of the cathedral is surrounded by a most magnificent railing of solid brass. They shew the monument of Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, and of his son; of William Longsword; also those of Richard Cœur de Lion; his brother Henry; the Duke of Bedford, regent of France; of their own King Henry V.; of the Cardinal d'Amboise, minister of Louis XII. The altar-piece is an adoration of the shepherds, by Philip of Champagne. Rouen is dearer than Paris, and therefore it is necessary for the pockets of the people that their bellies should be wholesomely pinched. At the table d'hôte, at the hotel *pomme du pin* we sat down, sixteen, to the following dinner, a soup, about 3lb. of bouilli, one fowl, one duck, a small fricassée of chicken, rote of veal, of about 2lb. and two other small plates with a salad: the price 45*s.* and 20*s.* more for a pint of wine; at an ordinary of 20*s.* a head in England there would be a piece of meat which would, literally speaking, outweigh this whole dinner! The ducks were swept clean so quickly, that I moved from table without half a dinner. Such table d'hôtes are among the cheap things of France! Of all *sombre* and *triste* meetings a French table d'hôte is foremost; for eight minutes a dead silence, and as to the politeness of addressing a conversation to a foreigner, he will look for it in vain. Not a single word has any where been said to me unless to answer some question: Rouen not singular in this. The parliament-house here is shut up, and its members exiled a month past to their country seats, because they would not register the edict for a new land-tax. I enquired much into the common sentiments of the people, and found that the King personally from having been here, is more popular than the parliament, to whom they attribute the general dearness of every thing. Called on Mons. d'Ambournay, the author of a treatise on using madder green instead of dried, and had the pleasure of a long conversation with him on various farming topics, interesting to my enquiries.

The 14th. To Barentin, through abundance of apples and pears, and a country better than the husbandry: to Yveot richer, but miserable management.—21 miles.

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The 15th. Country the same to Bolbec; their inclosures remind me of Ireland, the fence is a high broad parapet bank, very well planted with hedges and oak and beech trees. All the way from Rouen there is a scattering of country seats, which I am glad to see; farm-houses and cottages every where, and the cotton manufacture in all. Continues the same to Harfleur. To Havre de Grace, the approach strongly marks a very flourishing place: the hills are almost covered with little new built villas, and many more are building; some are so close as to form almost streets, and considerable additions are also making to the town.—30 miles.

The 16th. Enquiries are not necessary to find out the prosperity of this town; it is nothing equivocal: fuller of motion, life, and activity, than any place I have been at in France. A house here, which in 1779 let without any fine on a lease of six years for 240 liv. per annum, was lately let for three years at 600 liv. which twelve years past was to be had at 24 liv. The harbour's mouth is narrow and formed by a mole, but it enlarges into two oblong basons of greater breadth; these are full of ships, to the number of some hundreds, and the quays around are thronged with business, all hurry, bustle, and animation. They say a fifty gun ship can enter, but I suppose without her guns. What is better, they have merchant-men of five and six hundred tons: the state of the harbour has however given them much alarm and perplexity; if nothing had been done to improve it, the mouth would have been filled up with sand, an increasing evil; to remedy which, many engineers have been consulted. The want of a back water to wash it out is so great, that they are now, at the King's expence, forming a most noble and magnificent work, a vast bason, walled off from the ocean, or rather an inclosure of it by solid masonry, 700 yards long, five yards broad, and 10 or 12 feet above the surface of the sea at high water; and for 400 yards more it consists of two exterior walls, each three yards broad, and filled up seven yards wide between them with earth; by means of this new and enormous bason, they will have an artificial back-water, capable, they calculate, of sweeping out the harbour's mouth clean from all obstructions. It is a work that does honour to the kingdom. The view of the Seine from this mole is striking; it is five miles broad, with high lands for its opposite shore; and the chalk cliffs and promontories, that recede to make way for rolling its vast tribute to the ocean, bold and noble.

Wait on Mons. l'Abbé Dicquemarre, the celebrated naturalist, where I had also the pleasure of meeting Mademoiselle le Masson le Golft, author of some agreeable performances; among others, *Entretien sur le Havre*, 1781, when the number of souls was estimated at 25,000. The next day Mons. le Reifeicourt, captain of the *corps royale du Genie*, to whom also I had letters, introduced me to Messrs. Hombergs, who rank amongst the most considerable merchants

chants of France. I dined with them at one of their country houses, meeting a numerous company and splendid entertainment. These gentlemen have wives and daughters, cousins and friends, cheerful, pleasing, and well informed. I did not like the idea of quitting them so soon, for they seemed to have a society that would have made a longer residence agreeable enough. It is no bad prejudice surely to like people that like England; most of them have been there.—*Nous avons assurément en France de belles, d'agréables et de bonnes choses, mais on trouve une telle énergie dans votre nation*——.

The 18th. By the passage-packet, a decked vessel, to Honfleur, seven and a half miles, which we made with a strong north wind in an hour, the river being rougher than I thought a river could be. Honfleur is a small town, full of industry, and a basin full of ships, with some Guinea-men as large as at Havre. At Pont au de Mer, wait on Monf. Martin, director of the *manufacture royale* of leather. I saw eight or ten Englishmen that are employed here (there are 40 in all), and conversed with one from Yorkshire, who told me he had been deceived into coming; for though they are well paid, yet they find things very dear, instead of very cheap, as they had been given to understand.—20 miles.

The 19th. To Pont l'Eveque, towards which town the country is richer, that is, has more pasturage; the whole has singular features, composed of orchard inclosures, with hedges so thick and excellent, though composed of willow, with but a sprinkling of thorns, that one can scarcely see through them; chateaus are scattered, and some good, yet the road is villainous. Pont l'Eveque is situated in the Pays d'Auge, celebrated for the great fertility of its pastures. To Lisieux, through the same rich district, fences admirably planted, and the country thickly inclosed and wooded.—At the hotel d'Angleterre, an excellent inn, new, clean, and well furnished; and I was well served and well fed.—26 miles.

The 20th. To Caen; the road passes on the brow of a hill, that commands the rich valley of Corbon, still in the Pays d'Auge, the most fertile of the whole, all is under fine Poitou bullocks, and would figure in Leicester or Northampton.—28 miles.

The 21st. The marquis de Guerchy, who I had had the pleasure of seeing in Suffolk, being colonel of the regiment of Artois, quartered here, I waited on him; he introduced me to his lady, and remarked, that as it was the fair of Guibray, and himself going, I could not do better than accompany him, since it was the second fair in France. I readily agreed: in our way, we called at Bon, and dined with the marquis of Turgot, elder brother of the justly celebrated comptroller-general: this gentleman is author of some memoirs on planting, published in the Trimestres of the Royal Society of Paris; he shewed and explained to us all his plantations, but chiefly prides himself on the exotics; and I was sorry to find in proportion not to their promised utility, but merely to their rarity. I have not found this uncommon in France; and it is far from
being

being so in England. I wished every moment, of a long walk to change the conversation from trees to husbandry, and made many efforts, but all in vain. In the evening to the fair play-house—*Richard Cœur de Lion*; and I could not but remark an uncommon number of pretty women. Is there no antiquarian that deduces English beauty from the mixture of Norman blood? or who thinks, with Major Jardine, that nothing improves so much as crossing; to read his agreeable book of travels, one would think none wanting, and yet to look at his daughters, and hear their music, it would be impossible to doubt his system. Supped at the marquis d'Ecougal's, at his chateau *a la Frenaye*. If these French marquisses cannot shew me good crops of corn and turnips, here is a noble one of something else—of beautiful and elegant daughters, the charming copies of an agreeable mother: the whole family I pronounced at the first blush amiable: they are chearful, pleasing, interesting: I want to know them better, but it is the fate of a traveller to meet opportunities of pleasure, and merely see to quit them. After supper, while the company were at cards, the marquis conversed on topics interesting to my enquiries.—22½ miles.

The 22d. At this fair of Guibray, merchandize is sold, they say, to the amount of six millions (262,500l.) but at that of Beaucaire to ten: I found the quantity of English goods considerable, hard and queen's ware; cloths and cottons. A dozen of common plain plates, 3 liv. and 4 liv. for a French imitation, but much worse; I asked the man (a Frenchman) if the treaty of commerce would not be very injurious with such a difference—*C'est précisément le contraire Monsr.—quelque mauvaise que soit cette imitation, on n'a encore rien fait d'aussi bien en France; l'année prochaine on fera mieux—nous perfectionnerons—et enfin nous l'emporterons sur vous.*—I believe he is a very good politician, and that without competition, it is not possible to perfect any fabric. A dozen with blue or green edges, English, 5 liv. 5s. Return to Caen; dine with the marquis of Guerchy, lieutenant-colonel, major, &c. of the regiment, and their wives present a large and agreeable company. View the Abbey of Benedictines, founded by William the Conqueror. It is a splendid building, substantial, massy, and magnificent, with very large apartments, and stone stair-cases worthy of a palace. Sup with Monsr. du Mesni, captain of the *corps de Genie*, to whom I had letters; he had introduced me to the engineer employed on the new port, which will bring ships of three or four hundred tons to Caen, a noble work, and among those which do honour to France.

The 23d. Monsr. de Guerchy and the Abbé de ———, accompanied me to view Harcourt, the seat of the duke d'Harcourt, governor of Normandy, and of the Dauphin; I had heard it called the finest English garden in France, but Ermenonville will not allow that claim, though not near its equal as a residence. Found at last a horse to try in order to prosecute my journey a little less like Don

Quixotte,

Quixotte, but it would by no means do, an uneasy stumbling beast, at a price that would have bought a good one, so my blind friend and I must jog on still further.—30 miles.

The 24th. To Bayeux; the cathedral has three towers, one of which is very light, elegant, and highly ornamented.

The 25th. In the road to Carentan, pass an arm of the sea at Iffigny, which is fordable. At Carentan I found myself so ill, from accumulated colds I suppose, that I was seriously afraid of being laid up—not a bone without its aches; and a horrid dead leaden weight all over me. I went early to bed, washed down a dose of antimonial powders, which proved sudorific enough to let me prosecute my journey.—23 miles.

The 26th. To Volognes; thence to Cherbourg, a thick woodland, much like Suffex. The marquis de Guerchy had desired me to call on Monf. Doumerc, a great improver at Pierbutté near Cherbourg, which I did; but he was absent at Paris: however his bailiff, Monf. Baillio, with great civility shewed me the lands, and explained every thing.—30 miles.

The 27th. Cherbourg. I had letters to the duke de Beuvron, who commands here; to the count de Chavagnac, and M. de Meufnier, of the Academy of Sciences, and translator of Cook's Voyages; the count is in the country. So much had I heard of the famous works erecting to form a harbour here, that I was eager to view them without the loss of a moment: the duke favoured me with an order for that purpose, I therefore took a boat, and rowed across the artificial harbour formed by the celebrated cones. As it is possible that this itinerary may be read by persons that have not either time or inclination to seek other books for an account of these works, I will in a few words sketch the intention and execution. The French possess no port for ships of war from Dunkirk to Brest, and the former capable of receiving only frigates. This deficiency has been fatal to them more than once in their wars with England, whose more favourable coast affords not only the Thames, but the noble harbour of Portsmouth. To remedy the want, they planned a mole across the open bay of Cherbourg; but to inclose a space sufficient to protect a fleet of the line, would demand so extended a wall, and so exposed to heavy seas, that the expence would be far too great to be thought of; and at the same time the success too dubious to be ventured. The idea of a regular mole was therefore given up, and a partial one, on a new plan adopted; this was to erect in the sea, a line where a mole is wanted, insulated columns of timber and masonry, of so vast a size, as to resist the violence of the ocean, and to break its waves sufficiently to permit a bank being formed between column and column. These have been called cones from their form. They are 140 feet diameter at the base; 60 diameter at the top, and 60 feet vertical height, being, when sunk in

in the sea, 30 to 34 feet, immersed at the low water of high tides. These enormous broad-bottomed tubs being constructed of oak, with every attention to strength and solidity, when finished for launching, were loaded with stone just sufficient for sinking, and in that state each cone weighed 1000 tons (of 2000 lb.) To float them, sixty empty casks, each of ten pipes, were attached around by cords, and in this state of buoyancy the enormous machine was floated to its destined spot, towed by numberless vessels, and before innumerable spectators. At a signal, the cords are cut in a moment, and the pile sinks: it is then filled instantly with stone from vessels ready attending, and capped with masonry. The contents of each filled only to within four feet of the surface, 2500 cubical toises of stone*. A vast number of vessels are then employed to form a bank of stone from cone to cone, visible at low water in neap tides. Eighteen cones, by one account, but 33 by another, would complete the work, leaving only two entrances, commanded by two very fine new-built forts, *Royale* and *d'Artois*, thoroughly well provided, it is said, for they do not shew them, with an apparatus for heating canon balls. The number of cones will depend on the distances at which they are placed. I found eight finished, and the skeleton frames of two more in the dock-yard; but all is stopped by the archbishop of Toulouze, in favour of the œconomical plans at present in speculation. Four of them, the last sunk, being most exposed, are now repairing, having been found too weak to resist the fury of the storms, and the heavy westerly seas. The last cone is much the most damaged, and, in proportion as they advance, they will be still more and more exposed, which gives rise to the opinion of many skilful engineers, that the whole scheme will prove fruitless, unless such an expence is bestowed on the remaining cones as would be sufficient to exhaust the revenues of a kingdom. The eight already erected have for some years given a new appearance to Cherbourg; new houses, and even streets, and such a face of activity and animation, that the stop to the works was received with blank countenances. They say, that, quarry-men included, 3000 were employed. The effect of the eight cones already erected, and the bank of stone formed between them has been to give perfect security to a considerable portion of the intended harbour. Two 40 gun ships have lain at anchor within them these eighteen months past, by way of experiment, and though such storms have happened in that time as have put all to severe trials, and, as I mentioned before, considerably damaged three of the cones, yet these ships have not received the smallest agitation; hence it is a harbour for a small fleet without doing more. Should they ever proceed with the rest of the cones, they must be built much stronger, perhaps larger, and far greater precautions taken in giving them firmness and solidity: it is also a

* The toise six feet.

question, whether they must not be sunk much nearer to each other; at all events, the proportional expence will be nearly doubled, but for wars with England, the importance of having a secure harbour, so critically situated, they consider as equal almost to any expence; at least this importance has its full weight in the eyes of the people of Cherbourg. I remarked, in rowing across the harbour, that while the sea without the artificial bar was so rough, that it would have been unpleasant for a boat, within it was quite smooth. I mounted two of the cones, one of which has this inscription:—*Louis XVI.—Sur ce premiere cône échoue le 6 Juin 1784, a vu l'immersion de celui de l'est, le 23 Juin 1786.*—On the whole, the undertaking is a prodigious one, and does no trifling credit to the spirit of enterprize of the present age in France. The service of the marine is a favourite; whether justly or not, is another question; and this harbour shews, that when this great people undertake any capital works, that are really favourites, they find inventive genius to plan, and engineers of capital talents to execute whatever is devised, in a manner that does honour to their kingdom. The duke de Beuvron had asked me to dinner, but I found that if I accepted his invitation, it would then take me the next day to view the glass manufacture; I preferred therefore business to pleasure, and taking with me a letter from that nobleman to secure a sight of it, I rode thither in the afternoon; it is about three miles from Cherbourg. *Monf. de Puye*, the director, explained every thing to me in the most obliging manner. Cherbourg is not a place for a residence longer than necessary; I was here fleeced more infamously than at any other town in France; the two best inns were full; I was obliged to go to the *barque*, a vile hole, little better than a hog-sty; where, for a miserable dirty wretched chamber, two suppers composed chiefly of a plate of apples and some butter and cheese, with some trifle besides too bad to eat, and one miserable dinner, they brought me in a bill of 31 liv. (11. 7s. 1d.) they not only charged the room 3 liv. a night, but even the very stable for my horse, after enormous items for oats, hay, and straw. This is a species of profligacy which debases the national character. Calling, as I returned, on *Monf. Baillo*, I shewed him the bill, at which he exclaimed for imposition, and said the man and woman were going to leave off their trade; and no wonder, if they had made a practice of fleecing others in that manner. Let no one go to Cherbourg without making a bargain for every thing he has, even to the straw and stable; pepper, salt, and table-cloth.—10 miles.

The 28th, return to Carentan; and the 29th, pass through a rich and thickly inclosed country, to Coutances, capital of the district called the Cotentin. They build in this country the best mud houses and barns I ever saw, excellent habitations, even of three stories, and all of mud, with considerable barns and other offices. The earth (the best for the purpose is a rich brown loam) is well kneaded with straw; and being spread about four inches thick on the ground, is cut in squares
of

of nine inches, and these are taken with a shovel and tossed to the man on the wall who builds it; and the wall built, as in Ireland, in layers, each three feet high, that it may dry before they advance. The thickness about two feet. They make them project about an inch, which they cut off layer by layer perfectly smooth. If they had the English way of white washing, they would look as well as our lath and plaster, and are much more durable. In good houses the doors and windows are in stone work.—20 miles.

The 30th. A fine sea view of the Isles of *Chaufée*, at five leagues distant; and afterwards *Jersey*, clear at about forty miles, with that of the town of *Grandval* on a high peninsula: entering the town, every idea of beauty is lost; a close, nasty, ugly, ill built hole: market day, and myriads of triflers, common at a French market. The bay of *Cancalle*, all along to the right, and *St. Michael's* rock rising out of the sea, conically, with a castle on the top, a most singular and picturesque object.—30 miles.

The 31st. At *Pont Orsin*, enter *Bretagne*; there seems here a more minute division of farms than before. There is a long street in the episcopal town of *Doll*, without a glass window; a horrid appearance. My entry into *Bretagne* gives me an idea of its being a miserable province.—22 miles.

SEPTEMBER 1st. To *Combours*, the country has a savage aspect; husbandry not much further advanced, at least in skill, than among the *Hurons*, which appears incredible amidst inclosures; the people almost as wild as their country, and their town of *Combours* one of the most brutal filthy places that can be seen; mud houses, no windows, and a pavement so broken, as to impede all passengers, but ease none—yet here is a chateau, and inhabited; who is this *Monf. de Chateaubriant*, the owner, that has nerves strung for a residence amidst such filth and poverty? Below this hideous heap of wretchedness is a fine lake, surrounded by well wooded inclosures. Coming out of *Hedé*, there is a beautiful lake belonging to *Monf. de Blaffac*, intendant of *Poitiers*, with a fine accompaniment of wood. A very little cleaning would make here a delicious scenery. There is a chateau, with four rows of trees, and nothing else to be seen from the windows in the true French stile. Forbid it, taste, that this should be the house of the owner of that beautiful water; and yet this *Monf. de Blaffac* has made at *Poitiers* the finest promenade in France! But that taste which draws a strait line, and that which traces a waving one, are founded on feelings and ideas as separate and distinct as painting and music—as poetry or sculpture. The lake abounds with fish, pike to 36lb. carp to 24lb. perch 4lb. and tench 5lb. To *Rennes* the same strange wild mixture of desert and cultivation, half savage, half human.—31 miles.

The 2d. *Rennes* is well built, and it has two good squares; that particularly of *Louis XV.* where is his statue. The parliament being in exile, the house

is not to be seen. The Benedictines garden, called the *Tabour*, is worth viewing. But the object at Rennes most remarkable at present is a camp, with a marshal of France (de Stainville), and four regiments of infantry, and two of dragoons, close to the gates. The discontents of the people have been double, first on account of the high price of bread, and secondly for the banishment of the parliament. The former cause is natural enough, but why the people should love their parliament was what I could not understand, since the members, as well as of the states, are all noble, and the distinction between the *noblesse* and *roturiers* no where stronger, more offensive, or more abominable than in Bretagne. They assured me, however, that the populace have been blown up to violence by every art of deception, and even by money distributed for that purpose. The commotions rose to such a height before the camp was established, that the troops here were utterly unable to keep the peace. Mons. Argentaife, to whom I had brought letters, had the goodness, during the four days I was here, to shew and explain every thing to be seen. I find Rennes very cheap; and it appears the more so to me just come from Normandy, where every thing is extravagantly dear. The table d'hôte, at the *grand maison*, is well served; they give two courses, containing plenty of good things, and a very ample regular dessert: the supper one good course, with a large joint of mutton, and another good dessert; each meal, with the common wine, 40*s.* and for 20 more you have very good wine, instead of the ordinary sort; 30*s.* for the horse: thus, with good wine, it is no more than 6 liv. 10*s.* a day, or 5*s.* 10*d.* Yet a camp which they complain has raised prices enormously.

The 5th. To Montauban. The poor people seem poor indeed; the children terribly ragged, if possible worse clad than if with no cloaths at all; as to shoes and stockings they are luxuries. A beautiful girl of six or seven years playing with a stick, and smiling under such a bundle of rags as made my heart ache to see her: they did not beg, and when I gave them any thing seemed more surprized than obliged. One third of what I have seen of this province seems uncultivated, and nearly all of it in misery. What have kings, and ministers, and parliaments, and states, to answer for their prejudices, seeing millions of hands that would be industrious, idle and starving, through the execrable maxims of despotism, or the equally detestable prejudices of a feudal nobility. Sleep at the *lion d'or*, at Montauban, an abominable hole.—20 miles.

The 6th. The same inclosed country to Brooms; but near that town improves to the eye, from being more hilly. At the little town of Lamballe, there are above fifty families of noblesse that live in winter, who reside on their estates in the summer. There is probably as much foppery and nonsense in their circles, and for what I know as much happiness, as in those of Paris. Both would be better employed in cultivating their lands, and rendering the poor industrious.

—30 miles.

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The 7th. Leaving Lamballe, the country immediately changes. The marquis d'Urvoy, who I met at Rennes, and has a good estate at St. Brioux, gave me a letter for his agent, who answered my questions.—12½ miles.

The 8th. To Guingamp, a *sombre* inclosed country. Pass Chateaulandrin, and enter Bas Bretagne. One recognizes at once another people, meeting numbers who have not more French than *Je ne sai pas ce que vous dites*, or *Je n'entend rien*. Enter Guingamp by gateways, towers, and battlements, apparently of the oldest military architecture; every part denoting antiquity, and in the best preservation. The poor people's habitations are not so good; they are miserable heaps of dirt; no glass, and scarcely any light; but they have earth chimnies. I was in my first sleep at Belleisle, when the aubergiste came to my bedside, undrew a curtain, that I expected to cover me with spiders, to tell me that I had *une jument Anglois superbe*, and that a signeur wished to buy it of me: I gave him half a dozen flowers of French eloquence for his impertinence, when he thought proper to leave me and his spiders at peace. There was a great *chasse* assembled. These Bas Bretagne signeurs are capital hunters, it seems, that fix on a blind mare for an object of admiration. *A-propos* to the breeds of horses in France; this mare cost me twenty-three guineas when horses were dear in England, and had been sold for sixteen when they were rather cheaper; her figure may therefore be guessed; yet she was much admired, and often in this journey; and as to Bretagne, she rarely met a rival. That province, and it is the same in parts of Normandy, is infested in every stable with a pack of garran poney stallions, sufficient to perpetuate the miserable breed that is every where seen. This villainous hole, that calls itself the *grand maison*, is the best inn at a post town on the great road to Brest, at which marshals of France, dukes, peers, countesses, and so forth, must now and then, by the accidents to which long journies are subject to, have found themselves. What are we to think of a country that has made, in the eighteenth century, no better provision for its travellers!—30 miles.

The 9th. Morlaix is the most singular port I have seen. It has but one feature, a vale just wide enough for a fine canal with two quays, and two rows of houses; behind them the mountain rises steep, and woody on one side; on the other gardens, rocks, and wood; the effect romantic and beautiful. Trade now very dull, but flourished much in the war.—20 miles.

The 10th. Fair day at Landervifier, which gave me an opportunity of seeing numbers of Bas Bretons collected, as well as their cattle. The men dress in great trowsers like breeches, many with naked legs, and most with wooden shoes, strong marked features like the Welch, with countenances a mixture of half energy half laziness; their persons stout, broad, and square. The women furrowed without age by labour, to the utter extinction of all softness of sex. The

eye

eye discovers them at first glance to be a people absolutely distinct from the French. Wonderful that they should be found so, with distinct language, manners, dress, &c. after having been settled here 1300 years.—35 miles.

The 11th. I had respectable letters, and to respectable people at Brest, in order to see the dock-yard, but they were vain; *Monf. le Chevalier de Tredairne* particularly applied for me earnestly to the commandant, but the order, contrary to its being shewn either to Frenchmen or foreigners, was too strict to be relaxed without an express direction from the minister of the marine, given very rarely, and to which, when it does come, they give but an unwilling obedience. *Monf. Tredairne*, however, informed me, that lord Pembroke saw it not long since by means of such an order: and he remarked himself, knowing that I could not fail doing the same, that it was strange to shew the port to an English general and governor of Portsmouth, yet deny it to a farmer. He however assured me, that the duke of Chartres went away but the other day without being permitted to see it. *Gretry's* music at the theatre, which, though not large, is neat and even elegant, was not calculated to put me in good humour; it was *Panurge*.—Brest is a well built town, with many regular and handsome streets, and the quay where many men of war are laid up, and other shipping has much of that life and motion which animates a sea-port.

The 12th. Return to Landernau, where, at the *duc de Chartre*, which is the best and cleanest inn in the bishopric, as I was going to dinner, the landlord told me, there was a *Monsieur un homme comme il faut*, and the dinner would be better if we united; *de tout mon cœur*. He proved a Bas Breton noble, with his sword and a little miserable but nimble nag. This *signeur* was ignorant that the duke de Chartres, the other day at Brest, was not the duke that was in *Monf. d'Orvillier's* fleet. Take the road to Nantes.—25 miles.

The 13th. The country to Chateaulin more mountainous; one-third waste. All this region far inferior to Leon and Tragger; no exertions, nor any marks of intelligence, yet all near to the great navigation and market of Brest water, and the soil good. Quimper, though a bishopric, has nothing worth seeing but its promenades which are among the finest in France.—25 miles.

The 14th. Leaving Quimper, there seem to be more cultivated features; but this only for a moment; wastes—wastes—wastes.—Reach Quimperlay.—27 miles.

The 15th. The same *sombre* country to l'Orient, but with a mixture of cultivation and much wood.—I found l'Orient so full of fools, gaping to see a man of war launched, that I could get no bed for myself, nor stable for my horse at the *epee royale*. At the *cheval blanc*, a poor hole, I got my horse crammed among twenty others, like herrings in a barrel, but could have no bed. The duke de Brissac, with a suite of officers, had no better success. If the governor of Paris could not, without trouble, get a bed at l'Orient, no wonder Arthur Young

Young found obstacles. I went directly to deliver my letters, found *Monf. Befné*, a merchant, at home; he received me with a frank civility better than a million of compliments; and the moment he understood my situation, offered me a bed in his house, which I accepted. The *Tourville*, of 84 guns, was to be launched at three o'clock, but put off till the next day, much to the joy of the *aubergistes*, &c. who were well pleased to see such a swarm of strangers kept another day. I wished the ship in their throats, for I thought only of my poor mare being squeezed a night amongst the *Bretagne* garrans; sixpence, however, to the garçon, had effects marvelously to her ease. The town is modern, and regularly built, the streets diverge in rays from the gate, and are crossed by others at right angles, broad, handsomely built, and well paved; with many houses that make a good figure. But what makes *l'Orient* more known is being the appropriated port for the commerce of India, containing all the shipping and magazines of the company. The latter are truly great, and speak the royal munificence from which they arose. They are of several stories, and all vaulted in stone, in a splendid style, and of vast extent. But they want, at least at present, like so many other magnificent establishments in France, the vigour and vivacity of an active commerce. The business transacting here seems trifling. Three 84 gun ships, the *Tourville*, *l'Eole*, and *Jean Bart*, with a 32 gun frigate, are upon the stocks. They assured me, that the *Tourville* has been only nine months building: the scene is alive, and fifteen large men of war being laid up here in ordinary, with some *Indiamen*, and a few traders, render the port a pleasing spectacle. There is a beautiful round tower, 100 feet high, of white stone, with a railed gallery at top; the proportions light and agreeable; it is for looking out and making signals. My hospitable merchant, I find a plain unaffected character, with some whimsical originalities, that make him more interesting; he has an agreeable daughter, who entertains me with singing to her harp. The next morning the *Tourville* quitted her stocks, to the music of the regiments, and the shouts of thousands collected to see it. Leave *l'Orient*. Arrive at *Hennebon*.—7½ miles.

The 17th. To *Auray*, the eighteen poorest miles I have yet seen in *Bretagne*. Good houses of stone and slate, without glass. *Auray* has a little port, and some sloops, which always give an air of life to a town. To *Vannes*, the country various, but *landes* the more permanent feature. *Vannes* is not an inconsiderable town, but its greatest beauty is its port and promenade.

The 18th. To *Musiliac*. *Belleisle* with the smaller ones, *d'Hedic* and *d'Honat*, are in sight. *Musiliac*, if it can boast of nothing else, may at least vaunt its cheapness. I had for dinner two good flat fish, a dish of oysters, soup, a fine duck roasted; with an ample dessert of grapes, pears, walnuts, biscuits, liqueur, and a pint of good *Bourdeaux* wine: my mare, besides hay, had three-fourths

fourths of a peck of corn, and the whole 5*l.* 2*s.* to the fille and two to the garçon, in all 2*s.* 6*d.* Pass *landes—landes—landes—*to la Roche Bernard. The view of the river Villaine, is beautiful from the boldness of the shores, there are no insipid flats; the river is two-thirds of the width of the Thames at Westminster, and would be equal to any thing in the world if the shores were woody, but they are the savage wastes of this country.—33 miles.

The 19th. Turned aside to Auvergnac, the seat of the count de la Bourdonaye, to whom I had a letter from the dutchess d'Anville, as a person able to give me every species of intelligence relative to Bretagne, having for five-and-twenty years been first syndac of the noblesse. A fortuitous jumble of rocks and steeps could scarcely form a worse road than these five miles: could I put as much faith in two bits of wood laid over each other, as the good folks of the country do, I should have crossed myself, but my blind friend, with the most incredible sure-footedness, carried me safe over such places, that if I had not been in the every day habit of the saddle, I should have shuddered at, though guided by eyes keen as Eclipse's; for I suppose a fine racer, on whose velocity so many fools have been ready to lose their money, must have good eyes, as well as good legs. Such a road, leading to several villages, and one of the first noblemen of the province, shews what the state of society must be;—no communication—no neighbourhood—no temptation to the expences which flow from society; a mere seclusion to save money in order to spend it in towns. The count received me with great politeness; I explained to him my plan and motives for travelling in France, which he was pleased very warmly to approve, expressing his surprise that I should attempt so large an undertaking, as such a survey of France, unsupported by my government; I told him he knew very little of our government, if he supposed they would give a shilling to any agricultural project or projector; that whether the minister was whig or tory made no difference, the party of THE PLOUGH never yet had one on its side; and that England has had many Colberts but not one Sully. This led to much interesting conversation on the balance of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and on the means of encouraging them; and, in reply to his enquiries, I made him understand their relations in England, and how our husbandry flourished, in spite of the teeth of our ministers, merely by the protection which civil liberty gives to property: and consequently that it was in a poor situation, comparatively with what it would have been in had it received the same attention as manufactures and commerce. I told M. de la Bourdonaye that his province of Bretagne seemed to me to have nothing in it but privileges and poverty, he smiled, and gave me some explanations that are important; but no nobleman can ever probe this evil as it ought to be done, resulting as it does from the privileges going to themselves, and the poverty to the people. He shewed me his plantations, which are very fine and well thriven,
and

and shelter him thoroughly on every side, even from the S. W. so near to the sea; from his walks we see Belleisle and its neighbours, and a little isle or rock belonging to him, which he says the King of England took from him after Sir Edward Hawke's victory, but that his majesty was kind enough to leave him his island after one night's possession.—20 miles.

The 20th. Take my leave of Monsieur and Madame de la Bourdonaye, to whose politeness as well as friendly attentions I am much obliged. Towards Nazaire there is a fine view of the mouth of the Loire, from the rising grounds, but the headlands that form the embouchure are low, which takes off from that greatness of the effect which highlands give to the mouth of the Shannon. The swelling bosom of the Atlantic bounds to the right. Savanal poverty itself.—33 miles.

The 21st. Come to an improvement in the midst of these deserts, four good houses of stone and slate, and a few acres run to wretched grass, which have been tilled, but all savage, and become almost as rough as the rest. I was afterwards informed that this improvement, as it is called, was wrought by Englishmen, at the expence of a gentleman they ruined as well as themselves.—I demanded how it had been done? Pare and burn, and sow wheat, then rye, and then oats. Thus it is for ever and ever! the same follies, the same blundering, the same ignorance; and then all the fools in the country said, as they do now, that these wastes are good for nothing. To my amazement find the incredible circumstance, that they reach within three miles of the great commercial city of Nantes! This is a problem and a lesson to work at, but not at present. Arrive—go to the theatre, new built of fine white stone, and has a magnificent portico front of eight elegant Corinthian pillars, and four others within, to part the portico from a grand vestibule. Within all is gold and painting, and *a coup d'œil* at entering, that struck me forcibly. It is, I believe, twice as large as Drury-Lane, and five times as magnificent. It was Sunday, and therefore full. *Mon Dieu!* cried I to myself, do all the wastes, the deserts, the heath, ling, furz, broom, and bog, that I have passed for 300 miles lead to this spectacle? What a miracle, that all this splendour and wealth of the cities in France should be so unconnected with the country! There are no gentle transitions from ease to comfort, from comfort to wealth: you pass at once from beggary to profusion, —from misery in mud cabins to Mademoiselle St. Huberti, in splendid spectacles at 500 liv. a night, (21l. 17s. 6d.) The country deserted, or if a gentleman in it, you find him in some wretched hole, to save that money which is lavished with profusion in the luxuries of a capital.—20 miles.

The 22d. Deliver my letters. As much as agriculture is the chief object of my journey, it is necessary to acquire such intelligence of the state of commerce, as can be best done from merchants, for abundance of useful information is to

be gained, without putting any questions that a man would be cautious of answering, and even without putting any questions at all. *Monf. Riédy* was very polite, and satisfied many of my enquiries; I dined once with him, and was pleased to find the conversation take an important turn on the relative situations of France and England in trade, particularly in the West Indies. I had a letter also to *Monf. Epivent*, *confilier* in the parliament of Rennes, whose brother, *Monf. Epivent de la Villeboisnet*, is a very considerable merchant here. It was not possible for any person to be more obliging than these two gentlemen; their attentions to me were marked and friendly, and rendered a few days residence here equally instructive and agreeable. The town has that sign of prosperity of new buildings, which never deceives. The quarter of the *comédie* is magnificent, all the streets at right angles and of white stone. I am in doubt whether the *hotel de Henri IV.* is not the finest inn in Europe: *Desséin's* at Calais is larger, but neither built, fitted up, nor furnished like this, which is new. It cost 400,000 liv. (17,500l.) furnished, and is let at 14,000 liv. per ann. (612l. 10s.) with no rent for the first year. It contains 60 beds for masters, and 25 stalls for horses. Some of the apartments of two rooms, very neat, are 6 liv. a day; one good 3 liv. but for merchants 5 liv. per diem for dinner, supper, wine, and chamber, and 35*s.* for his horse. It is, without comparison, the first inn I have seen in France, and very cheap. It is in a small square close to the theatre, as convenient for pleasure or trade as the votaries of either can wish. The theatre cost 450,000 liv. and lets to the comedians at 17,000 liv. a year; it holds, when full, 120 louis d'or. The land the inn stands on was bought at 9 liv. a foot: in some parts of the city it sells as high as 15 liv. This value of the ground induces them to build so high as to be destructive of beauty. The quay has nothing remarkable; the river is choaked with islands, but at the furthest part next to the sea is a large range of houses regularly fronted. An institution common in the great commercial towns of France, but particularly flourishing in Nantes, is a *chamber de lecture*, or what we should call a book-club, that does not divide its books, but forms a library. There are three rooms, one for reading, another for conversation, and the third is the library; good fires in winter are provided, and wax candles. *Messrs. Epivent* had the goodness to attend me in a water expedition, to view the establishment of *Mr. Wilkinson*, for boring cannon, in an island in the Loire below Nantes. Until that well known English manufacturer arrived, the French knew nothing of the art of casting cannon solid, and then boring them. *Mr. Wilkinson's* machinery, for boring four cannons, is now at work, moved by tide wheels; but they have erected a steam engine, with a new apparatus for boring seven more; *M. de la Motte*, who has the direction of the whole, shewed us also a model of this engine, about six feet long, five high, and four or five broad; which he worked for

for us, by making a small fire under the boiler that is not bigger than a large tea-kettle; one of the best machines for a travelling philosopher that I have seen. Nantes is as *enflammé* in the cause of liberty, as any town in France can be; the conversations I witnessed here, prove how great a change is effected in the minds of the French, nor do I believe it will be possible for the present government to last half a century longer, unless the clearest and most decided talents are at the helm. The American revolution has laid the foundation of another in France, if government does not take care of itself *. The 23d one of the twelve prisoners from the Bastille arrived here—he was the most violent of them all—and his imprisonment has been far enough from silencing him.

The 25th. It was not without regret that I quitted a society both intelligent and agreeable, nor should I feel comfortably if I did not hope to see Messrs. Epivents again; I have little chance of being at Nantes, but if they come a second time to England, I have a promise of seeing them at Bradfield. The younger of these gentlemen spent a fortnight with Lord Shelburne at Bowood, which he remembers with much pleasure; Colonel Barré and Dr. Priestley were there at the same time. To Aucenis is all inclosed: for seven miles many seats.—22½ miles.

The 26th. To the scene of the vintage. I had not before been witness to so much advantage as here; last autumn the heavy rains made it a melancholy business. At present, all is life and activity. The country all thickly and well inclosed. Glorious view of the Loire from a village, the last of Bretagne, where is a great barrier across the road and custom-houses, to search every thing coming from thence. The Loire here takes the appearance of a lake large enough to be interesting. There is on both sides an accompaniment of wood, which is not universal on this river. The addition of towns, steeples, windmills, and a great range of lovely country, covered with vines; the character gay as well as noble. Enter Anjou, with a great range of meadows. Pass St. George, and take the road to Angers. For ten miles quit the Loire and meet it again at Angers. Letters from Mons. de Brouffonet; but he is unable to inform me in what part of Anjou was the residence of the marquis de Tourbilly; to find out that nobleman's farm, where he made those admirable improvements, which he describes in the *Memoire sur les defrichemens*, was such an object to me, that I was determined to go to the place, let the distance out of my way be what it might.—30 miles.

The 27th. Among my letters, one to Mons. de la Livoniere, perpetual secretary of the Society of Agriculture here. I found he was at his country-seat, two leagues off at Mignianne. On my arrival at his seat, he was sitting down

* It wanted no great spirit of prophecy to foretel this; but latter events have shewn that I was very wide of the mark when I talked of fifty years.

to dinner with his family; not being past twelve, I thought to have escaped this awkwardness; but both himself and Madame prevented all embarrassment by very unaffectedly desiring me to partake with them, and making not the least derangement either in table or looks, placed me at once at my ease, to an indifferent dinner, garnished with so much ease and cheerfulness that I found it a repast more to my taste than the most splendid tables could afford. An English family in the country, similar in situation, taken unawares in the same way, would receive you with an unquiet hospitality, and an anxious politeness; and after waiting for a hurry-scurry derangement of cloth, table, plates, sideboard, pot and spit, would give you perhaps so good a dinner, that none of the family, between anxiety and fatigue, could supply one word of conversation, and you would depart under cordial wishes that you might never return. This folly, so common in England, is never met with in France: the French are quiet in their houses, and do things without effort.—Mons. Livoniere conversed with me much on the plan of my travels, which he commended greatly, but thought it very extraordinary that neither government, nor the Academy of Sciences, nor the Academy of Agriculture, should at least be at the expence of my journey. This idea is purely French; they have no notion of private people going out of their way for the public good, without being paid by the public; nor could he well comprehend me, when I told him that every thing is well done in England, except what is done with public money. I was greatly concerned to find that he could give me no intelligence concerning the residence of the late marquis de Tourbilly, as it would be a provoking circumstance to pass all through the province without finding his house, and afterward hear perhaps that I had been ignorantly within a few miles of it. In the evening returned to Angers.—20 miles.

The 28th. To La Flèche. The chateau of Duretal, belonging to the dutechs d'Estillac, is boldly situated above the little town of that name, and on the banks of a beautiful river, the slopes to which that hang to the south are covered with vines. The country cheerful, dry, and pleasant for residence. I enquired here of several gentlemen for the residence of the marquis de Tourbilly, but all in vain. The 30 miles to La Flèche the road is a noble one; of gravel, smooth, and kept in admirable order. La Flèche is a neat, clean, little town, not ill built, on the river that flows to Duretal, which is navigable; but the trade is inconsiderable. My first business here, as every where else in Anjou, was to enquire for the residence of the marquis de Tourbilly. I repeated my enquiries till I found that there was a place not far from La Flèche, called Tourbilly, but not what I wanted, as there was no Mons. de Tourbilly there, but a marquis de Galway, who inherited Tourbilly from his father. This perplexed me more and more; and I renewed my enquiries with so much eagerness, that several people, I believe, thought me half mad. At last I met with an

an ancient lady who solved my difficulty; she informed me, that Tourbilly, about twelve miles from La Fleche, was the place I was in search of: that it belonged to the marquis of that name, who had written some books she believed; that he died twenty years ago insolvent; that the father of the present marquis de Galway bought the estate. This was sufficient for my purpose; I determined to take a guide the next morning, and, as I could not visit the marquis, at least see the remains of his improvements. The news, however, that he died insolvent, hurt me very much; it was a bad commentary on his book, and forefaw, that whoever I should find at Tourbilly, would be full of ridicule, on a husbandry that proved the loss of the estate on which it was practised.—
30 miles.

The 29th. This morning I executed my project; my guide was a countryman with a good pair of legs, who conducted me across a range of such ling wastes as the marquis speaks of in his memoir. They appear boundless here; and I was told that I could travel many—many days, and see nothing else: what fields of improvement to make, not to lose estates! At last we arrived at Tourbilly, a poor village, of a few scattered houses, in a vale between two rising grounds, which are yet heath and waste; the chateau in the midst, with plantations of fine poplars leading to it. I cannot easily express the anxious inquisitive curiosity I felt to examine every scrap of the estate; no hedge or tree, no bush but what was interesting to me; I had read the translation of the marquis's history of his improvements in Mr. Mills' husbandry, and thought it the most interesting morsel I had met with, long before I procured the original *Memoire sur les defrichemens*; and determined that if ever I should go to France to view improvements the recital of which had given me such pleasure. I had neither letter nor introduction to the present owner, the marquis de Galway. I therefore stated to him the plain fact, that I had read *Monf. de Tourbilly's* book with so much pleasure, that I wished much to view the improvements described in it; he answered me directly in good English, received me with such cordiality of politeness, and such expressions of regard for the purport of my travels, that he put me perfectly in humour with myself, and consequently with all around me. He ordered breakfast *a l'Angloise*; gave orders for a man to attend us in our walk, who I desired might be the oldest labourer to be found of the late marquis de Tourbilly's. I was pleased to hear that one was alive who had worked with him from the beginning of his improvement. At breakfast *Monf. de Galway* introduced me to his brother, who also spoke English, and regretted that he could not do the same to *Madame de Galway*, who was in the straw: he then gave me an account of his father's acquiring the estate and chateau of Tourbilly. His great-grand-father came to Bretagne with King James II. when he fled from the English throne; some of the same family are still living in the county
of

of Cork, particularly at Lotta. His father was famous in that province for his skill in agriculture; and, as a reward for an improvement he had wrought on the *landes*, the states of the province gave him a waste tract in the island of Belleisle, which at present belongs to his son. Hearing that the marquis de Tourbilly was totally ruined, and his estates in Anjou to be sold by the creditors, he viewed them, and finding the land very improveable, made the purchase, giving about 15,000 louis d'ors for Tourbilly, a price which made the acquisition highly advantageous, notwithstanding his having bought some law-suits with the estate. It is about 3000 arpents, nearly contiguous, the seigneurie of two parishes, with the *haute justice*, &c. a handsome, large, and convenient chateau, offices very compleat, and many plantations, the work of the celebrated man concerning whom my enquiries were directed. I was almost breathless on the question of so great an improver being ruined! "You are unhappy that a man should be ruined by an art you love so much." Precisely so. But he eased me in a moment, by adding, that if the marquis had done nothing but farm and improve, he had never been ruined. One day, as he was boring to find marl, his ill stars discovered a vein of earth, perfectly white, which on trial did not effervesce with acids. It struck him as an acquisition for porcelain—he shewed it to a manufacturer—it was pronounced excellent: the marquis's imagination took fire, and he thought of converting the poor village of Tourbilly into a town, by a fabric of china—he went to work on his own account—raised buildings—and got together all that was necessary, except skill and capital.—In fine, he made good porcelain, was cheated by his agents, and people, and at last ruined. A soap manufactory, which he established also, as well as some law-suits relative to other estates, had their share in causing his misfortunes: his creditors seized the estate, but permitted him to administer it till his death, when it was sold. The only part of the tale that lessened my regret was, that, though married, he left no family; so that his ashes will sleep in peace, without his memory being reviled by an indigent posterity. His ancestors acquired the estate by marriage in the fourteenth century. His agricultural improvements, Monsr. Galway observed, certainly did not hurt him; they were not well done, nor well supported by himself, but they rendered the estate more valuable; and he never heard that they had brought him into any difficulties. I cannot but observe here, that there seems a fatality to attend country gentlemen whenever they attempt trade or manufacture. In England I never knew a man of landed property, with the education and habits of landed property, attempt either, but they were infallibly ruined; or if not ruined, considerably hurt by them. Whether it is that the ideas and principles of trade have something in them repugnant to the sentiments which *ought* to flow from education—or whether the habitual inattention of country gentlemen

to

to small gains and savings, which are the soul of trade, renders their success impossible; to whatever it may be owing, the fact is such, not one in a million succeeds. Agriculture, in the improvement of their estates, is the only proper and legitimate sphere of their industry; and though ignorance renders this sometimes dangerous, yet they can with safety attempt no other. The old labourer, whose name is Piron (as propitious I hope to farming as to wit), being arrived, we sallied forth to tread what to me was a sort of classic ground. I shall dwell but little on the particulars: they make a much better figure in the *Memoire sur les defrichemens* than at Tourbilly; the meadows, even near the chateau, are yet very rough; the general features are rough: but the alleys of poplars, of which he speaks in the memoirs, are nobly grown indeed, and do credit to his memory; they are 60 or 70 feet high, and girt a foot: the willows are equal. Why were they not oak? to have transmitted to the farming travellers of another century the pleasure I feel in viewing the more perishable poplars of the present time; the causeways near the castle must have been arduous works. The mulberries are in a state of neglect; Mons Galway's father not being fond of that culture, destroyed many, but some hundreds remain, and I was told that the poor people had made as far as 25lb. of silk, but none attempted at present. The meadows had been drained and improved near the chateau to the amount of 50 or 60 arpents, they are now rushy, but valuable in such a country. Near them is a wood of Bourdeaux pines, sown 35 years ago, and are now worth five or six liv. each. I walked into the boggy bit that produced the great cabbages he mentioned, it joins a large and most improveable bottom. Piron informed me that the marquis pared and burnt about 100 arpents in all, and he folded 250 sheep. On our return to the chateau, Mons. de Galway, finding what an enthusiast I was in agriculture, searched among his papers to find a manuscript of the marquis de Tourbilly's, written with his own hand, which he had the goodness to make me a present of, and which I shall keep amongst my curiosities in agriculture. The polite reception I had met from Mons. Galway, and the friendly attention he had given to my views, entering into the spirit of my pursuits, and wishing to promote it, would have induced me very cheerfully to have accepted his invitation of remaining some days with him; had I not been apprehensive that the moment of Madame Galway's being in bed, would render such an unlooked for visit inconvenient. I took my leave therefore in the evening, and returned to La Flèche by a different road.—25 miles.

The 30th. A quantity of moors to Le Mans, they assured me at Guercy, that they are here 60 leagues in circumference, with no great interruptions. At Le Mans I was unlucky in Mons. Tournai, secretary to the Society of Agriculture, being absent.—28 miles.

OCTOBER 1. Towards Alençon, the country a contrast to what I passed yesterday; good land, well inclosed, well built, and tolerably cultivated, with marling.

marling. A noble road of dark coloured stone, apparently ferruginous, that binds well. Near Beaumont vineyards in sight on the hills, and these are the last in thus travelling northwards; the whole country finely watered by rivers and streams, yet no irrigation.—30 miles.

The 2d. Four miles to Nouant, of rich herbage, under bullocks.—28 miles.

The 3d. From Gacé towards Bernay. Pass the marishal duc de Broglio's chateau at Broglio, which is surrounded by such a multiplicity of clipped hedges, double, treble, and quadruple, that he must half maintain the poor of the little town in clipping.—25 miles.

The 4th. Leave Bernay; where, and at other places in this country, are many mud walls, made of rich red loam, thatched at top, and well planted with fruit-trees: a hint very well worth taking for copying in England, where brick and stone are dear. Come to one of the richest countries in France, or indeed in Europe. There are few finer views than the first of Elbeuf, from the eminence above it, which is high; the town at your feet in the bottom; on one side the Seine presents a noble reach, broken by wooded islands, and an immense amphitheatre of hill, covered with a prodigious wood, surrounding the whole.

The 5th. To Rouen, where I found the *hotel royal*, a contrast to that dirty, impertinent, cheating hole the *pomme de pin*. In the evening to the theatre, which is not so large I think as that of Nantes, but not comparable in elegance or decoration; it is *sombre* and dirty. Gretry's *Caravanne de Caire*, the music of which, though too much chorus and noise, has some tender and pleasing passages. I like it better than any other piece I have heard of that celebrated composer. The next morning waited on Mons. Scanegatty, *professeur de physique dans la Société Royale d'Agriculture*; he received me with politeness. He has a considerable room furnished with mathematical and philosophical instruments and models. He explained some of the latter to me that are of his own invention, particularly one of a furnace for calcining gypsum, which is brought here in large quantities from Montmartre. Waited on Messrs. Midy, Roffec and Co. the most considerable wool merchants in France, who were so kind as to shew me a great variety of wools, from most of the European countries, and permitted me to take specimens. The next morning I went to Darnetal, where Mons. Curmer, shewed me his manufacture. Return to Rouen, and dined with Mons. Portier, *directeur general des fermes*, to whom I had brought a letter from the duc de la Rochefoucauld. The conversation turned, among other subjects, on the want of new streets at Rouen, on comparison with Havre, Nantes, and Bourdeaux; at the latter places it was remarked, that a merchant makes a fortune in ten or fifteen years, and builds away; but at Rouen, it is a commerce of œconomy, in which a man is long doing it, and therefore unable with prudence to make the same exertions. Every person at table agreed in another point which was discussed, that the wine provinces are the poorest in all France: I urged the
produce

produce being greater per arpent by far than of other lands ; they adhered to the fact as one generally known and admitted. In the evening at the theatre, Madame du Fresne entertained me greatly ; she is an excellent actress, never overdoes her parts, and makes one feel by feeling herself. The more I see of the French theatre, the more I am forced to acknowledge the superiority to our own, in the number of good performers, and in the paucity of bad ones ; and in the quantity of dancers, singers, and persons on whom the business of the theatre depends, all established on a great scale. I remark, in the sentiments that are applauded, the same generous feelings in the audience in France, that have many times in England put me in good humour with my countrymen. We are too apt to hate the French, for myself I see many reasons to be pleased with them ; attributing faults very much to their government ; perhaps in our own, our roughness and want of good temper are to be traced to the same origin.

The 8th. My plan had for some time been to go directly to England, on leaving Rouen, for the post-offices had been cruelly uncertain. I had received no letters for some time from my family, though I had written repeatedly to urge it ; they passed to a person at Paris who was to forward them ; but some carelessness, or other cause, impeded all, at a time that others directed to the towns I passed, came regularly ; I had fears that some of my family were ill, and that they would not write bad news to me in a situation where knowing the worst could have no influence in changing it for better. But the desire I had to accept the invitation to La Roche Guyon, of the dutchess d'Anville's and the duc de la Rochefoucauld, prolonged my journey, and I set forward on this further excursion. A truly noble view from the road above Rouen ; the city at one end of the vale, with the river flowing to it perfectly checkered with isles of wood. The other divides into two great channels, between which the vale is all spread with islands, some arable, some meadow, and much wood on all. Pass Pont l'Arch to Louviers. I had letters for the celebrated manufacturer Mons. Decretot, who received me with a kindness that ought to have some better epithet than polite ; he shewed me his fabric, unquestionably the first woollen one in the world, if success, beauty of fabric, and an inexhaustible invention to supply with taste all the cravings of fancy, can give the merit of such superiority. Perfection goes no further than the Vigonia cloths of Mons. Decretot, at 110 liv. (4l. 16s. 3d.) the aulne. He shewed me also his cotton-mills, under the direction of two Englishmen. Near Louviers is a manufacture of copperplates for the bottoms of the King's ships ; a colony of Englishmen. I supped with Mons. Decretot, passing a very pleasant evening in the company of some agreeable ladies.—
17 miles.

The 9th. By Guillon to Vernon ; the vale flat rich arable. Among the notes, I had long ago taken of objects to see in France, was the plantation of mulberries,

mulberries, and the silk establishment of the marechal de Belleisle, at Bissy, near Vernon; the attempts repeatedly made by the society for the encouragement of arts, at London, to introduce silk into England, had made the similar undertakings in the north of France more interesting. I accordingly made all the enquiries that were necessary for discovering the success of this meritorious attempt. Bissy is a fine place, purchased on the death of the duc de Belleisle by the duc de Penthièvre, who has but one amusement, which is that of varying his residence at the numerous seats he possesses in many parts of the kingdom. There is something rational in this taste; I should like myself to have a score of farms from the vale of Valencia to the Highlands of Scotland, and to visit and direct their cultivation by turns. From Vernon, cross the Seine, and mount the chalk hills again; after which mount again, and to La Roche Guyon, the most singular place I have seen. Madame d'Anville and the duc de la Rochefoucauld received me in a manner that would have made me pleased with the place had it been in the midst of a bog. It gave me pleasure to find also the dutchess de la Rochefoucauld here, with whom I had passed so much agreeable time at Bagnere de Luchon, a thoroughly good woman, with that simplicity of character which is banished by pride of family or foppery of rank. The Abbé Rochon, the celebrated astronomer, of the academy of sciences, with some other company, which, with the domestics and trappings of a grand seigneur, gave La Roche Guyon exactly the resemblance of the residence of a great lord in England. Europe is now so much assimilated, that if one goes to a house where the fortune is 15 or 20,000l. a-year, we shall find in the mode of living much more resemblance than a young traveller will ever be prepared to look for.—
23 miles.

The 10th. This is one of the most singular places I have been at. The chalk rock has been cut perpendicularly, to make room for the chateau. The kitchen, which is a large one, vast vaults, and extensive cellars (magnificently filled by the way) with various other offices, are all cut out of the rock, with merely fronts of brick; the house is large, containing thirty-eight apartments. The present dutchess has added a handsome saloon of forty-eight feet long, and well proportioned, with four fine tablets of the Gobelin tapestry, also a library well filled. Here I was shewn the ink-stand that belonged to the famous Louvois, the minister of Louis XIV. known to be the identical one from which he signed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and I suppose also the order to Turenne to burn the Palatinate. This marquis de Louvois was grandfather to the two dutchesses d'Anville and d'Estillac, who inherited all his fortune, as well as their own family one of the house of La Rochefoucauld, from which family I conceive, and not from Louvois, they inherited their dispositions. From the principal apartment, there is a balcony that
leads

leads to the walks which serpentine up the mountain. Like all French seats, there is a town, and a great *potager* to remove before it would be consonant with English ideas. Bissy, the duc de Penthièvre's, is just the same; before the chateau there is a gently falling vale with a little stream through it, that might be made any thing of for *lawning and watering*; exactly there, in full front of the house, they have placed a great kitchen-garden, with walls enough for a fortress. The houses of the poor people here, as on the Loire in Touraine, are burrowed into the chalk rock, and have a singular appearance: here are two streets of them, one above another; they are asserted to be wholesome, warm in winter, and cool in summer, but others thought differently; and that they were bad for the health of the inhabitants. The duc de la Rochefoucauld had the kindness to order the steward to give me all the information I wanted relative to the agriculture of the country, and to speak to such persons as were necessary on points that he was in doubt about. At an English nobleman's, there would have been three or four farmers asked to meet me, who would have dined with the family amongst ladies of the first rank. I do not exaggerate, when I say, that I have had this at least an hundred times in the first houses of our islands. It is, however, a thing that in the present state of manners in France, would not be met with from Calais to Bayonne, except by chance in the house of some great lord that had been much in England*, and then not unless it was asked for. The nobility in France have no more idea of practising agriculture, and making it an object of conversation, except on the mere theory, as they would speak of a loom or a bowsprit, than of any other object the most remote from their habits and pursuits. I do not so much blame them for this neglect, as I do that herd of visionary and absurd writers on agriculture, who, from their chambers in cities, have, with an impertinence almost incredible, deluged France with nonsense and theory, enough to disgust and ruin the whole nobility of the kingdom.

The 12th. Part with regret from a society I had every reason to be pleased with.—35 miles.

The 13th. The 20 miles to Rouen, the same features. First view of Rouen sudden and striking; but the road doubling, in order to turn more gently down the hill, presents from an elbow the finest view of a town I have ever seen; the whole city, with all its churches and convents, and its cathedral proudly rising in the midst, fills the vale. The river presents one reach, crossed by the bridge, and then dividing into two fine channels, forms a large island covered with wood; the rest of the vale of verdure and cultivation, of gardens and habitations, finish the scene, in perfect unison with the great city that forms the capital feature. Wait on Mons. d'Ambournay, secretary of the society of agriculture, who was

* I once knew it at the duc de Liancourt's.

absent when I was here before ; we had an interesting conversation on agriculture, and on the means of encouraging it. I found, from this very ingenious gentleman, that his plan of using madder green, which many years ago made so much noise in the agricultural world, is not practised at present any where ; but he continues to think it perfectly practicable. In the evening to the play, where Madame Cretal, from Paris, acted *Nina* ; and it proved the richest treat I have received from the French theatre. She performed it with an inimitable expression, with a tenderness, a *naivetè*, and an elegance withal, that mastered every feeling of the heart, against which the piece was written : her expression is as delicious, as her countenance is beautiful ; in her acting, nothing overcharged, but all kept within the simplicity of nature. The house was crowded, garlands of flowers and laurel were thrown on the stage, and she was crowned by the other actors, but modestly removed them from her head, as often as they were placed there.—20 miles.

The 14th. Take the road to Dieppe. Meadows in the vale well watered, and hay now making. Sleep at Tote.—17½ miles.

The 15th. To Dieppe. I was lucky enough to find the passage-boat ready to sail ; go on board with my faithful sure-footed blind friend. I shall probably never ride her again, but all my feelings prevent my selling her in France.—Without eyes she has carried me in safety above 1500 miles ; and for the rest of her life she shall have no other master than myself ; could I afford it, this should be her last labour : some ploughing, however, on my farm, she will perform for me, I dare say, cheerfully.

Landing at the neat, new-built town of Brighthelmstone, offers a much greater contrast to Dieppe, which is old and dirty, than Dover does to Calais ; and in the castle inn I seemed for a while to be in fairy land ; but I paid for the enchantment. The next day to lord Sheffield's, a house I never go to, but to receive equal pleasure and instruction. I longed to make one for a few days in the evening library circle, but I took it strangely into my head, from one or two expressions, merely accidental, in the conversation, coming after my want of letters to France, that I had certainly lost a child in my absence ; and I hurried to London next morning, where I had the pleasure of finding my alarm a false one ; letters enough had been written, but all failed. To Bradfield.—202 miles.

1789.

MY two preceding journies had crossed the whole western half of France, in various directions; and the information I had received in making them, had made me as much a master of the general husbandry, the soil, management and productions, as could be expected, without penetrating in every corner, and residing long in various stations, a method of surveying such a kingdom as France, that would demand several lives instead of years. The eastern part of the kingdom remained. The great mass of country, formed by the triangle, whose three points are Paris, Strasbourg and Moulins, and the mountainous region S. E. of the last town, presented in the map an ample space, which it would be necessary to pass before I could have such an idea of the kingdom as I had planned the acquisition; I determined to make this third effort, in order to accomplish a design which appeared more and more important, the more I reflected on it; and less likely to be executed by those whose powers are better adapted to the undertaking than mine. The meeting of the States General of France also, who were now assembled, made it the more necessary to lose no time; for in all human probability, that assembly will be the epoch of a new constitution, which will have new effects, and, for what I know, attended with a new agriculture; and to have the regal sun in such a kingdom, both rise and set without the territory being known, must of necessity be regretted by every man solicitous for real political knowledge. The events of a century and half, including the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. will for ever render the sources of the French power interesting to mankind, and particularly that its state may be known previous to the establishment of an improved government, as the comparison of the effects of the old and new system will be not a little curious in future.

JUNE 2. To London. At night, *Il Generosité d'Alessandro*, by Tarchi, in which Signor Marchesi exerted his power, and sung a duet, that made me for some moments forget all the sheep and pigs of Bradfield. I was, however, much better entertained after it, by supping at my friend Dr. Burney's, and meeting Miss Burney; how seldom it is that we can meet two characters at once in whom great celebrity deducts nothing from private amiableness: how many dazzling ones that we have no desire to live with! give me such as to great talents, add the qualities that make us wish to *shut up doors* with them.

The 3d. Nothing buzzing in my ears but the fête given last night by the Spanish ambassador. The best fête of the present period is that which ten millions of people are giving to themselves,

The feast of reason and the flow of soul.

The

The animated feelings of bosoms beating with gratitude for the escape of one common calamity, and the thrilling hope of the continuance of common blessings. Meet the count de Berchtold at Mr. Songa's; a reach of good sense and important views:—Why does not the Emperor call him to his own country, and make him his prime minister? The world will never be well governed till princes know their subjects.

The 4th. To Dover in the machine, with two merchants from Stockholm, a German and a Swede; we shall be companions to Paris. I am more likely to learn something useful from the conversation of a Swede and a German, than from the chance medley Englishmen of a stage-coach.—72 miles.

The 5th. Passage to Calais; 14 hours for reflection in a vehicle that does not allow one power to reflect.—21 miles.

The 6th. A Frenchman and his wife, and a French teacher from Ireland, full of foppery and affectation, which her own nation did not give her, were our company, with a young good-natured raw countryman of hers, at whom she played off many airs and graces. The man and his wife contrived to produce a pack of cards, to banish, they said, *l'ennuye* of the journey; but they contrived also to fleece the young fellow of five louis. This is the first French diligence I have been in, and shall be the last; they are detestable. Sleep at Abbeville.—78 miles.

These men and women, girls and boys, think themselves (except the Swede) very cheerful because very noisy; they have stunned me with singing; my ears have been so tormented with French airs, that I would almost as soon have rode the journey blindfold on an ass. This is what the French call good spirits; no truly cheerful emotion in their bosoms; silent or singing; but for conversation they had none. I lose all patience in such company. Heaven send me a blind mare rather than another diligence! We were all this night, as well as all the day, on the road, and reached Paris at nine in the morning.—102 miles.

The 8th. To my friend Lazowski, to know where were the lodgings I had written him to hire me, but my good dutchess d'Estillac would not allow him to execute my commission. I found an apartment in her hotel prepared for me. Paris is at present in such a ferment about the States General, now holding at Versailles, that conversation is absolutely absorbed by them. Not a word of any thing else talked of. Every thing is considered, and justly so, as important in such a crisis of the fate of four-and-twenty millions of people. It is now a serious contention whether the representatives are to be called the *Commons* or the *Tiers Etat*; they call themselves steadily the former, while the court and the great lords reject the term with a species of apprehension, as if it involved a meaning not easily to be fathomed. But this point is of little consequence, compared with another, that has kept the states for sometime in inactivity, the verification

fication of their power separately or in common. The nobility and the clergy demand the former, but the Commons steadily refuse it; the reason why a circumstance, apparently of no great consequence, is thus tenaciously regarded, is that it may decide their sitting for the future in separate houses or in one. Those who are warm for the interest of the people declare that it will be impossible to reform some of the grossest abuses in the state, if the nobility, by sitting in a separate chamber, shall have a negative on the wishes of the people: and that to give such a *veto* to the clergy would be still more preposterous; if therefore, by the verification of their powers in one chamber, they shall once come together, the popular party hope that there will remain, no power afterwards to separate. The nobility and clergy foresee the same result, and will not therefore agree to it. In this dilemma it is curious to remark the *feelings* of the moment. It is not my business to write memoirs of what passes, but I am intent to catch, as well as I can, the opinions of the day most prevalent. While I remain at Paris, I shall see people of all descriptions, from the coffee-house politicians to the leaders in the states; and the chief object of such rapid notes as I throw on paper, will be to catch the ideas of the moment; to compare them afterwards with the actual events that shall happen, will afford amusement at least. The most prominent feature that appears at present is, that an idea of common interest and common danger does not seem to unite those, who, if not united, may find themselves too weak to oppose the common danger that must arise from the people being sensible of a strength the result of *their* weakness. The king, court, nobility, clergy, army, and parliament, are nearly in the same situation. All these consider, with equal dread, the ideas of liberty, now afloat; except the first, who, for reasons obvious to those who know his character, troubles himself little, even with circumstances that concern his power the most intimately. Among the rest, the feeling of danger is common, and they would unite, were there a head to render it easy, in order to do without the states at all. That the commons themselves look for some such hostile union as more than probable, appears from an idea which gains ground, that they will find it necessary should the other two orders continue to unite with them in one chamber, to declare themselves boldly the representatives of the kingdom at large, calling on the nobility and clergy to take their places—and to enter upon deliberations of business without them, should they refuse it. All conversation at present is on this topic, but opinions are more divided than I should have expected. There seem to be many who hate the clergy so cordially, that rather than permit them to form a distinct chamber would venture on a new system, dangerous as it might prove.

The 9th. The business going forward at present in the pamphlet shops of Paris is incredible. I went to the Palais Royal to see what new things were published, and to procure a catalogue of all. Every hour produces something new.

Thirteen

Thirteen came out to-day, sixteen yesterday, and ninety-two last week. We think sometimes that Debrett's or Stockdale's shops at London are crowded, but they are mere deserts, compared to Dessein's, and some others here, in which one can scarcely squeeze from the door to the counter. The price of printing two years ago was from 27 liv. to 30 liv. per sheet, but now it is from 60 liv. to 80 liv. This spirit of reading political tracts, they say, spreads into the provinces, so that all the presses of France are equally employed. Nineteen-twentieths of these productions are in favour of liberty, and commonly violent against the clergy and nobility; I have to-day bespoken many of this description, that have reputation; but enquiring for such as had appeared on the other side of the question, to my astonishment I find there are but two or three that have merit enough to be known. Is it not wonderful, that while the press teems with the most levelling and even seditious principles, that if put in execution would overturn the monarchy, nothing in reply appears, and not the least step is taken by the court to restrain this extreme licentiousness of publication. It is easy to conceive the spirit that must thus be raised among the people. But the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal present yet more singular and astonishing spectacles; they are not only crowded within, but other expectant crowds are at the doors and windows, listening *a gorge déployé* to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harrangue each his little audience: the eagerness with which they are heard, and the thunder of applause they receive for every sentiment of more than common hardness or violence against the present government, cannot easily be imagined. I am all amazement at the ministry permitting such nests and hotbeds of sedition and revolt, which disseminate amongst the people, every hour, principles that by and by must be opposed with vigour, and therefore it seems little short of madness to allow the propagation at present.

The 10th. Every thing conspires to render the present period in France critical: the want of bread is terrible: accounts arrive every moment, from the provinces of riots and disturbances, and calling in the military, to preserve the peace of the markets. The prices reported are the same as I found at Abbeville and Amiens 5s. (2½d.) a pound for white bread, and 3½s. to 4s. for the common sort, eaten by the poor: these rates are beyond their faculties, and occasion great misery. At Meudon, the police, that is to say the intendant, ordered that no wheat should be sold on the market without the person taking at the same time an equal quantity of barley. What a stupid and ridiculous regulation, to lay obstacles on the supply, in order to be better supplied; and to shew the people the fears and apprehensions of government, creating thereby an alarm, and raising the price at the very moment they wish to sink it. I have had some conversation on this topic with well informed persons, who have assured me, that the price is, as usual, much higher than the proportion

proportion of the crop demanded, and there would have been no real scarcity if Mr. Necker would have let the corn-trade alone; but his edicts of restriction, which have been mere comments on his book on the legislation of corn, have operated more to raise the price than all other causes together. It appears plain to me, that the violent friends of the commons are not displeas'd at the high price of corn, which seconds their views greatly, and makes any appeal to the common feeling of the people more easy, and much more to their purpose than if the price was low. Three days past, the chamber of the clergy contriv'd a cunning proposition; it was to send a deputation to the commons, proposing to name a commission from the three orders to take into consideration the misery of the people, and to deliberate on the means of lowering the price of bread. This would have led to the deliberation by order, and not by heads, consequently must be reject'd, but unpopularly so from the situation of the people: the commons were equally dextrous; in their reply, they pray'd and conjur'd the clergy to join them in the common hall of the states to deliberate, which was no sooner reported at Paris than the clergy became doubly an object of hatred; and it became a question with the politicians of the *Caffé de Toy*, whether it was not lawful for the commons to decree the application of their estates towards easing the distress of the people?

The 11th. I have been in much company all day, and cannot but remark, that there seem to be no settled ideas of the best means of forming a new constitution. Yesterday the Abbé Syeyes made a motion in the house of commons, to declare boldly to the privileged orders, that if they will not join the commons, the latter will proceed in the national business without them; and the house decreed it, with a small amendment. This causes much conversation on what will be the consequence of such a proceeding; and on the contrary, on what may flow from the nobility and clergy continuing steadily to refuse to join the commons, and should they so proceed, to protest against all they decree, and appeal to the King to dissolve the states, and recal them in such a form as may be practicable for business. In these most interesting discussions, I find a general ignorance of the principles of government; a strange and unaccountable appeal, on one side, to ideal and visionary rights of nature; and, on the other, no settled plan that shall give security to the people for being in future in a much better situation than hitherto; a security absolutely necessary. But the nobility, with the principles of great lords that I converse with, are most disgustingly tenacious of all old rights, however hard they may bear on the people; they will not hear of giving way in the least to the spirit of liberty, beyond the point of paying equal land-taxes, which they hold to be all that can with reason be demanded. The popular party, on the other hand, seem to consider all liberty as depending on the privileged classes being lost, and outvoted in the order of the

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commons, at least for making the new constitution; and when I urge the great probability, that should they once unite, there will remain no power of ever separating them; and that in such case, they will have a very questionable constitution, perhaps a very bad one; I am always told, that the first object must be for the people to get the power of doing good; and that it is no argument against such a conduct to urge that an ill use may be made of it. But among such men, the common idea is, that any thing tending towards a separate order, like our house of lords, is absolutely inconsistent with liberty; all which seems perfectly wild and unfounded.

The 12th. To the royal society of agriculture, which meets at the *hotel de ville*, and of which being an *associé*, I voted, and received a *setton*, which is a small medal given to the members, every time they attend, in order to induce them to mind the business of their institution; it is the same at all royal academies, &c. and amounts, in a year, to a considerable and ill-judged expence; for what good is to be expected from men who would go only to receive their *setton*? Whatever the motive may be, it seems well attended: near thirty were present; among them Parmentier, vice-president, Cadet de Vaux, Fourcroy, Tillet, Desmarests, Brouffonet, secretary, and Creté de Palieul, at whose farm I was two years ago, and who is the only practical farmer in the society. The secretary reads the titles of the papers presented, and gives some little account of them; but they are not read unless particularly interesting, then memoirs are read by the members, or reports of references; and when they discuss or debate, there is no order, but all speak together as in a warm private conversation. The Abbé Reynal has given them 1200 liv. (52l. 10s.) for a premium on some important subject; and my opinion was asked what it should be given for. Give it, I replied, in some way for the introduction of turnips. But that they conceive to be an object of impossible attainment; they have done so much, and the government so much more, and all in vain, that they consider it as a hopeless object. I did not tell them that all hitherto done has been absolute folly; and that the right way to begin, was to undo every thing done. I am never present at any societies of agriculture, either in France or England, but I am much in doubt with myself whether, when best conducted, they do most good or mischief; that is, whether the benefits a national agriculture may by great chance owe to them, are not more than counterbalanced by the harm they effect; by turning the public attention to frivolous objects, instead of important ones, or dressing important ones in such a garb as to make them trifles? The only society that could be really useful would be that which, in the culture of a large farm, should exhibit a perfect example of good husbandry, for the use of such as would resort to it; consequently one that should consist solely of practical men; and then query whether many good cooks would not spoil

spoil a good dish. The ideas of the public on the great business going on at Versailles change daily and even hourly. It now seems the opinion, that the commons, in their late violent vote, have gone too far; and that the union of the nobility, clergy, army, parliament, and King, will be by far too many for them; such an union is said to be in agitation; and that the count d'Artois, the Queen, and the party usually known by her name, are taking steps to effect it, against the moment when the proceedings of the commons shall make it necessary to act with unity and vigour. The abolition of the parliaments is common conversation among the popular leaders, as a step essentially necessary; because, while they exist, they are tribunals to which the court can have resort, should they be inclined to take any step against the existence of the states: those bodies are alarmed, and see with deep regret, that their refusal to register the royal edicts, has created a power in the nation not only hostile, but dangerous to their own existence. It is now very well known and understood on all hands, that should the King get rid of the states, and govern on any tolerable principles, all his edicts would be enregistered by all the parliaments. In the dilemma and apprehension of the moment, the people look very much to the duc d'Orleans, as to a head; but with palpable and general ideas of distrust and want of confidence; they regret his character, and lament that they cannot depend on him in any severe and difficult trial: they conceive him to be without steadiness, and that his greatest apprehension is to be exiled from the pleasures of Paris, and tell of many littlenesses he practised before, to be recalled from banishment. They are, however, so totally without a head, that they are contented to look to him as one; and are highly pleased with what is every moment reported, that he is determined to go at the head of a party of the nobility, and verify their powers in common with the commons. All agree, that had he firmness, in addition to his vast revenue of seven millions (306,250l.) and four more (175,000l.) in reversion, after the death of his father-in-law, the duc de Penthièvre, he might, at the head of the popular cause, do any thing.

The 13th. In the morning to the King's library, which I had not seen when before at Paris; it is a vast apartment, and, as all the world knows, nobly filled. Every thing is provided to accommodate those who wish to read or transcribe—of whom there were sixty or seventy present. Along the middle of the rooms are glass cases, containing models of the instruments of many trades preserved for the benefit of posterity, being made on the most exact scale of proportion; among others the potter, founder, brickmaker, chymist, &c. &c. and lately added a very large one of the English garden, most miserably imagined; but with all this not a plough, or an iota of agriculture; yet a farm might be much easier represented than the garden they have attempted, and with infinitely more use. I have no doubt but there may arise many cases, in which the pre-

servation of instruments unaltered, may be of considerable utility ; I think I see clearly, that such a use would result in agriculture, and if so, why not in other arts ? These cases of models, however, have so much the air of childrens' play-houses, that I would not answer for my little girl, if I had her here, not crying for them. At the dutchess of d'Anville's, where meet the archbishop of Aix, bishop of Blois, Prince de Laon, and duc and dutchess de la Rochefoucauld, the three last of my old Bagnere de Luchon acquaintance, lord and lady Camelford, lord Eyre, &c. &c.

All this day I hear nothing but anxiety of expectation for what the crisis in the states will produce. The embarrassment of the moment is extreme. Every one agrees that there is no ministry : the Queen is closely connecting herself with the party of the princes, with the count d'Artois at their head ; who are all so adverse to Monf. Necker that every thing is in confusion : but the King, who is personally the honestest man in the world, has but one wish, which is to do right ; yet, being without those decisive parts that enable a man to foresee difficulties and to avoid them, finds himself in a moment of such extreme perplexity, that he knows not what council to take refuge in : it is said that Monf. Necker is alarmed for his power, and anecdote reports things to his disadvantage, which probably are not true :—of his trimming—and attempting to connect himself with the Abbé de Vermont, reader to the Queen, and who has great influence in all affairs in which he chuses to interfere ; this is hardly credible, as that party are known to be exceedingly adverse to Monf. Necker ; and it is even said, that, as the count d'Artois, Madame de Polignac, and a few others were, but two days ago, walking in the private garden of Versailles they met Madame Necker, and descended even to hissing her : if half this is true, it is plain enough that this minister must speedily retire. All who adhere to the antient constitution, or rather government, consider him as their mortal enemy ; they assert, and truly, that he came in under circumstances that would have enabled him to do every thing he pleased—he had King and kingdom at command—but that the errors he was guilty of, for want of some settled plan, have been the cause of all the dilemmas experienced since. They accuse him heavily of assembling the notables, as a false step that did nothing but mischief : and assert that his letting the king go to the states-general, before their powers were verified, and the necessary steps taken to keep the orders separate, after giving double the representation to the *tiers* to that of the other two orders, was madness. That he ought to have appointed commissaries to have received the verification before admittance : they accuse him further of having done all this through an excessive and insufferable vanity, which gave him the idea of guiding the deliberation of the states by his knowledge and reputation. The character of a man, drawn by his enemies, must necessarily be charged ; but these
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are his features here, of which all parties recognize some truth, however rejoiced they may be that error was a part of his constitution. It is expressly asserted by M. Necker's most intimate friends, that he has acted with good faith, and that he has been in principle a friend to the regal power, as well as to an amelioration of the condition of the people. The worst thing I know of him is his speech to the states on their assembling,—a great opportunity, but lost,—no great leading or masterly views,—no decision on circumstances in which the people ought to be relieved, and new principles of government adopted;—it is the speech you would expect from a banker's clerk of some ability. Concerning it there is an anecdote worth inserting; he knew his voice would not enable him to go through the whole of it, in so large a room, and to so numerous an assembly; and therefore he had spoken to Mons. de Broussonet, of the academy of sciences, and secretary to the royal society of agriculture, to be in readiness to read it for him. He had been present at an annual general meeting of that society, when Mons. Broussonet had read a discourse with a powerful piercing voice, that was heard distinctly to the greatest distance. This gentleman attended him several times to take his instructions, and be sure of understanding the interlineations that were made, even after the speech was finished. M. Broussonet was with him the evening before the assembly of the states, at nine o'clock: and next day, when he came to read it in public, he found still more corrections and alterations, which Mons. Necker had made after quitting him; they were chiefly in stile, and shew how very solicitous he was in regard to the form and decoration of his matter: the ideas in my opinion wanted this attention more than the stile. Mons. Broussonet himself told me this little anecdote. This morning in the states three *cureés* of Poitou have joined themselves to the commons, for the verification of their powers, and were received with a kind of madness of applause; and this evening at Paris nothing else is talked of. The nobles have been all day in debate, without coming to any conclusion, and have adjourned to Monday.

The 14th. To the king's garden, where Mons. Thouin had the goodness to shew me some small experiments he has made on plants that promise greatly for the farmer, particularly the *latbyrus biennis**, and the *melilotus syberica**, which now make an immense figure for forage; both are biennial; but will last three or four years if not seeded; the *Achillæa syberica* promises well, and an *astragalus*; he has promised me seeds. The Chinese hemp has perfected its seeds, which it had not done before in France. The more I see of Mons. Thouin the better I like him, he is one of the most amiable men I know.

To the repository of the royal machines, which Mons. Vandermond shewed and explained to me, with great readiness and politeness. What struck me most was

* I have since cultivated these plants in small quantities, and believe them to be a very important object.

Mons.

Monf. Vaucuffon's machine for making a chain, which I was told Mr. Watt of Birmingham admired very much, at which my attendants feemed not difpleafed. Another for making the cogs indented in iron wheels. There is a chaff cutter, from an Englifh original; and a model of the nonfenfical plough to go without horfes, thefe are the only ones in agriculture. Many of very ingenious contrivance for winding filk, &c. In the evening to the theatre *Françoife*, the Siege of Calais, by Monf. de Belloy, not a good, but a popular performance.

It is now decided by the popular leaders, that they will move to-morrow to declare all taxes illegal not raifed by authority of the ftates general, but to grant them immediately for a term; either for two years, or for the duration of the prefent feffion of the ftates. This plan is highly approved at Paris by all friends of liberty; and it is certainly a rational mode of proceeding, founded on juft principles, and will involve the court in a great dilemma.

The 15th. This has been a rich day, and fuch an one as ten years ago none could believe would ever arrive in France; a very important debate being expected on what, in our houfe of commons, would be termed the ftate of the nation. My friend Monf. Lazowski and myfelf were at Verfaillies by eight in the morning. We went immediately to the hall of the ftates to fecure good feats in the gallery; we found fome deputies already there, and a pretty numerous audience collected. The room is too large; none but ftentorian lungs, or the fineft cleareft voices can be heard; however the very fize of the apartment, which admits 2000 people, gave a dignity to the fcene. It was indeed an interefting one. The fpectacle of the representatives of twenty-five millions of people, juft emerging from the evils of 200 years of arbitrary power, and rifing to the bleffings of a freer conftitution, affembled with open doors under the eye of the public, was framed to call into animated feelings every latent fpark, every emotion of a liberal bofom. To banifh whatever ideas might intrude of their being a people too often hostile to my own country,—and to dwell with pleafure on the glorious idea of happinefs to a great nation—of felicity to millions yet unborn. Monf. l'Abbé Syeyes opened the debate. He is one of the moft zealous fticklers for the popular caufe; carries his ideas not to a regulation of the prefent government, which he thinks too bad to be regulated at all, but wifhes to fee it abfolutely overturned; being in fact a violent republican: this is the character he commonly bears, and in his pamphlets he feems pretty much to juftify fuch an idea. He fpeaks ungracefully, and uneloquently, but logically, or rather reads fo, for he read his fpeech, which was prepared. His motion, or rather ftring of motions, was to declare themfelves the representatives known and verified of the French nation, admitting the right of all abfent deputies (the nobility and clergy) to be received among them on the verification of their powers. Monf. de Mirabeau fpoke without notes, for near an hour, with a warmth,

warmth, animation, and eloquence, that entitles him to the reputation of an undoubted orator. He opposed the words *known* and *verified*, in the proposition of Abbé Syeyes, with great force of reasoning; and proposed, in lieu, that they should declare themselves simply *Representatives du peuple Française*: that no *veto* should exist against their resolves in any other assembly: that all taxes are illegal, but should be granted during the present session of the states, and no longer: that the debt of the king should become the debt of the nation, and be secured on funds accordingly. Monf. de Mirabeau was well heard, and his proposition much applauded. Monf. de Mounier, a deputy from Dauphine, of great reputation, and who has also published some pamphlets, very well approved by the public, moved a different resolution, to declare themselves the legitimate representatives of the majority of the nation: that they should vote by head and not by order: and that they should never acknowledge any right in the representatives of the clergy or nobility to deliberate separately. Monf. Rabaud St. Etienne, a protestant from Languedoc, also an author, who has written in the present affairs, and a man of considerable talents, spoke also, and made his proposition, which was to declare themselves the representatives of the people of France; to declare all taxes null; to regrant them during the sitting of the states; to verify and consolidate the debt; and to vote a loan. All which were well approved except the loan, which was not at all to the feeling of the assembly. This gentleman speaks clearly and with precision, and only passages of his speech from notes. Monf. Bernarve, a very young man, from Grenoble, spoke without notes with great warmth and animation. Some of his periods were so well rounded, and so eloquently delivered, that he met with much applause, several members crying—*bravo!*

In regard to their general method of proceeding, there are two circumstances in which they are very deficient: the spectators in the galleries are allowed to interfere in the debates by clapping their hands, and other noisy expressions of approbation: this is grossly indecent; it is also dangerous; for, if they are permitted to express approbation, they are, by parity of reason, allowed expressions of dissent; and they may hiss as well as clap; which, it is said, they have sometimes done:—this would be, to over-rule the debate, and influence the deliberations. Another circumstance, is the want of order among themselves; more than once to-day there were an hundred members on their legs at a time, and Monf. Baillie absolutely without power to keep order. This arises very much from complex motions being admitted; to move a declaration relative to their title, to their powers, to taxes, to a loan, &c. &c. all in one proposition, appears to English ears preposterous, and certainly is so. Specific motions, founded on single and simple propositions, can alone produce order in debate; for it is endless to have five hundred members declaring their
reasons

reasons of assent to one part of a complex proposition, and their dissent to another part. A debating assembly should not proceed to any business whatever till they have settled the rules and orders of their proceedings, which can only be done by taking those of other experienced assemblies, confirming them as they find useful, and altering such as require to be adapted to different circumstances. The rules and orders of debate in the house of commons of England, as I afterwards took the liberty of mentioning to Mons. Rabaud St. Etienne, might have been taken at once in Mr. Hatfel's book, and would have saved them at least a fourth of their time. They adjourned for dinner. Dined ourselves with the duc de Liancourt, at his apartments in the palace, meeting twenty deputies.—I sat by M. Rabaud St. Etienne, and had much conversation with him; they all speak with equal confidence on the fall of despotism. They foresee, that attempts, very adverse to the spirit of liberty will be made, but the spirit of the people is too much excited at present to be crushed any more. Finding that the question of to-day's debate cannot be decided to-day, and that in all probability it will be unfinished even to-morrow, as the number that will speak on it is very great, return in the evening to Paris.

The 16th. To Dugny, ten miles from Paris, again with Mons. de Broussonet, to wait on Mons. Creté de Palieul, the only practical farmer in the society of agriculture. M. Broussonet, than whom no man can be more eager for the honour and improvement of agriculture, was desirous that I should witness the practice and improvements of a gentleman who stands so high in the list of good French farmers. Called first on the brother of Mons. Creté who at present has the *poste*, and consequently 140 horses; walked over his farm, and the crops he shewed me of wheat and oats were on the whole very fine, and some of them superior; but I must confess I should have been better pleased with them if he had not had his stables so well filled with a view different from that of the farm. And to look for a course of crops in France is vain; he sows white corn twice, thrice, and even four times in succession. At dinner, &c. had much conversation with the two brothers, and with some other neighbouring cultivators present on this point, in which I recommended either turnips or cabbages, according to the soil, for breaking their rotations of white corn. But every one of them, except Mons. de Broussonet, was against me; they demanded, *Can we sow wheat after turnips and cabbages?* On a small portion you may and with great success; but the time of consuming the greater part of the crop renders it impossible. *That is sufficient, if we cannot sow wheat after them, they cannot be good in France.* This idea is every where nearly the same in that kingdom. I then said, that they might have half their land under wheat, and yet be good farmers; thus—1. Beans;—2. Wheat;—3. Tares;—4. Wheat;—5. Clover;—6. Wheat;—this they approved better of, but thought their

their own courſes more profitable. But the moſt intereſting circumſtance of their farms is the chicory (*chicorium intybus*). I had the ſatisfaction to find, that Monſ. Crété de Palieul had as great an opinion of it as ever; that his brother had adopted it; that it was very flouriſhing on both their farms; and on thoſe of their neighbours alſo: I never ſee this plant but I congratulate myſelf on having travelled for ſomething more than to write in my cloſet; and that the introduction of it in England would alone, if no other reſult had flowed from one man's exiſtence, have been enough to ſhew that he did not live in vain. Of this excellent plant, and Monſ. Crété's experiments on it, more elſewhere.

The 17th. All converſation on the motion of l'Abbé Syeyes being accepted, yet that of the count de Mirabeau better reliſhed. But his character is a dead weight upon him; there is a ſuſpicion that he has received 100,000 liv. from the Queen; a blind, improbable report; for his conduct would in every probability be very different had any ſuch tranſaction taken place: but when a man's life has not paſſed free from groſs errors, to uſe the mildeſt language, ſuſpicions are ever ready to fix on him, even when he is as free from what ought at the moment to give the imputation as any the moſt immaculate of their patriots. This report brings out others from their lurking holes; that he publiſhed, at her inſtigation, the anecdotes of the court of Berlin; and that the King of Pruſſia, knowing the cauſes of that publication, circulated the memoirs of Madame de la Motte all over Germany. Such are the eternal tales, ſuſpicions, and improbabilities for which Paris has always been ſo famous. One clearly, however, gathers from the complexion of converſation, even on the moſt ridiculous topics, provided of a public nature, how far, and for what reaſon, confidence is lodged in certain men. In every company, of every rank, you hear of the count de Mirabeau's talents; that he is one of the firſt pens of France, and the firſt orator; and yet that he could not carry from confidence ſix votes on any queſtion in the ſtates. His writings, however, ſpread in Paris and the provinces: he publiſhed a journal of the ſtates, written for a few days with ſuch force, and ſuch ſeverity, that it was ſilenced by an expreſs edict of government. This is attributed to Monſ. Necker, who was treated in it with ſo little ceremony, that his vanity was wounded to the quick. The number of ſubſcribers to the journal was ſuch, that I have heard the profit, to Monſ. Mirabeau, calculated at 80,000 liv. (3,500l.) a year. Since its ſuppreſſion, he publiſhes once or twice a week a ſmall pamphlet, to answer the ſame purpoſe of giving an account of the debates, or rather obſervations on them, entitled 1, 2, 3, &c. *Lettre des Comte de Mirabeau à ſes Commentans*, which, though violent, ſarcaſtic, and ſevere, the court has not thought proper to ſtop, reſpecting, I ſuppoſe, its title. It is a weak and miſerable conduct,

duct, to single out any particular publication for prohibition, while the press groans with innumerable productions, whose tendency is absolutely to overturn the present government; to permit such pamphlets to be circulated all over the kingdom, even by the posts and diligences in the hands of government, is a blindness and folly, from which there are no effects that may not be expected. In the evening to the comic opera; Italian music, Italian words, and Italian performers; and the applause so incessant and rapturous, that the ears of the French must be changing apace. What could Jean Jacques have said, could he have been a witness to such a spectacle at Paris!

The 18th. Yesterday the commons decreed themselves, in consequence of the Abbé Syeyes's amended motion, the title of *Assemblée Nationale*; and also, considering themselves then in activity, the illegality of all taxes; but granted them during the session, declaring that they would, without delay, deliberate on the consolidating of the debt; and on the relief of the misery of the people. These steps give great spirits to the violent partizans of a new constitution, but amongst more sober minds, I see evidently an apprehension, that it will prove a precipitate measure. It is a violent step, which may be taken hold of by the court, and converted very much to the peoples disadvantage. The reasoning of Monf. de Mirabeau against it was forcible and just—*Si je voulois employer contre les autres motions les armes dont on se sert pour attaquer la mienne, ne pourrois-je pas dire a montour : de quelque maniere que vous-vous qualifiez que vous-foyez les representans connus & verifiés de la nation, les representans de 25 millions d'hommes, les representans de la majorité du peuple, suffiez-vous même vous appeller l'Assemblée Nationale, les etats généraux, empêcherez-vous les classes privilégiés de continuer des assemblées que sa majesté a reconnues? Les empêcherez-vous de prendre des deliberations? Les empêcherez-vous de pretendre au veto? Empêcherez-vous le Roi de les recevoir? De les reconnoitre, de leur continuer les mêmes titres qu'il leur adonnés jusqu'a present? Enfin, empêcherez-vous la nation d'appeller le clergé, le clergé, la noblesse, la noblesse?*

To the royal society of agriculture, where I gave my vote with the rest, who were unanimous for electing general Washington an honorary member; this was a proposal of Monf. Brouffonet, in consequence of my having assured him, that the general was an excellent farmer, and had corresponded with me on the subject. Abbé Commerel was present; he gave a pamphlet of his on a new project, the *choux a fauché*, and a paper of the seed.

The 19th. Accompanied Monf. de Brouffonet to dine with Monf. de Parmentier, at the *hotel des invalids*. A president of the parliament, a Monf. Mailly, brother-in-law to the chancellor, was there; Abbé Commerel, &c. &c. I remarked two years ago that Monf. Parmentier is one of the best of men, and beyond all question understands every circumstance of the *boulangerie* better than any

any other writer, as his productions clearly manifest. After dinner, to the plains of Sablon, to see the society's potatoes and preparation for turnips, of which I shall only say that I wish my brethern to stick to their *scientific* farming, and leave the practical to those who understand it. What a sad thing for philosophical husbandmen that God Almighty created such a thing as couch (*triticum repens.*)

The 20th. News!—News!—Every one stares at what every one might have expected. A message from the King to the presidents of the three orders, that he should meet them on Monday; and, under pretence of preparing the hall for the *seance royale*, the French guards were placed with bayonets to prevent any of the deputies entering the room. The circumstances of doing this ill-judged act of violence have been as ill-advised as the act itself. *Mons. Bailly* received no other notice of it than by a letter from the marquis de Brézé, and the deputies met at the door of the hall, without knowing that it was shut. Thus the seeds of disgust were sown wantonly in the manner of doing a thing, which in itself was equally impalatable and unconstitutional. The resolution taken on the spot was a noble and firm one; it was to assemble instantly at the *Jeu de paume*, and there the whole assembly took a solemn oath never to be dissolved but by their own consent, and consider themselves, and act as the national assembly, let them be wherever violence or fortune might drive them, and their expectations were so little favourable, that expresses were sent off to Nantes, intimating that the national assembly might possibly find it necessary to take refuge in some distant city. This message, and placing guards at the hall of the states, are the result of long and repeated councils, held in the king's presence at Marly, where he has been shut up for some days, seeing nobody; and no person admitted, even to the officers of the court, without jealousy and circumspection. The King's brothers have no seat in the council, but the count d'Artois incessantly attends the resolutions, conveys them to the Queen, and has long conferences with her. When this news arrived at Paris, the Palais Royal was in a flame, the coffee-houses, pamphlet-shops, corridors, and gardens were crowded,—alarm and apprehension sat in every eye,—the reports that were circulated eagerly, tending to shew the violent intentions of the court, as if it was bent on the utter extirpation of the French nation, except the party of the Queen, are perfectly incredible for their gross absurdity: but nothing was so glaringly ridiculous but the mob swallowed it with indiscriminating faith. It was, however, curious to remark, among people of another description (for I was in several parties after the news arrived), that the balance of opinions was clearly that the national assembly, as it called itself, had gone too far—had been too precipitate—and too violent—had taken steps that the mass of the people would not support. From which we may conclude, that if the court, having seen the tendency of their

late proceedings, shall pursue a firm and politic plan, the popular cause will have little to boast.

The 21st. It is impossible to have any other employment at so critical a moment, than going from house to house demanding news; and remarking the opinions and ideas most current. The present moment is, of all others, perhaps that which is most pregnant with the future destiny of France. The step the commons have taken of declaring themselves the national assembly, independent of the other orders, and of the King himself, precluding a dissolution, is in fact an assumption of all the authority in the kingdom. They have at one stroke converted themselves into the long parliament of Charles I. It needs not the assistance of much penetration to see that if such a pretension and declaration are not done away, King, lords, and clergy are deprived of their shares in the legislature of France. So bold, and apparently desperate a step, full in the teeth of every other interest in the realm, equally destructive to the royal authority, by parliaments and the army, can never be allowed. If it is not opposed, all other powers will lie in ruins around that of the common. With what anxious expectation must one therefore wait to see if the crown will exert itself firmly on the occasion, with such an attention to an improved system of liberty, as is absolutely necessary to the moment! All things considered, that is, the characters of those who are in possession of power, no well digested system and steady execution are to be looked for. In the evening to the play; Madame Rocquere did the queen in Hamlet; it may easily be supposed how that play of Shakespeare is cut in pieces. It has however effect by her admirable acting.

The 22d. To Versailles at six in the morning, to be ready for the *seance royale*. Breakfasting with the duc de Liancourt, we found that the king had put off going to the states till to-morrow morning. A committee of council was held last night, which sat till midnight, at which were present Mons. and the count d'Artois for the first time: an event considered as extraordinary, and attributed to the influence of the Queen. The count d'Artois, the determined enemy of Mons. Necker's plans, opposed his system, and prevailed to have the *seance* put off to give time for a council in the King's presence to-day. From the chateau we went to find out the deputies; reports were various where they were assembling. To the *Récolets*, where they had been, but finding it incommodious they went to the church of St. Louis, whither we followed them, and were in time to see M. Bailly take the chair, and read the King's letter, putting off the *seance* till to-morrow. The spectacle of this meeting, was singular—the crowd that attended in and around the church was great,—and the anxiety and suspense in every eye, with the variety of expression that flowed from different views and different characters, gave to the countenances of all the world an impression I had never witnessed before. The only business of importance transacted,

transacted, but which lasted till three o'clock, was receiving the oaths and the signatures of some deputies, who had not taken them at the *Feu de paume*; and the union of three bishops and 150 of the deputies of the clergy, who came to verify their powers, and were received by such applause, with such clapping and shouting, from all present, that the church resounded. Apparently the inhabitants of Versailles, which having a population of 60,000 people can afford a pretty numerous mob, are to the last person in the interest of the commons; remarkable, as this town is absolutely fed by the palace, and if the cause of the court is not popular here, it is easy to suppose what it must be in all the rest of the kingdom. Dine with the duc de Liancourt, in the palace, a large party of nobility and deputies of the commons, the duc d'Orleans, amongst them; the bishop of Rodez, Abbé Syeyes, and Mons. Rabaud St. Etienne. This was one of the most striking instances of the impression made on men of different ranks by great events. In the streets, and in the church of St. Louis, such anxiety was in every face, that the importance of the moment was written in the physiognomy; and all the common forms and salutations of habitual civility lost in attention: but amongst a class so much higher as those I dined with, I was struck with the difference. There were not, in thirty persons, five in whose countenances you could guess that any extraordinary event was going forward: more of the conversation was indifferent than I should have expected. Had it all been so, there would have been no room for wonder; but observations were made of the greatest freedom, and so received as to mark that there was not the least impropriety in making them. In such a case, would not one have expected more energy of feeling and expression, and more attention in conversation to the crisis that must in its nature fill every bosom? Yet they ate, and drank, and sat, and walked, loitered, and smirked and smiled, and chatted with that easy indifference, that made me stare at their insipidity. Perhaps there is a certain nonchalance that is natural to people of fashion from long habit, and which marks them from the vulgar, who have a thousand asperities in the expression of their feelings, that cannot be found on the polished surface of those whose manners are smoothed by society, not worn by attrition. Such an observation would therefore in all common cases be unjust; but I confess the present moment, which is beyond all question the most critical that France has seen from the foundation of the monarchy, since the council was assembled that must finally determine the King's conduct, was such as might have accounted for a behaviour totally different. The duc d'Orleans presence might do a little, but not much; his manner might do more; for it was not without some disgust, that I observed him several times playing off that small sort of wit, and flippant readiness to titter, which, I suppose, is a part of his character, or it would not have appeared to-day. From his manner, he seemed not at all displeased. The Abbé Syeyes has

has a remarkable physiognomy, a quick rolling eye; penetrating the ideas of other people, but so cautiously reserved as to guard his own. There is as much character in his air and manner as there is vacuity of it in the countenance of *Monf. Rabaud St. Etienne*, whose physiognomy, however, is far from doing him justice, for he has undoubted talents. It seems agreed, that if, in the council the count d'Artois carries his point, *Monf. Necker*, the count de Montmorin, and *Monf. de St. Priest* will resign; in which case *Monf. Necker's* return to power, and in triumph, will inevitably happen. Such a turn, however, must depend on events.—Evening.—The count d'Artois plan accepted; the King will declare it in his speech to-morrow. *Monf. Necker* demanded to resign, but was refused by the King. All is now anxiety to know what the plan is.

The 23d. The important day is over: in the morning Versailles seemed filled with troops: the streets, about ten o'clock, were lined with the French guards, and some Swiss regiments, &c.: the hall of the states was surrounded, and centinels fixed in all the passages, and at the doors; and none but deputies admitted. This military preparation was ill judged, for it seemed admitting the impropriety and unpopularity of the intended measure, and the expectation, perhaps fear of popular commotions. They pronounced, before the King left the chateau, that his plan was adverse to the people, from the military parade with which it was ushered in. The contrary, however, proved to be the fact; the propositions are known to all the world: the plan was a good one; much was granted to the people in great and essential points; and as it was granted before they had provided for those public necessities of finance, which occasioned the states being called together; and consequently left them at full power in future to procure for the people all that opportunity might present, they apparently ought to accept them, provided some security is given for the future meetings of the states, without which all the rest would be insecure; but as a little negotiation may easily secure this, I apprehend the deputies will accept them conditionally: the use of soldiers, and some imprudencies in the manner of forcing the King's system, relative to the interior constitution, and assembling of the deputies, as well as the ill-blood which had had time to brood for three days past in their minds, prevented the commons from receiving the King with any expressions of applause; the clergy, and some of the nobility, cried *vive le Roi!* but treble the number of mouths being silent, took off all effect. It seems they had previously determined to submit to no violence: when the King was gone, and the clergy and nobility retired, the Marquis de Brézé waiting a moment to see if they meant to obey the King's express orders, to retire also to another chamber prepared for them, and perceiving that no one moved, addressed them,—*Messieurs, vous connoissez les intentions du Roi.* A dead silence ensued; and

and then it was that superior talents bore the sway, that overpowers in critical moments all other considerations. The eyes of the whole assembly were turned on the count de Mirabeau, who instantly replied to the Marquis de Brézé—*Oui, Monsieur, nous avons entendu les intentions qu'on a suggérées au Roi, & vous qui ne sauriez être son organe auprès des états généraux, vous qui n'avez ici ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes pas fait pour nous rappeler son discours. Cependant pour éviter toute équivoque, & tout délai, je vous déclare que si l'on vous a chargé de nous faire sortir d'ici, vous devez demander des ordres pour employer la force, car nous ne quitterons nos places que par la puissance de la baïonnette.*—On which there was a general cry of—*Tel est le vœu dell'Assemblée.* They then immediately passed a confirmation of their preceding arrêts; and, on the motion of the count de Mirabeau, a declaration that their persons, individually and collectively, were sacred; and that all who made any attempts against them should be deemed infamous traitors to their country.

The 24th. The ferment at Paris is beyond conception; 10,000 people have been all this day in the Palais Royal; a full detail of yesterday's proceedings was brought this morning, and read by many apparent leaders of little parties, with comments, to the people. To my surprise, the King's propositions are received with universal disgust. He said nothing explicit on the periodical meeting of the states; he declared all the old feudal rights to be retained as property. These, and the change in the balance of representation in the provincial assemblies, are the articles that give the greatest offence. But, instead of looking to, or hoping for further concessions on these points, in order to make them more consonant to the general wishes; the people seem, with a sort of phrenzy, to reject all idea of compromise, and to insist on the necessity of the orders uniting, that full power may consequently reside in the commons, to effect what they call the regeneration of the kingdom, a favourite term, to which they affix no precise idea, but add the indefinite explanation of the general reform of all abuses. They are also full of suspicions at M. Necker's offering to resign, to which circumstance they seem to look more than to much more essential points. It is plain to me, from many conversations and harangues I have been witness to, that the constant meetings at the Palais Royal, which are carried to a degree of licentiousness and fury of liberty, that is scarcely credible, united with the innumerable inflammatory publications that have been hourly appearing since the assembly of the states, have so heated the peoples expectations, and given them the idea of such total changes, that nothing the King or court could do, would now satisfy them; consequently it would be idleness itself to make concessions that are not steadily adhered to, not only to be observed by the King, but to be enforced on the people, and good order at the same time restored. But the stumbling-block to this and every plan that can be devised,

as the people know and declare in every corner, is the situation of the finances, which cannot possibly be restored but by liberal grants of the states on one hand, or by a bankruptcy on the other. It is well known, that this point has been warmly debated in the council: Monsr. Necker has proved to them, that a bankruptcy is inevitable, if they break with the states before the finances are restored; and the dread and terror of taking such a step, which no minister would at present dare to venture on, has been the great difficulty that opposed itself to the projects of the Queen and the count d'Artois. The measure they have taken is a middle one, from which they hope to gain a party among the people, and render the deputies unpopular enough to get rid of them: an expectation, however, in which they will infallibly be mistaken. If, on the side of the people it is urged, that the vices of the old government make a new system necessary, and that it can only be by the firmest measures that the people can be put in possession of the blessings of a free government; it is to be replied, on the other hand, that the personal character of the King is a just foundation for relying that no measures of actual violence can be seriously feared: that the state of the finances, under any possible regimen, whether of faith or bankruptcy, must secure their existence, at least for time sufficient to secure by negociation, what may be hazarded by violence: that by driving things to extremities, they risque an union between all the other orders of the state, with the parliaments, army, and a great body even of the people, who must disapprove of all extremities; and when to this is added the possibility of involving the kingdom in a civil war, now so familiarly talked of, that it is upon the lips of all the world, we must confess, that the commons, if they steadily refuse what is now held out to them, put immense and certain benefits to the chance of fortune, to that hazard which may make posterity curse, instead of bless, their memories as real patriots, who had nothing in view but the happiness of their country. Such an incessant buz of politics has been in my ears for some days past, that I went to night to the Italian opera, for relaxation. Nothing could be better calculated for that effect, than the piece performed, *La Villanella Rappita*, by Bianchi, a delicious composition. Can it be believed, that this people, who so lately valued nothing at an opera but the dances, and could hear nothing but a squall,—now attend with feeling to Italian melodies, applaud with taste and rapture, and this without the meretricious aid of a single dance! The music of this piece is charming, elegantly playful, airy, and pleasing, with a duet, between Signora Mandini and Vigagnoni, of the first lustre. The former is a most fascinating singer,—her voice nothing, but her grace, expression, soul, all strung to exquisite sensibility.

The 25th. The criticisms that are made on Monsr. Necker's conduct, even by his friends, if above the level of the people, are severe. It is positively asserted,

ferted, that Abbé Syeyes, Messrs. Mounier, Chapellier, Bernave, Target, Tourette, Rabaud, and other leaders, were almost on their knees to him, to insist peremptorily on his resignation being accepted, as they were well convinced that his retreat would throw the Queen's party into infinitely greater difficulties and embarrassment than any other circumstance. But his vanity prevailed over all their efforts, to listen to the insidious persuasions of the Queen, who spoke to him in the style of asking a request that would keep the crown on the King's head; at the same time that he yielded to do it, contrary to the interest of the friends of liberty, he courted the huzzas of the mob of Versailles, in a manner that did much mischief. The ministers never go to and from the King's apartment on foot, across the court, which Monf. Necker took this opportunity of doing, though he himself had not done it in quiet times, in order to court the flattery of being called the father of the people, and moving with an immense and shouting multitude at his heels. Nearly at the time that the Queen, in an audience almost private, spoke as above to M. Necker, she received the deputation from the nobility, with the Dauphin in her hand, whom she presented to them, claiming of their honour, the protection of her son's rights; clearly implying, that if the step the King had taken, was not steadily asserted, the monarchy would be lost, and the nobility sunk. While M. Necker's mob was heard through every apartment of the chateau, the King passed in his coach to Marly, through a dead and mournful silence,—and that just after having given to his people, and the cause of liberty, more perhaps than ever any monarch had done before. Of such materials are all mobs made,—so impossible is it to satisfy in moments like these, when the heated imagination dresses every visionary project of the brain, in the bewitching colours of liberty. I feel great anxiety to know what will be the result of the deliberations of the commons, after their first protests are over, against the military violence which was so unjustifiably and injudiciously used. Had the King's proposition come after the supplies were granted, and on any inferior question, it would be quite another affair; but to offer this before one shilling is granted, or a step taken, makes all the difference imaginable.—Evening.—The conduct of the court is inexplicable, and without plan: while the late step was taken, to secure the orders sitting separate, a great body of the clergy has been permitted to go to the commons, and the duc d'Orleans, at the head of forty-seven of the nobility, has done the same: and, what is equally a proof of the unsteadiness of the court, the commons are in the common hall of the states, contrary to the express command of the King. The fact is, the *seance royale* was contrary to the personal feelings of the King, and he was brought to it by the council, with much difficulty; and when it afterwards became, as it did every hour, to give new and effective orders to support the system then laid down, it was necessary

to have a new battle for every point; and thus the scheme was only opened, and not persisted in:—this is the report, and apparently authentic: it is easy to see, that that step had better, on a thousand reasons, not have been taken at all, for all vigour and effect of government will be lost, and the people be more affuming than ever. Yesterday at Versailles, the mob was violent,—they insulted, and even attacked all the clergy and nobility that are known to be strenuous for preserving the separation of orders. The Bishop of Beauvais had a stone on his head, that almost struck him down*. The archbishop of Paris had all his windows broken, and forced to move his lodgings; and the cardinal de la Rochefoucauld hissed and hooted. The confusion is so great, that the court have only the troops to depend on; and it is now said confidently, that if an order is given to the French guards to fire on the people, they will refuse obedience: this astonishes all, except those who know how they have been disgusted by the treatment, conduct, and manœuvres of the duc de Chatelet, their colonel: so wretchedly have the affairs of the court, in every particular, been managed; so miserable its choice of the men in offices, even such as are the most intimately connected with its safety, and even existence. What a lesson to princes, how they allow intriguing courtiers, women, and fools, to interfere, or assume the power that can be lodged, with safety, only in the hands of ability and experience. It is asserted expressly, that these mobs have been excited and instigated by the leaders of the commons, and some of them paid by the duc d'Orleans. The distraction of the ministry is extreme.—At night to the theatre *Françoise*; the Earl of Essex, and the *Maison de Moliere*.

The 26th. Every hour that passes seems to give the people fresh spirit: the meetings at the Palais Royal are more numerous, more violent, and more assured; and in the assembly of electors, at Paris, for sending a deputation to the National Assembly, the language that was talked, by all ranks of people, was nothing less than a revolution in the government, and the establishment of a free constitution: what they mean by a free constitution, is easily understood—a *republic*; for the doctrine of the times runs every day more and more to that point; yet they profess, that the kingdom ought to be a monarchy too; or, at least, that there ought to be a king. In the streets one is stunned by the hawkers of seditious pamphlets, and descriptions of pretended events, that all tend to keep the people equally ignorant and alarmed. The supineness, and even stupidity of the court, is without example: the moment demands the greatest decision,—and yesterday, while it was actually a question, whether

* If they had knocked him on the head, he would not have been an object of much pity. At a meeting of the society of agriculture in the country, where common farmers were admitted to dine with people of the first rank, this proud fool made difficulties of sitting down in such company.

he should be a doge of Venice, or a king of France, the King went a hunting! The spectacle the Palais Royal presented this night, till eleven o'clock, and, as we afterwards heard, almost till morning, is curious. The croud was prodigious, and fire-works of all sorts were played off, and all the building was illuminated: these were said to be rejoicings on account of the duc d'Orleans and the nobility joining the commons; but united with the excessive freedom, and even licentiousness, of the orators, who harangue the people. With the general movement which before was threatening, all this bustle and noise, which will not leave them a moment tranquil, has a prodigious effect in preparing them for whatever purposes the leaders of the commons shall have in view; consequently they are grossly and diametrically opposite to the interests of the court;—but all these are blind and infatuated. It is now understood by every body, that the King's offers, in the *seance royale*, are out of the question. The moment the commons found a relaxation, even in the trifling point of assembling in the great hall, they disregarded all the rest, and considered the whole as null, and not to be taken notice of, unless enforced in a manner of which there were no signs. They lay it down for a maxim, that they have a right to a great deal more than what the King touched on, but that they will accept of nothing as the concession of power: they will assume and secure all to themselves, as matters of right. Many persons I talk with, seem to think there is nothing extraordinary in this,—but it appears, that such pretensions are equally dangerous and inadmissible, and lead directly to a civil war, which would be the height of madness and folly, when public liberty might certainly be secured, without any such extremity. If the commons are to assume every thing as their right, what power is there in the state, short of arms, to prevent them from assuming what is not their right? They instigate the people to the most extensive expectations, and if they are not gratified, all must be confusion; and even the King himself, easy and lethargic as he is, his indifference to power will, by and by, be seriously alarmed, and then he will be ready to listen to measures, to which he will not at present give a moment's attention. All this seems to point strongly to great confusion, and even civil commotions; and to make it apparent, that to have accepted the King's offers, and made them the foundation of future negociation, would have been the wisest conduct, and with that idea I shall leave Paris.

The 27th. The whole business now seems over, and the revolution complete. The King has been frightened by the mobs into overturning his own act of the *seance royale*, by writing to the presidents of the orders of the nobility and clergy, requiring them to join the commons,—full in the teeth of what he had ordained before. It was represented to him, that the want of bread was so great in every part of the kingdom, that there was no extremity to which the people might

not be driven: that they were nearly starving, and consequently ready to listen to any suggestions, and on the *qui vive* for all sorts of mischief: that Paris and Versailles would inevitably be burnt; and, in a word, that all sorts of misery and confusion would follow his adherence to the system announced in the *seance royale*. His apprehensions got the better of the party, who had for some days guided him; and he was thus induced to take this step, which is of such importance, that he will never more know where to stop, or what to refuse; or rather he will find, that in the future arrangement of the kingdom, his situation will be very nearly that of Charles I. a spectator, without power, of the effective resolutions of a long parliament. The joy, this step occasioned was infinite; the assembly, uniting with the people, all hurried to the chateau. *Vive le Roi* might have been heard at Marly: the King and Queen appeared in the balcony, and were received with the loudest shouts of applause; the leaders, who governed these motions, knew the value of the concession much better than those who made it. I have to-day had conversation with many persons on this business; and, to my amazement, there is an idea, and even among many of the nobility, that this union of the orders is only for the verification of their powers, and for *making the constitution*, which is a new term they have adopted; and which they use as if a constitution was a pudding to be made by a receipt: In vain I have asked, where is the power that can separate them hereafter, if the commons insist on remaining together, which may be supposed, as such an arrangement will leave all the power in their own hands? And in vain I appeal to the evidence of the pamphlets written by the leaders of that assembly, in which they hold the English constitution cheap, because the people have not power enough, owing to that of the Crown and the House of Lords. The event now appears so clear, as not to be difficult to predict: all real power will be henceforward in the commons, having so much inflamed the people in the exercise of it, they will find themselves unable to use it temperately; the court cannot sit to have their hands tied behind them; the clergy, nobility, parliaments, and army, will, when they find themselves all in danger of annihilation, unite in their mutual defence; but as such an union will demand time, they will find the people armed, and a bloody civil war must be the result. I have more than once declared this as my opinion, but do not find that others unite in it*. At all events, however, the tide now runs so strongly in favour of the people, and

* I may remark at present, long after this was written, that, although I was totally mistaken in my prediction, yet, on a revision, I think I was right in it, and that the common course of events would have produced such a civil war, to which every thing tended, from the moment the commons rejected the King's propositions of the *seance royale*, which I now think, more than ever, that they ought, with qualifications, to have accepted. The events that followed were as little to be thought of as of myself being made King of France.

the conduct of the court seems to be so weak, divided, and blind, that little can happen that will not clearly date from the present moment. Vigour and abilities would have turned every thing on the side of the court; for the great mass of nobility in the kingdom, the higher clergy, the parliaments, and the army, were with the crown; but this desertion of the conduct, that was necessary to secure its power, at a moment so critical, must lead to all sorts of pretensions. At night the fire-works, and illuminations, and mob, and noise, at the Palais Royal increased; the expence must be enormous; and yet nobody knows with certainty from whence it arises: shops there are, however, that for 12*sous*, give as many squibs and serpents as would cost five livres. There is no doubt of its being the duc d'Orlean's money: the people are thus kept in a continual ferment, are for ever assembled, and ready to be in the last degree of commotion whenever called on by the men they have confidence in. Lately a company of Swiss would have crushed all this; a regiment would do it now if led with firmness; but, let it last a fortnight longer, and an army will be wanting.—At the play, Mademoiselle Contá, in the *Misanthrope* of Moliere, charmed me. She is truly a great actress; ease, grace, person, beauty, wit, and soul. Mola did the *misanthrope*, admirably. I will not take leave of the theatre François without once more giving it the preference to all I have ever seen. I shall leave Paris, however, truly rejoiced that the representatives of the people have it undoubtedly in their power so to improve the constitution of their country, as to render all great abuses in future, if not impossible, at least exceedingly difficult, and consequently will establish to all useful purposes an undoubted political liberty; and if they effect this, it cannot be doubted but that they will have a thousand opportunities to secure to their fellow-subjects the invaluable blessing of civil liberty also. The state of the finances is such, that the government may easily be kept virtually dependent on the states, and their periodical existence absolutely secured. Such benefits will confer happiness on 25 millions of people; a noble and animating idea, that ought to fill the mind of every citizen of the world, whatever be his country, religion, or pursuit. I will not allow myself to believe for a moment, that the representatives of the people can ever so far forget their duty to the French nation, to humanity, and their own fame, as to suffer any inordinate and impracticable views,—any visionary or theoretic systems,—any frivolous ideas of speculative perfection; much less any ambitious private views, to impede their progress, or turn aside their exertions, from that security which is in their hands, to place on the chance and hazard of public commotion and civil war, the invaluable blessings which are certainly in their power. I will not conceive it possible, that men who have eternal fame within their grasp, will place the rich inheritance on the cast of a die, and, losing the venture, be damned among the worst and most profligate adventurers that ever disgraced humanity.

humanity.—The duc de Liancourt having made an immense collection of pamphlets, buying every thing that has a relation to the present period; and, among the rest, the cahiers of all the districts and towns of France of the three orders; it was a great object with me to read these, as I was sure of finding in them a representation of the grievances of the three orders, and an explanation of the improvements wished for in the government and administration. These cahiers being instructions given to their deputies, I have now gone through them all, with a pen in hand, to make extracts, and shall therefore leave Paris to-morrow.

The 28th. Having provided myself a light French cabriolet for one horse, or gig Anglois, and a horse, I left Paris, taking leave of my excellent friend, Monf. Lazowski, whose anxiety for the fate of his country, made me respect his character as much as I had reason to love it for the thousand attentions I was in the daily habit of receiving from him. My kind protectress, the dutchess d'Estillac, had the goodness to make me promise, that I would return again to her hospitable hotel, when I had finished the journey I was about to undertake. Of the place I dined at on my road to Nangis, I forget the name, but it is a post-house on the left, at a small distance out of the road. It afforded me a bad room, bare walls, cold raw weather, and no fire; for, when lighted, it smoked too much to be borne;—I was thoroughly out of humour: I had passed some time at Paris amidst the fire, energy, and animation of a great revolution. And for those moments not filled by political events, I had enjoyed the resources of liberal and instructing conversation; the amusements of the first theatre in the world, and the fascinating accents of Mandini, had by turns solaced and charmed the fleeting moments: the change to inns, and those French inns; the ignorance of every body of those events that were now passing, and which so intimately concerned them; the detestable circumstance of having no newspapers, with a press much freer than the English, altogether formed such a contrast, that my heart sunk with depression. At Guignes, an itinerant dancing-master was fiddling to some children, of tradesmen; to relieve my sadness, I became a spectator of their innocent pleasures, and, with great magnificence I gave four 12*s*. pieces for a cake for the children, which made them dance with fresh animation; but my host, the postmaster, who is a surly pickpocket, thought that if I was so rich, he ought also to receive the benefit, and made me pay 9 liv. 10*s*. for a miserable tough chicken, a cutlet, a salad, and a bottle of sorry wine. Such a dirty, pilfering disposition, did not tend to bring me into better humour.—30 miles.

The 29th. To Nangis, the chateau of which belongs to the marquis de Guerchy, who last year at Caen had kindly made me promise to spend a few days here. A house almost full of company, and some of them agreeable, with
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the eagerness of Monf. de Guerchy for farming, and the amiable *naïveté* of the marchionefs, whether in life, politics, or a farm, were well calculated to bring me into tune again. But I found myself in a circle of politicians, with whom I could agree in hardly any other particular, except the general one of cordially wishing that France might establish an indestructible system of liberty; but for the means of doing it, we were far as the poles asunder. The chaplain of Monf. de Guerchy's regiment, who has a cure here, and I had known at Caen, Monf. l'Abbé de ———, was particularly strenuous for what is called the regeneration of the kingdom, by which it is impossible, from the explanation, to understand any thing more than a theoretic perfection of government; questionable in its origin, hazardous in its progress, and visionary in its end; but always presenting itself under a most suspicious appearance to me, because its advocates, from the pamphlets of the leaders in the National Assembly, to the gentlemen who make its panegyric at present, all affect to hold the constitution of England cheap in respect of liberty: and as that is unquestionably, and by their own admission the best the world ever saw, they profess to appeal from practice to theory, which, in the arrangement of a question of science, might be admitted (though with caution); but, in establishing the complex interests of a great kingdom, in *securing* freedom to 25 millions of people, seems to me the very acmé of imprudence, the very quintessence of insanity. My argument was an appeal to the English constitution; take it at once, which is the business of a single vote; by your possession of a real and equal representation of the people, you have freed it from its only great objection; in the remaining circumstances, which are but of small importance, improve it—but improve it cautiously; for surely that ought to be touched with caution, which has given from the moment of its establishment, felicity to a great nation; which has given greatness to a people designed by nature to be little; and, from being the humble copiers of every neighbour, has rendered them, in a single century, rivals to the most successful nations in those decorative arts that embellish human life: and the masters of the world in all those that contribute to its convenience. I was commended for my attachment to *what I thought was liberty*; but answered, that the King of France must have no *veto* on the will of the nation; and that the army must be in the hands of the provinces, with an hundred ideas equally impracticable and preposterous. Yet these are the sentiments which the court has done all in its power to spread through the kingdom; for, will posterity believe, that while the press has swarmed with inflammatory productions, that tend to prove the blessings of theoretical confusion, and speculative licentiousness, not one writer of talents has been employed to refute and confound the fashionable doctrines, nor the least care taken to disseminate works of another complexion? By the way, when the court found that the states could not be
assembled

assembled on the old plan, and that great innovations must accordingly be made, they ought to have taken the constitution of England for their model; in the mode of assembling, they should have thrown the clergy and nobles into one chamber, with a throne for the King, when present. The commons should have assembled in another, and each chamber have, as in England, verified their powers only to themselves. And when the King held a *seance royale*, the commons should have been sent for to the bar of the lords, where seats should have been provided; and the King, in the edict that constituted the states, should have copied from England enough of the rules and orders of proceeding to prevent those preliminary discussions, which in France lost two months, and gave time for heated imaginations to work upon the people too much. By taking such steps, security would have been had, that if changes or events unforeseen arose, they would at least be met with in no such dangerous channel as another form and order of arrangement would permit.—15 miles.

The 30th. My friend's chateau is a considerable one, and much better built than was common in England in the same period, 200 years ago; I believe, however, that this superiority was universal in France, in all the arts. They were, I apprehend, in the reign of Henry IV. far beyond us in towns, houses, streets, roads, and, in short, in every thing. We have since, thanks to liberty, contrived to turn the tables on them. Like all the chateaus I have seen in France, it stands close to the town, indeed joining the end of it; but the back *front*, by some very judicious plantations, has entirely the air of the country, without the sight of any buildings. There the present marquis has formed an English lawn, with some agreeable winding walks of gravel, and other decorations, to skirt it. In this lawn they are making hay; and I have had the marquis, *Monf. l'Abbé*, and some others on the stack to shew them how to make and tread it: such hot politicians!—it is well they did not set the stack on fire. Nangis is near enough to Paris for *the people* to be politicians; the perruquier that dressed me this morning tells me, that every body is determined to pay no taxes, should the National Assembly so ordain. But the soldiers will have something to say. No, Sir, never:—be assured as we are, that the French soldiers will never fire on the people: but, if they should, it is better to be shot than starved. He gave me a frightful account of the misery of the people; whole families in the utmost distress; those that work have a pay insufficient to feed them—and many that find it difficult to get work at all. I enquired of *Monf. de Guerchy* concerning this, and found it true. By order of the magistrates no person is allowed to buy more than two bushels of wheat at a market, to prevent monopolizing. It is clear to common sense, that all such regulations have a direct tendency to increase the evil, but it is in vain to reason with people whose ideas are immoveably fixed. Being here on a market-day, I attended, and saw the
wheat

wheat fold out under this regulation, with a party of dragoons drawn up before the market-crofs to prevent violence. The people quarrel with the bakers, afferting the prices they demand for bread are beyond the proportion of wheat, and proceeding from words to fcuffling, raife a riot, and then run away with bread and wheat for nothing: this has happened at Nangis, and many other markets; the confequence was, that neither farmers nor bakers would fupply them till they were in danger of ftarving, and, when they did come, prices under fuch circumftances muft neceffarily rife enormously, which aggravated the mifchief, till troops became really neceffary to give fecurity to thofe who fupplied the markets. I have been fitting Madame de Guerchy on the expences of living; our friend Monf. l'Abbé joined the converfation, and I collect from it, that to live in a chateau like this, with fix men-fervants, five maids, eight horfes, a garden, and a regular table, with company, but never to go to Paris, might be done for 1000 louis a year. It would in England coft 2000; the mode of living (not the price of things) is therefore cent. per cent. different.— There are gentlemen (noblefté) that live in this country on 6 or 8000 liv. (262l. to 350l.), that keep two men, two maids, three horfes, and a cabriolet; there are the fame in England, but they are fools. Among the neighbours that vifited Nangis was Monf. Frudaine de Montigny, with his new and pretty wife, to return the firft vifit of ceremony: he has a fine chateau at Montigny, and an eftate of 4000 louis a year. This lady was Mademoifelle de Cour Breton, niece to Madame Calonne; ſhe was to have been married to the fon of Monf. Lamoignon, but much againft her inclinations; finding that common refusals had no avail, ſhe determined on a very uncommon one, which was to go to church, in obedience to her father's orders, and give a folemn no inſtead of a *yea*. She was afterwards at Dijon, and never ſtirred but ſhe was received with huzzas and acclamations by the people for refuſing to be allied with la Cour Pleniére; and her firmnefs was every where ſpoken of much to her advantage. Monf. la Luzerne was with them, nephew to the French ambaffador at London, who, in ſome broken Engliſh, informed me, that he had learned to box of Mendoza. No one can ſay that he has travelled without making acquiſitions. Has the duc d'Orleans learned to box alſo? The news from Paris is bad: the commotions increaſe greatly: and ſuch an alarm has ſpread, that the Queen has called the marechal de Broglie to the King's cloſet; he has had ſeveral conferences: the report is, that an army will be collected under him. It may be now neceffary; but woeful management to have made it ſo.

JULY 2. To Meaux. Monf. de Guerchy was ſo kind as to accompany me to Columiers; I had a letter to Monf. Anvéé Dumeé. Paſs Roſoy to Maupertius, through a country chearfully diversified by woods, and ſcattered with villages; and ſingle farms ſpread every where as about Nangis. Maupertius ſeems to have

been the creation of the marquis de Montesquieu, who has here a very fine chateau of his own building; an extensive English garden, made by the count d'Artois' gardener, with the town, has all been of his own forming. I viewed the garden with pleasure; a proper advantage has been taken of a good command of a stream, and many fine springs which rise in the grounds; they are well conducted, and the whole executed with taste. In the kitchen-garden, which is on the slope of a hill, one of these springs has been applied to excellent use: it is made to wind in many doubles through the whole on a paved bed, forming numerous basins for watering the garden, and might, with little trouble, be conducted alternately to every bed as in Spain. This is a hint of real utility to all those who form gardens on the sides of hills; for watering with pots and pails is a miserable, as well as expensive succedaneum to this infinitely more effective method. There is but one fault in this garden, which is its being placed near the house, where there should be nothing but lawn and scattered trees when viewed from the chateau. The road might be hidden by a judicious use of planting. The road to Columiers is admirably formed of broken stone, like gravel, by the marquis of Montesquieu, partly at his own expense. Before I finish with this nobleman, let me observe, that he is commonly esteemed the second family in France, and by some who admit his pretensions, even the first; he claims from the house of Armagnac, which was undoubtedly from Charlemagne: the present King of France, when he signed some paper relative to this family, that seemed to admit the claim, or refer to it, remarked, that it was declaring one of his subjects to be a better gentleman than himself. But the house of Montmorenci, of which family are the dukes of Luxembourg and Laval, and the prince of Robec, is generally admitted to be the first. Mons. de Montesquieu is a deputy in the states, one of the *quarante* in the French academy, having written several pieces: he is also chief minister to Monsieur, the King's brother, an office that is worth 100,000 liv. a year (4,375l.) Dine with Mons. and Madame Dumécé; conversation here, as in every other town of the country, seems more occupied by the dearth of wheat than on any other circumstance; yesterday was market-day, and a riot ensued of the populace, in spite of the troops, that were drawn up as usual to protect the corn: it rises to 46 liv. (2l. 3d.) the septier, or half-quarter,—and some is sold yet higher. To Meaux.—32 miles.

The 3d. Meaux was by no means in my direct road; but its district, Brie, is so highly celebrated for fertility, that it was an object not to omit. I was provided with letters for M. Bernier, a considerable farmer, at Chaucaunin, near Meaux; and for M. Gibert, of Neuf Moutier, a considerable cultivator, whose father and himself had between them made a fortune by agriculture. The former gentleman was not at home; by the latter I was received with great hospitality; and I found in him the strongest desire to give me every in-

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formation I wished. *Monf. Gibert* has built a very handsome and commodious house, with farming-offices, on the most ample and solid scale. I was pleased to find his wealth, which is not inconsiderable, to have arisen all from the plough. He did not forget to let me know, that he was noble, and exempted from all *tailles*; and that he had the honours of the chace, his father having purchased the charge of *Secrétaire du Roi*: but he very wisely lives *en fermier*. His wife made ready the table for dinner, and his bailiff, with the female domestic, who has the charge of the dairy, &c. both dined with us. This is in a true farming style; it has many conveniencies, and looks like a plan of living, which does not promise, like the foppish modes of little gentlemen, to run through a fortune, from false shame and silly pretensions. I can find no other fault with his system than having built a house enormously beyond his plan of living, which can have no other effect than tempting some successor, less prudent than himself into expences that might dissipate all his and his father's savings. In England that would certainly be the case: the danger, however, is not equal in France.

The 4th. To *Chateau Thiery*, following the course of the *Marne*. The country is pleasantly varied, and hilly enough to render it a constant picture, were it inclosed. *Thiery* is beautifully situated on the same river. I arrived there by five o'clock, and wished, in a period so interesting to France, and indeed to all Europe, to see a newspaper. I asked for a coffee-house, not one in the town. Here are two parishes, and some thousands of inhabitants, and not a newspaper to be seen by a traveller, even in a moment when all ought to be anxiety.—What stupidity, poverty, and want of circulation! This people hardly deserve to be free; and should there be the least attempt with vigour to keep them otherwise, it can hardly fail of succeeding. To those who have been used to travel amidst the energetic and rapid circulation of wealth, animation, and intelligence of England, it is not possible to describe, in words adequate to one's feelings, the dulness and stupidity of France. I have been to day on one of their greatest roads, within thirty miles of Paris, yet I have not seen one diligence, and met but a single gentleman's carriage, nor any thing else on the road that looked like a gentleman.—30 miles.

The 5th. To *Mareuil*. The *Marne*, about 25 rods broad, flows in an arable vale to the right. The country hilly, and parts of it pleasant; from one elevation there is a noble view of the river. *Mareuil* is the residence of *Monf. Le Blanc*, of whose husbandry and improvements, particularly in sheep of Spain, and cows of Switzerland, *Monf. de Broussonet* had spoken very advantageously. This was the gentleman also on whom I depended for information relative to the famous vineyards of *Epernay*, that produce the fine *Champagne*. What therefore was my disappointment, when his servants informed me that he was

nine leagues off on business. Is Madame Le Blanc at home? *No, she is at Dormans.* My complaining ejaculations were interrupted by the approach of a very pretty young lady, whom I found to be Mademoiselle Le Blanc. *Her mama would return to dinner, her papa at night; and, if I wished to see him, I had better stay.* When persuasion takes so pleasing a form, it is not easy to resist it. There is a manner of doing every thing that either leaves it absolutely indifferent or that interests. The unaffected good humour and simplicity of Mademoiselle Le Blanc entertained me till the return of her mama, and made me say to myself, *you will make a good farmer's wife.* Madame Le Blanc, when she returned, confirmed the native hospitality of her daughter; assured me, that her husband would be at home early in the morning, as she must dispatch a messenger to him on other business. In the evening we supped with Monf. B. in the same village, who married Madame Le Blanc's niece; to pass Mareuil, it has the appearance of a small hamlet of inconsiderable farmers, with the houses of their labourers; and the sentiment that would arise in most bosoms, would be that of picturing the banishment of being condemned to live in it. Who would think that there should be two gentlemen's families in it; and that in one I should find Mademoiselle Le Blanc singing to her sistrum, and in the other Madame B. young and handsome, performing on an excellent English piano forte? Compared notes of the expences of living in Champagne and Suffolk;—agreed, that 100 louis d'or a year in Champagne, were as good an income as 180 in England, which I believe true. On his return, Monf. Le Blanc, in the most obliging manner, satisfied all my enquiries, and gave me letters to the most celebrated wine districts.

The 7th. To Epernay, famous for its wines. I had letters for Monf. Paretilaine, one of the most considerable merchants, who was so obliging as to enter, with two other gentlemen, into a minute disquisition of the produce and profit of the fine vineyards. The *hotel de Roban* here is a very good inn, where I solaced myself with a bottle of excellent *vin mouffeux*, for 40*s.* and drank prosperity to *true* liberty in France.—12 miles.

The 8th. To Ay, a village not far out of the road to Rheims, very famous for its wines. I had a letter for Monf. Lafnier, who has 60,000 bottles in his cellar, but unfortunately he was not at home. Monf. Dorfé has from 30 to 40,000. All through this country the crop promises miserably, not owing to the great frost, but the cold weather of last week.

To Rheims, through a forest of five miles, on the crown of the hill, which separates the narrow vale of Epernay from the great plain of Rheims. The first view of that city from this hill, just before the descent, at the distance of about four miles, is magnificent. The cathedral makes a great figure, and the church of St. Remy terminates the town proudly. Many times I have had
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such a view of towns in France, but when you enter them, all is a clutter of narrow, crooked, dark, and dirty lanes. At Rheims it is very different: the streets are almost all broad, strait, and well built, equal in that respect to any I have seen; and the inn, the *hotel de Moulinet*, is so large and well-served as not to check the emotions raised by agreeable objects, by giving an impulse to contrary vibrations in the bosom of the traveller, which at inns in France is too often the case. At dinner they gave me also a bottle of excellent wine. I suppose fixed air is good for the rheumatism; I had some writhes of it before I entered Champagne, but the *vin mouffeux* has absolutely banished it. I had letters for Mons. Cadot L'ainé, a considerable manufacturer, and the possessor of a large vineyard, which he cultivates himself; he was therefore a double fund to me. He received me very politely, answered my enquiries, and shewed me his fabric. The cathedral is large, but does not strike me like that of Amiens, yet ornamented, and many painted windows. They shewed me the spot where the kings are crowned. You enter and quit Rheims through superb and elegant iron gates: in such public decorations, promenades, &c. French towns are much beyond English ones. Stopped at Sillery, to view the wine press of the marquis de Sillery; he is the greatest wine-farmer in all Champagne, having in his own hands 180 arpents. Till I got to Sillery, I knew not that it belonged to the husband of Madame de Genlis; but I determined, on hearing that it did, to pluck up impudence enough to introduce myself to the marquis, should he be at home: I did not like to pass the door of Madame de Genlis without seeing her: her writings are too celebrated. *La Petite Loge*, where I slept, is bad enough of all conscience, but such a reflexion would have made it ten times worse: the absence, however, of both Mons. and Madame quieted both my wishes and anxieties. He is in the states.—28 miles.

The 9th. To Chalons, through a poor country and poor crops. M. de Brouffonet had given me a letter to Mons. Sabbatier, secretary to the academy of sciences, but he was absent. A regiment passing to Paris, an officer at the inn addressed me in English.—He had learned, he said, in America, damme!—*He* had taken lord Cornwallis, damme!—Marechal Broglio was appointed to command an army of 50,000 men near Paris—it was necessary—the *tiers état* were running mad—and wanted some wholesome correction;—they want to establish a republic—absurd! Pray, Sir, what did you fight for in America? To establish a republic. What was so good for the Americans, is it so bad for the French? Aye, damme! that is the way the English want to be revenged. It is, to be sure, no bad opportunity. Can the English follow a better example? He then made many enquiries about what we thought and said upon it in England: and I may remark, that almost every person I meet with has the same idea—*The English must be very well contented at our confusion.* They feel pretty pointedly what they deserve.—12½ miles.

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The 10th. To Ove. Pass Courtiffeau, a small village, with a great church; and though a good stream, not an idea of irrigation. Roofs of houses almost flat, with projecting eaves, resembling those from Pau to Bayonne. At St. Menehoud a dreadful tempest, after a burning day, with such a fall of rain, that I could hardly get to Mons. l'Abbé Michel, to whom I had a letter. When I found him, the incessant flashes of lightning would allow me no conversation; for all the females of the house came into the room for the Abbé's protection I suppose, so I took leave. The *vin de Champagne*, which is 40*s.* at Rheims, is 3 *liv.* at Chalons and here, and execrably bad; so there is an end of my physic for the rheumatism.—25 miles.

The 11th. Pass Islets, a town (or rather collection of dirt and dung) of new features, that seem to mark, with the faces of the people, a country not French.—25 miles.

The 12th. Walking up a long hill, to ease my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a sad country; demanding her reasons, she said her husband had but a morsel of land, one cow, and a poor little horse, yet they had a *franchar* (42 lb.) of wheat, and three chickens, to pay as a quit-rent to one Seigneur; and four *franchar* of oats, one chicken and 1*s.* to pay to another, besides very heavy tailles and other taxes. She had seven children, and the cow's milk helped to make the soup. But why, instead of a horse, do not you keep another cow? Oh, her husband could not carry his produce so well without a horse; and asses are little used in the country. It was said, at present, that *something was to be done by some great folks for such poor ones, but she did not know who nor how*, but God send us better, *car les tailles & les droits nous écrasent*.—This woman, at no great distance, might have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent, and her face so furrowed and hardened by labour,—but she said she was only twenty-eight. An Englishman who has not travelled, cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the countrywomen in France; it speaks, at the first sight, hard and severe labour: I am inclined to think, that they work harder than the men, and this, united with the more miserable labour of bringing a new race of slaves into the world, destroys absolutely all symmetry of person and every feminine appearance. To what are we to attribute this difference in the manners of the lower people in the two kingdoms? To GOVERNMENT.—23 miles.

The 13th. Leave Mar-le-Tour at four in the morning: the village herdsman was sounding his horn; and it was droll to see every door vomiting out its hogs or sheep, and some a few goats, the flock collecting as it advances. Very poor sheep, and the pigs with mathematical backs, large segments of small circles. They must have abundance of commons here, but, if I may judge by the report of the animals carcases, dreadfully overstocked. To Metz, one of
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the strongest places in France; pass three draw-bridges, but the command of water must give a strength equal to its works. The common garrison is 10,000 men, but there are fewer at present. Waited on M. de Payen, secretary of the academy of sciences; he asked my plan, which I explained; he appointed me at four in the afternoon at the academy, as there would be a *seance* held; and he promised to introduce me to some persons who could answer my enquiries. I attended accordingly, when I found the academy assembled at one of their weekly meetings. Monf. Payen introduced me to the members, and, before they proceeded to their business, they had the goodness to sit in council on my enquiries, and to resolve many of them. In the *Almanach des Trois Evechés*, 1789, this academy is said to have been instituted particularly for agriculture; I turned to the list of their honorary members to see what attention they had paid to the men who, in the present age, have advanced that art. I found an Englishman, Dom Cowley, of London. Who is Dom Cowley?—Dined at the table d'hôte, with seven officers, out of whose mouths, at this important moment, in which conversation is as free as the press, not one word issued for which I would give a straw, nor a subject touched on of more importance, than a coat, or a puppy dog. At table d'hôtes of officers, you have a voluble garniture of bawdry or nonsense; at those of merchants, a mournful and stupid silence. Take the mass of mankind, and you have more good sense in half an hour in England than in half a year in France.—Government! Again:—all—all—is government.—15 miles.

The 14th. They have a *cabinet littéraire* at Metz, something like that I described at Nantes, but not on so great a plan; and they admit any person to read or go in and out for a day, on paying 4*s*. To this I eagerly resorted, and the news from Paris, both in the public prints, and by the information of a gentleman, I found to be interesting. Versailles and Paris are surrounded by troops: 35,000 men are assembled, and 20,000 more on the road, large trains of artillery collected, and all the preparations of war. The assembling of such a number of troops has added to the scarcity of bread; and the magazines that have been made for their support, are not easily by the people distinguished from those they suspect of being collected by monopolists. This has aggravated their evils almost to madness; so that the confusion and tumult of the capital are extreme. A gentleman of an excellent understanding, and apparently of consideration, from the attention paid him, with whom I had some conversation on the subject, lamented, in the most pathetic terms, the situation of his country; he considers a civil war as impossible to be avoided. There is not, he added, a doubt but the court, finding it impossible to bring the National Assembly to terms, will get rid of them; a bankruptcy at the same moment is inevitable; the union of such confusion must be a civil war; and it is now only by torrents
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of blood that we have any hope of establishing a freer constitution: yet it must be established; for the old government is rivetted to abuses that are insupportable. He agreed with me entirely, that the propositions of the *seance royale*, though certainly not sufficiently satisfactory, yet, were the ground for a negotiation, that would have secured by degrees *all even that the sword can give us, let it be as successful as it will. The purse—the power of the purse is every thing; skilfully managed, with so necessitous a government as ours, it would, one after another, have gained all we wished. As to a war, Heaven knows the event; and if we have success, success itself may ruin us; France may have a Cromwell in its bosom, as well as England.* Metz is, without exception, the cheapest town I have been in. The table d'hôte is 36 *s.* a head, plenty of good wine included. We were ten, and had two courses and a dessert of ten dishes each, and those courses plentiful. The supper is the same; I had mine, of a pint of wine and a large plate of chaudiés, in my chamber, for 10 *s.* a horse, hay, and corn 25 *s.* and nothing for the apartment; my expence was therefore 71 *s.* a day, or 2s. 11½ *d.*; and with the table d'hôte for supper, would have been but 97 *s.* or 4s. 0½ *d.*—In addition, much civility and good attendance. It is at the *Faisan*. Why are the cheapest inns in France the best?—The country to Pont-a-Mousson is all of bold features.—The river Moselle, which is considerable, runs in the vale, and the hills on either side are high. Not far from Metz there are the remains of an ancient aqueduct for conducting the waters of a spring across the Moselle: there are many arches left on this side, with the houses of poor people built between them. At Pont-a-Mousson Mons. Pichon, the sub-delegué of the intendant, to whom I had letters, received me politely, satisfied my enquiries, which he was well able to do from his office, and conducted me to see whatever was worth viewing in the town. It does not contain much; the *école militaire*, for the sons of the poor nobility, also the *couvent de Premonté*, which has a very fine library, 107 feet long and 25 broad. I was introduced to the abbot as a person who had some knowledge in agriculture.— 17 miles.

The 15th. I went to Nancy, with great expectation, having heard it represented as the prettiest town in France. I think, on the whole, it is not undeserving the character in point of building, direction, and breadth of streets.— Bourdeaux is far more magnificent; Bayonne and Nantes are more lively; but there is more equality in Nancy; it is almost all good; and the public buildings are numerous. The *place royale*, and the adjoining area are superb. Letters from Paris! all confusion! the ministry removed: Mons. Necker ordered to quit the kingdom without noise. The effect on the people of Nancy was considerable.—I was with Mons. Willemet when his letters arrived, and for some time his house was full of enquirers; all agreed, that it was fatal news, and that it would occasion great commotions. *What will be the result*

sult at Nancy? The answer was in effect the same from all I put this question to: *We are a provincial town, we must wait to see what is done at Paris; but every thing is to be feared from the people, because bread is so dear, they are half starved, and are consequently ready for commotion.*—This is the general feeling; they are as nearly concerned as Paris; but they dare not stir; they dare not even have an opinion of their own till they know what Paris thinks; so that if a starving populace were not in question, no one would dream of moving. This confirms what I have often heard remarked, that the *deficit* would not have produced the revolution but in concurrence with the price of bread. Does not this shew the infinite consequence of great cities to the liberty of mankind? Without Paris, I question whether the present revolution, which is fast working in France, could possibly have had an origin. It is not in the villages of Syria or Diarbekir that the Grand Seigneur meets with a murmur against his will; it is at Constantinople that he is obliged to manage and mix caution even with despotism. Mr. Willemet, who is demonstrator of botany, shewed me the botanical garden, but it is in a condition that speaks the want of better funds. He introduced me to a *Monf. Durival*, who has written on the vine, and gave me one of his treatises, and also two of his own on botanical subjects. He also conducted me to *Monf. l'Abbé Grandpère*, a gentleman curious in gardening, who, as soon as he knew that I was an Englishman, whimsically took it into his head to introduce me to a lady, my countrywoman, who hired, he said, the greatest part of his house. I remonstrated against the impropriety of this, but all in vain; the Abbé had never travelled, and thought that if he were at the distance of England from France (the French are not commonly good geographers) he should be very glad to see a Frenchman; and that, by parity of reasoning, this lady must be the same to meet a countryman she never saw or heard of. Away he went, and would not rest till I was conducted into her apartment. It was the dowager Lady Douglas; she was unaffected, and good enough not to be offended at such a strange intrusion.—She had been here but a few days; had two fine daughters with her, and a beautiful Kamchatka dog; she was much troubled with the intelligence her friends in the town had just given her, that she would, in all probability, be forced to move again, as the news of *Monf. Necker's* removal, and the new ministry being appointed, would certainly occasion such dreadful tumults, that a foreign family would probably find it equally dangerous and disagreeable.—18 miles.

The 16th. All the houses at Nancy have tin eave troughs and pipes, which render walking the streets much more easy and agreeable; it is also an additional consumption, which is politically useful. Both this place and Luneville are lighted in the English manner, instead of the lamps being strung across the streets as in other French towns. Before I quit Nancy, let me caution the un-

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wary traveller, if he is not a great lord, with plenty of money that he does not know what to do with, against the *hotel d'Angleterre*; a bad dinner 3 liv. and for the room as much more. A pint of wine, and a plate of *chaudié* 20*f.* which at Metz was 10*f.* and in addition, I liked so little my treatment, that I changed my quarters to the *hotel de Halle*, where, at the table d'hôte, I had the company of some agreeable officers, two good courses, and a dessert, for 36*f.* with a bottle of wine. The chamber 20*f.*; for building, however, the *hotel d'Angleterre* is much superior, and is the first inn. In the evening to Luneville. The country about Nancy is pleasing.—17 miles.

The 17th. Luneville being the residence of Mons. Lazowski, the father of my much esteemed friend, who was advertised of my journey, I waited on him in the morning; he received me with not politeness only, but hospitality—with a hospitality I began to think was not to be found on this side of the kingdom.—From Mareuil hither, I had really been so unaccustomed to receive any attentions of that sort, that it awakened me to a train of new feelings agreeably enough.—An apartment was ready for me, which I was pressed to occupy, desired to dine, and expected to stay some days: he introduced me to his wife and family, particularly to M. l'Abbé Lazowski, who, with the most obliging alacrity, undertook the office of shewing me whatever was worth seeing.—We examined, in a walk before dinner, the establishment of the orphans; well regulated and conducted. Luneville wants such establishments, for it has no industry, and therefore is very poor; I was assured not less than half the population of the place, or 10,000 persons are poor. Luneville is cheap. A cook's wages two, three, or four louis. A maid's, that dresses hair, three or four louis; a common house-maid, one louis; a common footman, or a house lad, three louis. Rent of a good house sixteen or seventeen louis. Lodgings of four or five rooms, some of them small, nine louis. After dinner, wait on M. Vaux dit Pomponne, an intimate acquaintance of my friend's; here mingled hospitality and politeness also received me, and so much pressed to dine with him to-morrow, that I should certainly have staid had it been merely for the pleasure of more conversation with a very sensible and cultivated man; who, though advanced in years, has the talents and good humour to render his company universally agreeable: I was obliged to refuse it; I was out of order all day. Yesterday's heat was followed, after some lightning, by a cold night, and I laid, without knowing it, with the windows open, and caught cold I suppose, from the information of my bones. I am acquainted with strangers as easily and quickly as any body, a habit that much travelling can scarcely fail to give, but to be ill among them would be *enuyante*, demand too much attention, and inroach on their humanity. This induced me to refuse the obliging wishes of both the Messrs. Lazowski's, Mons. Pomponne, and also of a pretty and agreeable American lady, I met at the house of the latter. Her
history

history is singular, and yet very natural. She was Miss Blake, of New-York; what carried her to Dominica I know not; but the sun did not spoil her complexion: a French officer, Monf. Tibalié, on taking the island, made her his captive, and himself became her own, fell in love, and married her; brought his prize to France, and settled her in his native town of Luneville. The regiment, of which he is major, being quartered in a distant province, she complained of seeing her husband not more than for six months in two years. She has been four years at Luneville; and having the society of three children, is reconciled to a scene of life new to her. Monf. Pompone, who, she assured me, is one of the best men in the world, has parties every day at his house, not more to his own satisfaction than to her comfort.—This gentleman is another instance, as well as the major, of attachment to the place of nativity; he was born at Luneville; attended King Stanislaus in some respectable office, near his person; has lived much at Paris, and with the great, and had first ministers of state for his intimate friends; but the love of the *natale solum* brought him back to Luneville, where he has lived beloved and respected for many years, surrounded by an elegant collection of books, amongst which the poets are not forgotten, having himself no inconsiderable talents in transfusing agreeable sentiments into pleasing verses. He has some couplets of his own composition, under the portraits of his friends, which are pretty and easy. It would have given me much pleasure to have spent some days at Luneville; an agreeable opening was made for me in two houses, where I should have met with a friendly and agreeable reception: but the misfortunes of travelling are sometimes the accidents that cross the moments prepared for enjoyment; and at others, the system of a journey inconsistent with the plans of destined pleasure.

The 18th. To Haming, through an uninteresting country.—28 miles.

The 19th. To Savern, in Alsace: the country to Phalsbourg, a small fortified town, on the frontiers, is much the same to the eye as hitherto. The women in Alsace all wear straw hats, as large as those worn in England; they shelter the face, and should secure some pretty country girls, but I have seen none yet. Coming out of Phalsbourg, there are some hovels miserable enough, yet have chimnies and windows, but the inhabitants in the lowest poverty. From that town to Savern all a mountain of oak timber, the descent steep, and the road winding. In Savern, I found myself to all appearance veritably in Germany; for two days past much tendency to a change, but here not one person in an hundred has a word of French; the rooms are warmed by stoves; the kitchen-hearth is three or four feet high, and various other trifles shew, that you are among another people. Looking at a map of France, and reading histories of Louis XIV. never threw his conquest or seizure of Alsace into the light which travelling into it did: to cross a great range of mountains; to

enter a level plain, inhabited by a people totally distinct and different from France, with manners, language, ideas, prejudices, and habits all different, made an impression of the injustice and ambition of such a conduct, much more forcible than ever reading had done: so much more powerful are things than words. — 22 miles.

The 20th. To Strasbourg, through one of the richest scenes of soil and cultivation to be met with in France, and rivalled only by Flanders, which however, exceeds it. I arrived there at a critical moment, which I thought would have broken my neck; a detachment of horse, with their trumpets on one side, a party of infantry, with their drums beating on the other, and a great mob hallooing, frightened my French mare; and I could scarcely keep her from trampling on Messrs. the *tiers etat*. On arriving at the inn, hear the interesting news of the revolt of Paris.—The *Guardes Françoises* joining the people; the little dependence on the rest of the troops; the taking the Bastile; and the institution of the *milice bourgeoise*; in a word, of the absolute overthrow of the old government. Every thing being now decided, and the kingdom absolutely in the hands of the assembly, they have the power to make a new constitution, such as they think proper; and it will be a great spectacle for the world to view, in this enlightened age, the representatives of twenty-five millions of people sitting on the construction of a new and better order and fabric of liberty, than Europe has yet offered. It will now be seen, whether they will copy the constitution of England, freed from its faults, or attempt, from theory, to frame something absolutely speculative: in the former case, they will prove a blessing to their country; in the latter, they will probably involve it in inextricable confusions and civil wars, perhaps not in the present period, but certainly at some future one. I hear nothing of their removing from Versailles; if they stay there under the controul of an armed mob, they must make a government that will please the mob; but they will, I suppose, be wise enough to move to some central town, Tours, Blois, or Orleans, where their deliberations may be free. But the Parisian spirit of commotion spreads quickly; it is here; the troops that were near breaking my neck, are employed to keep an eye on the people who shew signs of an intended revolt. They have broken the windows of some magistrates that are no favourites; and a great mob of them is at this moment assembled, demanding clamourously to have meat at 5*s*. a pound. They have a cry among them that will conduct them to good lengths,—*Point d'impôt & vive les états*.—Waited on Monf. Herman, professor of natural history in the University here, to whom I had letters; he replied to some of my questions, and introduced me for others to Monf. Zimmer, who having been in some degree a practitioner, had understanding enough of the subject to afford me some information that was valuable. View the public buildings, and cross the
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the Rhine passing for some little distance into Germany, but no new features to mark a change; Alsace is Germany, and the change great on descending the mountains. The exterior of the cathedral is fine, and the tower singularly light and beautiful; it is well known to be one of the highest in Europe; commands a noble and rich plain, through which the Rhine, from the number of its islands, has the appearance of a chain of lakes rather than of a river.— Monument of marechal Saxe, &c. &c. I am puzzled about going to Carlsruh, the residence of the Margrave of Baden: it was an old intention to do it, if ever I was within an hundred miles; for there are some features in the reputation of that sovereign, which made me wish to be there. He fixed Mr. Taylor, of Bifrons in Kent, whose husbandry I describe in my Eastern Tour, on a large farm; and the *œconomistes*, in their writings, speak much of an experiment he made in their Physiocratical rubbish, which, however erroneous their principles might be, marked much merit in the prince. Mons. Herman tells me also, that he has sent a person into Spain to purchase rams for the improvement of wool, I wish he had fixed on somebody likely to understand a good ram, which a professor of botany is not likely to do too well. This botanist is the only person Mons. Herman knows at Carlsruh, and therefore can give me no letter thither, and how I can go, unknown to all the world, to the residence of a sovereign prince, for Mr. Taylor has left him, is a difficulty apparently insurmountable.— 22½ miles.

The 21st. I have spent some time this morning at the *cabinet litteraire*, reading the gazettes and journals that give an account of the transactions at Paris: and I have had some conversation with several sensible and intelligent men on the present revolution. The spirit of revolt is gone forth into various parts of the kingdom; the price of bread has prepared the populace every where for all sorts of violence; at Lyons there have been commotions as furious as at Paris, and the same at a great many other places: Dauphiné is in arms: and Bretagne in absolute rebellion. The idea is, that the people will, from hunger, be driven to revolt; and when once they find any other means of subsistence than that of honest labour, every thing will be to be feared. Of such consequence it is to a country, and indeed to every country, to have a good police of corn; a police that shall, by securing a high price to the farmer, encourage his culture enough to secure the people at the same time from famine. My anxiety about Carlsruh is at an end; the Margrave is at Spaw; I shall not therefore think of going.— *Night*—I have been witness to a scene curious to a foreigner; but dreadful to Frenchmen that are considerate. Passing through the square of the *hotel de ville*, the mob were breaking the windows with stones, notwithstanding an officer and a detachment of horse was in the square.

Perceiving

Perceiving that their numbers not only increased, but that they grew bolder and bolder every moment, I thought it worth staying to see what it would end in, and clambered on to the roof of a row of low stalls opposite the building, against which their malice was directed. Here I beheld the whole commotion. Perceiving that the troops would not attack them, except in words and menaces, they grew more violent, and furiously attempted to beat the doors in pieces with iron crows; placing ladders to the windows. In about a quarter of an hour, which gave time for the assembled magistrates to escape by a back door, they burst all open, and entered like a torrent with a universal shout of the spectators. From that minute a shower of casements, sashes, shutters, chairs, tables, sofas, books, papers, pictures, &c. rained incessantly from all the windows of the house, which is seventy or eighty feet long, and which was then succeeded by tiles, skirting boards, bannisters, framework, and every part of the building that force could detach. The troops, both horse and foot, were quiet spectators. They were at first too few to interfere, and, when they became more numerous, the mischief was too far advanced to admit of any other conduct than guarding every avenue around, permitting none to go to the scene of action, but letting every one that pleased retire with his plunder; guards being at the same time placed at the doors of the churches, and all public buildings. I was for two hours a spectator at different places of the scene, secure myself from the falling furniture, but near enough to see a fine lad of about 14 crushed to death by something as he was handing plunder to a woman, I suppose his mother, from the horror that was pictured in her countenance. I remarked several common soldiers, with their white cockades, among the plunderers, and instigating the mob even in sight of the officers of the detachment. There were amongst them people so decently dressed, that I regarded them with no small surprize:—they destroyed all the public archives; the streets for some way around strewed with papers; this has been a wanton mischief; for it will be the ruin of many families unconnected with the magistrates.

The 22d. To Schelestadt. At Strasbourg, and the country I passed, the lower ranks of women wear their hair in a toupee in front, and behind braided into a circular plait, three inches thick, and is most curiously contrived to convince one that they rarely pass a comb through it. I could not but picture them as the *nidus* of living colonies, that never approached me (they are not burthened with too much beauty), but I scratched my head from sensations of imaginary itching. The moment you are out of a great town all in this country is German; the inns have one common large room, many tables and cloths ready spread, where every company dines; gentry at some, and the poor at others. Cookery also German: *schnitz* is a dish of bacon and fried pears; has the appearance

pearance of a mefs for the devil ; but I was surprized, on tafting, to find it better than paffable. At Scheleftadt I had the pleafure of finding the count de la Rochefoucauld, whose regiment (of Champagne), of which he is fecond major, is quartered here. No attentions could be kinder than what I received from him ; they were a renewal of the numerous ones I was in the habit of experiencing from his family ; and he introduced me to a good farmer from whom I had the intelligence I wanted.—25 miles.

The 23d. An agreeable quiet day, with the count de la Rochefoucauld : dine with the officers of the regiment, the count de Loumené, the colonel, nephew to the cardinal de Loumené, present. Sup at my friend's lodgings ; an officer of infantry, a Dutch gentleman who has been much in the East-Indies, and fpeaks Englifh there. This has been a refreshing day ; the fociety of well informed people, liberal, polite, and communicative, has been a contraft to the *sombre* stupidity of table d'hôtes.

The 24th. To Ifenheim, by Colmar. The country is in general a dead level, with the Voge mountains very near to the right ; thofe of Suabia to the left ; and there is another range very diftant, that appears in the opening to the fouth. The news at the table d'hôte at Colmar curious, that the Queen had a plot, nearly on the point of execution, to blow up the National Affembly by a mine, and to march the army instantly to maffacre all Paris. A French officer present prefumed but to doubt of the truth of it, and was immediately overpowered with numbers of tongues. A deputy had written it ; they had feen the letter, and not a heftitation could be admitted : I ftrenuously contended, that it was folly and nonfence at the firft blufh, a mere invention to render perfons odious who, for what I knew, might deferve to be fo, but certainly not by fuch means ; if the angel Gabriel had defcended and taken a chair at table to convince them, it would not have fhaken their faith. Thus it is in revolutions, one rafcal writes, and an hundred thousand fools believe.—25 miles.

The 25th. From Ifenheim, the country changes from the dead flat, to pleafant views and inequalities, improving all the way to Befort, but neither fcattered houfes nor inclofures. Great riots at Befort :—laft night a body of mob and peafants demanded of the magiftrates the arms in the magazine, to the amount of three or four thousand ftand ; being refused, they grew riotous, and threatened to fet fire to the town, on which the gates were fhut ; and to-day the regiment of Bourgogne arrived for their protection. Monf. Necker paffed here to-day in his way from Baffe to Paris, escorted by 50 bourgeois horfemen, and through the town by the mufic of all the troops. But the moft brilliant period of his life is paff ; from the moment of his reinstatement in power to the affembling of the ftates, the fate of France, and of the Bourbons, was then in his hands ; and whatever may be the refult of the
present

present confusions they will, by posterity, be attributed to his conduct, since he had unquestionably the power of assembling the states in whatever form he pleased: he might have had two chambers, three, or one; he might have given what would unavoidably have slid into the constitution of England; all was in his hands; he had the greatest opportunity of political architecture that ever was in the power of man: the great legislators of antiquity never possessed such a moment: in my opinion he missed it completely, and threw that to the chance of the winds and waves, to which he might have given impulse, direction, and life. I had letters to Mons. de Bellonde, *commissaire de Guerre*; I found him alone: he asked me to sup, saying he should have some persons to meet me who could give me information. On my returning, he introduced me to Madame de Bellonde, and a circle of a dozen ladies, with three or four young officers, leaving the room himself to attend Madame, the princess of something, who was on her flight to Switzerland. I wished the whole company very cordially at the devil, for I saw, at one glance, what sort of information I should have. There was a little *coterie* in one corner listening to an officer's detail of leaving Paris. This gentleman further informed us, that the count d'Artois, and all the princes of the blood, except Monsieur, and the duke d'Orleans, the whole connection of Polignac, the marechal de Broglio, and an infinite number of the first nobility had fled the kingdom, and were daily followed by others; and lastly, that the King, Queen, and royal family, were in a situation at Versailles really dangerous and alarming, without any dependence on the troops near them, and, in fact, more like prisoners than free. Here is, therefore, a revolution effected by a sort of magic; all powers in the realm are destroyed but that of the commons; and it now will remain to see what sort of architects they are at rebuilding an edifice in the place of that which has been thus marvellously tumbled in ruins. Supper being announced, the company quitted the room, and as I did not push myself forward, I remained at the rear till I was very whimsically alone; I was a little struck at the turn of the moment, and did not advance when I found myself in such an extraordinary situation, in order to see whether it would arrive at the point it did. I then, smiling, took my hat, and walked fairly out of the house. I was, however, overtaken below; but I talked of business—or pleasure—or of something, or nothing—and hurried to the inn. I should not have related this, if it had not been at a moment that carried with it its apology: the anxiety and distraction of the time must fill the head; and occupy the attention of a gentleman;—and, as to ladies, what can French ladies think of a man who travels for the plough?—25 miles.

The 26th. For twenty miles to Lisle sur Daube, the country nearly as before; but after that, to Baume les Dames, it is all mountainous and rock,
 much

much wood, and many pleasing scenes of the river flowing beneath. The whole country is in the greatest agitation; at one of the little towns I passed, I was questioned for not having a cockade of the *tiers etat*. They said it was ordained by the *tiers*, and, if I was not a Seigneur, I ought to obey. *But suppose I am a Seigneur, what then, my friends?*—What then? they replied sternly, why, be hanged; for that most likely is what you deserve. It was plain this was no moment for joking, the boys and girls began to gather, whose assembling has every where been the preliminaries of mischief; and, if I had not declared myself an Englishman, and ignorant of the ordinance, I had not escaped very well. I immediately bought a cockade, but the huffey pinned it into my hat so loosely, that before I got to Lisle it blew into the river, and I was again in the same danger. My assertion of being English would not do. I was a Seigneur, perhaps in disguise, and without doubt a great rogue. At this moment a priest came into the street with a letter in his hand: the people immediately collected around him, and he then read aloud a detail from Befort, giving an account of M. Necker's passing, with some general features of news from Paris, and assurances that the condition of the people would be improved. When he had finished, he exhorted them to abstain from all violence; and assured them, they must not indulge themselves with any ideas of impositions being abolished; which he touched on as if he knew that they had got such notions. When he retired, they again surrounded me, who had attended to the letter like others; were very menacing in their manner; and expressed many suspicions: I did not like my situation at all, especially on hearing one of them say that I ought to be secured till somebody would give an account of me. I was on the steps of the inn, and begged they would permit me a few words; I assured them, that I was an English traveller, and to prove it, I desired to explain to them a circumstance in English taxation, which would be a satisfactory comment on what *Monf. l'Abbé* had told them, to the purport of which I could not agree. He had asserted, that the impositions must and would be paid as heretofore: that the impositions must be paid was certain, but not as heretofore, as they might be paid as they were in England. Gentlemen, we have a great number of taxes in England, which you know nothing of in France; but the *tiers etat*, the poor do not pay them; they are laid on the rich; every window in a man's house pays; but if he has no more than six windows, he pays nothing; a Seigneur, with a great estate, pays the *vingtiemes* and *tailles*, but the little proprietor of a garden pays nothing; the rich for their horses, their voitures, their servants, and even for liberty to kill their own partridges, but the poor farmer nothing of all this: and what is more, we have in England a tax paid by the rich for the relief of the poor; hence the assertion of *Monf. l'Abbé*, that because taxes existed before they must exist again, did not at all prove that

they must be levied in the same manner; our English method seemed much better. There was not a word of this discourse, they did not approve of; they seemed to think that I might be an honest fellow, which I confirmed, by crying, *vive le tiers, sans impositions*, when they gave me a bit of a huzza, and I had no more interruption from them. My miserable French was pretty much on a par with their own *patois*. I got, however, another cockade, which I took care to have so fastened as to lose it no more. I do not half like travelling in such an unquiet and fermenting moment; one is not secure for an hour beforehand.— 35 miles.

The 27th. To Besançon; the country mountain, rock, and wood, above the river; some scenes are fine. I had not arrived an hour before I saw a peasant pass the inn on horseback, followed by an officer of the *guard bourgeois*, of which there are 1200 here, and 200 under arms, and his party-coloured detachment, and these by some infantry and cavalry. I asked, why the militia took the *pas* of the King's troops? *For a very good reason*, they replied, *the troops would be attacked and knocked on the head, but the populace will not resist the milice*. This peasant, who is a rich proprietor, applied for a guard to protect his house, in a village where there is much plundering and burning. The mischiefs which have been perpetrated in the country, towards the mountains and Vesoul, are numerous and shocking. Many chateaus have been burnt, others plundered, the seigneurs hunted down like wild beasts, their wives and daughters ravished, their papers and titles burnt, and all their property destroyed: and these abominations not inflicted on marked persons, who were odious for their former conduct or principles, but an indiscriminating blind rage for the love of plunder. Robbers, galley-slaves, and villains of all denominations, have collected and instigated the peasants to commit all sorts of outrages. Some gentlemen at the table d'hôte informed me, that letters were received from the Maconois, the Lyonois, Auvergne, Dauphiné, &c. and that similar commotions and mischiefs were perpetrating every where; and that it was expected they would pervade the whole kingdom. The backwardness of France is beyond credibility in every thing that pertains to intelligence. From Strasbourg hither, I have not been able to see a newspaper. Here I asked for the *Cabinet Litteraire*? None. The gazettes? At the coffee-house. Very easily replied; but not so easily found. Nothing but the *Gazette de France*; for which, at this period, a man of common sense would not give one *sol*. To four other coffee-houses; at some no paper at all, not even the *Mercure*; at the *Caffé Militaire*, the *Courier de l'Europe* a fortnight old; and well dressed people are now talking of the news of two or three weeks past, and plainly by their discourse know nothing of what is passing. The whole town of Besançon has not been able to afford me a sight of the *Journal de Paris*, nor of any paper that gives a detail of the transactions of
the

the states; yet it is the capital of a province, large as half a dozen English counties, and containing 25,000 souls,—with, strange to say! the post coming in but three times a week. At this eventful moment, with no licence, nor even the least restraint on the press, not one paper established at Paris for circulation in the provinces, with the necessary steps taken by *affiche*, or *placard*, to inform the people in all the towns of its establishment. For what the country knows to the contrary, their deputies are in the Bastille, instead of the Bastille being razed; so the mob plunder, burn, and destroy, in complete ignorance: and yet, with all these shades of darkness, these clouds of tenebrity, this universal mass of ignorance, there are men every day in the states, who are puffing themselves off for the **FIRST NATION IN EUROPE!** the **GREATEST PEOPLE IN THE UNIVERSE!** as if the political juntas, or literary circles of a capital constituted a people; instead of the universal illumination of knowledge, acting by rapid intelligence on minds prepared by habitual energy of reasoning to receive, combine, and comprehend it. That this dreadful ignorance of the mass of the people, of the events that most intimately concern them, is owing to the old government, no one can doubt; it is however curious to remark, that if the nobility of other provinces are hunted like those of Franche Comté, of which there is little reason to doubt, that whole order of men undergo a proscription, and suffer like sheep, without making the least effort to resist the attack. This appears marvellous, with a body that have an army of 150,000 men in their hands; for though a part of those troops would certainly disobey their leaders, yet let it be remembered, that out of the 40,000, or possibly 100,000 noblesse of France, they might, if they had intelligence and union amongst themselves, fill half the ranks of more than half the regiments of the kingdom, with men who have fellow-feelings and fellow-sufferings with themselves; but no meetings, no associations among them; no union with military men; no taking refuge in the ranks of regiments to defend or avenge their cause; fortunately for France they fall without a struggle, and die without a blow. That universal circulation of intelligence, which in England transmits the least vibration of feeling or alarm, with electric sensibility, from one end of the kingdom to another, and which unites in bands of connection men of similar interests and situations, has no existence in France. Thus it may be said, perhaps with truth, that the fall of the King, court, lords, nobles, army, church, and parliaments is owing to a want of intelligence being quickly circulated, consequently is owing to the very effects of that thralldom in which they held the people: it is therefore a retribution rather than a punishment.—
18 miles.

The 28th. At the table d'hôte last night a person gave an account of being stopped at Salins for want of a passport, and suffering the greatest inconveniences;

I found it necessary, therefore, to demand one for myself, and went accordingly to the *Bureau*; this was the house of a *Monf. Bellamy*, an attorney; with whom the following dialogue ensued :

Mais, Monsieur, qui me repondra de vous? Est ce que personne vous connoit? Connoissez vous quelqun a Besançon?

Non personne, mon dessein etoit d'aller a Vesoul d'oü j'aurois eu des lettres, mais j'ai changé de route a cause de ces tumultes.

Monsieur je ne vous connois pas, & si vous etes inconnu a Besançon vous ne pouvez avoir de passport.

Mais voui mes lettres j'en ai plusieurs pour d'autres villes en France, il y a en même d'adressées a Vesoul e a Arbois, ouvrez & lisez les, & vous trouverez que je ne suis pas inconnu ailleurs quoique je le sois a Besançon.

N'importe; je ne vous connois pas, il n'y a personne ici qui vous connoisse ains vous n'aurez point de passport.

Je vous dit Monsieur que ces lettres vous expliqueront.

Il me faut des gens, et non pas des lettres pour m'expliquer qui vous etes; ces lettres ne me valent rien.

Cette façon d'agir me parôit assez singuliere; apparaement que vous la croyez tres bonnête; pour moi, Monsieur, j'en pense bien autrement.

Eh Monsieur je ne m'en soucie de ce que vous en pensez.

En verité voici ce qui s'appelle, avoir des manieres gracieuses envers un etranger; c'est la premiere, fois que j'ai eu a faire avec ces Messieurs du tiers etat, & vous m'avouerez qu'il n'y a rien ici qui puisse me donner une haute idée du caractere de ces Messieurs là.

Monsieur, cela m'est forté gal.

Je donnerai a mon retour en Angleterre le detail de mon voyage au publique, & assurement Monsieur je n'oubliurai pas d'enregistrer ce trait de vôtre politesse, il vous fait tant d'honneur, & à ceux pour qui vous agissez.

Monsieur' je regarde tout cela avec la derniere indifference.

My gentleman's manner was more offensive than his words; he walked backward and forward among his parchments, with an air *veritablement d'un commis de bureau*.—These passports are new things from new men, in new power, and shew that they do not bear their new honours too meekly. Thus it is impossible for me, without running my head against a wall, to go see the Salins, or to Arbois, where I have a letter from M. de Broussonet, but I must take my chance and get to Dijon as fast as I can, where the president de Virly knows me, having spent some days at Bradfield, unless indeed being a president and a nobleman he has got knocked on the head by the *tiers etat*. At night to the play; miserable performers; the theatre, which has not been built many years, is heavy; the arch that parts the stage from the house is like the entrance of a cavern

cavern, and the line of the amphitheatre, that of a wounded eel; I do not like the air and manners of the people here—and I would see Besançon swallowed up by an earthquake before I would live in it. The music, and bawling, and squeaking of *l'Épreuve Villageoise* of Gretry, which is wretched, had no power to put me in better humour. I will not take leave of this place, to which I never desire to come again, without saying that they have a fine promenade; and that *Monf. Arthaud*, the arpenteur, to whom I applied for information, without any letter of recommendation was liberal and polite, and answered my enquiries satisfactorily.

The 29th. To Orechamp the country is bold and rocky, with fine woods, and yet it is not agreeable; it is like many men that have estimable points in their characters, and yet we cannot love them. Poorly cultivated too. Coming out of *St. Vété*, a pretty riant landscape of the river doubling through the vale, enlivened by a village and some scattered houses: the most pleasing view I have seen in *Franche Compté*.—23 miles.

The 30th. The mayor of Dole is made of as good stuff as the notary of Besançon; he would give no passport; but as he accompanied his refusal with neither airs nor graces, I let him pass. To avoid the centinels, I went round the town. The country to Auxonne is cheerful. Cross the Soane at Auxonne; it is a fine river, through a region of flat meadow of beautiful verdure; commons for great herds of cattle; vastly flooded, and the hay-cocks under water. To Dijon is a fine country, but wants wood. My passport demanded at the gate: and as I had none, two *bourgeois* musqueteers conducted me to the *hotel de ville*, where I was questioned, but finding that I was known at Dijon, they let me go to my inn. Out of luck: *Monf. de Virly*, on whom I most depended for Dijon, is at Bourbon le Bains, and *Monf. de Morveau*, the celebrated chymist, who I expected would have had letters for me, had none, and though he received me very politely, when I was forced to announce myself as his brother in the royal society of London, yet I felt very awkwardly; however, he desired to see me again next morning. They tell me here, that the intendant is fled; and that the prince of Condé, who is governor of Burgundy, is in Germany: they positively assert, and with very little ceremony, that they would both be hanged, if they were to come here at present; such ideas do not mark too much authority in the *milice burgeoise*, as they have been instituted to stop and prevent hanging and plundering. They are too weak, however, to keep the peace: the licence and spirit of depredation, of which I heard so much in crossing *Franche Compté*, has taken place, but not equally in Burgundy. In this inn, *la Ville de Lyon*, there is at present a gentleman, unfortunately a seigneur, his wife, family, three servants, an infant but a few months old, who escaped from their flaming chateau half naked in the night; all their property lost except

cept the land itself; and this family valued and esteemed by the neighbours, with many virtues to command the love of the poor, and no oppressions to provoke their enmity. Such abominable actions must bring the more detestation to the cause from being unnecessary; the kingdom might have been settled in a real system of liberty, without the *regeneration* of fire and sword, plunder, and bloodshed. Three hundred *bourgeois* mount guard every day at Dijon, armed, but not paid at the expence of the town: they have also six pieces of cannon. The noblesse of the place, as the only means of safety, have joined them—so that there are croix de St. Louis in the ranks. The *palais des etats* here, is a large and splendid building, but not striking proportionably to the mass and expence. The arms of the prince of Condé are predominant; and the great salon is called the *Salle a manger de Prince*. A Dijon artist has painted the battle of Seniff, and the Grande Condé thrown from his horse, and a ceiling, both well executed. Tomb of the duke of Bourgogne, 1404. A picture by Rubens at the Chartreuse. They talk of the house of Monf. de Montigny, but his sister being in it, not shewn. Dijon, on the whole, is a handsome town; the streets, though old built, are wide, and very well paved, with the addition, uncommon in France, of *trottoirs*.—28 miles.

The 31st. Waited on Monf. de Morveau, who has, most fortunately for me, received, only this morning, from Monf. de Virly, a recommendation of me, with four letters from Monf. de Brouffonet; but Monf. Vaudrey, of this place, to whom one of them is addressed, is absent. We had some conversation on the interesting topic to all philosophers, phlogiston; Monf. de Morveau contends vehemently for its non-existence; treats Dr. Priestley's last publication as wide of the question; and declared, that he considers the controversy as much decided as the question of liberty is in France. He shewed me part of the article *air* in the New Encyclopædia by him, to be published soon; in which work, he thinks he has, beyond controversy, established the truth of the doctrine of the French chymists of its non-existence. Monf. de Morveau requested me to call on him in the evening to introduce me to a learned and agreeable lady; and engaged me to dine with him to-morrow. On leaving him, I went to search coffee-houses; but will it be credited, that I could find but one in this capital of Burgundy, where I could read the newspapers?—At a poor little one in the square, I read a paper, after waiting an hour to get it. The people I have found every where desirous of reading newspapers; but it is rare that they can gratify themselves: and the general ignorance of what is passing may be collected from this, that I found nobody at Dijon had heard of the riot at the town-house of Strasbourg; I described it to a gentleman, and a party collected around me to hear it; not one of them had heard a syllable of it, yet it is nine days since it happened; had it been nineteen, I question whether

ther they would more than have received the intelligence ; but, though they are slow in knowing what has really happened, they are very quick in hearing what is impossible to happen. The current report at present, to which all possible credit is given, is, that the Queen has been convicted of a plot to poison the King and Monsieur, and give the regency to the count d'Artois ; to set fire to Paris, and blow up the *Palais Royale* by a mine !—Why do not the several parties in the states cause papers to be printed, that shall transmit only their own sentiments and opinions ? In order that no man in the nation, arranged under the same standard of reasoning, may want the facts that are necessary to govern his arguments, and the conclusions that great talents have drawn from those facts. The King has been advised to take several steps of authority against the states, but none of his ministers have advised the establishment of journals, and their speedy circulation, that should undeceive the people in those points his enemies have misrepresented. When numerous papers are published in opposition to each other, the people take pains to sift into and examine the truth ; and that inquisitiveness alone—the very act of searching, enlightens them ; they become informed, and it is no longer easy to deceive them. At the table d'hôte only three, myself, and two noblemen, driven from their estates, as I conjecture by their conversation, but they did not hint at any thing like their houses being burnt. Their description of the state of that part of the province they come from, in the road from Langres to Gray, is terrible ; the number of chateaus burnt not considerable, but three in five plundered, and the possessors driven out of the country, and glad to save their lives. One of these gentlemen is a very sensible well informed man ; he considers all rank, and all the rights annexed to rank, as destroyed in fact in France ; and that the leaders of the National Assembly having no property, or very little themselves, are determined to attack that also, and attempt an equal division. The expectation is got among many of the people ; but whether it takes place or not, he considers France as *absolutely ruined*. That, I replied, was going too far, for the destruction of rank did not imply *ruin*. “ I call nothing ruin,” he replied, “ but a general and confirmed civil war, or dismemberment of the kingdom ; in my opinion, both are inevitable ; not perhaps this year, or the next, or the year after that, but whatever government is built on the foundation now laying in France, cannot stand any rude shocks ; an unsuccessful or a successful war will equally destroy it.”—He spoke with great knowledge of historical events, and drew his political conclusions with much acumen. I have met very few such men at table d'hôtes. It may be believed, I did not forget M. de Morveau's appointment. He was as good as his word ; Madame Picardet is as agreeable in conversation as she is learned in the closet ; a very pleasing unaffected woman ; she has translated Scheele from the
German

German, and a part of Mr. Kirwan from the English; a treasure to M. de Morveau, for she is able and willing to converse with him on chymical subjects, and on any others that tend either to instruct or please. I accompanied them in their evening's promenade. She told me, that her brother, *Monf. de Poule*, was a great farmer, who had sowed large quantities of sainfoin, which he used for fattening oxen; she was sorry he was engaged so closely in the municipal business at present, that he could not attend me to his farm.

AUGUST 1. Dined with *Monf. de Morveau* by appointment; *Monf. Professeur Chaussée*, and *Monf. Picardet* of the party. It was a rich day to me; the great and just reputation of *Monf. de Morveau*, for being not only the first chymist of France, but one of the greatest that Europe has to boast, was alone sufficient to render his company interesting; but to find such a man void of affectation; free from those airs of superiority which are sometimes found in celebrated characters, and that reserve which oftener throws a veil over their talents, as well as conceals their deficiencies for which it is intended—was very pleasing. *Monf. de Morveau* is a lively, conversable, eloquent man, who, in any station of life, would be sought as an agreeable companion. Even in this eventful moment of revolution, the conversation turned almost entirely on chymical subjects. I urged him, as I have done *Dr. Priestley* more than once, and *Monf. La Voisier* also, to turn his enquiries a little to the application of his science to agriculture; that there was a fine field for experiments in that line, which could scarcely fail of making discoveries; to which he assented; but added, that he had no time for such enquiries: it is clear, from his conversation, that his views are entirely occupied by the non-existence of phlogiston, except a little on the means of establishing and enforcing the new nomenclature. While we were at dinner a proof of the *New Encyclopædia* was brought him, the chymical part of which work is printed at Dijon, for the convenience of *Monf. de Morveau*. I took the liberty of telling him, that a man who can devise the experiments which shall be most conclusive in ascertaining the questions of a science, and has talents to draw all the useful conclusions from them, should be entirely employed in experiments, and their register; and if I was King, or minister of France, I would make that employment so profitable to him, that he should do nothing else. He laughed, and asked me, if I was such an advocate for working, and such an enemy to writing what I thought of my friend *Dr. Priestley*? And he then explained to the two other gentlemen, that great philosopher's attention to metaphysics, and polemic divinity. If an hundred had been at table, the sentiment would have been the same in every bosom. *Monf. M.* spoke, however, with great regard for the experimental talents of the Doctor, as indeed who in Europe does not?—I afterwards reflected on *Monf. de Morveau's* not having time to make experiments that should apply chymistry to agriculture,
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yet have plenty for writing in so voluminous a work as Pankouck's. I lay it down as a maxim, that no man can establish or support a reputation in any branch of experimental philosophy, such as shall really descend to posterity, otherwise than by experiment; and that commonly the more a man works, and the less he writes the better, at least the more valuable will be his reputation. The profit of writing has ruined that of many (those who know *Monf. de Morveau* will be very sure I am far enough from having him in my eye; his situation in life puts it out of the question); that compression of materials, which is luminous; that brevity which appropriates facts to their destined points, are alike inconsistent with the principles that govern all compilations; there are able and respectable men now in every country for compiling; experimenters of genius should range themselves in another class. If I were a sovereign, and capable consequently of rewarding merit, the moment I heard of a man of real genius engaged in such a work, I would give him double the bookseller's price to let it alone, and to employ himself in paths that did not admit a rival at every door. There are who will think that this opinion comes oddly from one who has published so many books as I have; but I hope it will be admitted, to come naturally at least from one who is writing a work from which he does not expect to make one penny, who, therefore, has stronger motives to brevity than temptations to prolixity. The view of this great chymist's laboratory will shew that he is not idle:—it consists of two large rooms, admirably furnished indeed. There are six or seven different furnaces (of which *Macquer's* is the most powerful), and such a variety and extent of apparatus, as I have seen no where else, with a furniture of specimens from the three kingdoms, as looks truly like business. There are little writing desks, with pens and paper, scattered every where, and in his library also, which is convenient. He has a large course of eudiometrical experiments going on at present, particularly with *Fontana's* and *Volta's* eudiometers. He seems to think, that eudiometrical trials are to be depended on: keeps his nitrous air in quart bottles, stopped with common corks, but reversed; and that the air is always the same, if made from the same materials. A very simple and elegant method of ascertaining the proportion of vital air, he explained to us, by making the experiment; putting a morsel of phosphorus into a glass retort, confined by water or mercury, and inflaming it, by holding a bougie under it. The diminution of air marks the quantity that was vital on the antiphlogistic doctrine. After one extinction, it will boil, but not in flame. He has a pair of scales made at Paris, which, when loaded with 3000 grains, will turn with the twentieth part of one grain; an air pump, with glass barrels, but one of them broken and repaired; the count de Buffon's system of burning lens; an absorber; a respirator, with vital air in a jar on one side, and lime-water in another; and abundance of new and

most ingenious inventions for facilitating enquiries in the new philosophy of air. These are so various, and at the same time so well contrived to answer the purpose intended, that this species of invention seems to be one very great and essential part of *Monf. de Morveau's* merit; I wish he would follow *Dr. Priestley's* idea of *publishing his tools*, it would add not inconsiderably to his great and well earned reputation, and at the same time promote the enquiries he engages in amongst all other experimenters. *M. de Morveau* had the goodness to accompany me in the afternoon to the academy of sciences: they have a very handsome salon, ornamented with the busts of *Dijon* worthies; of such eminent men as this city has produced, *Bossuet—Fevret—De Brosses—De Crebillon—Pyron—Bonhier—Rameau*—and lastly, *Buffon*; and some future traveller will doubtless see here, that of a man inferior to none of these, *Monf. de Morveau*, by whom I had now the honour of being conducted. In the evening we repaired again to *Madame Picardet*, and accompanied her promenade: I was pleased, in conversation on the present disturbances of France, to hear *Monf. de Morveau* remark, that the outrages committed by the peasants arose from their defects of *lumières*. In *Dijon* it had been publicly recommended to the *curées* to enlighten them somewhat politically in their sermons, but all in vain, not one would go out of the usual routine of his preaching.—*Quere*, Would not one newspaper enlighten them more than a score of priests? I asked *Monf. de Morveau*, how far it was true that the chateaus had been plundered and burnt by the peasants alone; or whether by those troops of *brigands*, reported to be formidable? He assured me, that he has made strict enquiries to ascertain this matter, and is of opinion, that all the violences in this province, that have come to his knowledge, have been committed by the peasants only; much has been reported of *brigands*, but nothing proved. At *Besançon* I heard of 800; but how could a troop of 800 banditti march through a country, and leave their existence the least questionable?—as ridiculous as *Mr. Bayes's* army *incog*.

The 2d. To *Beaune*; a range of hills to the right under vines, and a flat plain to the left, all open, and too naked. At the little insignificant town of *Nuys*, forty men mount guard every day, and a large corps at *Beaune*. I am provided with a passport from the mayor of *Dijon*, and a flaming cockade of the *tiers etat*, and therefore hope to avoid difficulties; though the reports of the riots of the peasants are so formidable, that it seems impossible to travel in safety. Stop at *Nuys* for intelligence concerning the vineyards of this country, so famous in France, and indeed in all Europe; and examine the *Clos de Veaugeau*, of 100 *journaux*, walled in, and belonging to a convent of *Bernardine Monks*.—When are we to find these fellows chusing badly? The spots they appropriate shew what a righteous attention they give to things of the spirit.—22 miles.

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The 3d. Going out of Chagnie, where I quitted the great Lyons road, pass by the canal of Chaulais, which goes on very poorly; it is a truly useful undertaking, and therefore left undone; had it been for boring cannon, or coppering men of war, it would have been finished long ago. To Montcenis a disagreeable country; singular in its features. It is the seat of one Monsr. *Weelkainson*'s establishments for casting and boring cannon: I have already described one near Nantes. The French say, that this active Englishman is brother-in-law of Dr. Priestley, and therefore a friend of mankind; and that he taught them to bore cannon, in order to give liberty to America. The establishment is very considerable; there are from 500 to 600 men employed, besides colliers; five steam engines are erected for giving the blasts, and for boring; and a new one building. I conversed with an Englishman who works in the glass-house, in the crystal branch; there were once many, but only two are left at present: he complained of the country, saying there was nothing good in it but wine and brandy; of which things I question not but he makes a sufficient use.—25 miles.

The 4th. By a miserable country most of the way, and through hideous roads to Autun. The first seven or eight miles the agriculture quite contemptible. From thence to Autun all, or nearly all, inclosed, and the first so for many miles. From the hill before Autun an immense view down on that town, and the flat country of the Bourbonnois for a great extent.—View at Autun the temple of Janus—the walls—the cathedral—the abbey. The reports here of *brigands*, and burning and plundering, are as numerous as before; and when it was known in the inn that I came from Burgundy and Franche Comté, I had eight or ten people introducing themselves, in order to ask for news. The rumour of *brigands* here had got to 1600 strong. They were much surprized to find, that I gave no credit to the existence of *brigands*, as I was well persuaded, that all the outrages that had been committed, were the work of the peasants only, for the sake of plundering. This they had no conception of, and quoted a list of chateaus burnt by them; but on analysing these reports, they plainly appeared to be ill founded.—20 miles.

The 5th. The extreme heat of yesterday made me feverish; and this morning I waked with a sore throat. I was inclined to waste a day here for the security of my health; but we are all fools in trifling with the things most valuable to us. Loss of time, and vain expence, are always in the head of a man who travels as much *en philosophe* as I am forced to do. To Maison de Bourgogne, I thought myself in a new world; the road is not only excellent, of gravel, but the country is inclosed and wooded. There are many gentle inequalities, and several ponds that decorate them. The weather, since the commencement of August, has been clear, bright, and burning; too hot to

be perfectly agreeable in the middle of the day, but no flies, and therefore I do not regard the heat. This circumstance may, I think, be fixed on as the test. In Languedoc, &c. these heats, as I have experienced, are attended by myriads, and consequently they are tormenting. One had need be sick at this *Maison de Bourgogne*; a healthy stomach would not be easily filled; yet it is the post-house. In the evening to Lusy, another miserable post-house. Note, through all Burgundy the women wear flapped men's hats, which have not nearly so good an effect as the straw ones of Alsace.—22 miles.

The 6th. To escape the heat, out at four in the morning, to Bourbon Lancy, through the same country inclosed, but villainously cultivated, and all amazingly improveable. If I had a large tract in this country, I think I should not be long in making a fortune; climate, prices, roads, inclosures, and every advantage, except government. All from Autun to the Loire is a noble field for improvement, not by expensive operations of manuring and draining, but merely by substituting crops adapted to the soil. When I see such a country thus managed, and in the hands of starving *metayers*, instead of fat farmers, I know not how to pity the seigneurs, great as their present sufferings are. I met one of them, to whom I opened my mind:—he pretended to talk of agriculture, finding I attended to it; and assured me, that he had Abbé Roziere's *corps complete*, and he believed, from his accounts, that this country would not do for any thing but rye. I asked him, whether he or Abbé Roziere knew the right end of a plough? He assured me, that he was *un homme de grand merite, beaucoup d'agriculteur*. Cross the Loire by a ferry; it is here the same nasty scene of shingle, as in Touraine. Enter the Bourbonnois; the same inclosed country, and a beautiful gravel road. At *Chavanne le Roi*, Monf. Joly, the *aubergiste*, informed me of three domains (farms) to be sold, adjoining almost to his house, which is new and well built. I was for appropriating his inn at once in my imagination for a farmhouse, and had got hard at work on turnips and clover, when he told me, that if I would walk behind his stable, I might see, at a small distance, two of the houses; he said the price would be about 50 or 60,000 liv. (2,625l.), and would altogether make a noble farm. If I were twenty years younger, I should think seriously of such a speculation; but there again is the folly and deficiency of life; twenty years ago, such a thing would, for want of experience, have been my ruin; and, now I have the experience, I am too old for the undertaking.—27 miles.

The 7th. Moulins appears to be but a poor ill built town. I went to the *Belle Image*, but found it so bad, that I left it, and went to the *Lyon d'Or*, which is worse. This capital of the Bourbonnois, and on the great post road to Italy, has not an inn equal to the little village of Chavanne. To read the papers, I went to the coffee-house of Madame Bourgeau, the best
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in the town, where I found near twenty tables set for company, but, as to a newspaper, I might have as well have demanded an elephant. Here is a feature of national backwardness, ignorance, stupidity, and poverty! In the capital of a great province, the seat of an intendant, at a moment like the present, with a National Assembly voting a revolution, and not a newspaper to inform the people whether Fayette, Mirabeau, or Louis XVI. is on the throne. Companies at a coffee-house, numerous enough to fill twenty tables, and curiosity not active enough to command one paper. What impudence and folly!—Folly in the customers of such a house not to insist on half a dozen papers, and all the journals of the assembly; and impudence of the woman not to provide them! Could such a people as this ever have made a revolution, or become free? Never, in a thousand centuries: The enlightened mob of Paris, amidst hundreds of papers and publications, have done the whole. I demanded why they had no papers? *They are too dear*; but she made me pay 24*s.* for one dish of coffee, with milk, and a piece of butter about the size of a walnut. It is a great pity there is not a camp of *brigands* in your coffee-room, Madame Bourgeau. Among the many letters for which I am indebted to Monf. Brouffonet, few have proved more valuable than one I had for Monf. l'Abbé de Barnt, principal of the college of Moulins, who entered with intelligence and animation into the object of my journey, and took every step that was possible to get me well informed. He carried me to Monf. le count de Grimau, lieutenant general of the Balliage, and director of the society of agriculture at Moulins, who kept us to dinner. He appears to be a man of considerable fortune, of information, and knowledge, agreeable and polite. He discoursed with me on the state of the Bourbonnois; and assured me, that estates were rather given away than sold: that the *metayers* were so miserably poor, it was impossible for them to cultivate well. I started some observations on the modes which ought to be pursued; but all conversation of that sort is time lost in France. After dinner, M. Grimau carried me to his villa, at a small distance from the town, which is very prettily situated, commanding a view of the vale of the Allier. Letters from Paris, which contain nothing but accounts truly alarming, of the violences committed all over the kingdom, and particularly at and in the neighbourhood of the capital. M. Necker's return, which it was expected would have calmed every thing, has no effect at all; and it is particularly noted in the National Assembly, that there is a violent party evidently bent on driving things to extremity: men who, from the violence and conflicts of the moment, find themselves in a position, and of an importance that results merely from public confusion, will take effectual care to prevent the settlement, order, and peace, which, if established, would be a mortal blow to their consequence: they mount by the storm, and would sink in a calm. Among other persons to whom

whom Monf. l'Abbé Barnt introduced me, was the marquis de Goutte, *chef d'efcadre* of the French fleet, who was taken by admiral Bofcawen at Louifbourg, in 1758, and carried to England, where he learned Englifh, of which he yet retains fomewhat. I had mentioned to Monf. l'Abbé Barnt, that I had a commiffion from a perfon of fortune in England, to look out for a good purchafe in France; and knowing that the marquis would fell one of his eftates, he mentioned it to him. Monf. de Goutte gave me fuch a defcription of it, that I thought, though my time was fhort, that it would be very well worth beftowing one day to view it, as it was no more than eight miles from Moulins, and, propofing to take me to it the next day in his coach, I readily confented. At the time appointed, I attended the marquis, with M. l'Abbé Barnt, to his chateau of Riaux, which is in the midft of the eftate he would fell on fuch terms, that I never was more tempted to fpeculate: I have very little doubt but that the perfon who gave me a commiffion to look out for a purchafe, is long fince fickened of the fcheme, which was that of a refidence for pleafure, by the difturbances that have broken out here: fo that I fould clearly have the refufal of it myfelf. It would be upon the whole a more beneficial purchafe than I had any conception of, and confirms Monf. de Grimau's affertion, that eftates here are rather given away than fold. The chateau is large and very well built, containing two good rooms, either of which would hold a company of thirty people, with three fmall ones on the ground floor; on the fecond ten bedchambers, and over them good garrets, fome of which are well fitted up; all forts of offices fubftantially erected, and on a plan proportioned to a large family, including barns new built, for holding half the corn of the eftate in the ftraw, and granaries to contain it when threfhed. Alfo a wine prefs and ample cellaring, for keeping the produce of the vineyards in the moft plentiful years. The fituation is on the fide of an agreeable rifing, with views not extenfive, but pleafing, and all the country round of the fame features I have defcribed, being one of the fineft provinces in France. Adjoining the chateau is a field of five or fix arpents, well walled in, about half of which is in culture as a garden, and thoroughly planted with all forts of fruits. There are twelve ponds, through which a fmall fream runs, fufficient to turn two mills, that let at 1000 liv. (43l. 15s.) a-year. The ponds fupply the proprietor's table amply with fine carp, tench, perch, and eels; and yield befides a regular revenue of 1000 liv. There are 20 arpents of vines that yield excellent white and red wine, with houfes for the vigneron; woods more than fufficient to fupply the chateau with fuel; and laftly, nine domains or farms let to *metayers*, tenants at will, at half produce, producing, in cash, 10,500 liv. (459l. 7s. 6d.) confequently, the grofs produce, farms, mills, and fifh, is 12,500 liv. The quantity of land, I conjecture from viewing it, as well as from notes taken, may be above 3000
arpents

arpents or acres, lying all contiguous and near the chateau. The outgoings for those taxes paid by the landlord; repairs, *guard de chasse*, game-keeper (for here are all the seigneurial rights, *baut justice*, &c.), steward, expences on wine, &c. amount to about 4400 liv. (192l. 10s.) It yields therefore net something more than 800 liv. (350l.) a year. The price asked is 300,000 liv. (13,125l.); but for this price is given in the furniture complete of the chateau, all the timber, amounting, by valuation of oak only, to 40,000 liv. (1750l.) and all the cattle on the estate, viz. 1000 sheep, 60 cows, 72 oxen, 9 mares, and many hogs. Knowing, as I did, that I could, on the security of this estate, borrow the whole of the purchase-money, I withstood no trifling temptation when I turned my back on it. The finest climate in France, perhaps in Europe; a beautiful and healthy country; excellent roads; a navigation to Paris; wine, game, fish, and every thing that ever appears on a table, except the produce of the tropics; a good house, a fine garden, ready markets for every sort of produce; and, above all the rest, 3000 acres of inclosed land, capable in a very little time of being, without expence, quadrupled in its produce, altogether formed a picture sufficient to tempt a man who had been five-and-twenty years in the constant practice of the husbandry adapted to this soil. But the state of government—the possibility that the leaders of the Paris democracy might in their wisdom abolish property as well as rank; and that in buying an estate I might be purchasing my share in a civil war—deterred me from engaging at present, and induced me only to request that the marquis would give me the refusal of it, before he sold it to any body else. When I have to connect with a person for a purchase, I shall wish to deal with such an one as the marquis de Goutte. He has a physiognomy that pleases me; the ease and politeness of his nation is mixed with great probity and honour; and is not rendered less amiable by an appearance of dignity that flows from an ancient and respectable family. To me he seems a man in whom one might, in any transaction, place implicit confidence. I could have spent a month in the Bourbonnois, looking at estates to be sold; adjoining to that of M. de Goutte's is another of 270,000 liv. purchase, Ballain; Monf. l'Abbé Barnt having made an appointment with the proprietor, carried me in the afternoon to see the chateau and a part of the lands; all the country is the same soil, and in the same management. It consists of eight farms, stocked with cattle and sheep by the landlord; and here too the ponds yield a regular revenue. Income at present 10,000 liv. (437l. 10s.) a year; price 260,000 liv. (11,375l.) and 10,000 liv. for wood—twenty-five years purchase. Also near St. Poncin another of 400,000 liv. (17,500l.), the woods of which, 450 acres, produce 5000 liv. a year; 80 acres of vines, the wine so good as to be sent to Paris; good land for wheat, and much sown; a modern chateau, *avec toutes les aisances*, &c.

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And I heard of many others. I conjecture that one of the finest contiguous estates in Europe might at present be laid together in the Bourbonnois. And I am further informed, that there are at present 6000 estates to be sold in France; if things go on as they do at present, it will not be a question of buying estates, but kingdoms, and France itself will be under the hammer. I love a system of policy that inspires such confidence as to give a value to land, and that renders men so comfortable on their estates as to make the sale of them the last of their ideas. Return to Moulins.—30 miles.

The 10th. Took my leave of Moulins, where estates and farming have driven even Maria and the poplar from my head, and left me no room for the tombeau de Montmorenci; having paid extravagantly for the mud walls, cobweb tapestry, and unfavoury scents of the *Lyon d'Or* I turned my mare towards Chateauneuf, on the road to Auvergne. The accompaniment of the river makes the country pleasant. I found the inn full, busy, and bustling. Monseigneur, the bishop, coming to the fete of St. Laurence, patron of the parish here, asking for the *commodité*, I was desired to walk into the garden. This has happened twice or thrice to me in France; I did not before find out that they were such good cultivators in this country; I am not well made for dispensing this sort of fertility; but my lord the bishop and thirty fat priests will, after a dinner that has employed all the cooks of the vicinity, doubtless contribute amply to the amelioration of the lettuces and onions of Mons. le Maitre de la Poste. To St. Poncin.—30 miles.

The 11th. Early to Riom, in Auvergne. Near that town the country is interesting; a fine wooded vale to the left, every where bounded by mountains; and those nearer to the right of an interesting outline. Riom, part of which is pretty enough, is all volcanic; it is built of lava from the quarries of volvic, which are highly curious to a naturalist. The level plain, which I passed in going to Clermont, is the commencement of the famous Limagne of Auvergne, asserted to be the most fertile of all France; but that is an error, I have seen richer land in both Flanders and Normandy. This plain is as level as a still lake; the mountains are all volcanic, and consequently interesting.—Pass a scene of very fine irrigation, that will strike a farming eye, to Mont Ferrand, and after that to Clermont. Riom, Ferrand, and Clermont, are all built, or rather perched, on the tops of rocks. Clermont is in the midst of a most curious country, all volcanic; and is built and paved with lava: much of it forms one of the worst built, dirtiest, and most stinking places I have met with. There are many streets that can, for blackness, dirt, and ill scents, only be represented by narrow channels cut in a night dunghill. The contention of nauseous favours, with which the air is impregnated, when brisk mountain gales do not ventilate these excrementitious lanes, made me envy the nerves of the
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good people, who, for what I know, may be happy in them. It is the fair, the town full, and the table d'hôtes crouded.—25 miles.

The 12th. Clermont is partly free from the reproach I threw on Moulins and Befançon, for there is a *salle a lecture* at a Monf. Bovares, a bookseller, where I found several newspapers and journals; but at the coffee-house, I enquired for them in vain:—they tell me also, that the people here are great politicians, and attend the arrival of the courier with impatience. The consequence is, there have been no riots; the most ignorant will always be the readiest for mischief. The great news just arrived from Paris, of the utter abolition of tythes, feudal rights, game, warrens, pidgeons, &c. has been received with the greatest joy by the mass of the people, and by all not immediately interested; and some even of the latter approve highly of the declaration: but I have had much conversation with two or three very sensible people, who complain bitterly of the gross injustice and cruelty of any such declarations of what will be done, but is not effected and regulated at the moment of declaring. Monf. l'Abbé Arbre, to whom Monf. de Brouffonet's letter introduced me, had the goodness not only to give me all the information relative to the curious country around Clermont, which particularly depended on his enquiries as a naturalist, but also introduced me to Monf. Chabrol, as a gentleman who has attended much to agriculture, and who answered my enquiries in that line with great readiness.

The 13th. At Roya, near Clermont, a village in the volcanic mountains, which are so curious, and of late years so celebrated, are some springs, reported by philosophical travellers to be the finest and most abundant in France; to view these objects, and more still, a very fine irrigation, said also to be practised there, I engaged a guide. Report, when it speaks of things of which the reporter is ignorant, is sure to magnify; the irrigation is nothing more than a mountain side converted by water to some tolerable meadow, but done coarsely, and not well understood. That in the vale, between Riom and Ferrand, far exceeds it. The springs are curious and powerful: they gush, or rather burst from the rock, in four or five streams, each powerful enough to turn a mill, into a cave a little below the village. About half a league higher there are many others; they are indeed so numerous, that scarcely a projection of the rocks or hills is without them. At the village, I found that my guide, instead of knowing the country perfectly, was in reality ignorant; I therefore took a woman to conduct me to the springs higher up the mountain; on my return, she was arrested by a soldier of the *garde bourgeois* (for even this wretched village is not without its national militia), for having, without permission, become the guide of a stranger. She was conducted to a heap of stones, they call the chateau. They told me they had nothing to do with me;

but as to the woman, she should be taught more prudence for the future : as the poor devil was in jeopardy on my account, I determined at once to accompany them for the chance of getting her cleared, by attesting her innocence. We were followed by a mob of all the village, with the woman's children crying bitterly, for fear their mother should be imprisoned. At the castle, we waited some time, and were then shewn into another apartment, where the town committee was assembled; the accusation was heard; and it was wisely remarked by all, that, in such dangerous times as these, when all the world knew that so great and powerful a person as the Queen was conspiring against France in the most alarming manner, for a woman to become the conductor of a stranger—and of a stranger who had been making so many suspicious enquiries as I had, was a high offence. It was immediately agreed, that she ought to be imprisoned. I assured them she was perfectly innocent; for it was impossible that any guilty motive should be her inducement; finding me curious to see the springs, having viewed the lower ones, and wanting a guide for seeing those higher in the mountain, she offered herself: that she certainly had no other than the industrious view of getting a few *sols* for her poor family. They then turned their enquiries against myself, that if I wanted to see springs only, what induced me to ask a multitude of questions concerning the price, value, and product of the lands? What had such enquiries to do with springs and volcanoes? I told them, that cultivating some land in England, rendered such things interesting to me personally: and lastly, that if they would send to Clermont, they might know, from several respectable persons, the truth of all I asserted; and therefore I hoped, as it was the woman's first indiscretion, for I could not call it offence, they would dismiss her. This was refused at first, but assented to at last, on my declaring, that if they imprisoned her, they should do the same by me, and answer it as they could. They consented to let her go, with a reprimand, and I departed; *not* marvelling, for I have done with that, at their ignorance, in imagining that the Queen should conspire so dangerously against their rocks and mountains. I found my guide in the midst of the mob, who had been very busy in putting as many questions about me, as I had done about their creeps.— There were two opinions, one party thought I was a *commissaire*, come to ascertain the damage done by the hail: the other, that I was an agent of the Queen's, who intended to blow the town up with a mine, and send all that escaped to the galleys. The care that must have been taken to render the character of that princess detested among the people, is incredible; and there seems every where to be no absurdities too gross, nor circumstances too impossible for their faith. In the evening to the theatre, the *Optimist* well acted. Before I leave Clermont, I must remark, that I dined, or supped, five times at the table d'hôte, with from twenty to thirty merchants and tradesmen, officers, &c.; and it is not easy for me

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to express the insignificance,—the inanity of the conversation. Scarcely any politics, at a moment when every bosom ought to beat with none but political sensations. The ignorance or the stupidity of these people must be absolutely incredible; not a week passes without their country abounding with events that are analyzed and debated by the carpenters and blacksmiths of England. The abolition of tythes, the destruction of the *gabelle*, game made property, and feudal rights destroyed, are French topics, that are translated into English within six days after they happen, and their consequences, combinations, results, and modifications, become the disquisition and entertainment of the grocers, chandlers, drapers, and shoemakers, of all the towns of England; yet the same people in France do not think them worth their conversation, except in private. Why? because conversation in private wants little knowledge; but in public, it demands more, and therefore I suppose, for I confess there are a thousand difficulties attending the solution, they are silent. But how many people, and how many subjects, on which volubility is proportioned to ignorance? Account for the fact as you please, but it is confirmed with me, and admits no doubt.

The 14th. To Izoire, the country all interesting, from the number of conic mountains that rise in every quarter; some are crowned with towns;—on others are Roman castles, and the knowledge that the whole is the work of subterranean fire, though in ages far too remote for any record to announce, keeps the attention perpetually alive. Monf. de l'Arbre had given me a letter to Monf. Brés, doctor of physic, at Izoire: I found him, with all the townsmen, collected at the *hotel de ville*, to hear a newspaper read. He conducted me to the upper end of the room, and seated me by himself: the subject of the paper was the suppression of the religious houses, and the commutation of tythes. I observed that the auditors, among whom were some of the lower class, were very attentive; and the whole company seemed well pleased with whatever concerned the tythes and the monks. Monf. Brés, who is a sensible and intelligent gentleman, walked with me to his farm, about half a league from the town, on a soil of superior richness; like all other farms, this is in the hands of a *metayer*. Supped at his house afterwards, in an agreeable company, with much animated political conversation. We discussed the news of the day; they were inclined to approve of it very warmly; but I contended, that the National Assembly did not proceed on any regular well digested system: that they seemed to have a rage for pulling down, but no taste for rebuilding: that if they proceeded much further in such a plan, destroying every thing, but establishing nothing, they would at last bring the kingdom into such confusion, that they would even themselves be without power to restore it to peace and order; and that such a situation would, in its nature, be on the brink of the precipice of bankruptcy and civil war.—I ventured further, to declare it as my

idea, that without an upper house, they never could have either a good or a durable constitution. We had a difference of opinion on these points; but I was glad to find, that there could be a fair discussion,—and that, in a company of six or seven gentlemen, two would venture to agree with a system so unfashionable as mine.—17 miles.

The 15th. The country continues interesting to Brioud. On the tops of the mountains of Auvergne are many old castles, and towns, and villages. Pass the river, by a bridge of one great arch, to the village of Lampdes. At that place, wait on Mons. Greyffier de Talairat, *avocat* and *subdelegé*, to whom I had a letter; and who was so obliging as to answer, with attention, all my enquiries into the agriculture of the neighbourhood. He enquired much after lord Bristol; and was not the worst pleased with me, when he heard that I came from the same province in England. We drank his lordship's health, in the strong white wine, kept four years in the sun, which lord Bristol had much commended.—18 miles.

The 16th. Early in the morning, to avoid the heat, which has rather incommoded me, to Fix. Cross the river by a ford, near the spot where a bridge is building, and mount gradually into a country, which continues interesting to a naturalist, from its volcanic origin; for all has been either overturned, or formed by fire. Pass Chomet; and, descending, remark a heap of basaltic columns by the road, to the right; they are small, but regular hexagons. Poulaget appears in the plain to the left. Stopped at St. George, where I procured mules, and a guide, to see the basaltic columns at Chillac, which, however, are hardly striking enough to reward the trouble. At Fix, I saw a field of fine clover; a sight that I have not been regaled with, I think, since Alsace. I desired to know to whom it belonged? to Mons. Coffier, doctor of medicine. I went to his house to make enquiries, which he was obliging enough to gratify, and indulged me in a walk over the principal part of his farm. He gave me a bottle of excellent *vin blanc mouffeux*, made in Auvergne. I enquired of him the means of going to the mine of antimony, four leagues from hence; but he said the country was so *enragé* in that part, and had lately been mischievous, that he advised me by all means to give up the project. This country, from climate, as well as pines, must be very high. I have been for three days past melted with heat; but to day, though the sun is bright, the heat has been quite moderate, like an English summer's day, and I am assured that they never have it hotter; but complain of the winter's cold being very severe,—and that the snow in the last was sixteen inches deep on the level. The interesting circumstance of the whole is the volcanic origin: all buildings and walls are of lava: the roads are mended with lava, pozzolana, and basaltes; and the face of the country every where exhibits the origin in
subterranean

subterranean fire. The fertility, however, is not apparent, without reflection. The crops are not extraordinary, and many bad; but then the height is to be considered. In no other country that I have seen are such great mountains as these, cultivated so high; here corn is seen every where, even to their tops, at heights where it is usual to find rock, wood, or ling (*erica vulgaris*).—42 miles.

The 17th. The whole range of the fifteen miles to Le Puy en Velay, is wonderfully interesting. Nature, in the production of this country, such as we see it at present, must have proceeded by means not common elsewhere. It is all in its form tempestuous as the billowy ocean. Mountain rises beyond mountain, with endless variety: not dark and dreary, like those of equal height in other countries, but spread with cultivation (feeble indeed) to the very tops. Some vales sunk among them, of beautiful verdure, please the eye. Towards Le Puy the scenery is still more striking, from the addition of some of the most singular rocks any where to be seen. The castle of Polignac, from which the duke takes his title, is built on a bold and enormous one; it is almost of a cubical form, and towers perpendicularly above the town, which surrounds it at its foot. The family of Polignac claim an origin of great antiquity; they have pretensions that go back, I forget whether to Hector or Achilles; but I never found any one in conversation inclined to allow them more than being in the first class of French families, which they undoubtedly are. Perhaps there is no where to be met with a castle more formed to give a *local* pride of family than this of Polignac: the man hardly exists that would not feel a certain vanity, at having given his own name, from remote antiquity, to so singular and so commanding a rock; but if, with the name, it belonged to me, I would scarcely sell it for a province. The building is of such antiquity, and the situation so romantic, that all the feudal ages pass in review in one's imagination, by a sort of magic influence; you recognize it for the residence of a lordly baron, who, in an age more distant and more respectable, though perhaps equally barbarous, was the patriot defender of his country against the invasion and tyranny of Rome. In every age, since the horrible combustions of nature which produced it, such a spot would be chosen for security and defence. To have given one's name to a castle, without any lofty pre-eminence or singularity of nature, in the midst, for instance, of a rich plain, is not equally flattering to our feelings: all antiquity of family derives from ages of great barbarity, when civil commotions and wars swept away and confounded the inhabitants of such situations. The Bretons of the plains of England, were driven to Bretagne; but the same people, in the mountains of Wales, stuck secure, and remain there to this day. About a gun-shot from Polignac is another rock, not so large, but equally remarkable; and in the town of Le Puy, another commanding one
rises

rises to a vast height ; with another more singular for its tower-like form,—on the top of which St. Michael's church is built. Gypsum and lime-stone abound ; and the whole country is volcanic ; the very meadows are on lava : every thing, in a word, is either the product of fire, or has been disturbed or tossed about by it. At Le Puy, fair day, and a table d'hôte, with ignorance, as usual. Many coffee-houses, and even considerable ones, but not a single newspaper to be found in any.—15 miles.

The 18th. Leaving Puy, the hill which the road mounts on the way to Costerous, for four or five miles, commands a view of the town far more picturesque than that of Clermont. The mountain, covered with its conical town, crowned by a vast rock, with those of St. Michael and of Polignac, form a most singular scene. The road is a noble one, formed of lava and pozzolana. The adjacent declivities have a strong disposition to run into basaltic pentagons and hexagons ; the stones put up in the road, by way of posts, are parts of basaltic columns. The inn at Pradelles, kept by three sisters, Pichots, is one of the worst I have met with in France. Contraction, poverty, dirt, and darkness.—20 miles.

The 19th. To Thuytz ; pine woods abound ; there are saw-mills, and with ratchet wheels to bring the tree to the saw, without the constant attention of a man, as in the Pyrenees ; a great improvement. Pass by a new and beautiful road, along the side of immense mountains of granite ; chestnut trees spread in every quarter, and cover with luxuriance of vegetation rocks apparently so naked, that earth seems a stranger. This beautiful tree is known to delight in volcanic soils and situations : many are very large ; I measured one fifteen feet in circumference, at five from the ground ; and many are nine to ten feet, and fifty to sixty high. At Maiffe the fine road ends, and then a rocky, almost natural one for some miles ; but for half a mile before Thuytz recover the new one again, which is here equal to the finest to be seen, formed of volcanic materials, forty feet broad, without the least stone, a firm and naturally level cemented surface. They tell me that 1800 toises of it, or about 2½ miles, cost 180,000 liv. (8250l.) It conducts, according to custom, to a miserable inn, but with a large stable ; and in every respect Monsieur Grenadier excels the Demoiselles Pichots. Here mulberries first appear, and with them flies ; for this is the first day I have been incommoded. At Thuytz I had an object which I supposed would demand a whole day : it is within four hours ride of the *Montagne de la coup au Colet d'Aisa*, of which M. Faujas de St. Fond has given a plate, in his *Recherches sur les volcanoes eteints*, that shews it to be a remarkable object : I began to make enquiries, and arrangements for having a mule and a guide to go thither the next morning ; the man and his wife attended me at dinner, and did not seem, from the difficulties they raised

at

at every moment; to approve my plan: having asked them some questions about the price of provisions, and other things, I suppose they regarded me with suspicious eyes, and thought that I had no good intentions. I desired, however, to have the mule—some difficulties were made—I must have two mules—Very well, get me two. Then returning, a man was not to be had; with fresh expressions of surprise, that I should be eager to see mountains that did not concern me. After raising fresh difficulties to every thing I said, they at last plainly told me, that I should have neither mule nor man; and this with an air that evidently made the case hopeless. About an hour after, I received a polite message from the marquis Deblou, seigneur of the parish, who hearing that an inquisitive Englishman was at the inn, enquiring after volcanoes, proposed the pleasure of taking a walk with me. I accepted the offer with alacrity, and going directly towards his house met him in the road. I explained to him my motives and my difficulties; he said, the people had got some absurd suspicions of me from my questions, and that the present time was so dangerous and critical to all travellers, that he would advise me by no means to think of any such excursions from the great road, unless I found much readiness in the people to conduct me: that at any other moment than the present, he should be happy to do it himself, but that at present it was impossible for any person to be too cautious. There was no resisting this reasoning, and yet to lose the most curious volcanic remains in the country, for the crater of the mountain is as distinct in the print of Mons. de St. Fond, as if the lava was now running from it, was a mortifying circumstance. The marquis then shewed me his garden and his chateau, amidst the mountains; behind it is that of Gravene, which is an extinguished volcano likewise, but the crater not discernible without difficulty. In conversation with him and another gentleman, on agriculture, particularly the produce of mulberries, they mentioned a small piece of land that produced, by silk only, 120 liv. (5l. 5s.) a year, and being contiguous to the road we walked to it. Appearing very small for such a produce, I stepped it to ascertain the contents, and minuted them in my pocket-book. Soon after, growing dark, I took my leave of the gentlemen, and retired to my inn. What I had done had more witnesses than I dreamt of; for at eleven o'clock at night, a full hour after I had been asleep, the commander of a file of twenty *milice bourgeois*, with their musquets, or swords, or sabres, or pikes, entered my chamber, surrounded my bed, and demanded my passport. A dialogue ensued, too long to minute; I was forced first to give them my passport, and, that not satisfying them, my papers. They told me that I was undoubtedly a conspirator with the Queen, the count d'Artois, and the count d'Entraigues (who has property here), who had employed me as an *arpenteur*, to measure their fields, in order to double their taxes. My papers

papers being in English saved me. They had taken it into their heads that I was not an Englishman—only a pretended one; for they speak such a jargon themselves, that their ears were not good enough to discover by my language that I was an undoubted foreigner. Their finding no maps, or plans, nor any thing that they could convert by supposition to a *cadastre* of their parish, had its effect, as I could see by their manner, for they conversed entirely in Patois. Perceiving, however, that they were not satisfied, and talked much of the count d'Entragues, I opened a bundle of letters that were sealed—these, gentlemen, are my letters of recommendation to various cities of France and Italy, open which you please, and you will find, for they are written in French, that I am an honest Englishman, and not the rogue you take me for. On this they held a fresh consultation and debate, which ended in my favour; they refused to open the letters, prepared to leave me, saying, that my numerous questions about lands, and measuring a field, while I pretended to come after volcanoes, had raised great suspicions, which they observed were natural at a time when it was known to a certainty that the Queen, the count d'Artois, and the count d'Entragues were in a conspiracy against the Vivarais. And thus, to my entire satisfaction, they wished me good night, and left me to the bugs, which swarmed in the bed like flies in a honey-pot. I had a narrow escape—it would have been a delicate situation to have been kept prisoner probably in some common goal, or, if not, guarded at my own expence, while they sent a courier to Paris for orders, and me to pay the piper.—20 miles.

The 20th. The same imposing mountain features continue to Villeneuve de Berg. The road, for half a mile, leads under an immense mass of basaltic lava, run into configurations of various forms, and resting on regular columns; this vast range bulges in the centre into a sort of promontory. The height, form, and figures, and the decisive volcanic character the whole mass has taken, render it a most interesting spectacle to the learned and unlearned eye. Just before Aubenas, mistaking the road, which is not half finished, I had to turn; it was on the slope of the declivity, and very rare that any wall or defence is found against the precipices. My French mare has an ill talent of backing too freely when she begins: unfortunately she exercised it at a moment of imminent danger, and backed the chaise, me, and herself down the precipice; by great good luck, there was at the spot a sort of shelf of rock, that made the immediate fall not more than five feet direct. I leaped out of the chaise in the moment, and fell unhurt: the chaise was overthrown and the mare on her side, entangled in the harness, which kept the carriage from tumbling down a precipice of sixty feet. Fortunately she lay quietly, for had she struggled both must have fallen. I called some lime-burners to my assistance, who were with great difficulty brought to submit to directions, and not each pursue

pursue his own idea to the certain precipitation of both mare and chaise. We extricated her unhurt, secured the chaise, and, then with still greater difficulty, regained the road with both. This was, by far the narrowest escape I have had. A blessed country for a broken limb—confinement for six weeks or two months at the *Cheval Blanc*, at Aubenas, an inn that would have been purgatory to one of my hogs:—alone,—without relation, friend, or servant, and not one person in sixty that speaks French.—Thanks to the good providence that preserved me! What a situation—I shudder at the reflection more than I did falling in the jaws of the precipice. Before I got from the place there were seven men about me, I gave them a 3 liv. piece to drink, which for sometime they refused to accept, thinking, with unaffected modesty, that it was too much. At Aubenas repaired the harness, and leaving that place viewed the silk mills, which are considerable. Reach Villeneuve de Berg. I was immediately hunted out by the *milice bourgeoise*. *Where is your certificate?* Here again the old objection that my features and person were not described.—*Your papers?* The importance of the case, they said, was great: and looked as big as if a marshal's baton was in hand. They tormented me with an hundred questions; and then pronounced that I was a suspicious looking person. They could not conceive why a Suffolk farmer could travel into the Vivarais? Never had they heard of any person travelling for agriculture! They would take my passport to the *hotel de ville*—have the permanent council assembled—and place a centinel at my door. I told them they might do what they pleased, provided they did not prohibit my dinner, as I was hungry; they then departed. In about half an hour a gentleman-like man, a *Croix de St. Louis* came, asked me some questions very politely, and seemed not to conclude that Maria Antonietta and Arthur Young were at this moment in any very dangerous conspiracy. He retired, saying, he hoped I should not meet with any difficulties. In another half hour a soldier came to conduct me to the *hotel de ville*; where I found the council assembled; I had a good many questions asked; and some expressions of surprise that an English farmer should travel so far for agriculture—they had never heard of such a thing;—but all was in a polite liberal manner; and though travelling for agriculture was as new to them, as if it had been like the antient philosopher's tour of the world on a cow's back, and living on the milk,—yet they did not deem any thing in my recital improbable, signed my passport very readily, assured me of every assistance and civility I might want, and dismissed me with the politeness of gentlemen. I described my treatment at Thuytz, which they loudly condemned. I took this opportunity to beg to know where that Pradel was to be found in this country, of which Oliver de Serres was seigneur, the well known French writer on agriculture in the reign of Henry IV. They at once pointed out of the window of the room we were in to the house, which in this town

belonged to him, and informed me that Pradel was within a league. As this was an object I had noted before I came to France, the information gave me no slight satisfaction. The mayor, in the course of the examination, presented me to a gentleman who had translated Sterne into French, but who did not speak English; on my return to the auberge I found that this was *Monf. de Boiffiere, avocat general* of the parliament of Grenoble. I did not care to leave the place without knowing something more of one who had distinguished himself by his attention to English literature; and I wrote to him a note, begging permission to have the pleasure of some conversation with a gentleman who had made our inimitable author speak the language of a people he loved so well. *Monf. de Boiffiere* came to me immediately, conducted me to his house, introduced me to his lady and some friends, and as I was much interested concerning *Oliver de Serres*, he offered to take a walk with me to Pradel. It may easily be supposed that this was too much to my mind to be refused, and few evenings have been more agreeably spent. I regarded the residence of the great parent of French agriculture, and who was undoubtedly one of the first writers on the subject that had then appeared in the world, with that sort of veneration, which those only can feel who have addicted themselves strongly to some predominant pursuit, and find it in such moments indulged in its most exquisite feelings. Two hundred years after his exertions, let me do honour to his memory, he was an excellent farmer and a true patriot, and would not have been fixed on by *Henry IV.* as his chief agent in the great project of introducing the culture of silk in France, if he had not possessed a considerable reputation; a reputation well earned, since posterity has confirmed it. The period of his practice is too remote to gain any thing more than a general outline of what may now be supposed to have been his farm. The basis of it is limestone; there is a great oak wood near the chateau, and many vines, with plenty of mulberries, some apparently old enough to have been planted by the hand of the venerable genius that has rendered the ground classic. The estate of Pradel, which is about 5000 liv. (218l. 15s.) a year, belongs at present to the marquis of Mirabel, who inherits it in right of his wife, as the descendant of *De Serres*. I hope it is exempted for ever from all taxes; he whose writings laid the foundation for the improvement of a kingdom, should leave to his posterity some marks of his countrymen's gratitude. When the present bishop of Sisteron was shewn, like me, the farm of *De Serres*, he remarked, that the nation ought to erect a statue to his memory. The sentiment is not without merit, though no more than common snuff-box chat; but if this bishop has a well cultivated farm in his hands it does him honour. Supped with *Monf. and Madame de Boiffiere, &c.* and had the pleasure of an agreeable and interesting conversation. — 21 miles.

The

The 21st. Monf. de Boiffiere, wishing to take my advice in the improvement of a farm, which he has taken into his hands, fix or seven miles from Berg, in my road to Viviers, accompanied me thither. I advised him to form one well executed and well improved inclosure every year—to finish as he advances, and to do well what he attempts to do at all; and I cautioned him against the common abuse of that excellent husbandry, paring and burning. I suspect, however, that his *homme d'affaire* will be too potent for the English traveller.—I hope he has received the turnip-feed I sent him. Dine at Viviers, and pass the Rhone. After the wretched inns of the Vivarais, dirt, filth, bugs, and starving, to arrive at the *hotel de Monsieur*, at Montilimart, a great and excellent inn, was something like the arrival in France from Spain: the contrast is striking; and I seemed to hug myself, that I was again in a christian country among the Milors Ninchitreas, and my Ladi Bettis, of Monf. Chabot.—23 miles.

The 22d. Having a letter to Monf. Faujas de St. Fond, the celebrated naturalist, who has favoured the world with many important works on volcanoes, aërostation, and various other branches of natural history, I had the satisfaction, on enquiring, to find that he was at Montilimart; and, waiting on him—to perceive, that a man of distinguished merit was handsomely lodged, with every thing about him that indicated an easy fortune. He received me with the frank politeness inherent in his character; introduced me, on the spot, to a Monf. l'Abbé Berenger, who resided near his country-seat, and was, he said, an excellent cultivator; and likewise to another gentleman, whose taste had taken the same good direction. In the evening Monf. Faujas took me to call on a female friend, who was engaged in the same enquiries, Madame Cheinet, whose husband is a member of the National Assembly; if he has the good luck to find at Versailles some other lady as agreeable as her he has left at Montilimart, his mission will not be a barren one; and he may perhaps be better employed than in voting regenerations. This lady accompanied us in a walk for viewing the environs of Montilimart; and it gave me no small pleasure to find, that she was an excellent farmeress, practises considerably, and had the goodness to answer many of my enquiries, particularly in the culture of silk. I was so charmed with the *naïveté* of character, and pleasing conversation of this very agreeable lady, that a longer stay here would have been delicious—but the plough!

The 23d. By appointment, accompanied Monf. Faujas to his country-seat and farm at l'Oriol, fifteen miles north of Montilimart, where he is building a good house. I was pleased to find his farm amount to 280 septerés of land: I should have liked it better, had it not been in the hands of a *metayer*. Monf. Faujas pleases me much; the liveliness, vivacity, *phlogiston* of his character, do

not run into pertness, foppery, or affectation; he adheres steadily to a subject; and shews, that to clear up any dubious point, by the attrition of different ideas in conversation, gives him pleasure; not through a vain fluency of colloquial powers, but for better understanding a subject. The next day, Monf. Abbé Berenger, and another gentleman, passed it at Monf. Faujas': we walked to the Abbé's farm. He is of the good order of beings, and pleases me much; *curé* of the parish, and president of the permanent council. He is at present warm on a project of re-uniting the protestants to the church; spoke, with great pleasure, of having persuaded them, on occasion of the general thanksgiving for the establishment of liberty, to return thanks to God, and sing the *Te Deum* in the catholic church, in common as brethren, which, from confidence in his character, they did. He is firmly persuaded, that, by both parties giving way a little, and softening or retrenching reciprocally somewhat in points that are disagreeable, they may be brought together. The idea is so liberal, that I question it for the multitude, who are never governed by reason, but by trifles and ceremonies,—and who are usually attached to their religion, in proportion to the absurdities it abounds with. I have not the least doubt but the mob in England would be much more scandalized at parting with the creed of St. Athanasius, than the whole bench of bishops, whose illumination would perhaps reflect correctly that of the throne. Monf. l'Abbé Berenger has prepared a memorial, which is ready to be presented to the National Assembly, proposing and explaining this ideal union of the two religions; and he had the plan of adding a clause, proposing that the clergy should have permission to marry. He was convinced, that it would be for the interest of morals, and much for that of the nation, that the clergy should not be an insulated body, but holding by the same interests and connections as other people. He remarked, that the life of a *curé*, and especially in the country is melancholy; and, knowing my passion, observed, that a man never could be so good a farmer, on any possession he might have, excluded from being succeeded by his children. He shewed me his memoir, and I was pleased to find that there is at present great harmony between the two religions, owing certainly to such good *curés*. The number of protestants is very considerable in this neighbourhood. I strenuously contended for the insertion of the clause respecting marriage; assured him, that at such a moment as this, it would do all who were concerned in this memorial the greatest credit; and that they ought to consider it as a demand of the rights of humanity, violently, injuriously, and, relative to the nation, impolitically, with-held. Yesterday, in going with Monf. Faujas, we passed a congregation of protestants, assembled, Druid-like, under five or six spreading oaks, to offer their thanksgiving to the great Parent of their happiness and hope.—In such a climate as this, is it not a worthier temple, built by the great hand they revere,

vere, than one of brick and mortar?—This was one of the richest days I have enjoyed in France; we had a long and truly farming dinner; drank a l'Anglois success to THE PLOUGH! and had so much agricultural conversation, that I wished for my farming friends in Suffolk to partake my satisfaction. If *Monf. Faujus de St. Fond* comes to England, as he gives me hope, I shall introduce him to them with pleasure. In the evening return to Montilimart.—30 miles.

The 25th. To Chateau Rochemaur, across the Rhone. It is situated on a basaltic rock, nearly perpendicular, with every columnar proof of its volcanic origin. See *Monf. de Faujas' Recherches*. In the afternoon to *Piere Latte*, through a country sterile, uninteresting, and far inferior to the environs of Montilimart.—22 miles.

The 26th. To Orange, the country not much better; a range of mountains to the left: see nothing of the Rhone. At that town there are remains of a large Roman building, seventy or eighty feet high, called a circus, of a triumphal arch, which, though a good deal decayed, manifests, in its remains, no ordinary decoration, and a pavement in the house of a poor person, which is very perfect and beautiful, but much inferior to that of Nismes. The *vent de bize* has blown strongly for several days, with a clear sky, tempering the heats, which are sometimes sultry and oppressive; it may, for what I know, be wholesome to French constitutions, but it is diabolical to mine; I found myself very indifferent, and as if I was going to be ill, a new and unusual sensation over my whole body: never dreaming of the wind, I knew not what to attribute it to, but my complaint coming at the same time, puts it out of doubt; besides, instinct now, much more than reason, makes me guard as much as I can against it. At four or five in the morning it is so cold that no traveller ventures out. It is more penetratingly drying than I had any conception of; other winds stop the cutaneous perspiration; but this piercing through the body seems, by its sensation, to desiccate all the interior humidity.—20 miles.

The 27th. To Avignon.—Whether it was because I had read much of this town in the history of the middle ages, or because it had been the residence of the Popes, or more probably from the still more interesting memoirs which *Petrarch* has left concerning it, in poems that will last as long as Italian elegance and human feelings shall exist, I know not—but I approached the place with a sort of interest, attention, and expectancy, that few towns have kindled. *Laura's* tomb, is in the church of the Cordeliers; it is nothing but a stone in the pavement, with a figure engraven on it partly effaced, surrounded by an inscription in Gothic letters, and another in the wall adjoining, with the armorial of the family of *Sade*. How incredible is the power of great talents, when employed in delineating passions common to the human race. How many millions of women, fair as *Laura*, have been beloved as tenderly—but, wanting a
Petrarch

Petrarch to illustrate the passion, have lived and died in oblivion! whilst his lines, not written to die, conduct thousands under the impulse of feelings, which genius only can excite, to mingle in idea their melancholy sighs with those of the poet who consecrated these remains to immortality!—There is a monument of the brave Crillon in the same church; and I saw other churches and pictures—but Petrarch and Laura are predominant at Avignon.—
19 miles.

The 28th. Wait upon Pere Brouillony, provincial visitor, who, with great politeness, procured me the information I wished, by introducing me to some gentlemen understanding in agriculture. From the rock of the legates palace, there is one of the finest views of the windings of the Rhone that is to be seen: it forms two considerable islands, which, with the rest of the plain, richly watered, cultivated, and covered with mulberries, olives, and fruit-trees, have a fine boundary in the mountains of Provence, Dauphiné, and Languedoc.—The circular road fine. I was struck with the resemblance between the women here and in England. It did not at once occur in what it consisted; but it is their caps; they dress their heads quite different from the French women. A better particularity, is their being no wooden shoes here, nor, as I have seen, in Provence*.—I have often complained of the stupid ignorance I met with at table d'hôtes. Here, if possible, it has been worse than common. The politeness of the French is proverbial, but it never could arise from the manners of the classes that frequent these tables. Not one time in forty will a foreigner, as such, receive the least mark of attention. The only political idea here is, that if the English should attack France, they have a million of men in arms to receive them; and their ignorance seems to know no distinction between men in arms in their towns and villages, or in action without the kingdom. They conceive, as Sterne observes, much better than they combine: I put some questions to them, but in vain: I asked, if the union of a rusty firelock and a *bourgeois* made a soldier?—I asked them, in which of their wars they had wanted men? I demanded, whether they had ever felt any other want than that of money? And whether the conversion of a million of men, into the bearers of musquets, would make money more plentiful? I asked, if personal service was not a tax? And whether paying the tax of the service of a million of men increased their faculties of paying other and more useful taxes? I begged them to inform me, if the regeneration of the kingdom, which had put arms into the hands of a

* We were, like you, struck with the resemblance of the women at Avignon to those of England, but not for the reason you give; it appeared to us to originate from their complexions being *naturally* so much better than that of the other French women, more than their head-dress, which differs as much from ours, as it does from the French: *Note by a female friend.*

million of mob, had rendered industry more productive, internal peace more secure, confidence more enlarged, or credit more stable? And lastly, I assured them, that should the English attack them at present, they would probably make the weakest figure they had done from the foundation of their monarchy: but, gentlemen, the English, in spite of the example you set them in the American war, will disdain such a conduct; they regret the constitution you are forming, because they think it a bad one—but whatever you may establish, you will have no interruption, but many good wishes from your neighbour. It was all in vain; they were well persuaded their government was the best in the world; that it was a monarchy, and no republic, which I contended; and that the English thought it good, because they would unquestionably abolish their house of lords, in the enjoyment of which accurate idea I left them.— In the evening to Lille, a town which has lost its name in the world, in the more splendid fame of Vaucluse. There can hardly be met with a richer, or better cultivated sixteen miles; the irrigation is superb. Lille is most agreeably situated. On coming to the verge of it I found fine plantations of elms, with delicious streams, bubbling over pebbles on either side; well dressed people were enjoying the evening at a spot, I had conceived to be only a mountain village. It was a sort of fairy scene to me. Now, thought I, how detestable to leave all this fine wood and water, and enter a nasty, beggarly, walled, hot, stinking town; one of the contrasts most offensive to my feelings. What an agreeable surprise, to find the inn without the town, in the midst of the scenery I had admired! and more, a good and civil inn. I walked on the banks of this classic stream for an hour, with the moon gazing on the waters, that will run for ever in mellifluous poetry: retired to sup on the most exquisite trout and craw fish in the world. To-morrow to the famed origin.— 16 miles.

The 29th. I am delighted with the environs of Lille; beautiful roads, well planted, surround and pass off in different directions, as if from a capital town, umbrageous enough to form promenades against a hot sun, and the river splits and divides into so many streams, and is conducted with so much attention that it has a delicious effect, especially to an eye that recognises all the fertility of irrigation. To the fountain of Vaucluse, which is justly said to be as celebrated almost as that of Helicon. Crossing a plain, which is not so beautiful as one's idea of Tempe; the mountain presents an almost perpendicular rock, at the foot of which is an immense and very fine cavern, half filled with a pool of stagnant, but clear water, this is the famous fountain; at other seasons it fills the whole cavern, and boils over in a vast stream among rocks; its bed now marked by vegetation. At present the water gushes out 200 yards lower down, from beneath masses of rock, and in a very small distance forms a considerable river, which

which almost immediately receives deviations by art for mills and irrigation. On the summit of a rock above the village, but much below the mountain, is a ruin, called, by the poor people here, the chateau of Petrarch—who tell you it was inhabited by Monf. Petrarch and Madame Laura. The scene is sublime; but what renders it truly interesting to our feelings, is the celebrity which great talents have given it. The power of rocks, and water, and mountains, even in their boldest features, to arrest attention, and fill the bosom with sensations that banish the insipid feelings of common life—holds not of inanimate nature. To give energy to such sensations, it must receive animation from the creative touch of a vivid fancy: described by the poet, or connected with the residence, actions, pursuits, or passions of great geniusses; it lives, as it were, personified by talents, and commands the interest that breathes around whatever is consecrated by fame. To Orgon. Quit the Pope's territory, by crossing the Durance; there view the skeleton of the navigation of Boisgelin, the work of the archbishop of Aix, a noble project, and, where finished, perfectly well executed; a hill is pierced by it for a quarter of a mile, a work that rivals the greatest similar exertions. It has, however, stood still many years for want of money. The *vent de bize* gone, and the heat increased, the wind now S. W. my health better to a moment, which proves how pernicious it is, even in August.—20 miles.

The 30th. I forgot to observe that, for a few days past, I have been pestered with all the mob of the country shooting: one would think that every rusty gun in Provence is at work, killing all sorts of birds; the shot has fallen five or six times in my chaise and about my ears. The National Assembly has declared that every man has a right to kill game on his own land; and advancing this maxim so absurd as a declaration, though so wise as a law, without any statute or provision to secure the right of the game to the possessor of the soil, according to the tenor of the vote, has, as I am every where informed, filled all the fields of France with sportsmen to an utter nuisance. The same effects have flowed from declarations of right relative to tythes, taxes, feudal rights, &c. In the declarations, conditions and compensations are talked of; but an unruly ungovernable multitude seize the benefit of the abolition, and laugh at the obligations or recompense. Out by day break for Salon, in order to view the Crau, one of the most singular districts in France for its soil, or rather want of soil, being apparently a region of sea flints, yet feeding great herds of sheep: View the improvement of Monsieur Pasquali, who is doing great things, but roughly: I wished to see and converse with him, but unfortunately he was absent from Salon. At night to St. Canat.—46 miles.

The 31st. To Aix. Many houses without glass windows. The women with men's hats, and no wooden shoes. At Aix waited on Monf. Gibelin, celebrated for

for his translations of the works of Dr. Priestley, and of the Philosophical Transactions. He received me with that easy and agreeable politeness natural to his character, being apparently a friendly man. He took every method in his power to procure me the information I wanted, and engaged to go with me the next day to Tour D'Aigues to wait on the baron of that name, president of the parliament of Aix, to whom also I had letters; and whose essays, in the *Trimestres* of the Paris society of agriculture, are among the most valuable on rural economics in that work. — 12 miles.

SEPTEMBER 1st. Tour d'Aigues is twenty miles north of Aix, on the other side of the Durance, which we crossed at a ferry. The country about the chateau is bold and hilly, and swells in four or five miles into rocky mountains. The president received me in a very friendly manner, with a simplicity of manners that gives a dignity to his character, void of affectation; he is very fond of agriculture and planting. The afternoon was passed in viewing his home-farm, and his noble woods, which are uncommon in this naked province. The chateau of Tour d'Aigues, before much of it was accidentally consumed by fire, must have been one of the most considerable in France; but at present a melancholy spectacle is left. The baron is an enormous sufferer by the revolution; a great extent of country, which belonged in absolute right to his ancestors, has been granted for quit rents, *cens*, and other feudal payments, so that there is no comparison between the lands retained and those thus granted by his family. The loss of the *droits honorifiques* is much more than has been apparent, and is an utter loss of all influence; it was natural to look for some plain and simple mode of compensation; but the declaration of the National Assembly allows none; and it is feelingly known in this chateau, that the solid payments which the Assembly have declared to be *rachetable* are every hour falling to nothing, without a shadow of recompense. The people are in arms, and at this moment very unquiet. The situation of the nobility in this country is pitiable; they are under apprehensions that nothing will be left them, but simply such houses as the mob allows to stand unburnt; that the *metayers* will retain their farms without paying the landlord his half of the produce; and that, in case of such a refusal, there is actually neither law nor authority in the country to prevent it. Here is, however, in this house, a large and an agreeable society, and cheerful to a miracle, considering the times, and what such a great baron is losing, who has inherited from his ancestors immense possessions, now frittering to nothing by the revolution. This chateau, splendid even in ruins, the venerable woods, park, and all the ensigns of family and command, with the fortune, and even the lives of the owners at the mercy, and trampled on by an armed rabble. What a spectacle! The baron has a very fine and well filled library, and one part of it totally with books and

tracts on agriculture, in all the languages of Europe. His collection of these is nearly as numerous as my own.—20 miles.

The 2d. Monf. Le President dedicated this day for an excursion to his mountain-farm, five miles off, where he has a great range, and one of the finest lakes in Provence, two thousand toises round, and forty feet deep. Directly from it rises a fine mountain, consisting of a mass of shell agglutinated into stone; it is a pity this hill is not planted, as the water wants the immediate accompaniment of wood. Carp rise to 25lb. and eels to 12lb. (Note, there are carp in the lake Bourgeat, in Savoy, of 60lb.) A neighbouring gentleman, Monf. Jouvent, well acquainted with the agriculture of this country, accompanied us, and spent the rest of the day at the castle. I had much valuable information from the baron de Tour d'Aigues, this gentleman, and from Monf. l'Abbé de —, I forget his name. In the evening I had some conversation on house-keeping with one of the ladies, and found, among other articles, that the wages of a gardener are 300 liv. (13l. 2s. 6d.); a common man-servant, 150 liv. (7l.); a bourgeois cook, 75 to 90 liv. (90 liv. are 3l. 18s. 9d.); a housemaid, 60 to 70 liv. (3l. 1s. 3d.) Rent of a good house for a Bourgeois 700 or 800 liv. (35l.)—10 miles.

The 3d. Took my leave of Monf. Tour d'Aigues' hospitable chateau, and returned with Monf. Gibelin to Aix.—20 miles.

The 4th. The country to Marseilles is all mountainous, but much cultivated with vines and olives; it is, however, naked and uninteresting; and much of the road is left in a scandalous condition, for one of the greatest in France, not wide enough, at places, for two carriages to pass with convenience. What a deceiving painter is the imagination!—I had read I know not what lying exaggerations of the *bastides* about Marseilles, being counted not by hundreds, but by thousands, with anecdotes of Louis XIV. adding one to the number by a citadel.—I have seen other towns in France, where they are more numerous; and the environs of Montpellier, without external commerce, are as highly decorated as those of Marseilles; yet Montpellier is not singular. The view of Marseilles, in the approach, is not striking. It is well built in the new quarter, but, like all others, in the old, close, ill built, and dirty; the population, if we may judge from the throng in the streets, is very great; I have met with none that exceeds it in this respect. I went in the evening to the theatre, which is new, but not striking; and not in any respect to be named with that of Bourdeaux, or even Nantes; nor is the general magnificence of the town at all equal to Bourdeaux; the new buildings are neither so extensive, nor so good—the number of ships in the port not to be compared, and the port itself is a horse-pond, compared with the Garonne.—20 miles.

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The 5th. Marseilles is absolutely exempt from the reproaches I have so often cast on others for want of newspapers. I breakfasted at the *Café d'Acajon* amidst many. Deliver my letters, and receive information concerning commerce; but I am disappointed of one I expected for *Monf. l'Abbé Raynal*, the celebrated author. At the table d'hôte, the count de Mirabeau, both here and at Aix, a topic of conversation; I expected to have found him more popular, from the extravagancies committed in his favour in Provence and at Marseilles; they consider him merely as a politician of great abilities, whose principles are favourable to theirs: as to his private character, they think they have nothing to do with it; and assert, that they had much rather trust to a rogue of abilities, than put any confidence in an honest man of no talents; not, however, meaning to assert, that *Monf. de Mirabeau* deserved any such appellation. They say he has an estate in Provence. I observed, that I was glad to hear he had property; for, in such revolutions, it was a necessary hold on a man, that he will not drive every thing to confusion, in order to possess a consequence and importance which cannot attend him in peaceable and quiet times. But to be at Marseilles without seeing *Abbé Raynal*, one of the undoubted precursors of the present revolution in France, would be mortifying. Having no time to wait longer for letters, I took the resolution to introduce myself. He was at the house of his friend *Monf. Bertrand*. I told him my situation: and, with that ease and politeness which flows from a man's knowledge of the world, he replied, that he was always happy to be of use to any gentleman of my nation; and, turning to his friend, said, here also is one, Sir, who loves the English, and understands their language. In conversing on agriculture, which I had mentioned as the object of my journey, they both expressed their surprize to find, by accounts apparently authentic, that we imported great quantities of wheat, instead of exporting, as we formerly did; and desired to know, if this was really the case, to what it was owing? and recurring, at the same time, to the *Mercur de France* for a statement of the export and import of corn, he read it as a quotation from *Mr. Arthur Young*. This gave me the opportunity of saying, that I was the person, and it proved a lucky introduction; for it was not possible to be received with more politeness, or with more offers of service and assistance. I explained, that the change had taken place in consequence of a vast increase of population, a cause still increasing more rapidly than ever.— We had an interesting conversation on the agriculture of France, and on the present situation of affairs, which they both think going on badly; are convinced of the necessity of an upper house in the legislature, and dread nothing more than a mere democratical government, which they think a species of republic, ridiculous for such a kingdom as France. I remarked, that I had often reflected, with amazement, that *Monf. Necker* did not assemble the

states in such a form, and under such regulations, as would have naturally led to adopt the constitution of England, free from the few faults which time has discovered in it. On which Monf. Bertrand gave me a pamphlet he had published, addressed to his friend Abbé Raynal, proposing several circumstances in the English constitution to be adopted in that of France. Monf. l'Abbé Raynal remarked, that the American revolution had brought the French one in its train: I observed, that if the result in France should be liberty, that revolution had proved a blessing to the world, but much more so to England than to America. This they both thought such a paradox, that I explained it by remarking, that I believed the prosperity which England had enjoyed since the peace, not only much exceeded that of any other similar period, but also that of any other country, in any period since the establishment of the European monarchies: a fact that was supported by the increase of population, of consumption, of industry, of navigation, shipping, and sailors: by the augmentation and improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and in a peculiar mass and aggregate, flowing from the whole, the rising ease and felicity of the people. I mentioned the authentic documents and public registers which supported such a representation; and I remarked, that Abbé Raynal, who attended closely to what I said, had not seen or heard of these circumstances, in which he is not singular, for I have not met with a single person in France acquainted with them; yet they unquestionably form one of the most remarkable and singular experiments in the science of politics that the world has seen; for a people to lose an empire—thirteen provinces, and to GAIN by that *loss*, an increase of wealth, felicity, and power! When will the obvious conclusions, to be drawn from that prodigious event, be adopted? that all transmarine, or distant dominions, are sources of weakness: and that to renounce them would be wisdom. Apply this in France to St. Domingo, in Spain to Peru, or in England to Bengal, and mark the ideas and the replies that are excited. I have no doubt, however, of the fact. I complimented him on his generous gift to the society of agriculture at Paris of 1200 liv. for a premium; he said they had thanked him, not in the usual form, by the secretary signing alone, but had every one present signed it. He said, that he should do the same by the academies of sciences and belles lettres; and he has given the same sum to the academy at Marseilles, for a premium relative to their commerce. He said also, that he had formed a plan which he should execute when he has saved money enough, which is to expend, by means of the society of agriculture, 1200 liv. a year in purchasing models of all the useful implements of husbandry to be found in other countries, especially in England, and to spread them over France. The idea is an excellent one, and merits great praise; yet it is to be questioned, whether the effect would answer the
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expencc. Give the tool itself to a farmer, and he will not know how to use it, or will be too much prejudiced to like it; a model he will still less take the trouble to copy. Gentlemen farming every where their own lands, with enthusiasm and passion for the art, would apply and use those models; but I fear that none such are to be found in France. The spirit and pursuits of gentlemen must be changed from their present frivolous turns, before any such thing could be effected. He approved of my recommending turnips and potatoes; but said, that good sorts were wanting; and mentioned a trial he had made himself, a comparison of the English and Provençal potatoes in making bread, and the English produced one-third more flour than the French.—Among other causes of bad husbandry in France, he named the illegality of usury; at present moneyed people in the country locked it up, instead of lending it for improvement. These sentiments of an illustrious writer do him honour; and it was pleasing to me to find, that he gave attention to objects which have almost monopolized mine; and yet more so to find, that this justly celebrated writer, though not young, is in good spirits; and that he may live many years to enlighten the world by the productions of a pen that has never been employed but for the benefit of the human species.

The 8th. To Cuges. For three or four miles the road leads through rows of *bastides* and walls; it is made of powdered white stone, and, without exception, the most dusty I ever saw; the vines, for twenty rods on each side, were like a dressed head: the country all mountains of rock, with poor pines.—Uninteresting and ugly; the plains, of no great breadth, are covered with vines and olives. Meet capers first at Cuges. At Aubagne, I dined on six dishes, not bad, a dessert, and a bottle of wine, for 24*s.* and by myself too, for no table d'hôte. What Mons. Dutens could mean by calling the post-house at Cuges a good *auberge*, is inexplicable; it is a miserable hole, in which I have one of the best rooms, without glass to the windows.—21 miles.

The 9th. The country to Toulon is more interesting; the mountains are bolder; the sea adds to the view; and there is one passage among the rocks, where are sublime features. Nine-tenths are waste mountain, and a wretched country of pines, box, and miserable aromatics, in spite of the climate. Near Toulon, especially at Olioules, there are pomegranates in the hedges, with fruit as large as nonpareils; they have a few oranges also. The basin of Toulon, with ranges of three deckers, and other large men of war, with a quay of life and business, are fine. The town has nothing that deserves description; the great and only thing that is worth seeing, the dock-yard, I could not see, yet I had letters; but the regulation forbidding it, as at Brest, all applications were vain.—25 miles.

The 10th. Lady Craven has sent me upon a wild-goose chase to Hyeres—one would think this country, from her's and many other descriptions, was all a garden; but

but it has been praised much beyond its merit. The vale is every where richly cultivated, and planted with olives and vines, with a mixture of some mulberries, figs, and other fruit trees. The hills are either rocks, or spread with a poor vegetation of evergreens, pines, lentiscus, &c. The vale, though scattered with white *bastides* which animate the scene, yet betrays that poverty in the robe of nature, which always offends the eye where olives and fruits form the principal cloathing. Every view is meagre, on comparison with the rich foliage of our northern forests. The only singular features are the orange and lemon trees; they here thrive in the open air, are of a great size, and render every garden interesting to eyes that travel to the south; but last winter's frost has shorn them of their glory. They are all so nearly destroyed as to be cut almost to the root, or to the trunk, but are in general shooting again. I conjecture that these trees, even when in health and foliage, however they may be separately taken, add but little to the general effect of a view. They are all in gardens, mixed with walls and houses, and consequently lose much beauty as the part of a landscape. Lady Craven's Tour sent me to the chapel of *Notre Dame de consolation*, and to the hills leading to *Monf. Glapiere de St. Tropes*; and I asked for father Laurent, who was, however, very little sensible of the honour she had done him. The views from the hills on both sides of the town are moderate. The islands *Portecroix*, *Pourcurolle*, and *Levant* (the nearest joined to the continent by a causeway and saltmarsh, which they call a pond), the hills, mounts, rocks, all are naked. The pines that spread on some of them have not a much better effect than gorse. The verdure of the vale is hurt by the hue of the olives. There is a fine outline to the views; but for a climate, where vegetation is the chief glory, it is poor and meagre; and does not refresh the imagination with the idea of a thick shade against the rays of an ardent sun. I can hear of no cotton in Provence, which has been reported in several books; but the date and pistachio succeed: the myrtle is indigenous every where, and the *jasminum*, *commune*, and *fruticans*. In l'Isle de *Levant* is the *genista candescens*, and the *teucrium herba poma*. Returning from my ride to the *hotel de Necker*, the landlord worried me with a list of English that pass the winter at Hyeres; there are many houses built for letting, from two to six louis a month, including all the furniture, linen, necessary plate, &c. Most of these houses command the prospect of the vale and the sea; and if they do not feel the *vent de bize*, I should suppose it must be a fine winter climate. In December, January, and February perhaps it may not incommode them, but does it not in March and April? There is a table d'hôte, very well served, at the *hotel de Necker* in winter, at 4 liv. a-head each meal. View the King's garden here, which may be 10 or 12 acres, and nobly productive in all the fruits of the climate, its crop of oranges only last year

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was 21,000 liv. (918l. 15s.) Oranges at Hyeres have produced as far as two louis each tree. Dine with Monf. de St. Cæsaire, who has a pretty new built house, a noble garden walled in, and an estate around it, which he would sell or let. He was so obliging as to give me, with Doctor Battaile, much useful information concerning the agriculture and produce of this country. In the evening return to Toulon.—34 miles.

The 11th. The arrangement of my journey in Italy occupied some attention. I had been often informed, and by men that have travelled much in Italy, that I must not think of going thither with my one-horse chaise. To watch my horse being fed would, they assured me, take up abundantly too much time, and if it was omitted, with respect to hay, as well as oats, both would be equally stolen. There are also parts of Italy where travelling alone, as I did, would be very unsafe, from the number of robbers that infest the roads. Persuaded by the opinions of persons, who I suppose must know much better than myself, I had determined to sell my mare and chaise, and travel in Italy by the *veturini*, who are to be had it seems every where, and at a cheap rate. At Aix they offered me for both 20 louis; at Marseilles, 18; so the further I went I expected the price would sink; but to get out of the hands of the *aubergistes*, and the *garçons d'écuries*, who expected every where to make a property of me, I had it drawn into the street at Toulon, with a large label, written *a vendre*, and the price 25 louis: they had cost me at Paris 32. My plan took, and I sold them for 22; they had brought me above twelve hundred miles, but yet were a cheap bargain to an officer that was the purchaser. I had next to consider the method to get to Nice; and will it be believed, that from Marseilles with 100,000 souls, and Toulon with 30,000, lying in the great road to Antibes, Nice, and Italy, there is no diligence or regular voiture. A gentleman at the table d'hôte assured me, they asked him 3 louis for a place in a voiture to Antibes, and to wait till some other person would give 3 more for another seat. To a person accustomed to the infinity of machines that fly about England, in all directions, this must appear hardly credible. Such great cities in France have not the hundredth part of connection and communication with each other that much inferior places enjoy with us: a sure proof of their deficiency in consumption, activity, and animation. A gentleman, who knew every part of Provence well, and had been from Nice to Toulon by sea, advised me to take the common barque, for one day, from Toulon, that I might at least pass the isles of Hyeres: I told him I had been at Hyeres, and seen the coast. I had seen nothing, he said, if I had not seen them, and the coast from the sea, which was the finest object in all Provence; that it would be only one day at sea, as I might land at Cavalero, and take mules for Frejus; and that I should lose nothing, as the common route was the same as what I had seen,

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mountains, vines, and olives. His opinion prevailed, and I spoke to the captain of the barque for my passage to Cavalero.

The 12th. At six in the morning, on board the barque, captain Jaffoirs, of Antibes; the weather was delicious; and the passage, out of the harbour of Toulon, and its great basin, beautiful and interesting. Apparently it is impossible to imagine a harbour more completely secure and land-locked. The inner one, contiguous to the quay, is large, and seems formed by art; a range of mole, which it is built on, separating it from the great basin. Only one ship can enter at a time, but it could contain a fleet. There are now lying, moored, in two ranges, one ship, the Commerce of Marseilles, of 130 guns, the finest ship in the French navy, and seventeen others of 90 guns each, with several smaller: When in the great basin, which is two or three miles across, you seem absolutely inclosed by high lands, and it is only on the moment of quitting it, that you can guess where the outlet is, by which you are connected with the sea. The town, the shipping, the high mountain, which rises immediately above it, the hills, covered with plantations, and spread every where with *bastides*, unite to form, a striking *coup d'œil*. But as to the Isles of Hyeres and the fine views of the coast, which I was to enjoy, my informant could have no eyes, or absolutely without taste: they are, as well as all the coast, miserably barren rocks and hills, with only pines to give any idea of vegetation. If it was not for a few solitary houses, with here and there a square patch of cultivation to change the colour of the mountains, I should have imagined that this coast must have borne a near resemblance to those of New Zealand, or New Holland—dark, gloomy, and silent;—a savage *sombre* air spread over the whole. The pines, and evergreen shrubs, that cover the greatest part, cover it with more gloom than verdure. Landed at night at Cavalero, which I expected to have found a little town; but it consists only of three houses, and a more wretched place not to be imagined. They spread a mattress on a stone floor for me, for bed they had none; after starving all day, they had nothing but stale eggs, bad bread, and worse wine; and as to the mules which were to take me to Frejus, there was neither horse, ass, nor mule in the place, and only four oxen for ploughing the ground. I was thus in a pretty situation, and must have gone on by sea to Antibes, for which also the wind gave tokens of being contrary, if the captain had not promised me two of his men to carry my baggage to a village two leagues off, where mules were certainly to be had, with which comfort I betook myself to my mattress.—24 miles.

The 13th. The captain sent three sailors;—one a Corsican, another a mongrel Italian, and the third a Provençal: among the three, there was not French enough for half an hour's conversation. We crossed the mountains, and wandered by crooked unknown paths, and beds of torrents, and then found
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the village of Gassang on the top of a mountain, which, however, was more than a league from that to which we intended to go. Here the sailors refreshed themselves, two with wine, but the third never drank any thing except water. I asked if he had equal strength with the others that drank wine? Yes, they replied, as strong for his size as any other man: I rather think, that I shall not soon find an English sailor who will make the experiment. No milk; I breakfasted on grapes, rye bread, and bad wine. Mules were reported to abound at this village, or rather that which we missed; but the master of the only two we could hear of being absent, I had no other resource, than agreeing with a man to take my baggage on an ass, and myself to walk a league further, to St. Tropes, for which he demanded 3 liv. In two hours reached that town, which is prettily situated, and tolerably well built, on the banks of a noble inlet of the sea. From Cavalero hither, the country is all mountain, eighteen-twentieths of it covered with pines, or a poor wilderness of evergreen shrubs, rocky and miserable. Cross the inlet, which is more than a league wide; the ferrymen had been on board a King's ship, and complained heavily of their treatment—but said, that now they were free men, they should be well treated; and, in case of a war, they should pay the English by a different account—it would now be man to man; before it was free men fighting with slaves. Land at St. Maxime, and there hire two mules and a guide to Frejus. The country the same mountainous and rocky desert of pines and lentiscus; but, towards Frejus, some arbutus. Very little culture before the plain near Frejus. I passed to-day thirty miles, of which five are not cultivated. The whole coast of Provence is nearly the same desert; yet the climate would give, on all these mountains, productions valuable for feeding sheep and cattle; but they are incumbered with shrubs absolutely worthless. The effect of liberty had better appear in their cultivation, than on the decks of a man of war.—30 miles.

The 14th. Staid at Frejus to rest myself;—to examine the neighbourhood, which, however, contains nothing,—and to arrange my journey to Nice. Here are remains of an amphitheatre and aqueduct. On enquiring for a voiture to go post, I found there was no such thing to be had; so I had no resource but mules. I employed the *garçon d'écurie* (for a postmaster thinks himself of too much consequence to take the least trouble), and he reported, that I should be well served for 12 liv. to Estrelles: this price, for ten miles, on a miserable mule, was a very entertaining idea; I bid him half the money; he assured me he had named the lowest price, and left me, certainly thinking me safe in his clutches. I took a walk round the town, to gather some plants that were in blossom, and, meeting a woman with an ass-load of grapes, I asked her employment; and found, by help of an interpreter, that she carried grapes from vineyards for hire. I proposed loading her ass to Estrelles with my baggage—

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and demanded her price.—40 *sols*. I will give it. Break of day appointed; and I returned to the inn, at least an œconomist, saving 10 liv. by my walk.

The 15th. Myself, my female, and her ass jogged merrily over the mountains; the only misfortune was, we did not know one word of each others language; I could just discover that she had a husband and three children. I tried to know if he was a good husband, and if she loved him very much; but our language failed in such explanations;—it was no matter; her ass was to do my business, and not her tongue. At Estrelles I took post-horses; it is a single house, and no women with asses to be had, or I should have preferred them. It is not easy for me to describe, how agreeable a walk of ten or fifteen miles is to a man who walks well, after sitting a thousand in a carriage. To-day's journey all through the same bad country, mountain beyond mountain, incumbered with worthless evergreens, and not one mile in twenty cultivated. The only relief is the gardens at Grasse, where very great exertions are made, but of a singular kind. Roses are a great article for the famous *otter*, all of which is commonly supposed to come from Bengal. They say, that 1500 flowers go to a single drop; twenty flowers sell for 1 *sol*, and an ounce of the *otter* 400 liv. (17l. 10s.). Tuberoses, &c. are also cultivated for perfumes in immense quantities, for Paris and London. Rosemary, lavender, bergamot, and oranges, are here capital articles of culture. Half Europe is supplied with essences from hence. Cannes is prettily situated, close on the shore, with the isles of St. Marguerite, where is a detestable state prison, about two miles off, and a distant boundary of the Estrelles mountains, with a bold broken outline. These mountains are barren to excess. At all the villages, since Toulon, at Frejus, Estrelles, &c. I asked for milk, but no such thing to be had, not even of goats or sheep: the cows are all in the higher mountains; and as to butter, the landlord at Estrelles told me, it was a contraband commodity that came from Nice. Good heaven!—what an idea northern people have, like myself, before I knew better, of a fine sun and a delicious climate, as it is called, that gives myrtles, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, jasmins, and aloes, in the hedges; yet are such countries, if irrigation be wanted, the veriest deserts in the world. On the most miserable tracts of our heaths and moors, you will find butter, milk, and cream; give me that which will feed a cow, and let oranges remain to Provence. The fault, however, is in the people more than the climate; and as the people have never any faults (*till they become the masters*) all is the effect of government. The arbutus, laurustinus, cistus, and Spanish broom, are found scattered about the wastes. Nobody in the inn but a merchant of Bourdeaux returning home from Italy; we supped together, and had a good deal of conversation, not uninteresting; he was melancholy to think,
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he said, what a sad reputation the French revolution has wherever he has been in Italy. Unhappy France! was his frequent ejaculation. He made many enquiries of me, and said, his letters confirmed my accounts; the Italians seemed all convinced that the rivalry of France and England was at an end, and that the English would now have it in their power amply to revenge the American war, by seizing St. Domingo, and indeed all the possessions the French have out of France itself. I said the idea was a pernicious one, and so contrary to the personal interests of the men who governed England, that it was not to be thought of. He replied, that if we did not do it, we should be marvelously forbearing, and set an example of political purity sufficient to eternize that part of our national character, in which the world thought us most deficient, *moderation*. He complained bitterly of the conduct of certain leaders of the National Assembly, who seemed to be determined on a bankruptcy, and perhaps a civil war.—22 miles.

The 16th. At Cannes, I was quite without a choice; no post-house, carriage, nor horses, nor mules to let; I was therefore forced again to take refuge in a woman and her ass. At five in the morning I walked to Antibes. This line of nine miles is chiefly cultivated, but the mountains rise so immediately, that, in a general idea, all is waste. Antibes being a frontier town, is regularly fortified; the mole is pretty, and the view from it pleasing. Take a post-chaise to Nice; cross the Var, and bid adieu for the present to France. The approach to Nice is pleasing. The first approach to that country so long and justly celebrated, that has produced those who have conquered, and those who have decorated the world, fills the bosom with too many throbbing feelings to permit a bush, a stone, a clod to be uninteresting. Our percipient faculties are expanded; we wish to enjoy; and then all is attention; and willingness to be pleased. The approach marks a flourishing town; new buildings, the never-failing mark of prosperity, are numerous. Pass many gardens full of oranges. Arrive in time for dinner at the table d'hôte, *hotel de quatre nations*, and agree with the master of it for my apartment, which is exceedingly good, and dinner and supper at five Piedmontese livres a-day, that is five shillings. Here I am, then, in the midst of another people, language, sovereignty, and country,—one of the moments of a man's life that will always be interesting, because all the springs of curiosity and attention are on the stretch. Several Frenchmen, but more Italians, at the table d'hôte; and the French revolution only talked of. The Frenchmen all in favour of it, and the Italians all against it, and absolute victors in the argument.—25 miles.

The 17th. I have no letters for Nice; and therefore, knowing nothing of the insides of the houses, I must be content with what meets the eye. The new

part of the town is very well built; the streets strait and broad. The sea-view is fine, and, for enjoying it in greater perfection, they have an admirable contrivance, which I have seen no where else. A row of low houses forming one side of a street, a quarter of a mile long, has flat roofs, which are covered with a stucco floor, forming a noble terrace, opens immediately to the sea, raised above the dirt and annoyance of a street, and equally free from the sand and shingle of a beach. At one end some finely situated lodging-houses open directly on to it. The walk this terrace affords is, in fine weather, delicious. The square is handsome, and the works which form the port are well-built, but it is small and difficult to enter, except in favourable weather; admits ships of near three hundred tons; yet, though free, has but an inconsiderable trade.— The number of new streets and houses building at present is an unequivocal proof that the place is flourishing; owing very much to the resort of foreigners, principally English, who pass the winter here, for the benefit and pleasure of the climate. They are dismally alarmed at present, with the news that the disturbances in France will prevent many of the English from coming this winter; but they have some consolation in expecting a great resort of French. Last winter, there were fifty-seven English, and nine French; this winter, they think it will be nine English, and fifty-seven French. At the table d'hôte informed, that I must have a passport for travelling in Italy; and that the English consul is the proper person to apply to. I went to Mr. Consul Green, who informed me that it was a mistake, there was no want of any passport; but if I wished to have one, he would very readily give it. My name occurring to him, he took the opportunity to be very polite to me, and offered any thing in his power to assist me. On my telling him the object of my travels, he remarked, that the gardens here, and mixture of half garden half farm, were rather singular, and if I called on him in the evening, he would walk and shew me some. I accepted his obliging invitation, and when I went again, met a Colonel Ross, a gentleman from Scotland, second in command in the King of Sardinia's marine, and at present in chief: having been much in Sardinia, I made some enquiries of him concerning that island, and the circumstances he instanced were curious. The *intemperia* is so prevalent in summer, from the quantity of evaporating water leaving mud exposed to the sun, as to be death to a stranger: but in winter it is a good climate. The soil wonderfully rich and fertile, but vast plains that would produce any thing are uncultivated. He has past one line of fifty miles by thirty, all plain and the land good, yet without one house, and mostly a neglected desert. The people are wretched, and deplorably ignorant: there are districts, he has been informed, where there are olives, and the fruit left rotting under the trees, for want of knowing how to make oil. In general, there are no roads, and no inns.

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When a traveller, or other person, goes into the island, he is recommended from convent to convent, or *curé* to *curé*, some of whom are at their ease; you are sure to be well entertained,—and at no other expence than a trifle to the servants. The plenty of game and wild-fowl great. The horses are small, but excellent; all stallions. One has been known to be rode four-and-twenty hours without drawing bit. I demanded to what could be attributed such a neglected state of the island? to government, I suppose? By no means; government has manifested every disposition to set things on a better footing. It certainly is owing to the feudal rights of the nobility, keeping the people in a state of comparative slavery. They are too wretched to have the inducement to industry. Such is the case at present in many other countries besides Sardinia. When I see and hear of the abominable depredations and enormities committed by the French peasants, I detest the democratical principles; when I see or hear of such wastes as are found in Sardinia, I abhor the aristocratical ones. Accompany Mr. Green to view some gardens, which have a luxuriance of vegetation, by means of watering, that makes them objects worth attention; but the great product, and a most valuable one it is, are oranges and lemons; chiefly the former, and a few bergamots for curiosity. We examined the garden of a nobleman, something under two acres of land, that produces 30 louis d'or a-year in oranges only, besides all the crops of common vegetables. The great value of these products, such is the perversity of human life, is the exact reason why such gardens would be detestable to me, if under the œconomical management of the gentry of Nice. An acre of garden, forms an object of some consequence in the income of a nobleman who, in point of fortune, is reckoned in good circumstances, if he has 150l. to 200l. a-year. Thus the garden, which with us is an object of pleasure, is here one of œconomy and income, circumstances that are incompatible. It is like a well furnished room in a man's house, which he lets to a lodger.—They sell their oranges so strictly, that they cannot gather one to eat. A certain momentary and careless consumption is a part of the convenience and agreeableness of a garden; a system which thus constrains the consumption, destroys all the pleasure. Oranges may certainly be sold with as much propriety as corn or timber, but then let them grow at a distance from the house; that open apartment of a residence, which we call a garden, should be free from the shackle of a contract, and the scene of pleasure, not profit.

The 18th. Walked to Villa Franche, another little sea-port of the King of Sardinia's, on the other side of the mountain, to the east of Nice. Call on Mr. Green, the consul, who has given me letters to Genoa, Alexandria, and Padoua: he has behaved with so friendly an attention, that I cannot omit acknowledging warmly his civilities. Learn this morning from him that lord Bristol is somewhere

where in Italy, and that lady Erne is probably at Turin, my stars will not be propitious if I do not see them both.

The 19th. I have now waited two days merely for the means of getting away; I can go either by a *felucca* to Genoa, or with a *vetturino* to Turin; and there is so much for and against both schemes, that priority of departure is as good a motive for a preference as any other. If I go by Genoa to Milan, I see Genoa and a part of its territory, which is much, but I lose sixty miles of superb irrigation, from Coni to Turin, and I lose the line of country between Turin and Milan, which I am told is better than that between Genoa and Milan; as to Turin itself, I should see it in my return. But here is Luigi Tonini, a *vetturino*, from Coni, who sets out on Monday morning for Turin, which decides me; so with Mr. Green's kind assistance I have bargained with him to take me thither for seven French crowns. He has got two officers in the Sardinian service, and is not to wait longer for filling the third place. We have every day, at the table d'hôte, a Florentine Abbé, who has been a marvellous traveller—no man names a country in which he has not travelled; and he is singular in never having made a note, making rather a boast that his memory retains every particular he would wish to know, even to numbers correctly. The height and measures of the pyramids of Egypt, of St. Peter's church at Rome, and St. Paul's at London, &c. with the exact length and breadth of every fine street in Europe, he has at his tongue's end. He is a great critic in the beauty of cities; and he classes the four finest in the world thus, 1. Rome.—2. Naples.—3. Venice.—4. London. Being a little inclined to the marvellous, in the idea of an old Piedmontese colonel, a knight of St. Maurice, a plain and unaffected character, and apparently a very worthy man, he pecks at the authority of Signore Abbate, and has afforded some amusement to the company.

The 20th, Sunday. Mr. Consul Green continues his friendly attentions to the last; I dined, by invitation, with him to-day; and, for the honour of Piedmontese grazing, ate as fine, sweet, and fat a piece of roast beef as I would ever wish to do in England, and such as would not be seen at the table d'hôte at the *quatre nations*, in seven years—if in seven ages. An English master and mistress of the table, with roast beef, plumb pudding, and porter, made me drop for a moment the idea of the formidable distance that separated me from England. Unknown and unrecommended at Nice, I expected nothing but what could be shot flying in any town; but I found in Mr. Green both hospitality, and something too friendly to call politeness. In the evening we had another walk among gardens, and conversed with some of the proprietors on prices, products, &c. The description Mr. Green gives me of the climate of Nice in the winter is the most inviting that can be imagined; a clear blue expanse is constantly over head, and a sun warm enough to be exhilarating, but
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not hot enough to be disagreeable. *But, Sir, the vent de bize!* We are sheltered from it by the mountains; and as a proof that this climate is vastly more mild than where you have felt that wind, the oranges and lemons which we have in such profusion will not thrive either in Genoa or Provence, except in a very few spots, singularly sheltered like this. He remarked, that Dr. Smollet, in his description, has done great injustice to the climate, and even against the feelings of his own crazy constitution; for he never was so well after he left Nice as he had been at it, and made much interest with Lord Shelburne to be appointed consul, who told him, and not without some foundation, that he would on no account be such an enemy to a man of genius;—that he had libelled the climate of Nice so severely, that if he were to go again thither the Niffards would certainly knock him on the head. Mr. Green has seen hay made, and well made, at Christmas.

The 21st. Commenced my first Italian journey; of my two military companions, one was as stupid as a brick-bat, and the other too lively for me:—there are few things more repugnant to my nerves than the vivacity of inanity; I am not young enough for it. Here was also a friar, who made no compensation for the deficiencies of his countrymen:—low, vulgar, and ignorant; could speak no French, and but little Italian: I looked in vain for so many of his Piedmontese words in my dictionary, that I was soon tired of following him. We dined at Scareno, and slept at Sospello, at both which places we joined the company of another *vetturino*, consisting of the Piedmontese colonel I had met at the table d'hôte, his brother an abbé, and another abbé a friend, all well bred polite men, who were very attentive to me as a foreigner, and had great readiness to answer all my enquiries: I reaped a good deal of information from their conversation. The three first days of this journey are employed in crossing three mountains; to-day we passed the Col de Prus. The features in the heights are interesting, wild, and great. The descent to Sospello is picturesque. —26 miles.

The 22d. My friend, the old Piedmontese colonel, commends the English character greatly, when it is truly English; that is, as I guessed by his explanations, when it is not a hurrying, bustling, expensive young man of great fortune, against whom he threw out some severe reflexions. He desired my name, and where I lived in England, which he begged me to write down for him; and commended very much the object of my journey, which appeared so extraordinary to him, that he could not help putting many questions. The mountain we crossed to-day is yet more savage than that of yesterday; much of it wild, and even sublime. The little town of Saorgio and its castle are situated most romantically, stuck against the side of a mountain, like a swallow's nest against the side of a house. I had no opportunity of asking how many necks are broken in a year, in going peaceably
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to and fro ; but the blackness of this town, and the total want of glass, make it gloomy as well as romantic ; indeed the view of all these mountain-towns, where there may be so much happiness with so little appearance of it, is forbidding. Tende, which is the capital of a district, and gives name to this great ridge of mountain (*Col de Tende*), is a horrid place of this sort, with a vile inn ; all black, dirty, stinking, and no glass.—30 miles.

The 23d. Out by four in the morning, in the dark, in order to cross the Col de Tende as soon after break of day as possible, a necessary precaution they say, as the wind is then most quiet ; if there is any storm, the passage is dangerous, and even impracticable ; not so much from height as from situation, in a draught of wind between Piedmont and the sea. The pass in the rocks, for some distance before mounting the hill, is sublime ; hemmed in among such enormous mountains and rocks, that they reminded me a little of the amazing passes in the Pyrenees, but are much inferior to it. In the face of one of them is a long inscription to the honour of Victor Amadeus III. for making the road ; and near it an old one, purporting that the eleventh duke of Savoy made the old road, to connect Piedmont and Nice, *a proprie spese con tutta diligenza*. This old road is passable only by mules, and is that by which Mr. Dutens passed the Col de Tende. I shall observe once for all, that the new one is a most useful and princely undertaking. From within a few miles of Nice, where it is not finished, to Limon cost 3,500,000 liv. (175,000*l.*) It winds prodigiously, in order to pass the steepest mountains, in such angles as to admit carriages without difficulty. The worst part is that which goes up to the Col de Tende ; this has not been made with equal attention as the rest, perhaps because they have begun to execute a vast design of perforating the mountain. At present, notwithstanding the goodness of the road in summer, it is absolutely impassable in winter for carriages, and with difficulty sometimes even with mules, owing to the immense falls of snow. They have opened a cavern like a vault of rock, about thirty *trebulchi* long, and wide enough for carriages to pass, but it soon divides into two passages, one for going and another for returning, which is found cheaper than one large enough for both ; the whole will be above five hundred *trebulchi*, and will demand such an expense as leaves little hope of seeing it executed in this century. Take the new road, however, for all in all, and it is a work that does honour to the king and country. Descend into the rich and beautiful vale of Piedmont, a few miles before Coni, and between the Alps and Appenines, which here separate, one range running from hence to Calabria, I believe uninterruptedly, and the other to Constantinople. Amongst the maps never made, but much wanted, is one of the mountains of Europe, to shew at one *coup d'œil* which are connected, and which separate : this separation of the Alps and Appenines is

so narrow, that they would, on a map on any scale, appear as one range; they connect with all the mountains of France, by Dauphiné, Vivais, and Auvergne, but not with the Pyrenees; I have myself travelled the whole range of those from sea to sea. *Quere*, Do they connect with Germany, Poland; &c.? Perhaps they may with those of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria. This would make only two ranges of mountains on the continent of Europe, the Alps and the Pyrenees; for all the Spanish connect with the latter, unless those of Norway and Sweden do not join the Russian, Polish, &c.—Reach Coni, which is strongly fortified, and well situated; but as for inns, the *croce bianca*, which they speak of as being excellent, afforded me a good room enough, but without a single pane of glass in the windows, only ragged paper—and such a necessary-house!—let me drive the recollection from my memory! Here we lost the company of the old colonel, his brother, and friend; they went five miles further, to the estate of one of them at Centalle. Sup at the table d'hote. Our landlady is a tall well looking *virago*; the officers made love to her with one hand, while they supped with the other. They then asked me a thousand questions about English duelling. Was it in a circle? At what distance? On horseback? With what pistols? &c.—37 miles.

The 24th. The friar and one of the officers proceeded no further; the other and myself for Turin. Leaving Coni, the view from the fortifications of the Alps is very fine; a range of them, capped with snow, is now seen by us to the left; Mont Viso among them very high. At Centalle we were stopped by the servant of my friend, the colonel, who had orders to conduct us to the house of the *curé*, to take chocolate. The brother of the colonel is, it seems, *curé* and *archpretre* of the parish. It was impossible to be received with more kindness and hospitality than I was here. The colonel started a plan for keeping us to dinner, and his brother immediately begged we would change our intention of sleeping at Carignan for Racconis, which would enable us to dine with him. To this we readily assented. I now found, that the colonel was the Chevalier Brun, on a visit to his brother, who has built an excellent parsonage-house, as we should call it, at his own expence, and has two *curés* under him as *archpretre*; he has arch-hospitality also; gave us an admirable dinner, well served, and excellent wine, and wished I would make a longer stay. As this was the first Italian house I had been in, except inns, it was interesting enough to me to excite all my curiosity and attention. Expressing a wish to have some conversation with a practical cultivator, they had the goodness to walk with me to the count de Bonifante, who lives on his own estate here, and farms it. I soon found that this nobleman loved the subject; for he seemed to take a pleasure in answering my enquiries. We walked over his, and some of his neighbours farms for more than two hours; and though my questions were pretty numerous, he was

so kind as to meet them with the utmost willingness of explanation. If I have many such days as this in Italy, I shall be equally well pleased and informed. Centalle was the residence of the marquis de Suza. Take my leave of this agreeable and hospitable family, which I shall long remember with pleasure. Pass Savignan, a considerable and pretty town; and what is much better to my eyes, a fine range of level plain, all rich and much watered. The scene in some places is charming: the road is like a fine alley, passing through a new-mown garden; the meadows are as level as a die, without a mole-cast, or ant-hill: thanks to watering! The mowing neat; the hay now cocking; rows of trees every where, and not being in strait lines, the appearance is pleasing. It is an observation I have more than once made, and it is no where so exemplified as in this country, that there are beauties resulting from extreme fertility, that belong to a flat which would be hurt by inequalities of soil. The approach to Racconis is by a double row of trees on each side of the road, with two shady paths, very pleasing even by moon-light; but my fellow-traveller, with his drawn sword, ready to pass at the breast of a robber, should any attack us, did not people these shades with the most agreeable figures of the fancy. He says there are many in Piedmont; and that travelling in the dark is always dangerous. Such things are to be laid to the account of government; and a pretty satire it is on despotism, not to be able to keep its roads clear from robbers. At Racconis, a great trade in winding silk: a beggarly inn—paper windows, &c. — 27 miles.

The 25th. Pursuing our road, pass a country-seat of the prince of Carignan, with a great inclosure of plantation, and many Lombardy poplars. Cross the Po by a most commodious ferry; a platform on two boats; the coach drove on and off without our moving. Why have we not such ferries in England? All a rich level country till we come near the mountain of Turin, and pass the chateau of Moncaglia, the present residence of the count d'Artois. Reach Turin; drive to the *hotel royal*; all full. To the *hotel d'Angleterre*; all taken for the prince of Condé. To the *bonne femme*, which good woman received me. I was in time for the table d'hôte, at which were several French refugees, whose accounts of affairs in France are dreadful. These were driven from their chateaus, some of them in flames; it gave me an opportunity of enquiring by whom such enormities were committed; by the peasants, or wandering *brigands*? they said, by peasants, undoubtedly; but that the great and indisputable origin of most of those villanies, was the settled plan and conduct of some leaders in the National Assembly, in union with, and by the money of *one other person of great rank*, who would deserve the eternal execrations and reproaches of all true Frenchmen and every honest man: that when
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the assembly had rejected the proposal of the count de Mirabeau, to address the King to establish the *milice bourgeoise*, couriers were soon after sent to all quarters of the kingdom, to give an universal alarm of great troops of *brigands* being on the actual march, plundering and burning every where, at the instigation of aristocrats, and calling on the people to arm immediately in their defence: that by intelligence afterwards, received from different parts of the kingdom, it was found, that these couriers must have been dispatched from Paris at the same time*. Forged orders of the King in Council were likewise sent, directing the people to burn the chateaus of the aristocratical party; and thus, as it were by magic, all France was armed at the same moment, and the peasants instigated to commit the enormities which have since disgraced the kingdom.

—22 miles.

The 26th. This being the first Italian city of renown for beauty that I have seen, I have been all eyes to-day. Some travellers have represented it as the prettiest town in Europe, and the Strada di Po the finest street. I hurried to it with eagerness. I was in the middle of it, asking for it. *Questa, questa!* replied an officer, holding up his hands, as if to point out an object of great beauty which I did not see, and in truth I saw it not. It is strait and broad, and nearly regular. Two rows of brick barns might be so equally. The houses are of an ugly obfuscated brick; a few have stucco, and that old and dirty; the scaffold holes in the walls of all the rest are left unfilled; some of them are enlarged by time, and several courses of bricks between those holes, not pointed, which has as bad an effect; the windows are narrow and poor; some with iron balconies—some without; the arcades, for there is a row on each side of the street, would be destructive of beauty, if it was here: the arches are plaistered, which patches the line with white: and through them are exhibited nothing but poor shops that incumber their spans with all sorts of lumber; the lamps are fifty or sixty yards asunder. In a word, there are fifty streets at London to which this cannot be compared. If those who have travelled in Italy think this street fine, what am I to meet with in other towns?—The Strada della Dora Grossa is by far a finer street than that of the Po, but the houses are greatly too high. There is a beautiful arcade entrance to the herb-market, which seems to have furnished the idea of that at the new buildings of Somerset-house. The streets are almost all quite regular, and at right angles. I expected that this circumstance would have been attended with much more beauty than it is. It gives too great a sameness; the constant return of the same angles tires the eye; and I am convinced, that a city would be much more striking, and more admired, that had varied lines instead

* Afterwards at Paris this fact was confirmed to me.

of uniform ones. Circles, semi-circles, crescents, semi-ellipses, squares, semi-squares, and compounds, composed of these, mixed with the common oblongs, would give a greater air of grandeur and magnificence. The most splendid object I have seen at Turin is the stair-case and saloon in the chateau contiguous to the royal palace. There is nothing at Versailles, except the gallery, to be compared with it. The front of this edifice is fine, and the whole does honour to Juvara: This morning I should have delivered my letters, but am unlucky. The Marchese de Palavicino, president of the agrarian society, and Signore Biffatti, the secretary of it, are both in the country. Signore Capriata, the *president en second*, I met with, but he is no practical farmer; he has been obliging enough, however, to promise me an introduction to some persons who are conversant with agriculture. Meeting with these disappointments, I began to fear I might want the intelligence that was necessary to my design; and be in that ineligible situation of seeing only the outsides of houses, and knowing nothing of the persons within. With time thus on my hands, I enquired for a bookseller, and was directed to Signore Briolo, who prints the memoirs of all the learned bodies here; among others, those of the agrarian society, which I bought, and afterwards turning over, found that I made a pretty conspicuous figure in one written by the Cavaliere di Capra, colonel of the regiment of Tortona, on the size of farms. He is a bitter enemy to large ones; not content with strictures on Piedmont, he presses England into his service, and finds it necessary to refute me, as I appear in the translation of Mons. Freville, from which he quotes passages which, I never wrote. I wished to assure the author that it was the French translator, and not the English farmer that he had refuted. I laughed very heartily with Signore Capriata at this adventure of the memoirs. In the evening to the opera; the theatre is a fine one, though not the principal; the house nearly full, yet all the world is in the country.

The 27th. The Cavaliere Capra having seen Signore Capriata, I this morning received a visit from him: I was glad of an opportunity to remark to him that he had quoted passages erroneously from my Political Arithmetic. He said, he was sorry he should misunderstand me; and beginning at once to declaim against great farms, I begged to remark, that my opinion was exactly the same at present as it had always been, that the size of farms should be left absolutely free. He was violent against great ones in Piedmont, which he said ruined and depopulated the country, as I should find when I came among the rice-grounds in my way to Milan. Signore Capra was polite, tendered me every service in his power, and expressed the utmost readiness to assist my enquiries. Signore Briolo, as soon as he understood who I was, shewed me every attention in his power; and that I might

might have the benefit of conversing with such persons as he thought most suitable to my enquiries, he made known my arrival to Signore Fontana, a practical chemist and deputy secretary to the agrarian society; to Signore Gio. Piet. Mariadana, professor of botany in the university; to Signore il Dottore Buniva, his assistant, who travelled in France and England as a naturalist. From these gentlemen I had this morning a visit, and an interesting conversation on the present agricultural state of Italy. To Signore Briolo I was also indebted for an introduction to Signore Giobert, academician, and of the agrarian society, who has gained a prize by a memoir on the quality of earths and manures. Viewed the King's palace, sensibly built, not so splendid as to raise disagreeable emotions in the breast of a philosophical spectator; and no marks of provinces having been oppressed to raise it. Of the pictures, which are numerous, those which pleased me best, are a virgin, child, and St. John, by Lorenzo Sabbattini; Apollo slaying Marsias, by Guido; a Venus, by Carlo Cignani; a sick woman, by Gerard Dow; a virgin and child after Raphael, by Sassa Ferrata. Vandyke shines greatly in this collection; there are the children of Charles I. finely done; a man and woman sitting; but above all, prince Tomaraso di Carignano on horseback, which for life and force of expression is admirable. In the evening to the opera, and being Sunday the house was full. The *Lasca Fiera*; there is a pretty duet, between Contini and Gaspara, in the first act.

The 28th. Walked to Moncaglia early in the morning. The palace is boldly situated on a hill, the Windsor of Piedmont:—commands noble views of the Po, and a rich scene of culture. After dinner, on horse-back to Superga, the burying place of the royal family; where the bodies of these princes repose more magnificently than the Bourbons at St. Denis. The view from the tower is, I suppose, the finest *farmer's* prospect in Europe. You look down on much the greater part of Piedmont as on a map, and the eye takes in Milan at eighty miles distance; the whole, with such an horizon of mountains, as is no where else to be found,—for the enormous masses of snow, which the Alps present, are easier conceived than described.

The 29th. Signore Briolo was this morning my conductor to Gruliascho, to view the farm, by appointment of Signore Bracco, to whom Signore Capriata had spoken for that purpose; we walked by the nobly planted road that leads to Suza, and I was glad to find, that my Turin bookseller was a farmer, though *a la meta*, and answered those useful enquiries, which I have long found abundantly convenient, always to have ready arranged in my head, and adapted to the people into whose hands chance may throw me. We dined together at the village, in a villainous hole, much better adapted to offend the senses than to gratify them. Our repast finished, we sallied forth to find Signore Bracco; he shewed us several watered meadows, and explained all the particu-
lars;

lars; after which, coming to the house, lo! instead of a farmer or *metayer*, as I expected, I found a large house, in a style superior to any farm one, and that he was a bailiff to a Signore, I do not know whom, jeweller to the King and court; an awkward explanation of this came on, and then I found this person knew of my coming two days before:—to mend the matter, after making us wait some time he shewed himself. I was pressed to enter:—whether it was, that a hot walk, or a bad dinner had fretted me, or, in fine, that I did not like the jeweller's physiognomy, I know not, but I begged to be excused, and persisted in my refusal. A rich citizen, at his country villa, is to me a formidable animal.—Had he said he was a farmer, and would converse on the subject, or any thing of that tendency, it had been otherwise; but I departed *brusquement*, with a character, I believe, *molto selvaggio*. In the evening, some beautiful passages in the *Pastorella Nobile* brought me into better temper.

The 30th. The intendant Biffati returned to Turin, and I had the pleasure of a visit from him; he carried me to the university, and some other places which I had not seen before; Signore Capra also, and Dr. Buniva, favoured me with their company. The knight, I find, is as complete a croaker as could ever issue from the school of Dr. Price himself. Piedmont furnishes an instance, which, if I had touched upon to Signore Capra, he would have pressed it into his service on the question of farms. But there are not many circumstances more curious in politics than the contrast between great and small dominions. Here is a court sufficiently splendid; a palace well kept; an army (not equally well kept) of 30,000 men; fortifications many, and among the first in the world, and a power of receiving with hospitality and splendour the princes of the blood of France; all this is done with thirty millions of French money: if the comparison had been made in the late King's reign, the circumstances would have been stronger. The King of France had six hundred millions; that is to say, twenty times as much: he could, therefore, with equal proportions, have twenty such palaces, or more exactly an hundred, as there are five in Piedmont; twenty such courts, and an army of 600,000 men. But instead of this, the difference between the palaces of the two Kings and their courts, their parade and their vanity, is not in the *ratio* of one-fourth of their revenue; and as to the army of the King of Sardinia (proportions preserved) it is six times more powerful than that of the King of France: but the contrast goes further; for, while the debts of this country are inconsiderable, those of France are so great, that the *deficit* alone is more than five times the whole revenue of Sardinia.

OCTOBER 1st. The political state of Piedmont at present holds almost entirely of the personal character of the King, who is esteemed an easy good natured man, too much imposed on by a set of people without merit. The consequence of which

which is, that talents and all sorts of abilities, instead of being in the posts for which they are qualified, are found only in retirement. I am told, that he often takes bank-notes in his pocket-book, and at night if he has not given them away he expresses uneasiness; yet this is with an empty treasury and an incomplete ill-paid army. This conduct is remarkably different from that of the princes his majesty's predecessors, who, as all the world knows, were good economists, and kept themselves so well prepared, that they were able to turn opportunities to their notable advantage, which must have passed barren of events under a different system of government. The King's motives, however, are excellent, and no faults are found with his government that do not flow from that sort of goodness of heart which better befits a private station than a throne. Similar errors are not expected from the prince of Piedmont, who is represented as a man of good understanding, with, however, rather too great a tincture of religion. Nothing can be more regular and decent than the conduct of all the court; no licentious pleasures are here countenanced; and very little that looks like dissipation. How the count d'Artois passes his time is not easy to conceive; for a prince who was dying with *ennui* in the midst of Versailles, for want of pleasures that had not lost their lustre, one would suppose that of all the courts of Europe there was scarcely one to be found less adapted than this to his feelings, whatever it might be to his convenience.

The 2d. To Verceil, by a *vetturino*; I find but one agreeable circumstance in this way of travelling, which is their going as slow and stopping as often as you please: I walked most of the way, and generally out-walked the coach, except when there was any little descent. A gentleman, a proprietor and cultivator of rice near Verceil, supped with us, who was communicative.—45 miles.

The 30th. To Novara, much rice; some yet uncut; they are threshing it every where, and we meet gleaners loaded with it: a nasty country, as ill to the eye as to the health: there hang the limbs of a robber in the trees, in unison with the *sombre* and pestiferous aspect of a flat woody region. Cross the Tesino, deep, clear, and rapid. This river parts the dominions of the King of Sardinia from those of the Emperor. At Buffalara cross the *naviglio grande*, the greatest canal for irrigation that was ever made. Sleep at Massenta.—30 miles.

The 4th, Sunday. Reach Milan in the forenoon. This great city stands in the midst of a dead level country, so thickly planted that you see nothing of it till you are in the streets. To the *Albergo del Pozzo*, in time to wait on the Abbate Amoretti, secretary of the patriotic society, to whom I had letters from Mons. Broussonet and Signore Songa of London: I found him admirably well lodged, in the *palazzo* of the marquis de Cusina: this, said I to myself, looks well, to find a man of letters in a splendid apartment, and not poked, like a piece of lumber, into a garret: it is a good feature in the Italian nobility.

lity. I entered his apartment, which is a cube of about thirty feet, from a great saloon of forty or fifty. He received me with easy and agreeable politeness which impresses one at first sight in his favour. Soon after he returned my visit. I find him an agreeable, well-informed, and interesting character. Waited also on the Abbate Oriani, astronomer royal, who expressed every wish to be of use to me. At night to the opera; a most noble theatre; the largest as well as handsomest I have seen; the scenes and decorations beautiful. Though it is Sunday, I look with amazement at the house, for it is three parts full, even while much of the world are in the country:—how can such a town as Milan do this? Here are six rows of boxes, thirty-six in a row; the three best rows let at 40 louis d'or a box. This is marvellous for an inland town, without commerce or great manufactures. It is the PLOUGH alone that can do it. I am delighted with the accommodation of the pit; one sits on broad easy sofas, with a good space to stir one's legs in: young persons may bear being trussed and pinioned on a row of narrow benches, but I am old and lazy, and if I do not sit at my ease, would not give a fig to sit there at all.—10 miles.

The 5th. In the morning, deliver letters to Signore Vaffari, and the Mess. Zappa's, gentlemen in commerce, from whom I might receive information relative to the exports, &c. of the Milanese. At noon, to the society of agriculture (called the Patriotic Society), which fortunately for me, who am a member, had a meeting to-day: the Marchese di Visconti in the chair, with ten or a dozen members present, to all of whom Signore Amoretti introduced me. I never expect much from societies of this sort; but this of Milan was to-day employed on a button and a pair of scissors: it seems they want at this city to make the finer sorts of hardware, in order to rival those of England, and lessen the import, which, in spite of every obstacle, is very great: the idea originates with the government, and is worthy of its little ideas; a true peddling spirit at present throughout Europe. An artist in the town had made a button and half a pair of scissors, one half English, and the other half of his own manufacture, for which he claimed and had a reward. Similar are the employments of societies every where! In England, busied about rhubarb, silk, and drill-ploughs:—at Paris, with fleas and butterflies;—and at Milan, with buttons and scissors! I hope I shall find the *Georgofili*, at Florence, employed on a top-knot. I looked about to see a practical farmer enter the room, but looked in vain. A goodly company of *i Marchesi*, *i Conti*, *i Cavalieri*, *i Abbati*, but not one close clipped wig, or a dirty pair of breeches, to give authority to their proceedings. We met, in what was the jesuit's college, in the Briare, a noble building, containing many apartments equally splendid and convenient. The Marchese Visconti asked me to his country-seat; and the Cavaliere Castiglioni, who has travelled in America with the views of a natural historian, and who intends to print the journal of his voyage, hopes to meet me
soon

soon at his brother the count's. Milan has been represented as very dear, and may be so when no thought is taken to save expence, ordering what you want, and leaving the bill to the host; but as such methods do not agree with my purse, I pay, by agreement, for my room, dinner and supper served in it, as there are no table d'hôtes in Italy, 6 liv. of Milan a-day, or an *ecu*, equal to 4s. English. The pit, at the opera, is 2 liv. 5 s. and coffee for breakfast 7 s. in all about 5s. 8d. a-day; but, seeing buildings, &c. adds something. I am very well served for this, except in soups, which are detestable, for I hate macaroni and abominate paste. I have read so much of the horrors of Italian inns, that I am very agreeably surprized to find them in the great towns, Turin and Milan for instance, as good as in France; yet I am not at the best here, — for I understand the *alberghi reali* and *imperiali* are the first; and I was not at the best at Turin. But village ones between the great towns are bad enough. In France, one is rarely waited on at inns by men; in Italy hitherto never by women; I like the French custom best. Ferret among the booksellers, and find more tracts, in Italian, upon agriculture than I expected. At night to the opera; the pit is so commodious and agreeable, that it is a good lounge; the sofas and chairs are numbered; they give you a ticket, which marks your seat; but the performers are poor. It was the *Impresario in Augusta*, by that beautiful composer, Cimarosa; there is a quintetto in it, than which nothing could be more pleasing, or repeated with more applause.

The 6th. Signore Amoretti, whose attentions and assiduity are such as I shall not soon forget, this morning introduced me to Signore Beecken, a counsellor in the court of his imperial Majesty; and then we went together into the country, six or seven miles, to a farm in the road to Pavia, belonging to the marquis Visconti, to see the method of making the Lodolan cheese; attended the whole operation, which is so totally different from what we use in England, that skill in making may have a great effect in rendering this product of Lombardy so superior to all others. The cheese, and the enquiries, took up the whole day; so that it was five in the evening before we got back to Milan, where they dined with me at the *pozzo*; an itinerant band of music giving a serenade under the windows, to the *illustrissimi, excellentissimi, nobili Signori Inglese*. This day has passed after my own heart, a long morning, active, and then a dinner, without one word of conversation but on agriculture. Signore Beecken is a sensible well informed German, who understands the importance of the plough; and Abbate Amoretti's conversation is that of a man who adds the powers of instruction, to the graces that enliven company.

The 7th. Attended the marquis de Visconti, and Signore Amoretti to Mozata, the country-seat of the count de Castiglione, about sixteen miles north of Milan. Stop very near the city to view the *Chartreuse*, which, since the empe-

ror seized the revenues, and turned the monks out, has been converted into a powder magazine. View, in passing, the fine church of Ro, and the marquis of Lita's villa at Leinate, in which the gardens are conspicuous. The Italian taste was the undoubted origin of what we see in France; but decoration is carried much higher. Marble basons, with fine statues, too good for the situation: *jets d'eau*, temples, colonades, and buildings, without end, almost connected with the house; latticed, and clipped bowers and walks; miles of clipped hedges—terraces and gravel walks, never well kept, with abundance of orange-trees, are the features; and they are all in profusion. The expence enormous, both to form and to keep. There is a pinery, and not more than five or six others in the whole dutchy of Milan. Reach Mozzata. The countess appeared what we call a genteel good sort of woman, with nothing of that species of foppery and affectation that forms the *fine lady*. The moment I saw the count de Castiglione, I was prejudiced in his favour; his physiognomy is pleasing; and the instantaneous easy affability, mixed with great quickness and vivacity, tells one in a moment, that time would not be lost in his company. I was not deceived. He entered presently on the object of my travels; and I was highly pleased to find, that he was a practical farmer. After dinner, we made an excursion to a considerable plantation, he has executed with great judgment and spirit. The count shewed me also a part of his farm,—but this is not equally successful. In the evening, while the rest of the company were at cards, he satisfied my numerous enquiries concerning the husbandry, &c. of the neighbourhood, in a manner that left me little to wish. After breakfast, the next morning, returned to Milan. The feature which struck me most in this visit to an Italian nobleman, at his country-seat, is the great similarity of living, and of manners in different countries. There are few circumstances in the table, attendance, house, and mode of living, that vary from a man of similar rank and fortune in England or France. Only French customs, however, predominate. I suppose one must go for new manners to the Turks and Tartars; for Spain itself, among people of rank, has them not to give: and this circumstance throws travellers, who register their remarks, into a situation that should meet with the candour of readers: those who record faithfully, must note things that are common, and such are not formed to gratify curiosity. Those who deal much in adventures, so contrary to our own manners as to excite surprize, must be of questionable authority; for the similarity of European manners, among people of rank or large fortune, can hardly be doubted: and the difference among their inferiors, is in many cases more apparent than real. I am much pleased with this family: the countess is a good woman, for she loves her children, her husband, and the country. Her husband has life, animation, quickness of conception, and that attention to
 agriculture,

agriculture, which made me wish him for a neighbour. In our return, stop at Desio, the villa of the marquis of Cusino, which is in a style that pleases me. The house is not upon too great a scale, and therefore finished and furnished: the rooms are more elegant than splendid—and more comfortable than shewy. There is one apartment, in encaustic painting, said to be the first executed in Italy. The second floor contains thirteen bed-chambers, with each a small servant's-room, and light closet: and they have all such a comfortable, clean, English air; and are so neat, without any finery, that, had the floors been deal, instead of brick, I should have thought myself in my own country. I have read travels that would make us believe, that a clean house is not to be met with in Italy; if that was once true, things are abundantly changed. I like this villa much better than the master does, for he is rarely here for a fortnight at a time, and that not often. The gardens are splendid in their kind; lattice-frames of lemons twenty feet high, with espaliers of oranges, both full hung with fruit, have, to northern eyes, an uncommon effect; but they are all covered with glass in the winter. Here is a pinery also. Dine in the village on trout, fresh from the lake of Como, at 3 liv. the pound, of 28 ounces. In the evening returning to Milan, after an excursion instructive in my principal object, and equally agreeable in the little circumstances that have power sufficient either to gild or shade every object, pass the house of the Marchesa di Fagnani, who has been much in England, and celebrated here for being the lady with whom our inimitable Sterne had the rencontre at Milan, which he has described so agreeably.—32 miles.

The 9th. This day was appointed for visiting a few objects at Milan, for which Signore Beecken had the goodness to desire to be my *cicerone*; his chariot was ready after breakfast, and we went from sight to sight till five o'clock. Buildings and pictures have been so often and so well described, that for modern travellers nothing is left, if they expatiate, but to talk of themselves as much as of the objects. I shall note, in a few words, the things that struck me most. I had read so much of the cathedral, and came to it with such expectation, that its effect was nothing. There are comparative measurements given of it with St. Paul's and St. Peter's, that seem to rank it in the same class for magnitude: to the eye it is a child's play-thing compared to St. Paul's. Of the innumerable statues, that of St. Laurence flayed is the finest. The architecture of the church of St. Fedele, by Pellegrino, is pleasing; it contains six columns of granite; and there are other fine ones also in that of St. Alessandro. But I found Padre Pini, professor of natural history, a better object than his church; he has made a great and valuable collection of fossils, and has taken the means necessary for self-instruction, much travel, and much experiment. At St. Celso, there are two statues of Adam and Eve, by Lorenzi, that cannot be too much

admired; and a Madonna, by Fontana. Here also are pictures that will detain your steps by the two Procacini's. The great hospital is a vast building, once the palace of the Sforza's, dukes of Milan, and given by duke Francis for this use. It has a net revenue of a million of livres, and has at present above one thousand three hundred patients. At the Abbey of St. Ambrose, built in the ninth century, and which has round arches, anterior to gothic ones, they shewed us a MS. of Luitprandus, dated 721, and another of Lothaire, before Charlemagne. If they contained the register of their ploughs, they would have been interesting; but what to me are the records of gifts to convents, for saving souls that wanted probably too much cleaning for all the scrubbing-brushes of the monks to brighten? But unquestionably the most famous production of human genius at Milan is the last supper of Lionardo de Vinci, which should be studied by artists who understand its merit, as it is not a picture for those who, with unlearned eyes, have only their feelings to direct them. View the Ambrosian library.

The 10th. The climate of Italy, I believe, is generally in extremes; it has rained almost incessantly for three days past, and to-day it pours. I have made a sad blunder, I find more and more, in selling my French equipage; for the dependence on hiring, and on the *vetturini*, is odious. I want to go to-morrow to Lodi, &c, and I have lost much time in finding a horse and chaise; and after all can have only a miserable thing, at 7½ liv. a day. In the evening, at the opera, Signore Beecken came to me in the pit, and asked me if I would be introduced to one of the prettiest ladies at Milan? *Senza dubio*. He conducted me to the box of Signora Lamberti, a young, lively, and beautiful woman, who conversed with an easy and unaffected gaiety, that would make even a farmer wish to be her *cicisbeo*. The office, however, is in the hands of another, who was seated in his post of honour, in the front of the box, *vis-a-vis* the lady.—Refreshments—suppers—magnificent ridotto. Having mentioned the *cicisbei*, I may observe, that the custom seems to flourish at Milan; few married ladies are without this necessary appendix to the state: there were to night a great number of them, each attending his fair. I asked an Italian gentleman why he was not in his post as a *cicisbeo*? He replied, he was not one? How so? *If you have either business or other pursuit, it takes too much time*. They are changed at pleasure, which the ladies defend, by saying, that when an extension of privileges not proper to give is expected, to part with is better than to retain them.

The 11th. To Lodi, through twenty miles of such amazing exertions in irrigation, that we can have in England no idea of it. At that town I found myself in the midst of the world; it was the night of terminating the opera season of the fair: this had drawn so much company from the neighbouring towns,

towns, that the great inn of the *Columbina*, formed out of a monastery, was full in an hour. At night the opera house formed a gorgeous display:—we waited half an hour for the arch-duke and arch-duchess. The house was well lighted with wax; new to me, for in common their theatres have only darkness visible. It is small, but most elegant, new built this year: the decorations are neat; but the boxes, which are fitted up by the proprietors, are finished with great show and expence; as fine as glass, varnish, and gilding can make them; and being lighted within made a blazing figure: the company crowded and well dressed; diamonds sparkled in every part of the house, while the expectation of pleasure, more animated in Italian than in French or English eyes, rendered the *coup d'œil* equally striking and agreeable; the profusion of dancers, dresses, scenes, &c. made me stare, for a little place of not more than ten or twelve thousand souls. No evening could pass with a more animated festivity; all the world appeared in good humour: the vibrations of pleasurable emotions seemed more responsive than common, for expression is one great feature in Italian physiognomy. I have dwelt the more on this spectacle, because I consider it in a political light, as deserving some attention. Lodi is a little insignificant place, without trade, and without manufactures.—It is the part of a dominion that may be said to have neither, and cut off from all connection with the sea: yet there is not a town in France or England, of double the population, that ever exhibited a theatre so built, decorated, filled, and furnished as this of Lodi.—Not all the pride and luxury of commerce and manufactures—not all the iron and steel—the woollen or linen—the silk, glasses, pots, or porcelain of such a town as Lodi, ever yet equalled this exhibition of butter and cheese. Water, clover, cows, cheese, money, and music! These are the combinations—that string Italian nerves to enjoyment, and give lessons of government to northern politicians. The evening would have been delicious to me, if I had had my little girl with me; I could not help picturing her by my side, supposing the expressions of her pleasure, and giving an imaginary presence to her smiles, her enquiries, and her enjoyment. In truth it was better adapted to her age than to mine.—20 miles.

The 12th. I had brought a letter to a Signore Mayer, lieutenant of dragoons, who yesterday, when I waited on him, introduced me to the Cavaliere Don Bassiano Bona Noma, who promised to find a person this morning for conducting me to a celebrated dairy of his near Lodi; he was as good as his word, and by his means I was introduced into two dairies, one of 90 cows, and assisted in making the cheese. In the afternoon to Codogno, through fifteen miles of dead flat, of a singular aspect; it is intersected by ditches, without hedges, but a row of pollard poplars and willows on each side. The heads of these trees form a woodland, as the fields are very small, and looking through the stems under

under the covert of their heads, is something like the prints I have seen of the forests of Tasso, but without the wildness or enchantment. The inhabitants here are neither witches, nymphs, nor knights, but cows and frogs: the music of the latter not quite so agreeable as last night's warblings of Senesino. In truth this country is better for these two animals than for man. The whole is a water sponge; the ditches innumerable; now water, now mud; the climate hot; and ventilation excluded by a croud of aquatics. I figured sickness and disease in every quarter: and the want of scattered habitations, renders the whole silent and solitary, in spite of a considerable population, that is concealed by the endless pollards. Willows, ditches, mud, and frogs! these are features in perfect contrast to the scenes of last night! yet they are attended by a fertility that gives warbling to the throat, and quivering to the fantastic toe of beauty. At Codogno waited on Signore Bignami, a considerable cheese-merchant. I was in luck; a numerous company spent the evening with him, from whom he selected a party that were well acquainted with grass and cows; and retiring into another apartment, they had the goodness, with him and his son, to dedicate some time to the satisfying of my enquiries; and I should be very backward if I did not observe that the free and agreeable manner in which they did it, proves equally their liberality and politeness. Codogno is a neat little town of about eight thousand people. And note (for the thing is extraordinary), an opera here too; another new built theatre, of this year. It is not so large, or so much decorated as that of Lodi, but the form is more pleasing and more commodious; it is more circular. There are apartments contiguous for the first singers and dancers, communicating with a noble inn, the *albergo del teatro*.—15 miles.

The 13th. This morning Signore Bignami had kindly appointed for examining one of the principal dairies in the country, noted for making good cheese; fortunately the farmer proved communicative and liberal,—conducted us to the scene of action very readily, and directed his dairy-man to answer my enquiries. We attended the making of a cheese, and then walked over the farm: the farmers seem much at their ease. Take leave of my very friendly conductors, and reach Crema, in the Venetian state. Here also a new-built opera-house, and the Mara from London first singer; they did not appear to relish too much her altitudes of division,—yet she was considerably applauded. Great powers in singing, when much exerted in difficult passages, surprize much more than they please. The airs that touch the heart, are what the poet calls *lengthened sweetness long drawn out*, that breathe a continuity of melody, flowing, not broken notes. The number of theatres in this part of Italy is astonishing: two great ones at Milan; in twenty miles, another, at Lodi; in fifteen, one way, Codogno; in ten, another, Crema; in ten, another, Plaisance, &c.—yet trade and manufacture are very inconsiderable.—16 miles.

The

The 14th. To Lodi, through ten miles more of the same country; bad road through the state of Venice; but the moment you enter the Milanese, you find an excellent one. Return to Milan.—30 miles.

The 15th. The country continues flat, much of it watered, but without such exertions as to Lodi; all a crowded scene of willows. Vaprio, where we stopped, is a poor place; with a dirty, miserable, wretched inn: here I am in a chamber, that sinks my spirits as I sit and look around me; my pen, ink, and tablets, are useless before me; I want them for two or three subjects that have passed across my mind in the journey, but I can do nothing; to arrange ten words with propriety, is an insurmountable effort. I never in my life wrote three lines to please myself, when the circumstances around were untoward or disagreeable; a clean, neat apartment, a good fire, something to eat better than paste-soup, with tolerable wine, give a lightness to the bosom, and a facility to the ideas. I have not yet read any of the Abbate Amoretti's pieces; but if he writes badly in that elegant apartment, and with all the circumstances of ease and luxury around him, I shall not have so good opinion of his head, as I think I shall always have of his heart. This chamber of Vaprio is contrast sufficient to his in the Palazzo Cusina. I cannot write, so must nestle in this nidus of fleas and bugs, which they call a bed.—20 miles.

The 16th. So much rain has fallen in the night, that the Adda has risen too much to permit a carriage to reach the ferry; we waited, therefore, four hours till the water sunk. This is a circumstance to which a traveller is liable every day in Italy; for the rivers are so little under command, that a night's heavy rain will stop him. An impatient traveller, waiting on the banks of a river for the water's flowing, might, by equal genius, be set off as well in poetry, as a patient one is represented expecting till all was passed.—The environs of the Adda here are fine; on the side of the Vaprio, high land, that commands the wooded vale. Arrive, at last, at Bergamo. I had a letter to Dr. Maironi da Poute, secretary of the academy of Bergamo, to whom I went directly. I mounted a steep hill into the city, which is on the top of it, and searched hard for the doctor; after examining several streets, a lady from a window, who seemed to pity my perplexity, (for I had been conducted to three or four streets in vain), informed me, that he was in the country,—but that if I returned in the morning, I should have a chance of seeing him. What a black, dirty, stinking, dismal place! I stared at some well dressed people I met, wondering what they had to do there; thanking my stars that I was not an inhabitant of Bergamo; foolishly enough, as if it were the brick and mortar of a place that gave felicity, and not the connexions formed from infancy and matured by habit.—12 miles.

The 17th. Mount the hill again, in search for Signore Maironi; and hearing he has a brother, to find him, should I fail. I repaired to the street where the
lady

lady gave me information the night before; she was luckily at her window, but the intelligence crosses to my wishes, for both the brothers were in the country; I need not go to the door, she said, for there were no servants in the house. The dusk of the evening in this dark town, had last night veiled the fair *incognita*, but looking a second time now, I found her extremely pretty, with a pair of eyes that shone in unison with something better than a street of Bergamo. She asked me kindly after my business, *Spero che non è un grande mancamento?* words of no import, but uttered with a sweetness of voice that rendered the poorest monosyllable interesting. I told her, that the bosom must be cold, from which her presence did not banish all feeling of disappointment. It was impossible not to say something a little beyond common thanks. She bowed in return; and I thought I read in her expressive eyes, that I had not offended; I was encouraged to ask the favour of Signore Maironi's address in the country—*Con gran piacere vi lo darò.*—I took a card from my pocket; but her window was rather too high to hand it. I looked at the door: *Forzi è aperta.*—*Credo che sì,* she replied. If the reader is an electrician, and has flown a kite in a thunder-storm, he will know, that when the atmosphere around him becomes highly electric, and his danger increases, if he does not quickly remove, there is a cobweb sensation in the air, as if he was inclosed in an invisible net of the finest gossamer. My atmosphere, at this moment, had some resemblance to it; I had taken two steps to the door, when a gentleman passing, opened it before me, and stood upon the threshold. It was the lady's husband; she was in the passage behind, and I was in the street before him, she said, *Ecco un Signore Inglese che ha bisogno d'una direzione a Sig. Mairioni.* The husband answered politely, that he would give it, and, taking paper and pencil from his pocket, wrote and gave it me. Nothing was ever done so concisely: I looked at him askance, and thought him one of the ugliest fellows I had ever seen. An ill natured bye-stander would have said, that his presence prevented a farming from becoming a sentimental traveller. Certain it is, one now and then meets with terrible eyes in Italy; in the north of Europe they have attractive powers, here they have every sort of power; the sphere of the activity of an eye beam is enlarged, and he who travels as I do for the plough, must take care, as I shall in future, to keep out of the reach of it. From the ramparts of the town, below the house of the count de Brembate, there is a prospect of fertile land, hardly to be equalled. In front, to the south, a range of Appenines rises above the fog, that hangs over a part of the plain. To the west, an immense curve of the Alps, that bound the Milanese and Piedmont; their heads uninterruptedly in snow, form one of the finest mountain-barriers to be imagined. To the east, the view an unbroken, unlimited level. This vast plain, at one's feet, seems a level wood, with towns, churches, towers, and houses. Near Bergamo, the angle of vision permits the fields to be seen; and therefore more picturesque. Similar features must give
similar

similar prospects, this resembles that of the Superga. It is as hot to-day, and every one of sun-shine, as in England in June.

The 18th. Yesterday I agreed with a *vetturino*, to take me this morning at six o'clock, to Brescia; but not being perfectly well, I insisted that he should not come for me without his *vettura*, nor before the time. The rascal knocked me up at five, and then without the carriage; it was only four steps, he said, and wanted to hurry away my trunk. I begin to know them, and therefore steadily refused to stir: after much vain persuasion, away they went, and in three quarters of an hour returned. The dog drove me a full mile and half, on the road to Brescia, to an inn, where there was another *vetturino*, to whom he had sold me; and there I found myself, packed with three other persons, in the worst place; to the contrary of all which, the scoundrel had signed an agreement. My expressions of anger only got me laughed at. The world has not such a set of villains as these *vetturini*. I have read guides and directories, and travels, that speak of this way of journeying as passable;—if not good, very bearable; but they must be very partial, or very careless, if they mention them without indignation. Their carriages are wretched, open, crazy, jolting, dirty dung-carts; and as to their horses, I thought, till I saw them, that the Irish garrans had no rivals on the globe; but the *cavalli di vetturini* convinced me of the error. My company were two merchant-like people, and a young man going to the university of Padua; the two first, repeating prayers, and counting beads. How the country came to be well irrigated, is a question? Pater-nosters will neither dig canals, nor make cheese. — 32 miles.

The 19th. I had letters for Signore Pilati, secretary to the society of agriculture; he was in the country at his brother's farm, whither I went with pleasure: he was to introduce me to count Corniano, the president, but he is absent, twenty miles out of my road. In the evening, to the opera; the house large, but ugly: the *Avara*, badly acted; and the taste of the audience (the *platea*, not the boxes, shew a nation) still worse. Puns, conceits, distortions, and exaggerated action, gained great applause. A child, telling his name, of ten or a dozen hard syllables, with exaggerated mimicry of attempting to repeat them, were encored more violently than the finest airs would have been. This depravity of national taste is amazing, amongst a people that have produced such proofs of genius in almost every walk of life.

The 20th. After a repetition of the old plagues, to find a *vetturino* for Verona, agree at last at the extravagant price of 33 *liri*. Depart, after dinner, with a young woman and a boy of eight or nine years old. She had not two ideas beyond her snuff-box, and a crucifix. I have no opinion of Venetian police, from the villainous roads through all their territory; they consist every where of great stones, broken pavements, or mud. The country is not near so

rich as the Milanese, but all thickly inclosed with hedges, full of mulberries; and incumbered, to use Mr. Symonds's just expression, with pollards for training vines. Reach Desenzano in the dark. What my religious companion did with herself, I know not; I supped alone, thanking God she had not the eyes of the Bergamasque fair. In the night, I thought the noise of water was different from that of a stream, and opening the windows in the morning, found it the waves of a fine lake. The *Lago di Garda* was out of my recollection.
—15 miles.

The 21st. Coast the lake, with good views of it for several miles. From Brescia to Verona, but especially to Desenzano, I believe there are fifty crosses by the side of the road for deaths. When a person is murdered, they set up a cross for the good of his soul. They had better institute a police for that of his body. What a scandal to a government are such proofs of their negligence! yet that of Venice is called a wise one.—Impassable roads, towns unlighted, and a full harvest of assassinations; with men counting their beads, and women crossing themselves, are the chief signs of wisdom I have yet seen. Arrive at Verona in time to deliver a letter to Signore Cagniola, astronomer and secretary of the agrarian society: this must be a pretty institution, a society of farmers, with an astronomer for their secretary. He introduced me at the coffee-house of the Piazza to some lovers of agriculture; and made an appointment with the president of the society for to-morrow.—25 miles.

The 22d. Ill luck: the president is obliged to go into the country; and he thinks me, I suppose, like Italian theorists, tied to a town. Signore Cagniola directed his servant to shew me to the house of Signore Michael Angelo Locatelli, to whom he had named the object of my journey last night. I found this gentleman, who is engaged in commerce, but who has two farms in his hands, ready to converse with me on the subject of my enquiries; of Signore Cagniola, I saw or heard no more. I felt myself uncomfortable at Verona, till I had seen the amphitheatre, which is in truth a noble remain of antiquity, solid and magnificent enough yet to last perhaps some thousands of years; that of Nismes, cluttered up with houses, must not be named with this. As I stood on the verge of this noble building, I could not but contemplate in idea, the innumerable crowds of people who had been spectators of the scenes exhibited in it: the reflexion was attended with what is to me a melancholy impression—the utter oblivion in which such hosts are now lost! time has swept their memories from the earth—has left them no traces in the records of mankind; yet here were wit and beauty, wealth and power; the vibrations of hope and fear; the agitations of exertion and enterprize—all buried in the silence of seventeen hundred years!—I read the works of so few poets, that I know not if the idea of such oblivion has been to them as melancholy as it is

to me; if so, they have doubtless given energy to the sentiment, by the force and beauty of their expressions.

The 23d. This morning, I took a *cicerone* to attend me to view churches and palaces, an uncomfortable method, but when a traveller has one master pursuit, such secondary objects must give way. The great fault here, as every where else, is being carried to too many things. Nothing strikes more at Verona than the works of an architect, whose name is little known in England, St. Michael Michieli; they are of distinguished merit, and must please every eye. The chapel of the Pellegrini family, in the Bernardine church, and the rotunda of *St. Georgio*, are beautiful edifices. There is something singular in the Palazzo Bevilaqua, an idea which might have been copied with more success, than many others that have been repeated often. The Palazzo di Consiglio is simple and elegant, and presents one of the most pleasing examples of an arcade, for a street or square. The theatre is large, but nothing after Milan. My expences at Brescia, and at Verona are, dinner 3 *pauls*, supper 2, chamber 2; which, at 5d. English, are 2s. 11d. a-day; and as I have rooms not at all bad, good beds, and am as well served at the meals as I require, it is remarkably cheap.

The 24th. The country to Vicenza is all flat, and mostly of a singular face; rows of elm and maple pollards, with vines trained up, and from tree to tree; between the rows arable. This system is not disagreeable till it grows tedious to the eye.—32 miles.

The 25th. Wait on count Tiene, to whom I had a recommendation; he opened the letter, but found it was to another count Tiene, who lived in the country, near Vicenza; reading in it, however, some expressions of commendation, which friends are apt to use in such letters, he, with great ease and politeness, as he returned me the paper, offered me any assistance in his power: "Yours, Sir, is an errand that ought to recommend you to all mankind; and if you find the least difficulties with others, I beg you will return to this house," which is one of the Palazzi di Palladio. I waited then on the Abbaté Pierropan, professor of physics and mathematics. He had the direction, for some years, of the œconomical garden, given by the state for experiments in agriculture, now in the hands of the agrarian academy: he received me with great politeness; and not only expressed every wish to assist me, but entered immediately on the business, by proposing a walk to call on the count de Boning, president of that academy, in our way to the garden. I have a poor opinion of all these establishments on a small scale; in any hands, they are not calculated to do much; and in hands not truly practical, they are calculated to do nothing. The count de Boning, finding that I wished to converse with some real common farmers, appointed the afternoon for going into the country, about three miles,

to a farm of his, where I should find an intelligent person : he then took his leave for the present,—and Signore Pierropan and myself proceeded to the villa of the count de Tiene ; as he was absent for an hour only, we employed that time in walking a little further, to view the celebrated rotunda of Palladio, belonging to count Capra, one of the three greatest works of that great genius they possess at Vicenza. It is of a beautiful mean, between decoration and simplicity ; the distribution seems a new and original thought, much more adapted, however, to Italy than to England ; for, in the space of one hundred Vicentine feet, we might, relative to our climate and manners, have a house far exceeding it. I am concerned to see so delicious a morsel suffered to go much to decay ; the plaister on the brick columns is wearing off, and other neglect visible. The beauty of the environs of Vicenza, exceeds any thing I have seen in Italy, viewed from the hill on which these houses, and the church Santa Maria del Monte, are situated ; the city in the rich plain, and the hills spread with white buildings, crowned by the Alps, are fine. The count de Tiene, with the assistance of another nobleman, of more experience, who happened to be present, gave me some information, relative to the part of the Vicentine in which their estates are situated. Quitting him, I begged the Abbate Pierropan to favour me with his company at dinner, by which means I had the benefit of his conversation so much longer on the favourite topic. The Abbate de Traico, vice-president of the academy, joined us. After dinner, according to appointment, to the count de Boning, whose coach was ready, and carried us to the farm. Fortunately the farmer, a sensible and intelligent man, was ready to answer all such enquiries as I put to him. At night, returned to the city, after a rich day, that pays for the trouble of travelling.

The 26th. My friendly Abbate, continuing his obliging offices, had the goodness to accompany me this morning to a very famous woollen fabric, at present under the direction of an Englishman ; and to a magazine of earthen-ware, in imitation of Mr. Wedgwood. It is surely a triumph of the arts in England, to see in Italy Etruscan forms copied from English models. It is a better imitation than many I have seen in France. View the Olymic theatre of Palladio, which pleases all the world ; nothing can be more beautiful than the form, or more elegant than the colonade that surrounds it. Of all his works here, I like the Palazzo Barbarana least. I am sorry to see, that most of Palladio's edifices are of bricks stuccoed, except the Palazzo Raggione, which is of durable stone ; and that there is hardly one of them which is not out of repair. The roof of the Palazzo di Raggione, which must offend every eye, is not of Palladio ; only the case of arcades that surround the building, which is one vast room of two hundred feet by eighty, used for the courts of justice, and also as a common *jakes* by the mob, and dreadfully garnished. A pretty use to which to apply an edifice

edifice of Palladio. The brick columns, of this great architect, are of the finest work I ever saw; and some of the stucco only now failing, after two hundred years. At Verona and Vicenza, there are very few new houses, and no signs, that I could see, of the wealth and prosperity of the present age. There are exceptions, but they are few. A silk merchant here has built a good house; and Signore Cordelina, an advocate at Venice, a large and handsome one, that cost 100,000 ducats, without being finished: he made his fortune by pleading.

The 27th. To Padua. The country, which has been called a garden by travellers, not at all better cultivated than before, but deeper and richer. The same flat, lined into rows of pollards and vines in the same manner; very little irrigation, except some rice. Waited on Signore Arduino, experimenter in agriculture, on a farm, or rather a garden, of twelve acres, given by the state. I had heard much of this economical garden, and of the great number of useful experiments made in it; so much, indeed, that it weighed considerably with me in the arrangement of my journey; Venice was no object; and I could not, if I took Padua, have time for the Pontine marshes and Rome, which, by the direct road, I could have reached from Milan; but an experimental farm, the first I was assured in Europe, and which had thrown light on various important enquiries, was an object which I ought, as a farming traveller, to prefer to any city, and I determined accordingly. Signore Arduino received me politely, and appointed to-morrow for that gratification. At night to the opera, the *Due Baroni*, of Cimarosa, whose music to me has always something original and pleasing; but though the parts were not ill performed, and the orchestra powerful, yet the house being almost empty,—and those in it wearing such a shabby appearance, and the musicians all so dirty and undressed, that I felt here, what I have often done before, that half the charms of a theatre depend on the audience;—one must be in good humour—a certain exhilaration must be springing in the bosom; willingness to enjoy must be expanded into enjoyment, by the sympathy of surrounding objects. Pleasure is caught from eyes that sparkle with the expectation of being pleased. Empty boxes, and a dirty pit, with a theatre but half lighted, made the music, with all its gaiety, *sombre*; I left *Gulielmi's Pastorella nobili*, for the silence of my chamber.—
21 miles.

The 28th. In the morning, viewing buildings, of which few are worth the trouble: then to deliver letters, but I was not fortunate in finding Messieurs the professors at home: Signore Arduino was so by appointment, and shewed me the experimental farm, as it ought to be called, for he is professor of practical agriculture in this celebrated university. I will enter into no detail of what I saw here. I made my bow to the professor; and only thought, that his experiments were hardly worth giving up the capital of the world. If I keep
my

my resolution, this shall be the last economical garden that I will ever go near. Among the buildings I viewed to-day, I was much struck with the church Santa Justina: though built in no perfect style, it has, on entering, an effect unusually imposing. It is clean, and well kept; the pavement a very fine one, of marble,—and the magnitude being considerable, forms, on the whole, a splendid *coup d'œil*. That of St. Anthony is little, on comparison, and made less by multiplied divisions and numerous decorations. Numbers were on their knees before the sainted shrine, to which millions have resorted. Here mingled faith, folly, and enthusiasm, have sought consolation, and found more than they merited. The Palazzo di Configlia, which we should call the town-hall, is one of the greatest—if not *the* greatest room in Europe. It is three hundred feet long, and one hundred broad; it does not want the excrementitious garniture of that of Vicenza.

The 29th. Waited, by appointment, on Signore Carbury, professor of chymistry; a lively pleasing man, with whom I wished to converse a little on the application of his science to agriculture; but that was not easy. Politics came across him, in which I happened to mention the extraordinary prosperity of England since the American war; and he took the clue, and conducted it through such a labyrinth of admirals, generals, red hot balls, and floating batteries:—Rodney, Elliot, Necker, and Catherine, with the Lord knows what besides, that I thought he meant to make a tour as great as Mr. Wraxal's. He however gave me a note to the celebrated astronomer, Signore Toaldo, to whom I wanted an introduction, and whose observatory I viewed. He assured me, that he continues firmly of the same opinion, of which he has always been, relative to the influence of the moon on our seasons, and the importance of attending to the lunar period of eighteen years. I begged the titles of his memoirs, as I had yet procured only his *Meteorologia applicata all' Agricoltura*; he said, the others were difficult to find, but he would give me them. For this generous offer, I expressed my warmest thanks, and readily accepted it. On descending into his library, he presented me with the supplement to what I had; and also his tract, *Della Vera Influenza, &c.* After some other conversation, he told me, the price was 8 *liri*, and the supplement, 30 *soldi*. I was at a loss to know what he meant, by telling me the price of his book; for, to offer him money, would, I feared, affront him. After some minutes, he again reminded me, that the price was 9½ *liri*: on which I took out my purse. The Vera Influenza, he said, was only 6 *liri*, but being scarce, he must have eight for it, which, with 30 *f.* for the other, made 9½ *liv.* I paid him, and took my leave. There was not the least reason to expect Signore Toaldo to make me, an utter stranger, a present of a farthing; but his manner made me smile. I had left a letter yesterday at the house of the Abbate Fortis, well known in England by his travels in Dalma-

tia,

tia ; to-day I received a visit from him. He has that liveliness and vivacity which distinguish his nation ; was polite in his offers of service, and entered into conversation concerning the vines of his country. He travelled, many years ago, with lord Bristol and Mr. Symonds ; and I was glad to find ; that he spoke as handsomely of them both, as I have heard them both mention him. This is the third evening I have spent by myself at Padua, with five letters to it ; I do not even hint any reproach in this ; they are wise, and I do truly commend their good sense : I condemn nobody but myself, who have, for fifteen or twenty years past, whenever a foreigner brings me a letter, which some hundreds have done—given him an English welcome, for as many days as he would favour me with his company, and sought no other pleasure but to make my house agreeable. Why I make this minute at Padua, I know not ; for it has not been peculiar to that place, but to seven-eighths of all I have been at in Italy. I have mistaken the matter through life abundantly,—and find that foreigners understand this point incomparably better than we do. I am, however, afraid that I shall not learn enough of them to adopt their customs, but continue those of our own nation.

The 30th. I had been so sick of *vettrini*, that I was glad to find there was a covered passage boat that goes regularly to Venice ; I did not expect much from it, and therefore was not disappointed to find a jumble of all sorts of people ; except those of fortune. There were churchmen, two or three officers, and some others, better dressed than I should have looked for, for in Italy people are obliged to be economical. At Dollo, the half way place, I formed, for dinner, a little party, of two Abbati, an officer, and a pretty Venetian girl, who was lively and sensible. We dined by ourselves, with great good humour. After leaving Fusina, there is from the banks of the canal (I walked much of the journey), at the distance of four miles, a beautiful view of the city. On entering the Adriatic, a party of us quitted the bark, and, to save time, hired a large boat, which conveyed us to this equally celebrated and singular place ; it was nearly dark when we entered the grand canal. My attention was alive, all expectancy : there was light enough to shew the objects around me to be among the most interesting I had ever seen, and they struck me more than the first entrance of any other place I had been at. To Signore Petrillo's inn. My companions, before the gondola came to the steps, told me, that as soon as Petrillo found me to be a Signore Inglese, there would be three torches lighted to receive me :—it was just so : I was not too much flattered at these three torches, which struck me at once as three pick-pockets. I was conducted to an apartment that looked on to the grand canal, so neat, and every thing in it so clean and good, that I almost thought myself in England. To the opera. A Venetian audience, a Paduan, Milanese, Turinese, &c. exactly similar
for

for dancing. What with the stupid length of the ballets, the importance given to them, and the almost exclusive applause they demand, the Italian opera is become much more a school of dancing than of music. I cannot forgive this, for of forty dances, and four hundred passages, there are not four worth a farthing. It is distorted motion, and exaggerated agility; if a dancer places his head in the position his heels should be in, without touching the ground; if he can light on his toes, after twirling himself in the air; if he can extend his legs, so as to make the breadth of his figure greater than the length; or contract them to his body, so as to seem to have no legs at all; he is sure to receive such applause, so many bravos, and bravissimos, as the most exquisite airs that ever were composed would fail to attract. The *ballarini*, or female dancers, have the same fury of motion, the same energy of distortion, the same tempest of agility. Dances of such exquisite elegance, as to allure attention, by voluptuous ease, rather than strike it by painful exertion, are more difficult, and demand greater talents: in this superior walk, the Italians, where I have been, are deficient.—24 miles.

The 31st. My first business was to agree with a gondolier, who is to attend me for 6 *pauls* a day. This species of boat, as all the world knows, is one of the most agreeable things to be found at Venice; at a trifling expence, it equals the convenience of a coach and a pair of horses in any other city. I rowed out to deliver letters. Venice is empty at present, almost every body being in the country, but I met with Signore Giovanne Arduino, superintendant of agriculture throughout the Venetian dominions, who has a considerable reputation, for the attention he has given to this object, and for some publications on it. It may be supposed, from his residence in this city, that he is not himself a practical husbandman. Spent a few hours among palaces, churches, and paintings. Every where in Italy, the number of these is too great to dwell on. I shall only note, that the picture which made the greatest impression on me, was the family of Darius at the feet of Alexander, by Paul Veronese. The expression of the moment is admirably caught; the story well told; the grouping skilful; the colouring mellow and brilliant; the whole nature; all is alive; the figures speak; you hear the words on their lips; a calm dignity is admirably mixed with the emotions of the moment. Here was a subject worthy of employing a genius. It is in the Palazzo Pisani. Titian's presentation in the temple, in the Scuola della Carità, pleased me greatly. His bewitching pencil has given such life and lustre to some figures in this piece, that the eye is not soon satisfied with viewing it. St. Mark's palace contains such a profusion of noble works by Tiziano, Tintoretto, Paola Veronese, Bassano, and Palma, as to form a school for artists to study in. Cochin, in his *Voyage d'Italie*, has given the particulars, with criticisms that have less offended the Italians, than most other works of a similar

similar kind. The brazen horses, given to Nero by Tiridates, carried to Constantinople by Constantine, and brought from thence by the Venetians, when they took that city, are admirable: pity they are not nearer to the eye. The mouths of the lions, not less celebrated than Venice itself, are still in existence; I hope regarded with detestation by every man that views them. There is but one accusation that ought to enter them; the voice of the PEOPLE against the government of the *state*. In the evening at the theatre (a tragedy) I was agreeably disappointed, to find that the Italians have something besides harlequin and punchinello.

NOVEMBER 1. The cheapness of Italy is remarkable, and puzzles me not a little to account for; yet it is a point of too much importance to be neglected. I have, at Petrillo's, a clean good room, that looks on the grand canal, and to the Rialto, which, by the way, is a fine arch, but an ugly bridge; an excellent bed, with neat furniture, very rare in Italian inns, for, the bedstead is usually four forms, like trussels, set together; fine sheets, which I have not met with before in this country; and my dinner and supper provided at the old price of 8 *pauls* a-day, or 3s. 4d. including the chamber. I am very well served at dinner with many and good dishes, and some of them *solids*; two bottles of wine, neither good nor bad, but certainly cheap; for though they see I drink scarcely half of it in my negus at supper, yet a bottle is brought every night. I have been assured, by two or three persons, that the price at Venice, *a la mercantile*, is only 4 to 6 *pauls*; but I suppose they serve a foreigner better. To these 8 *pauls*, I add 6 more for a *gondola*;—breakfast 10 *soldi*; if I go to the opera, it adds 3 *pauls*;—thus, for about 7s. 3d. a-day, a man lives at Venice, keeps his servant, his coach, and goes every night to a public entertainment. To dine well at a London coffee-house, with a pint of bad port, and a very poor dessert, costs as much as the whole day here. There is no question but a man may live better at Venice for 100l. a year, than at London for 500l.; and yet the difference of the price of the common necessaries of life, such as bread, meat, &c. is trifling. Several causes contribute to this effect at Venice; its situation on the Adriatic, at the very extremity of civilized Europe, in the vicinity of many poor countries; the use of gondolas, instead of horses, is an article perhaps of equal importance. But the manners of the inhabitants, the modes of living, and the very moderate incomes of the mass of the people, have perhaps more weight than either of those causes. Luxury here takes a turn much more towards enjoyment, than consumption; the sobriety of the people does much, the nature of their food more; pastes, macaroni, and vegetables are much easier provided than beef and mutton. Cookery, as in France, enables them to spread a table for half the expence of an English one. If cheapness of living, *spectacles*, and pretty women, are a man's objects in fixing his residence, let him live at Venice: for myself, I think I would not be an inha-

bitant to be Doge, with the power of the Grand Turk. Brick and stone, and sky and water, and not a field nor a bush even for fancy to pluck a rose from! My heart cannot expand in such a place: an admirable monument of human industry, but not a theatre for the feelings of a farmer!—Give me the fields, and let others take the tide of human life, at Charing-cross and Fleet-ditch*. Called again on Signore Arduino; converse on the state of agriculture in Italy, and the causes which have contributed to accelerate or retard it; and from him to a *conservatorio* at the Ospalietto. Dr. Burney, in his pleasing and elegant tour, has given an account of them.

The 2d. A tour among *Chiese, Scuole, e Pallazzi*; but there is such an abundance of buildings and collections to which books send one, that much time is always lost. The only traveller's guide that would be worth a farthing, would be a *little* book that gave a catalogue of the best articles to be seen in every town, in the order of merit. So that if a man in passing has but one hour, he uses it in seeing the best object the place contains; if he has three days, he takes the best the three days will give him; and if he stays three months he may fill it with the like gradation; and what is of equal consequence, he may stop when he pleases and see no more; confident, as far as he has extended his view, that he has seen the objects that will pay him best for his attention. There is no such book, and so much the worse for travellers. In the library of St. Mark among the antiques, are Commodus, Augustus, and Adrian; and more particularly to be noted, a fallen gladiator: a singular and whimsical Leda, by Cocenius. In the Palazzo Barbarigo, the Venus and the Magdalen of Titian, are beautiful, though they have lost much of their glowing warmth by time. Two Rembrandts in the Palazzo Farsetti. A Holy Family, by Andrea del Sarto. Titian's portrait, by himself. I finished by going up St. Mark's tower, which is high enough to command a distant view of all the islands on which Venice is built, and a great range of coast and mountains. The country seems every where a wood. Nothing rivals the view of the city and the isles. It is the most beautiful, and by far the most singular that I have seen. The breadth of the Giudecca canal, spread with ships and boats, and walled by many noble buildings, with the isles distinct from Venice, of which the eye takes in four-and-twenty, form, upon the whole, a *coup d'œil*, that exceeds probably every thing the world has to exhibit. The city, in general, has some beautiful features, but does not equal the idea I had formed of it, from the pictures of Canaletti. A poor old gothic house makes a fine figure on canvass. The irregularity of front is greater perhaps than in any other city of equal importance; no where preserved for three houses together. You have a palace of three magnificent stories, and near it a hovel of one. Hence, there is not that species of

* See Mr. Boswell's agreeable life of Dr. Johnson.

magnificence which results from uniformity; or from an uninterrupted succession of considerable edifices. As to streets, properly so called, there is nothing similar to them in the world; twelve feet is a broad one; I measured the breadth of many that were only four and five. The greater part of the canals, which are here properly the streets, are so narrow, as much to take off from the beauty of the buildings that are upon them. St. Mark's place has been called the finest square in Europe, which is a fine exaggeration. It appears large, because every other space is small. The buildings, however, that surround it are some of them fine; but they are more interesting than beautiful. This spot is the immediate seat and heart of one of the most celebrated republics that has existed. St. Mark's church, the Doge's palace, the library, the Doge himself, the nobles, the famous casinos, the coffee-houses: thus, St. Mark's square is the seat of government, of politics, and of intrigue. What Venice offers of power and pleasure, may be sought here; and you can use your legs commodiously nowhere else. Venice shines in churches, palaces, and one fine square; and the beauty of the large canals is great. What she wants are good common houses, that mark the wealth and ease of the people; instead of which, the major part are gothic, that seem almost as old as the republic. Of modern houses there are few—and of new ones fewer; a sure proof that the state is not flourishing. Take it, however, on the whole, and it is a most noble city; certainly the most singular to be met with in the world. The canal of the Giudecca, and the grand canal, are unrivalled in beauty and magnificence. Four great architects have contributed their talents for the fine buildings to be met with here;—Palladio, St. Micheli, Sanfovino, and Scamozzi. The church of St. Georgio Maggiore, by the first, is of a noble simplicity; and that of St. Maria della Saluta, of St. Micheli, has parts of admirable beauty; he seems always happy in his domes; and the portal of this church is truly elegant. If a genius were to arise at present at Venice, as great as Palladio, how would he find employment? The taste of building churches is over: the rich nobles have other ways of spending their incomes. Great edifices are usually raised by newly acquired fortunes; there are now either none, or too inconsiderable to decorate the city. In England, all animated vigour of exertion is among individuals, who aim much more at comfort within, than magnificence without; and for want of public spirit and police, a new city has arisen at London, built of baked mud and ashes, rather than bricks; without symmetry, or beauty, or duration; but distinguished by its cleanness, convenience, and arrangement. At a *prova*, or rehearsal of a new opera, *Il Burbero benefico*, by Martini of Vienna, much to my entertainment.

The 3d. To the arsenal, in which there is very little indeed worth the trouble of viewing; travellers have given dreadful exaggerations of it; the number of ships, frigates, and gallees is inconsiderable; and I came out of this fa-

mous arsenal, with a much meaner opinion of the Venetian naval force, than I had entered it. Yet *they say* there are 3000 men constantly employed : if there are half the number, what are they about ? The armoury is well arranged, clean, and in good order. The famous *bucentaur*, is a heavy, ill built, ugly gilded monster, with none of that light airy elegance which a decorated yacht has. A thing made for pleasure only, should have at least an agreeable physiognomy. I know nothing of the ceremony, so good as Shenstone's stanza, comparing the vanity of the Doge's splendour on that day, with the real enjoyment which a hermit on her shore has of his ducal *cara sposa*. The ships in this arsenal, even of eighty-eight guns, are built under cover ; and this is not so great an expence as might be thought ; the buildings are only two thick brick walls, with a very light roof : but the expence is probably much more than saved in the duration of the ship. I mounted by the scaffolds, and entered one of eighty-eight guns, that has been twenty-five years building, and is not above four-fifths finished at present. At the opera.—The sex of Venice are undoubtedly of a distinguished beauty ; their complexions are delicate, and, for want of rouge, the French think them pale ; but it is not person, nor complexion, nor features, that are the characteristic ; it is expression, and physiognomy ; you recognize great sweetness of disposition, without that insipidity which is sometimes met with it ; charms that carry a magic with them, formed for sensibility more than admiration ; to make hearts feel much more than tongues speak. They must be generally beautiful here, or they would be hideous from their dress : the common one, at present, is a long cloth cloak, and a man's cocked hat. The round hat in England is rendered feminine by feathers and ribbons ; but here, when the petticoats are concealed, you look again at a figure before you] recognize the sex. The head-dresses I saw at Milan, Lodi, &c. shew the taste and fancy of this people. It is indeed their region ; their productions in all the fine and elegant arts, have shewn a fertility, a facility of invention, that surpasses every other nation ; and if a reason is to be sought, for the want of energy of character with which the modern Italians have been reproached (perhaps unjustly), we may possibly find it in this exquisite taste—perhaps inconsistent in the same characters with those rougher and more rugged feelings, that result from tension, not laxity, of fibre. An exquisite sensibility has given them the empire of painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, and music ; whether or not to this it has been owing that their beautiful country has been left under the dominion of Germans, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, is a question not difficult to decide.

The 4th. I am in double luck ; two persons, to whom I had letters, are returned from the country. I waited upon one of them, who received me in a very friendly manner, and entered into a conversation with me interesting, because

cause on subjects of importance. I explained to him the object of my travels; and told him, that I resided a few days in great cities, for the advantage of conversation on those topics of political œconomy, which concerned the general welfare of all nations. He told me very frankly that he was no farmer, and therefore for the practical part of my enquiries could not say much: that as to the other objects, which were without doubt important, he would give me any information in his power. I said, that I wished for none on points which the nature of the government made improper to ask about; and if inadvertently I should demand any thing of that complexion, he would have the goodness to pardon and pass it by. He interrupted me hastily, "foreigners are strangely apt to entertain false ideas of this-republic; and to think that the same principles govern it at present as are supposed to have been its guidance some centuries past. In all probability half of what you have heard about it is erroneous; you may converse as freely at Venice as at London; and the state is wise enough (for in such cases they are really very moderate and tender) to concern themselves not at all with what does not tend directly to injure or disturb the established order of things. You have heard much of spies, and executions, and drownings, &c. but believe me, there is not one circumstance at Venice that is not changed, and greatly too, even in twenty years." Encouraged by this declaration, I ventured to put enquiries on population, revenues, taxes, liberty, &c. and on the government as influencing these; and it gave me no slight satisfaction to find that he was the man he had been represented;—able, keen, and intelligent; who had seen much of the world, and understood those topics perfectly. He was so obliging as to ask me to spend what time I could with him—said, that for some days he should be constantly at home; and whenever it suited me to come, he desired me to do it without ceremony. I was not equally fortunate with the other person; who seemed so little disposed to enter into conversation on any subject but trifles, that I presently saw he was not a man for me to be much the wiser for: in all political topics it was easy to suppose motives for silence; but relative to points of agriculture, or rather the produce of estates, &c. perhaps his ignorance was the real cause of his reserve. In regard to *cicisbeism*, he was ready enough to chat; he said that foreigners were very illiberal in supposing that the custom was a mere cloak for vice and licentiousness; on the contrary, he contended, that at Paris, a city he knew well, there is just as much freedom of manners as at Venice. He said as much for the custom as it will bear; mollifying the features of the practice, but not removing them. We may however hope, that the ladies do not merit the scandal with which foreigners have loaded them; and that the beauty of some of them is joined with what Petrarch thought it so great an enemy to:

Due gran nemiche insieme erano aggiunte
Bellezza ed onestà———

At

At night to a new tragedy of Fayel, a translation from the French; well acted by Signore and Signora Belloni. It is a circumstance of criticism, amazing to my ears, that the Italian language should have been represented as wanting force and vigour, and proper only for effeminate subjects. It seems, on the contrary, as powerfully expressive of lofty and vigorous sentiments, of the terrible and the sublime, as it is admirable in breathing the softest notes of love and pity; it has even powers of harsh and rugged expression. There is nothing more striking in the manners of different nations, than in the idea of shame annexed to certain necessities of nature. In England a man makes water (if I may use such an expression) with a degree of privacy, and a woman never in sight of our sex. In France and Italy there is no such feeling, so that Sterne's Madame Rambouillet was no exaggeration. In Otaheite, to eat in company is shameful and indecent; but there is no immodesty in performing the rites of love before as many spectators as chance may assemble. There is between the front row of chairs in the pit and the orchestra, in the Venetian theatre, a space of five or six feet without floor: a well dressed man, sitting almost under a row of ladies in the side boxes, stepped into this place, and made water with as much indifference as if he had been in the street; and nobody regarded him with any degree of wonder but myself. It is, however, a beastly trick:—shame may be ideal, but not cleanliness; for the want of it is a solid and undoubted evil. For a city of not more than 150,000 people, Venice is wonderfully provided with theatres; there are seven; and all of them are said to be full in the carnival. The cheapness of admission, except at the serious opera, undoubtedly does much to fill them.

The 5th. Another tour among palaces, and churches, and pictures; one sees too many at once to have clear ideas. Called again on ~~-----~~, and had another conversation with him, better than a score of fine pictures. He made an observation on the goodness of the disposition of the common people at Venice, which deserves, in candour, to be noted: that there are several circumstances, which would have considerable effect in multiplying crimes, were the people disposed to commit them: 1st, the city is absolutely open, no walls, no gates, nor any way of preventing the escape of criminals by night, as well as by day:—2d, that the manner in which it is built, the narrowness and labyrinth-direction of the streets, with canals every where, offer great opportunities of concealment, as well as escape: 3d, the government never reclaims of any foreign power a criminal that flies: 4th, there is no police whatever; and it is an error to suppose that the system of *espionage* (much exaggerated) is so directed as to answer the purpose: 5th, for want of more commerce and manufactures, there are great numbers of idle loungers, who must find it difficult to live: 6th, and lastly, the government very seldom hangs, and it is exceedingly rare otherwise to punish.—From this union of circumstances it would be natural to suppose, that

that rogues of all kinds would abound; yet that the contrary is the fact; and he assured me, he does not believe there is a city in Europe, of equal population, where there are fewer crimes, or attempts against the life, property, or peace of others: that he walks the streets at all hours in the night, and never with any sort of arms. The conclusion in favour of his countrymen is very fair; at the same time I must remark, that these very circumstances, which he produces to shew that crimes ought to abound, might perhaps, with as much truth, be quoted as reasons for their not being found. From the want of punishment and police, may probably be drawn an important conclusion, that mankind are always best when not too much governed; that a great deal may safely be left to themselves, to their own management, and to their own feelings; that law and regulation, necessary as they may be in some cases, are apt to be carried much too far; that frequent punishments rather harden than deter offenders; and that a maze of laws, for the preservation of the peace, with a swarm of magistrates to protect it, hath much stronger tendency to break, than to secure it. It is fair to connect this circumstance of comparative freedom from crimes, with seven theatres for only 150,000 people; and the admission so cheap, that the lowest of the people frequent them; more, perhaps, in favour of theatrical representations than all that Rousseau's brilliant genius could say against them. At night to another theatre, that of the tragi-comedy, where a young actress, apparently not twenty, supported the principal serious part with such justness of action, without exaggeration; and spoke this charming language, with such a clear articulation and expression, as, for her age, was amazing.

The 6th. Another visit to islands and manufactures, &c.

The 7th. My last day at Venice; I made, therefore, a gleaning of some fights I had before neglected, and called once more on my friend ~~-----~~, assuring him truly, that it would give me pleasure to see him in England, or to be of any service to him there. The *Corriere di Bologna*, a covered barge, the only conveyance, sets off to-night at eleven o'clock. I have taken my place, paid my money, and delivered my baggage; and as the quay from which the barge departs is conveniently near the opera-house, and *Il Barbero di buon Cuore* acted for the first night, I took my leave of Signore Petrillo's excellent inn, which deserves every commendation, and went to the opera. I found it equal to what the *prova* had indicated; it is an inimitable performance; not only abounding with many very pleasing airs, but the whole piece is agreeable, and does honour to the genius and taste of Signore Martini. Swift, in one of his letters to Stella, after dining with lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, and going in the evening to some scrub, says, he hates to be a prince and a scoundrel the same day. I had, to-night all this feeling with a vengeance. From the representation of a pleasing and elegant performance, the music of which was well adapted

adapted to string one's feelings to a certain pitch, in clear unison with the pleasure that sparkled in so many eyes, and sounded from so many hands—I stepped at once, in full contrast, into the bark *Detto Corriere di Bologna*; a cabin about ten feet square, round which sat in silence, and the darkness visible of a wretched lamp, a company, whose rolling eyes examined, without one word of reception, each passenger that entered. The wind howled, and the rain beat in at the hole left for entering. My feelings that thrilled during the evening, were dissipated in a moment, and the gloom of my bosom was soon in unison with that of the scene.

Of this voyage from Venice to Bologna, all the powers of language would fail me to give the idea I would wish to impress. The time I passed in it I rank among the most disagreeable days I ever experienced, and by a thousand degrees the worst since I left England; yet I had no choice: the roads are so infamously bad, or rather so impracticable, that there are no *vetturini*; even those whose fortune admits posting make this passage by water, and when I found that Mons. de la Lande, secretary to the French ambassador at Turin, had made the same journey, in the same conveyance, and yet in his book says not a word against the accommodation, how was I to have divined, that it could prove so execrable? A little more thought, however, would have told me that it was too cheap to be good, the price, for the whole voyage of 125 miles, is only 30 *pauls* (17s. 6d.) for which you are boarded. After a day's spitting of a dozen people, in ten feet square (enough to make a dog sick), mattresses are spread on the ground, and you rest on them as you can, packed almost like herrings in a barrel; they are then rolled up and tumbled under a bulk, without the least attention which side is given you the night after; add to this the odours of various sorts, easy to imagine. At dinner, the cabin is the kitchen, and the *padrone* the cook, he takes snuff, wipes his nose with his fingers, and the knife with his handkerchief, while he prepares the victuals, which he handles before you, till you are sick of the idea of eating. But, on changing the bark to one whose cabin was too small to admit any cookery, he brought his steaks and sausages, rolled up in a paper, and that in his flag of abomination (as Smollet calls a continental handkerchief), which he spread on his knees as he sat, opening the greasy treasure, for those to eat out of his lap with their fingers, whose stomachs could bear such a repast. Will an English reader believe that there were persons present who submitted, without a murmur, to such a voyage, and who were beyond the common mercantile crews one meets with in a *vetturini*?—some well dressed, with an appearance and conversation that spoke nothing of the blackguard. I draw conclusions, operating strongly against the private and domestic comforts of life, from such public vehicles: this is the only one for those who pass to and from Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Naples, and

and of course must be exceedingly frequented; and there are no *voitures* by land to rival it. If these people were clean, decent, and comfortable at home, is it credible that they would submit to such a mode of travelling? The contrast would shock them as it would Englishmen, who would move heaven and earth to establish a better conveyance, at a higher price. The people who travel thus, form the great mass of a nation, if we except the poor; it is of little consequence how the Cornari and the Morosini live; they live probably like great lords in other countries; but the public and national prosperity is intimately connected with the comforts and accommodations of the lower classes, which appear in Italy to be, on comparison with England, miserably inferior. Their excellencies, the *aristocrats* of Venice, do not travel thus; and as to *the people*, whether they go on their heads, in the mud, or to the devil, is all one to the spirit of their government. For myself, I walked much of the journey, and especially on the banks of the Po, for the better view of that great river, now rendered immense by the late dreadful floods, which have deluged so much of the country. Along the banks, which are high dykes, raised many feet against its depredations, there are matted huts at every hundred or two hundred yards, with men stationed, called *guardia di Po*, ready to assemble with their tools, at a moment's warning, in case of a breach; they have fires all night. Soldiers also make the rounds, night and day, to see that the men are at their stations,—and to give assistance if wanted. There is a known and curious piece of roguery, against which much of this caution is bent; the mischief of a breach is so great, that when the danger becomes very imminent, the farmers, in the night, cross the river in boats, in order to bore holes in the banks, to enable the water the easier to make a breach, that by giving it a direction contrary to that of their own lands, they may render themselves secure. For this reason, the guards permit no navigation, except by privileged barks, like the *corrieri*, firing at all others that are seen on the river. It is now an immense body of water, twice, and in some places perhaps even thrice as broad as the Thames at London. As to the face of the country, from the Lagues to Ferrara, it is every where nearly the same as what I have so often described; whether grass or arable, laid out into rows of pollards, with vines trained to them, at various distances, but always near enough to give the whole the appearance of a wood, when viewed from the least distance. It does not seem to want people; towns and villages being numerous; and there are all the signs of a considerable navigation; every village being a port, with abundance of barges, barks, boats, &c. Coffee-houses remarkably abound in the Venetian dominions; at all towns, and even villages, where we passed, they are to be found, fortunately for me, as they were my resource, to make amends for the dirty fingers, and beastly handkerchief of our Signore Padrone. Before I entirely

finish with Venice, I shall insert a few circumstances, with which I was favoured by an Italian, who resided some time in that city, and had abilities that would not allow me to doubt of his capacity, in forming a true estimate of any political circumstance, to which he directed his attention. His account of the principal nobility of the republic, is such as would explain much more than I have seen or heard in their dominions. He says, "the education of the great is the disgrace of Venice. Men of the first families are not only ignorant to a degree shameful in so enlightened an age, but they are educated in a bad *ton*; with ill manners, from ideas that are suffered to be instilled by dependents, which do not quit them through life; fixing, from early habit, the taste for bad company; while a pernicious indulgence exempts them from all learning: that this is so general, and is so extensive in its influence, that, had the interior organization of this government been less admirable, it would, from this very cause, have mouldered to nothing long ago: that the pride, of which they are accused, is owing equally to bad company and to ignorance; the first gives them vague and improper ideas of their own importance, and the second inspires them with reserve, to conceal their want of that knowledge which others, and especially foreigners, possess: that the ill effects of this bad education, will be seen more and more; the governments of Europe being at present infinitely more enlightened than in times past; and improved considerably even in the last twenty years. There is, of necessity, a struggle among all nations, emulous to make the greatest progress in useful knowledge, and to apply all knowledge to the most useful purposes; in such a period, therefore (he added), any people who are stationary, and more particularly any government that is so, will be outstripped in the great course by their competitors, and perhaps trampled on, like the monarchy of France, by those in whom *light* hath taken the place of *ignorance*." Pity that the richest blood in European veins should at present experience such an education!

Here are about forty families, unquestionably the most ancient in Europe. All other countries, except Venice, have been conquered, or over-run, or so destroyed, that the oldest families may be dated comparatively from only modern periods; he who looks back to a well defined ancestry, from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and who can thus trace his lineage seven or eight hundred years, is in every country respected for antiquity; of this standing are the families of Bourbon, d'Esté, Montmorency, Courtenaye, &c. which are commonly esteemed the first in Europe; but they are not esteemed so at Venice. Some of the Roman families; which, from the ravages of the Huns, took shelter in the isles of Venice, and which were *THEN* considerable enough to be entrusted with the government of their country, yet remain, and are unquestionably the most ancient in Europe. De la Lande, from Fregiotti, confines the electors

of

of the first Doge to twelve—*Badoer, Contarini, Morosini, Tiepolo, Michiel, Sanudo, Gradenigo, Memo, Falier, Dandolo, Barozzi, and Polano*, which is of late extinct. In the next class he places *Zustiniani, Cornaro, Bragadin, and Bembo*; then come the families *il ferrare del consiglio, Querini, Dolfini, Soranzo, Zorai, Marcello, Sagredo, Zane, and Salomon*. But since Monf. de la Lande wrote, they have published at Venice a *Dixionario storico di Tutte le Venete Patrizie Famiglie*, 1780; compiled from a MS. in St. Mark's library; this work does not accord with the preceding table; I have extracted from it the following list:

Badoer; suo origine con la republica.—*Bollani*; antichi tribuni.—*Bragadin*; nei piu rimoti secoli della republica.—*Celsi*; dagli antichi Mari di Roma, antichi tribuni.—*Civran*; negli elettori del primo Doge.—*Contarini*; uno negli elettori del primo Doge.—*Cornaro*; dagli antichi Corneli di Roma, da' primissimi tempi tenuta in Venezia.—*Emo*; nacque colla medesima republica.—*Foscarini*; Vennero 867; antichi tribuni.—*Gradenigo*; delle prime venute in Venezia.—*Magno*; dalla prima fondazion di Venezia; tribuni.—*Marcello*; pare, che non si possa metter in dubbio, che questa famiglia discenda dagli antichi Marcelli di Roma; antichi tribuni.—*Michieli*; antichissima di Venezia; gli elettori del primo Doge.—*Mocenigo*; delle prime venute in Venezia.—*Molin*; stabilita in Venezia 877; antichi tribuni.—*Morosini*; rifugiti per le incurzioni di Attila; fra gli elettori del primo Doge, e antichi tribuni.—*Da Mosto*; Vennero 454 rifugiati per Attila.—*Nani*; Vennero in Venezia sin dalla prima sua fondazione; antichi tribuni.—*Orio*; rifugiati per Attila; antichi tribuni.—*Pisani*; dagli antichi Pisoni di Roma; dell'antico consiglio.—*Querini*; elettori del primo Doge.—*Sagredo*; Vennero nel 485.—*Salomon*, trà le elettrici del primo Doge.—*Sanudo*, dei primi fondatori della città.—*Semitecolo*, fin dal 843; antico consiglio.—*Soranzo*, senza dubbio delle prime rifugite in Venezia; antichi tribuni.—*Tiepolo*, gli elettori del primo Doge: antichi tribuni.—*Trevisan*, Vennero per l'irruzione d'Attila.—*Valier*, rifugiti per le incursione di Attila sino dal 423; tribuni antichi.—*Venier*, Vennero per Attila; antichi tribuni.—*Zane*, antichissima famiglia di Venezia; antico consiglio.—*Zen*, dei 12 elettori del primo Doge. *Bembo, Coco, Dandolo, Falier, Foscarini, Gritti, Malipiero, Marini, Minio, Minotto, Moro, Muazzo, Nadal, Pesaro, Da Riva, Ruzini, Tron, Zusto*, all these antichi tribuni.

From the details of these families it appears, that many have an origin as old as Attila the Hun, who invaded Italy in 452. If all these families are allowed to date from that period (and no reason appears against it), their origin may be traced to more than 1300 years. The election, however, of the first Doge, in 697, by the twelve heads of the republic, is one of the most authentic and the most noted acts in the establishment of any government. To this undisputed origin, the preceding list assigns the families of Civran, Contarini, Michieli, Morosini, Querini, Salomon, Tiepolo, and Zen, rejecting thus

several families which have been commonly esteemed the first in the republic, and which former writers have expressly ranked among the electors of the first Doge. The only families in which both lists agree are Contarini, Michieli, Morosini, and Tiepolo: whether the others were, or were not electors of the Doge, there is no question about their great antiquity; and it is equally certain, that there are now actually at Venice from forty to fifty families which, in point of antiquity well ascertained, exceed all that are to be found in the rest of Europe.

And here I take leave of the Venetian lion; I am tired of it:—if the state were to build a pig-stie, I believe they would decorate it with his figure. It is a beast of no merit;—for what is ferocity without humanity,—or courage without honour?—It wars only to destroy; and spreads its wings not to protect, but to cover, like the vulture of Mr. Sheridan, the prey that it devours. At Ferrara, the Padrone's business stopped him a whole day; but he pretended it was a want of oxen to draw the coaches, that carried us ten miles by land, from canal to canal. This was not amiss, for it enabled me to see every thing in that town, which, however, does not contain much. The new part—new in comparison with the rest, was built by Hercules II. duke of Ferrara, who has laid out, and distributed the streets, and a square, in a manner that does honour to his memory. They are all of a fine breadth, well paved, with *trottoirs* of brick, every where defended by stone posts. I have seen no city so regularly laid out, except Turin. The Palazzo of the Marchese di Villa, is an object to examine; and at that spot there is a very advantageous view of two noble streets. The Palazzo di Bentivoglio is another considerable building, with a vast garden, full of bad statues; and even some of footmen, with laced hats and shoulder-knots, in a stile fully as ridiculous as M. du Barrè's at Toulouze. In the cathedral, a fine Guercino; and a marriage of Cana, by Bonona, a Ferrarese painter, at the Chartreuse. I paid homage to the tomb of Ariosto, a genius of the first lustre; since all modern ages have produced but three distinguished epic poets, what a glory to Italy to have given birth to two of them! the wonder is greater, however, that the third was not of the same country. From Ferrara to the canal, which leads to Bologna, the road is, without any idea of comparison, the worst in Europe, that pretends to be *great* and *passable*. It is the natural rich soil of a flat wet country, rendered deeper by the late heavy rains; seven horses drew a coach about a mile and a half an hour. Making and mending are philosophical experiments not tried here; and the country being inclosed, the hedges and ditches confine the carriages to poach through the mud of one direction, instead of many. I walked most of it in the adjoining fields, the better to examine them. Arrived at Bologna at twelve o'clock at night.—
125 miles.

The

The 12th. Deliver letters. I found Signore Bignami at home. He is a considerable merchant, who has attended to agriculture, sensible and intelligent. An English merchant, at the *Three Moors*, informing me, that Mr. Taylor, who was at Carlsruh for some time, was now settled at Bologna, I determined to wait on him, being the gentleman of whose husbandry, at Bifrons in Kent, I gave an account in my Eastern Tour. I accordingly went, in the evening, to Mr. Taylor's *conversazione*. He has handsome apartments in the Palazzo Zampiere, and lives here agreeably with his beautiful and amiable family; a finer progeny of daughters and sons is hardly to be seen, or that forms a more pleasing society. As I did not know, till I got to Bologna, that Mr. Taylor had left the court of Carlsruh, I was eager to hear why he had quitted a situation which was so congenial with his love of agriculture. This gentleman travelling in Germany, became known to the Margrave of Baden, where that enthusiastic love of agriculture, which, for the good of mankind some minds feel, induced him to take a farm of that prince. Thus was a gentleman, from the best cultivated part of Kent, fixed on a farm of five hundred acres in Germany. He carried his point, improved the farm, staid four years, and would have continued to the infinite advantage of the country, if the ministers of the Margrave had had as much understanding, and as liberal a mind as their master. I am inclined to believe that no man can succeed on the continent of Europe (unless under a prince with a character of such decided energy as the late King of Prussia) provided he be really *practical*. He has no chance if he be not well furnished with the rubbish which is found in academies and societies: give him a jargon of learning, the science of names and words, letting things and practice go elsewhere, and he will then make his way, and be looked up to. To the opera, where there is nothing worth hearing or seeing, except only a young singer, Signora Nava, whose voice is one of the clearest and sweetest tones I ever heard; she has great powers, and will have, for she is very young, great expression. It was the *Theodore re di Corse*, of Paiesello.

The 13th. The *Pellegrino* and *St. Marco* being full, has fixed me in this brutal hole, *I Tre Maurettili*, which is the only execrable inn I have been in (in a city) since I entered Italy. It has every circumstance that can render it detestable; dirt, negligence, filth, vermin, and impudence. You sit, walk, eat, drink, and sleep with equal inconvenience. A tour among the palaces and churches. The great collection of paintings in the Zampieri palace, contains a few pieces of such exquisite merit, that they rivet the spectator by admiration. The St. Peter, of Guido; the Hagar, of Guercino; and the Dance, of Albano. Mons. Cochin says, the Guido is not only a *chef d'œuvre*, but the finest picture in Italy, *enfin c'est un chef d'œuvre & le tableau le plus parfait, par la re union*

union de toutes les parties de la peinture qui soit en Italie. It is certainly a most noble piece of two figures, but wants, of necessity, the poetry of a tale told by many. To please me, the Guercino, of which he says little more than its being *tres beau*, has an expression delicious, that works on a fine subject to a great effect: it is more nature than painting. Hagar's countenance speaks a language that touches the heart; and the pathetic simplicity of the child is in unison with all the mother's feelings. The mellow warmth and tender softness of the colouring of the Albano, with the sweetness of the expression, are inimitable. In the church of St. Giovanne in Monte, there is the famous St. Cecilia of Raphael, of which Sir Robert Strange has given so fine a print, and in which he has done ample justice to the original. The St. Agnes of Domenichino, in the church of that name, and Job on his throne, by Guido, at the Mendicanti, are two others that must be visited. Dine with Signore Bignami; he is a considerable merchant, and therefore I need not stare at this hospitality in Italy; with great satisfaction I find that no minute is lost in his company, as he is obliging enough to pardon the number of my enquiries. In the evening to Mr. Taylor's; this gentleman's discourse is interesting to my pursuit, for he has always had a great predilection for agriculture, and has practised it with intelligence and success. The Marchese di Mareschotti, who is married to a very pretty English Lady, present also; a sensible man, who seemed pleased with the opportunity of explaining to me several circumstances, relative to tythes and taxation, that I was enquiring into. He is a singular instance at Bologna, of going into company with his wife, and consequently superseding the necessity or want of a cicisbeo. He is regarded by his countrymen for this, pretty much as he would be if he walked on his head, instead of his feet. How strangely doth it appear to them, that an Italian nobleman should prefer the company of a woman he married from affection, and think there is any pleasure when he embraces his children, in believing them his own!—Here I met also the baron de Rovrure, a French nobleman, and Madame la Marquise de Bouille, both in their way to Naples; they seem agreeable people. Mr. Taylor, and his two charming daughters, have apparently a pleasing society here. These ladies speak French and German like natives, and before they leave Italy will do the same with Italian; they paint agreeably, and have considerable musical talents; thus accomplishments will not be wanted to second the graces they owe to the beneficence of nature. I had some information from Miss Taylor, to-night, relative to the expences of housekeeping, which will give an idea of the cheapness of Italy; premising (of which more in another place) that the *paolo* is sixpence, and that there are 10 *baiocchi* in it. As to beef, mutton, bread, &c. they are all over Europe too nearly on a par to demand much attention; where meat is very fine, it is *nominally* dear; and

and where it is bad, it is called cheap: but the difference deserves little notice. Mr. Taylor contracts with a *traiteur* for his table, nine in the parlour and five in the kitchen, 20 *paoli* a-day for dinner; for supper he pays extra, and is supplied to his satisfaction—a proof, if any is wanted, of the cheapness of Bologna. It is remarkable, that there is not the difference between the prices of any of the articles, and the same thing in England, that there is between the contracting prices, and the *ratio* with us, a few per cent. in the former, but some hundred per cent. in the latter; a sure proof that dearness and cheapness of living does not depend on prices per pound, but on the modes of living. Every tavern-keeper, *traiteur*, or other contractor of any sort in England, will have a price that shall give him a fortune in a few years; and servants, instead of submitting to the œconomy which their masters may think it necessary to establish, will not live an hour with them if they are not permitted to devour him.

The 14th. With Signore Bignami and his family, to his country seat, about five miles from Bologna, on the road to Pistoia; spend an agreeable day, entirely dedicated to farming. The house is handsome, and finely situated; the entertainment truly hospitable, and the information, given in a cool considerate walk, through every field of the farm, such as is little liable to error. A circumstance at this country seat deserves noting, as it marks the abundance of thieves: the chambers had the windows all shut so close, and fastened with so much attention, that I enquired the reason; and was answered, that if the greatest care be not taken, thieves will break in, and plunder a house of every thing portable. The shutters, to both windows and doors, were inlaid with bars of iron, to prevent their being sawn through. The conclusion we must draw from such a circumstance is certainly little favourable, at first sight, to the lower classes,—but that is always unjust, for they are ever what the police, law, and government of a country make them. In the evening, again at Mr. Taylor's; a house, in which no one will have the *entré*, and want the inclination. The Marchese Mareschotti there, who had the goodness to continue his attentions to my enquiries, and to give me some valuable information: I had also the pleasure of conversing, on the same subjects, with the Conte di Aldrovandi. There is a room, at the *Tre Maurratti*, which, communicating with several apartments, the guests have it in common: among them was a young *Ballarini*, waiting here for an Englishman, to attend her to Venice; she was pretty and communicative; had some expensive trinkets given her, to the amount of a considerable sum, by her lover, who proved (for secrecy was not among her qualities) to be a rider, as we should call him, to a manufacturing house in England. An Italian merchant present remarked, that the profit of the English, on their manufactures, must be enormous; or they could not support *commissarii* at such an expence, some of whom travel in Italy *post*,
from

from town to town, and when arrived, amuse themselves, it is plain, with such *comforts* as the good humour of the country throws in their way.

The 15th. The rencontre at Mr. Taylor's of the French gentleman, the baron de Rovrure, and Madame de Bouille, has been productive of an engagement to travel together to Florence, with Signore Grimaldi, and Mr. Stewart, a Scotch gentleman*, just arrived from Geneva, and going also to Florence. We set off in three *vetturi* this morning. The country from Bologna to Florence is all mountainous; most of it poor and barren, with shabby, ragged, ill preserved wood, spotted with a weak and straggling cultivation. Houses are scattered over most of it, but very thinly. We dined at Loiano, much in the style of hogs; they spread for us, a cloth that had lost, by the snuff and greasy fingers of *vetturini*, all that once was white; our repast was black rice broth, that would not have disgraced the philosophy of Lycurgus, liver fried in rancid oil, and cold cabbage, the remnant of the preceding day. We pleaded hard for sausage, eggs, or good bread and onions, but in vain. We laid, not slept, in our cloaths at Covigliano, hoping, not without fears, to escape the itch. Such accomodations, on such a road, are really incredible. It is certainly one of the most frequented that is to be found in Europe. Whether you go to Florence, Rome, and Naples, by Parma, Milan, or Venice; that is, from all Lombardy, as well as from France, Spain, England, Germany, and all the north, you pass by this route, consequently one would expect, at every post, a tolerably good inn, to catch the persons whom accident, business, or any other derangement of plan might induce to stop between Bologna and Florence. The only place possible to sleep at, with comfort, is Maschere, about forty miles from Bologna, but, for travellers who go any other way than post, forty miles are no division of sixty-four. If the road were in England, with a tenth of the traffic, there would be an excellent inn at every four or five miles, to receive travellers properly, at whatever distance their accidental departure made most convenient: but England and Italy have a gulph between them in the *comforts* of life, much wider than the channel that parts Dover and Calais.—
27 miles.

The 16th. On entering Tuscany, our baggage was examined, and plumbed for Florence; the first moment I set foot in this country, therefore, I find one gross error of the *acconomiſtes*, who have repeated, from one another, in at least twenty performances, that the Grand Duke had adopted their plan, and united all taxes in one, upon the net produce of land. Having crossed the highest ridge of the Appenines, for several miles in the clouds, and therefore seeing no prospect, descended at Maschere, for a while, into a better region; from the inn, the view is rich and fine. We noted here a wonderful improvement in the

* Travelling with a young gentleman, a Mr. Kinloch,

figure and beauty of the sex; the country women are handsome, and their dress is very becoming; with jackets, the sleeves puckered and tied in puffs, with coloured ribbons; broad hats, something like those worn by ladies in England with riding habits; their complexions are good, and their eyes fine, large, and expressive. We reached Florence, with just light enough to admire the number of white houses spread thickly every where over the mountains that surround the city. But before we enter, I must say a word or two of my French fellow travellers: *Monf. le Baron* is an agreeable polite man, not deficient in the power to make observations that become a person of sense: the life of *Madame de Bouille* would, if well written, form an entertaining romance; she went, early in the last war, to *St. Domingo* with her husband, who had a considerable property there; and on her return she was taken in a French frigate, by an English one, after a very smart engagement of three hours, and carried into *Kinsale*, whence she went to *Dublin*, and to *London*: this is an outline which she has filled up very agreeably with many incidents, which have kept her in perpetual motion; the present troubles in France have, I suppose, added her and the Baron to the infinite number of other French travellers, who swarm, to an incredible degree, every where in Italy. She is lively, has much conversation, has seen a good deal of the world, and makes an agreeable *compagnon de voyage*.
—37 miles.

The 17th. Last night, on arriving here, we found the *Aquila Nera* and *Vanni's* so full, that we could not get chambers; and the great *Mr. Meggot* looked into our cabriolets to examine us, before he would give an answer, pretending, that his were bespoken; and then assured us, as we had no air that promised good plucking, that his were engaged. At the *Scudi di Francia*, where there are many excellent and well furnished apartments, we found all we wanted, but dearer than common, 10 *paoli* a head a day; our merchant leaves us to-morrow morning, for *Leghorn*, and the rest of the company divide, to find lodgings. Waited on *Monf. de Streinesberg*, the Grand Duke's private secretary, for whom I had letters: I am out of luck, for he is immersed in business and engagements, as the court goes to *Pisa* to-morrow morning, for the winter. This, I suppose, is of no consequence to me, for what court is there in the world that would give or receive information from a farmer? The objects for which I travel, are of another complexion from those which smooth our paths in a court. And yet the Grand Duke has the reputation of being, in respect to the objects of his attention, the wisest prince in Europe. So much for the sovereign of this country,—let me but find some good farmers in it, and I shall not be discontented.

The 18th. Fixed this morning in lodgings (*del Sarte Inglefi via dei Fossi*), with the Marchioness, the Baron, and *Mr. Stewart*. My friend, *Dr. Symonds*,
H h had

had given me a letter to his excellency Philippo Neri, who I found was dead; but hearing that his brother, Signore Neri, was not only living, but president of the *Georgofili* society, I waited on him, and gave him the letter that was designed for his late brother; he received me politely, and recollecting the name of Young, being quoted by the Marquis de Cassaux, in his *Mechanism des Societes*, and being informed that I was the person, remarked, that this ingenious writer had made some use of my calculations, to found his theory of the national debt of England; a very curious subject, on which he should like much to converse with me; and asked, if I looked upon that debt as so harmless? I told him, that I thought Monf. de Cassaux's book full of original and ingenious remarks, and many important ones, particularly his condemnation of the colonizing system; but that as to the national debt of England, it originated in the knavery of those who borrowed, and in the folly of those who lent; perpetuating taxes that took money from industrious people, in order to give it to idle ones. That the liberty of England enabled it to flourish beyond that of any other society in the world, not because it had a national debt, but in spite of so great an evil.—*Well, Sir*, he replied, *I have just the idea of it that you have, and I could not conceive how a country could pay eight or nine millions of guineas a year, in interest, without being the weaker and poorer.* He then enquired into my plan, commended highly the object of my journey, which, he was pleased to say, had so little resemblance to that of the great mass of my countrymen, that he hoped I met with no impediments, in gaining the information I wished; and added, that he was very sorry he was going to Pisa, or he should have been happy in procuring me all in his power, though he was no practical farmer. Signore Neri appears to be well informed, sensible, and judicious; has a large collection of books, on useful subjects, particularly the various branches of political œconomy, which he shews, by his conversation, to have consulted with effect. After all I had read and heard of the Venus of Medicis, and the numberless casts I had seen of it, which have made me often wonder at descriptions of the original, I was eager to hurry to the *tribuna*, for a view of the dangerous goddess. It is not easy to speak of such divine beauty, with any sobriety of language; nor without hyperbole to express one's admiration, when felt with any degree of enthusiasm; and who but must feel admiration at the talents of the artist, that thus almost animated marble? If we suppose an original, beautiful as this statue, and doubly animated, not with life only, but with a passion for some favoured lover, the marble of Cleomenes is not more inferior to such life, in the eyes of such a lover, than all the casts I have seen of this celebrated statue are to the inimitable original. You may view it till the unsteady eye doubts the truth of its own sensation: the cold marble seems to acquire the warmth of nature, and promises to yield to the impression of one's hand.

hand. Nothing in painting so miraculous as this. A sure proof of the rare merit of this wonderful production is, its exceeding, in truth of representation, every idea which is previously formed; the reality of the chisel goes beyond the expectancy of imagination; the visions of the fancy may play in fields of creation, may people them with nymphs of more than human beauty; but to imagine life thus to be fashioned from stone; that the imitation shall exceed, in perfection, all that *common* nature has to offer, is beyond the compass of what ordinary minds have a power of conceiving. In the same apartment there are other statues, but, in the presence of Venus, who is it that can regard them? They are, however, some of the finest in the world, and must be reserved for another day. Among the pictures, which indeed form a noble collection, my eyes were rivetted on the portrait of Julius II. by Raphael, which, if I possessed, I would not give for the St. John, the favourite idea he repeated so often. The colours have, in this piece, given more life to canvass, than northern eyes have been accustomed to acknowledge. But the Titian!—enough of Venus;—at the same moment to animate marble, and breathe on canvass, is too much.—By husbanding the luxury of the sight, let us keep the eye from being satiated with such a parade of charms: retire to repose on the insipidity of common objects, and return another day, to gaze with fresh admiration. In the afternoon, by appointment, to Signore Preposito Lastri, author of the *Corso d' Agricoltura*, and other much esteemed works, to whom I had letters. He was to have carried me to Signore Zucchini, director of the œconomical garden, for whom also I had recommendations; I hoped to escape seeing this garden,—and the rain seconded my wishes, for it would not allow us to stir; and that gentleman coming to Signore Lastri's, I had the pleasure of a conversation on our favourite topic. Signore Zucchini seems an animated character, speaks of agriculture in a style that gives me a good opinion of his pursuits; made me very friendly offers, of whatever assistance was in his power, during my stay at Florence, and appointed another day for viewing the œconomical garden. At night to the opera, the *Trami del Lusso*, of Cimarosa; the music as good as the singing bad, and the dancing execrable. An English gentleman, of the name of Harrington (the younger), whom I had met at Mr. Taylor's, at Bologna, entering into conversation, mentioned, among other topics, that the Margrave of Anspach, who is here with Lady Craven, wished to know me personally, in order to speak to me on the subject of Spanish sheep, his highness having imported them to Anspach. I replied, that, on a farming topic, I should be happy in the conversation of any prince, who loved the subject enough to import a better breed. The father soon after joining us, and probably having been told, by his son, what had passed, observed to me, that the Margrave was very fond of agriculture, and had made great improvements; adding,

“that if I wanted to be introduced to him, he would introduce me.” This was another business;—my expressing a desire to be presented to a sovereign prince, not at his own court, appeared to be an awkward intrusion; for no idea could be more disgusting to me, than that of pushing myself into such company. I replied, therefore, that if it were the desire of the Margrave, to have any conversation with me, and he would inform me of it, in any way he thought proper, I would certainly pay my respects to him, with great readiness. The Margrave was at the opera; Mr. Harrington quitted me, as if to go to him. I suppose the conversation was misunderstood, for Lady Craven does not seem, by her book, to be much of a farmer.

The 19th. Call on Signore Tartini, secretary to the royal academy *Georgofili*, and on Lord Hervey, our minister here; both absent. Another turn in the gallery brought a repetition of that pleasure which is there to be reaped, in the exuberance of a plentiful harvest. The woman, lying on a bed, by Titian, is probably the finest picture, of one figure, that is to be seen in the world. A satyre and nymph, by Hannibal Carracci; a Correggio; a Carlo Dolci.—Among the statues—the Apollo, the Wrestlers, the Whetter, as it is called, the Venus rising from the bath, the Ganimede.—What an amazing collection! I have been many years amusing myself with looking at the statues in England! very harmlessly:—my pleasure of that kind is at end. In spite of every effort to the contrary, one cannot (unless an artist, who views not for pleasure but as a critic) help forming eternal comparisons, and viewing very coldly pieces that may perhaps have merit, but are inferior to others which have made a deep impression. But the paintings and statues in this gallery are in such profusion, that, to view them with an attention adequate to their merit, one ought to walk here two hours a day for six months. In the afternoon, waited on Signore Fabroni, author of some works on agriculture, that have rendered him very well known, particularly a little treatise in French, entitled, *Reflexions sur l'état actuel l'Agriculture*, printed at Paris in 1780, which is one of the best applications of the modern discoveries in natural philosophy to agriculture, that has been attempted; it is a work of considerable merit. I had two hours very agreeable and instructive conversation with him: he is lively, has great fire and vivacity, and that valuable talent of thinking for himself, one of the best qualities a man can possess; without which, we are little better than horses in a team, trammelled to follow one another: He is very well instructed also in the politics of Tuscany, connected with agriculture.

The 20th. Early in the morning, by appointment, to Signore Tartini, to whose attentions I am obliged, not only for a conversation on my favourite subject, but for some books of his writing, which he presented me with; among others, the *Giornale d'Agricoltura di Firenze*, which was dropped for want of encouragement.

encouragement. He accompanied me to Signore Lasfri's, and then ~~we went~~ together to the oeconomic garden of Signore Zucchini, for which the Grand Duke allows three hundred crowns a-year, besides such lab~~our~~ ~~wanted~~, ~~and~~ the professor reads lectures in summer. The ~~no~~ ~~commitment~~ of such a garden does honour to a sovereign; because ~~marks~~ an attention to objects of importance. But it is greatly ~~or~~ regretted they do not go one step further, and, instead of a ~~garden~~ ~~have~~ a farm of not less than three hundred English acres: ~~most of them~~ are possessors of farms; a well situated one might easily be chosen, and the whole conducted at an expence that would be amply repaid by the practical benefits flowing from it. Signore Zucchini's garden is much cleaner, and in neater order than any other I have seen in Italy: but it is not easy to form experiments in a few acres, that are applicable to the improvement of a national agriculture. He is an active, animated character, attached to the pursuit (no small merit in Italy), and would make a very good use of his time, if the Grand Duke would do with him as the King of Naples has done by his friend Signore Balsamo—send him to practise in England. I told him so, and he liked the idea very much. We had some conversation concerning Signore Balsamo, agreeing that he had considerable talents, and great vivacity of character. I regretted that he was to stay only a year in England; but admitted, that there were few men who could make so good a use of so short a period. Signore Zucchini shewed me the MS. account of my farm, which Signore Balsamo had sent him*. A professor of agriculture, in Sicily, being sent by his sovereign, and wisely sent, to England for instruction in agriculture, appears to me to be an epoch in the history of the human mind. From that island, the most celebrated of all antiquity for fruitfulness and cultivation, on whose exuberance its neighbours depended for their bread—and whose practice the greatest nations considered as the most worthy of imitation: at a period too when we were in the woods, contemned for barbarity, and hardly considered as worth the trouble of conquering. What has effected so enormous a change? Two words explain it, we are become free, and Sicily enslaved. We were joined, at the garden, by my good friend from Milan, the Abbate Amoretti, a new circumstance of good fortune for me. To-day, in my walk in the gallery, I had some conversation with Signore Adamo Fabbroni, brother of the gentleman I mentioned before, and author also of some dissertations on agriculture; particularly *Sopra il quesito, indicare le vere teorie delle stime dei terreni*, from which I inserted an extract in the Annals of Agriculture,—also a Journal of Agriculture, published at Perugia, where he resided seven years; but as it did not succeed for more than three, he dropped it. It is remarkable how many writers on this subject there are at present at Florence: the two Fabbroni's, Lasfri, Zucchini, Targioni, Paoletti, whom I am to visit in the country, attended by Signore Amoretti;

* I fixed him in my neighbourhood in Suffolk.

For he is the most practical of all, having resided constantly on his farm. I spent an hour very agreeably, contemplating one statue to-day, namely, Bandinelli's copy of the Laocoon, which is a production that does honour to modern ages; I did not want his copy to remind me of another most celebrated one, and of the many very agreeable & instructive hours I have spent with its noble owner the Earl of Orford.

The 21st. Signore Tartini had engaged the Abbate Amoretti and myself, to go this day to his country-seat, but it rained incessantly. The climate of Italy is such as will not make many men in love with it; on my conscience, I think that of England infinitely preferable.—If there were not great powers of evaporation, it would be uninhabitable. It has rained, more or less, for five weeks past; and more, I should conceive, has fallen, than in England in a year. In the evening to the *conversazione* of Signore Fabbroni, where I met Signore Pella, director of the gallery; Signore Gaetano Rinaldi, director of the posts; another gentleman, administrator of the grand duke's domains, I forget his name; the Abbate Amoretti, &c.—It gave me pleasure to find, that the company did not assemble in order to converse on the trivial nonsense of common topics, like so many *coteries* in all countries. They very readily joined in the discussions I had with Signore Fabbroni; and Signora Fabbroni herself, who has an excellent understanding, did the same. By the way, this lady is young, handsome, and well made: if Titian were alive, he might form from her a Venus not inferior to those he has immortalized on his canvases; for it is evident, that his originals were real, and not ideal beauty. Signora Fabbroni is here, but where is Titian to be found?

The 22d. In the forenoon to the *conversazione* of the senator Marchese Ginori, where were assembled some of the *litterati*, &c. of Florence; the Cavaliere Fontana, so well known in England for his eudiometrical experiments, Zucchini, Lastrì, Amoretti, the Marchese Pacci, who has a reputation here for his knowledge of rural affairs, Signore Pella, &c. The *conversazioni* are commonly in an evening, but the Marchese Ginori's is regularly once a week in a morning; this nobleman received me very politely: indeed he is famous for his attention to every object that is really of importance; converses rationally on agriculture, and has himself, many years ago, established, in the neighbourhood of Florence, one of the most considerable manufactories of porcelain that is to be found in Italy. Dine with his Majesty's envoy extraordinary, Lord Hervey, with a great party of English; among whom were Lord and Lady Elcho, and Mr. and Miss Charteris, Lord Hume, Mr. and Mrs. Beckford, Mr. Digby, Mr. Tempest, Dr. Cleghorn, professor of history at St. Andrews, who travels with Lord Hume, with ten or a dozen others. I had the honour of being known to Lord and Lady Hervey in Suffolk, so they were not new faces to me; of the others, I had

had never seen any thing : the company was too numerous for a conversation, from which much was to be gained. I sat by the fellow of an English college ; and my heels had more conversation with his sword than I had with its owner : when a man begins every sentence with a cardinal, a prince, or a celebrated beauty, I generally find myself in too good company ; but Miss Charteris, who seems a natural character, and was at her ease, consoled me on the other side. At this dinner (which by the way was a splendid one), I was, according to a custom that rarely fails, the worst dressed man in the company ; but I was clean, and as quietly in repose on that head, as if I had been either fine or elegant. The time was, when this single circumstance would have made me out of countenance, and uneasy. Thank my stars, I have buried that folly. I have but a poor opinion of Quin, for declaring that he could not afford to go plain : he was rich enough, in wit, to have worn his breeches on his head, if he had pleased ; but a man like myself, without the talent of conversation, before he has well arranged his feelings, finds relief in a good coat or a diamond ring. Lord Hervey, in the most friendly manner, desired I would make his table my own, while I was at Florence,—that I should always find a cover, at three o'clock, *for dinners are not the custom here, and you will very rarely find me from home.* This explains the Florentine mode of living ; at Milan, great dinners are perpetual, here the nobility never give them. I have no idea of a society worth a farthing, where it is not the custom to dine with one another. Their *conversazioni* are good ideas, when there are no cards,—but much inferior to what one has at a dinner for a select party. In England, without this, there would be no conversation ; and the French custom, of rising immediately after it, which is that also of Italy, destroys, relatively to this object, the best hour in the whole day.

The 23d. To the gallery, where the horrible tale of Niobe and her children is told so terribly well, in stone, as to raise in the spectator's bosom all the powers of the pathetic. The action of the miserable mother, shielding the last of her children against the murdering shafts of Apollo, is inimitable ; and the figure of that youngest of the children, perfection. The two figures, which strike me most, are the son who has gathered his drapery on his left arm, and the companion, a daughter, in the opposite corner. The expression of his face is in the highest perfection, and the attitude, and whole figure, though much repaired, incomparable. The daughter has gathered her drapery in one hand, behind her, to accelerate her flight ; she moves against the wind, and nothing can be finer than the position and motion of the body, appearing through the drapery. There are others of the group also, of the greatest force and fire of attitude ; and I am happy not to be a critic instructed enough to find, as Mons. de la Lande says, that the greatest part of the figures are bad. They certainly

are not equal; they are the work of Scopas, a Greek sculptor. Dine with Lord Elcho, at Meggot's hotel; Lord Hume, Mr. Tempest, Mr. Tyrhith, as well as Lord Elcho's family and Dr. Cleghorn, present: some agreeable conversation; the young persons have engaged in sport to walk on foot to Rome; right—I like that. If the Italians are curious in novelty of character, the passing English are well framed to give it.

The 24th. In the morning, with Abbate Amoretti, and Signore Zucchini to the porcelain manufacture of the Marchese Ginori, four miles to the north of Florence. It is said to be in a flourishing state, and the appearance of things answers the description. It is a good fabric, and many of the forms and the designs are elegant. They work casts of all the antique statues and bronzes, some of which are well executed. Their plates are a *zecchin* each (9s.) and a complete service, for twelve covers, 107 *zecchins*. To the Marchese Martelli's villa; a very handsome residence. This nobleman is a friend of Signore Zucchini, and, understanding our intention, of making it a farming day as well as a manufacturing one, ordered a dinner to be prepared, and his factor to attend for giving information, apologizing for his own absence, owing to a previous engagement. We found a very handsome repast; too much for the occasion:—and we drank—*alla Inglese*, SUCCESS TO THE PLOUGH! in excellent wine. The factor then conducted us over the farm: he is an intelligent man, and answered my numerous enquiries, apparently with considerable knowledge of the subject. Returned at night to Florence.

The 25th. Early in the morning, with Signore Amoretti, to Villa Magna, seven miles to the south of Florence, to Signore Paoletti; this gentleman, *curé* of that parish, had been mentioned to me as the most practical writer on agriculture, in this part of Italy, having resided always in the country, and with the reputation of being an excellent farmer. We found him at home, and passed a very instructive day, viewing his farm, and receiving much information. But I must note, that to this expression, *farm*, must not be annexed the English idea; for Signore Paoletti's consist of three *poderi*, that is, of three houses, each with a farmer and his family, *alla Meta*, who cultivates the ground, and has half the produce. It is unnecessary to observe, that whenever this is the case, the common husbandry, good or bad, must be pursued. It will surprise my English readers to find, that the most practical writer at Florence, of great reputation, and very deservedly so, has no other than a *metayer* farm. But let it not be thought the least reflection on Signore Paoletti, since he classes, in this respect, with his sovereign, whose farms are in the same regimen. Signore Paoletti's maples for vines, appeared to be trained with much more attention than common in Tuscany, and his olives were in good order. This day has given me a specimen of the winter climate of Italy; I never felt such a cold pierc-

ing

ing wind in England. Some snow fell; and I could scarcely keep myself from freezing, by walking four or five miles an hour. All water, not in motion from its current or the wind, was ice; and the icicles, from the dripping springs in the hills, were two feet long. In England, when a fierce N. E. wind blows in a sharp frost, we have such weather; but, for the month of November, I believe such a day has not been felt in England since its creation. The provision of the Florentines against such weather, is truly ridiculous: they have not chimnies in more than half the rooms of common houses; and those they do not use; not because they are not cold, for they go shivering about, with chattering teeth, with an idea of warmth, from a few wood ashes or embers in an earthen pan; and another contrivance for their feet to rest upon. Wood is very dear, therefore this miserable succedaneum is for œconomy. Thank God for the coal fires of England, with a climate less severe by half than that of Italy. I would have all nations love their country; but there are few more worthy of such affection than our BLESSED ISLE, from which no one will ever travel, but to return with feelings fresh strung for pleasure, and a capacity renovated by a thousand comparisons for the enjoyment of it.

The 26th. To the Palazzo Pitti. I have often read about ideal grace in painting, which I never well comprehended, till I saw the Madona della Sedia of Raphael. I do not think either of the two figures, but particularly the child, is strictly in nature; yet there is something that goes apparently beyond it in their expression; and as passion and emotion are out of the question, it is to be resolved into ideal grace. The air of the virgin's head, and the language of the infant's eyes, are not easily transfused by copyists. A group of four men at a table, by Rubens, which, for force and vigour of the expression of nature, is admirable. A portrait of Paul III. by Titian, and of a Medicis, by Raphael. A virgin, Jesus, and St. John, by Rubens, in which the expression of the children is hardly credible. A Magdalen, and portrait of a woman in a scarlet habit, by Titian. A copy of Correggio's holy family, at Parma, by Barrocio Cataline, a copy of Salvator Rosa, by Nicolo Cassalve; and last, not least, a marine view, by Salvator.—But to enumerate such a vast profusion of fine pieces, in so many splendid apartments, is impossible; for few sovereigns have a finer palace, or better furnished. Tables inlaid, and curiosities, both here and at the gallery, abound, that deserve examination, to mark the perfection to which these arts have been carried, in a country where you do not find, in common life, a door to open without wounding your knuckles, or a window that shuts well enough to exclude the Appenine snows. The gardens of this palace contain ground that Brown would have made delicious, and many fine things that itineraries, guides, and travels dwell amply on.

The 27th. To the palace Poggio Imperiali, a country-seat of the Grand Duke's, only a mile from Florence, which is an excellent house, of good and

well proportioned rooms, neatly fitted up and furnished, with an air of comfort without magnificence, except in the article beds, which are below par. There is a fine vestibule and saloon, that, in hot weather, must be very pleasant; but our party were frozen through all the house. Lord Hervey's rooms are warm, from carpets and good fires; but those are the only ones I have seen here. We have a fine clear blue sky and a bright sun, with a sharp frost and a cutting N. E. wind, that brings all the snow of the Alps, of Hungary, Poland, Russia, and the frozen ocean to one's sensation. You have a sun that excites perspiration, if you move fast; and a wind that drives ice and snow to your vitals. And this is Italy, celebrated by so many hasty writers for its delicious climate! To-day, on returning home, we met many carts loaded with ice, which I found, upon measure, to be four inches thick; and we are here between latitude 43, and 44. The green peas in December and January in Spain, shew plainly the superiority of that climate, which is in the same latitude. The magnitude and substantial solidity with which the Palazzo Ricardi was built, by a merchant of the Florentine republic, is astonishing; we have, in the north of Europe (now the most commercial part of the globe), no idea of merchants being able to raise such edifices as these. The Palazzo Pitti was another instance; but as it ruined its master, it deserves not to be mentioned in this view; and there are at Florence many others, with such a profusion of churches, that they mark out the same marvellous influx of wealth, arising from trade. To a mind that has the least turn after philosophical enquiry, reading modern history, is generally the most tormenting employment that a man can have; one is plagued with the actions of a detestable set of men, called conquerors, heroes, and great generals; and we wade through pages loaded with military details; but when you want to know the progress of agriculture, of commerce, and industry, their effect in different ages and nations on each other—the wealth that resulted—the division of that wealth—its employment—and the manners it produced—all is a blank. Voltaire set an example, but how has it been followed? Here is a ceiling of a noble saloon, painted by Luca Giordano, representing the progress of human life. The invention and poetry of this piece are great, and the execution such as must please every one. The library is rich; I was particularly struck with one of the rooms that contains the books, having a gallery for the convenience of reaching them, without any disagreeable effect to the eye. In England we have many apartments, the beauty of which is ruined by these galleries: this is thirty-six feet by twenty-four, within the cases, well lighted by one moderate window; and is so pleasing a room, that if I were to build a library, I would imitate it exactly. After visiting the gallery, and the Palazzo Pitti, we are naturally nice and fastidious,—yet here are some paintings that may be viewed with pleasure. In the evening to the *conversazione* of Signore Fabbroni; the assembly

bly merits the name ; for some of the best instructed people at Florence meet there, and discuss topics of importance. Signore Fabbroni is not only an *œconomiste*, but a friend to the Tuscan mode of letting farms *alla meta*, which he thinks is the best for the peasants ; his abilities are great ; but facts are too hard for him.

The 29th. Churches, palaces, &c. In the afternoon to St. Firenze, to hear an oratorio. At night to a concert, given by a rich Jew on his wedding : a *solo* on the violin, by Nardini.—Crouds—candles—ice—fruits—heat—and—so forth.

The 30th. To Signore Fabbroni, who is second in command under il Cavaliere Fontana, in the whole museum of the Grand Duke ; he shewed me, and our party, the cabinets of natural history, anatomy, machines, pneumatics, magnetism, optics, &c. which are ranked among the finest collections in the world ; and, for arrangement, or rather exhibition, exceed all of them ; but note, no chamber for agriculture ; no collection of machines, relative to that first of arts ; no mechanics, of great talents or abilities, employed in improving, easing, and simplifying the common tools used by the husbandman, or inventing new ones, to add to his forces, and to lessen the expence of his efforts ! Is not this an object as important as magnetism, optics, or astronomy ? Or rather, is it not so infinitely superior, as to leave a comparison absurd ? Where am I to travel, to find agricultural establishments, on a scale that shall not move contempt ? If I find none such in the dominions of a prince reputed the wisest in Europe, where am I to go for them ? Our Annual Register gave such an account, a few years past, of the new regulations of the Grand Duke, in relation to burials, that I have been anxious to know the truth, by such enquiries, on all hands, as would give me not the letter of the law only, but the practice of it. The fact, in the above-mentioned publication, was exaggerated. The bodies of all who die in a day, are carried in the night, on a bier, in a linen covering (and not tumbled naked into a common cart), to the church, but without any lights or singing ; there they receive benediction ; thence they are moved to a house, prepared on purpose, where the bodies are laid, covered, on a marble platform, and a *voiture*, made for that use, removes them to the cemetery, at a distance from the city, where they are buried, without distinction, very deep, not more than two in a grave, but no coffins used. All persons, of whatever rank, are bound to submit to this law, except the Archbishop, and women of religious orders. This is the regulation and the practice ; and I shall freely say, that I condemn it, as an outrage on the common feelings of mankind ; chiefly, because it is an *unnecessary* outrage, from which no use whatever flows. To prohibit lights, singing, processions, and mummery of that sort, was rational ; but are not individuals to dress and incase the dead bodies,

in whatever manner they please? Why are they not permitted to send them, if they chuse, privately into the country, to some other burying place, where they may rest with fathers, mothers, and other connections? Prejudices, bearing on this point, may be, if you please, ridiculous; but gratifying them, though certainly of no benefit to the dead, is, however, a consolation to the living, at a moment when consolation is most wanted, in the hour of grief and misery. Why is the impassioned and still loving husband, or the tender and feeling bosom of the father, to be denied the last rites to the corpse of a wife or a daughter, especially when such rites are neither injurious nor inconvenient to society? The regulations of the Grand Duke are, in part, entirely rational,—and that part not in the least inconsistent with the consolation to be derived from a relaxation in some other points. But, in the name of common sense, why admit exceptions? Why is the Archbishop to have this favour? Why the religious? This is absolutely destructive of the principle on which the whole is founded; for it admits the force of those prejudices I have touched on, and deem exemption from their tie as a favour! It is declaring such feelings to be follies, too absurd to be indulged, and, in the same breath, assigning the indulgence, as the reward of rank and purity! If the exemption is a privilege so valuable, as to be a favour proper for the first ecclesiastic, and for the religious of the sex only,—you confess the observance to be directly, in such proportion, a burthen, and the common feelings of mankind are sanctioned, even in the moment of their outrage. Nothing could pardon such an edict, but its being absolutely free from all exemptions, and its containing an express declaration and ordinance to be executed, with rigour, on the bodies of the Prince himself, and every individual of his family.

DECEMBER I. To the shop of the brothers Pisani, sculptors, where, for half an hour, I was foolish enough to wish myself rich, that I might have bought Niobe, the gladiator, Diana, Venus, and some other casts from the antique statues. I threw away a few *pauls*, instead of three or four hundred *zeccins*. Before I quit Florence, I must observe, that besides the buildings and various objects I have mentioned, there are at least a thousand more, which I have not seen at all;—the famous bridge *Ponta della Santa Trinita* deserves, however, a word: it is the origin of that at Neuillé and so many others in France, but much more beautiful; being indeed the first in the world. The circumstance that strikes one at Florence, is the antiquity of the principal buildings; every thing one sees considerable, is of three or four hundred years standing: of new buildings, there are next to none; all here remind one of the Medici: there is hardly a street that has not some monument, some decoration, that bears the stamp of that splendid and magnificent family. How commerce could enrich it sufficiently, to leave such prodigious remains, is a question not a little
curious;

curious ; for I may venture, without apprehension, to assert, that all the collected magnificence of the House of Bourbon, governing for eight hundred years twenty millions of people, is trivial, when compared with what the Medicis family have left, for the admiration of succeeding ages—sovereigns only of the little mountainous region of Tuscany, and with not more than one million of subjects. And if we pass on to Spain, or England, or Germany, the same astonishing contrast will strike us. Would Mr. Hope, of Amsterdam, said to be the greatest merchant in the world, be able, in this age, to form establishments, to be compared with those of the Medicis? We have merchants in London, that make twenty, and even thirty thousand pounds a year profit, but you will find them in brick cottages, for our modern London houses are no better, compared with the palaces of Florence and Venice, erected in the age of their commerce; the paintings, in the possession of our merchants, a few daubed portraits; their statues, earthen-ware figures on chimney-pieces; their libraries—their cabinets,—how contemptible the idea of a comparison! It is a remarkable fact, that with this prodigious commerce and manufactures, Florence was neither so large nor so populous as at present. This is inexplicable, and demands enquiries from the *historical* traveller:—a very useful path to be trodden by a man of abilities, who should travel for the sake of comparing the things he sees with those he reads of. Trade, in that age, must, from the fewness of hands, have been a sort of monopoly, yielding immense profits. From the modern state of Florence, without one new house that rivals, in any degree, those of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, it might be thought, that with their commerce, the Florentines lost every sort of income; yet there is no doubt, that the revenue from land is, at this moment, greater than it was in the most flourishing age of the republic. The revenue of Tuscany is now more equally spent. The government of the Grand Dukes, I take to have been far better than the republican, for it was not a republic equally formed from all parts of the territory, but a city governing the country, and consequently impoverishing the whole, to enrich itself, which is one of the worst species of government to be found in the world. When Italy was decorated with fine buildings, the rich nobles must have spent their incomes in raising them: at present, those of Florence have other methods of applying their fortunes; not in palaces, not in the fine arts, not in dinners;—the account I received was, that their incomes are, for the greatest part, consumed by keeping great crowds of domestics; many of them married, with their families, as in Spain. The Marchese Ricardi has forty, each of which hath a family of his own, some of them under servants, but all maintained by him. His table is very magnificent, and served with all sorts of delicacies, yet never any company at it, except the family, tutors, and chaplains. The house of Ranuzzi hath a greater fortune, and also a greater
number

number of domestics, in the same stile. No dinners, as in England; no suppers, as in France; no parties; no expensive equipages; little comfort; but a great train of idle lounging pensioners, taken from useful labour, and kept from productive industry; one of the worst ways of spending their fortunes, relatively to the public good, that could have been adopted. How inferior to the encouragement of the fine or the useful arts. The manner in which our little party has passed their time, has been agreeable enough, and wonderfully cheap: we have been very well served by a *traiteur*, with plenty of good things, well dressed, at 4 *pauls* a head for dinner, and a slight repast at night; sugar, rum, and lemons for punch, which both French and Italians like very well, added a trifle more. These articles, and the apartment, with wood, which is dear, and the weather, as I noted, very cold, made my whole expence, exclusive of amusements, 3s. 6d. a day English, which surely is marvellously cheap; for we had generally eight or ten things for dinner, and such a dessert as the season would allow, with good wine, the best I have drunk in Italy. The Abbate Amoretti, who, fortunately for me, arrived at Florence the same day as myself, was lodged with a friend, a canon, who being obliged to be absent, in the country, most of the time, the Abbate, to save the servants the trouble of providing for him only, joined our party, and lived with us for some days, adding to our common bank no slight capital in good sense, information, and agreeableness. Madame de Bouille's easy and unaffected character, and the good humour of the Baron, united with Mr. Stewart, and his young friend, to make a mixture of nations—of ideas—of pursuits—and of tempers,—which contributed to render conversation diversified, and the topics more in contrast, better treated, and more interesting; but never one idea, or one syllable, that cast even a momentary shade across that flow of ease and good humour, which gives to every society its best relish. There was not one in the party which any of us wished out of it; and we were too much pleased with one another to want any addition. Had I not been turning my face towards my family, and the old friends I left in England, I should have quitted our little society with more pain. Half a dozen people have rarely been brought together, by such mere accident, that have better turned the little nothings of life to account (if I may venture to use the expression), by their best cement,—good humour.

The 2d. The day of departure must needs give some anxiety to those who cannot throw their small evils on servants. Renew my connexion with that odious Italian race, the *vetturini*.—I had agreed for a *compagnon de voyage*; but was alone, which I liked much better. To step at once from an agreeable society, into an Italian *voiture*, is a kind of malady which does not agree with my nerves. The best people appear but blanks at such a moment: the mind having gotten a particular impulse, one cannot so soon give it another. The inn

at

at Maschere, where I found no fire, but in partnership with some Germans, did not tend much to revive cheerfulness, so I closed myself in that which Sancho wisely says, covers a man all over like a cloak. — 18 miles

The 3d. Dine at Pietra Mala, and, while the dinner was preparing, I walked to the volcano, as it is called. It is a very singular spectacle, on the slope of a mountain, without any hole or apparent crevice, or any thing that tends towards a crater; the fire burns among some stones, as if they were its fuel; the flame fills the space of a cube of about two feet, besides which there are ten or twelve smaller and inconsiderable flames. These I extinguished in the manner Mons. de la Lande mentions, by rubbing hard with a stick among the small stones: the flame catches again in a few moments, but in a manner that convinces me the whole is merely a vent to a current of inflammable air, which Signore Amoretti informed me has been lately asserted by some person who has tried experiments on it. The flame revives with small explosions, exactly like those of inflammable air fired from a small phial; and when I returned to the inn, the landlord had a bottle of it, which he burns at pleasure, to shew to his guests. The cause of this phenomenon has been sought in almost every thing but the real fact. I am surpris'd the fire is not applied to some use. It would boil a considerable copper constantly, without the expence of a farthing. If I had it at Bradfield, I would burn brick or lime, and boil or bake potatoes for bullocks and hogs at the same time. Why not build a house on the spot? and let the kitchen-chimney surround the flame? there would be no danger in living in such a house, certainly as long the flame continued to burn. It is true the idea of a mine of inflammable air, just under a house, would sometimes, perhaps, alarm one's female visitors; they would be afraid of a magazine of vital air uniting with it, and at one explosion blowing up the oeconomic edifice. On the whole, the idea is rather too volcanic for Bradfield: Italy has things better worth importing than burning mountains. The King of Poland's brother, the primate, stopping at Pietra Mala a day for illness (the 25th or 26th November), the weather was so severe that it froze his Cyprus wine; milk was as hard as stone, and burst all the vessels that contained it. On whatever account Englishmen may travel to Tuscany, let not a warm winter be among their inducements.—Sleep at that hideous hole *Loiano*, which would be too bad for hogs accustomed to a clean sty.—26 miles.

The 4th. The passage of the Appenines has been a cold and comfortless journey to me, and would have been much worse, if I had not taken refuge in walking. The hills are almost covered with snow; and the road, in many descents, a sheet of ice. At the St. Marco, at Bologna, they brought me, according to custom, the book to write my name for the commandante, and there I see *Lady Erne and sua figlia*, and *Mr. Hervey, October 14*. Had my stars been lucky
enough

enough to have given me more of the society of that cultivated family, during my stay in Italy, it would have smoothed some of my difficulties. I missed Lord Bristol at Nice, and again at Padua. He has travelled, and lived in Italy, till he knows it as well as Derry; and, unfortunately for the society of Suffolk, ten times better than Ickworth. Call on Mr. Taylor, and find, to my great concern, two of his children very ill. Abbate Amoretti, who left Florence a few days ago, is here to my comfort, and we shall continue together till we come to Parma. This is indeed fortunate, for one can hardly wish for a better fellow-traveller.—20 miles.

The 5th. Visit the Institute, which has acquired a greater reputation than it merits. Whoever has read any thing about modern Italy, knows what it contains. I never view museums of natural history, and cabinets of machines for experimental philosophy, but with a species of disgust. I hate expence, and time thrown away for vanity and shew more than utility. A well arranged laboratory, clean, and every thing in order, in a holy-day dress, is detestable; but I found a combination of many pleasures in the disorderly dirty laboratories of Messrs. de Morveau and la Voisier. There is a face of business; there is evidently work going forwards; and if so, there is use. Why move here, and at Florence, through rooms well garnished with pneumatical instruments that are never used? Why are not experiments going forward? If the professors have not time or inclination for those experiments, which it is their duty to make, let others, who are willing, convert such machines to use. Half these implements grow good for nothing from rest; and before they are used, demand to be new arranged. You shew me abundance of tools, but say not a word of the discoveries that have been made by them. A prince, who is at the expence of making such great collections of machines, should always order a series of experiments to be carrying on by their means. If I were Grand Duke of Tuscany, I should say, "You, Mr. Fontana, have invented an eudiometer; I desire that you will carry on a series of trials, to ascertain every circumstance which changes the result, in the qualities of airs, that can be ascertained by the nitrous test; and if you have other enquiries, which you think more important, employ some person upon whom you can depend."—And to Mr. John Fabbroni, "You have made five trials on the weight of geponic soils, taken hydrostatically; make five hundred more, and let the specimens be chosen in conjunction with the professor of agriculture. You have explained how to analyze soils—analyze the same specimens." When men have opened to themselves careers which they do not pursue, it is usually for want of the means of prosecuting them; but in the museum of a prince; in such cabinets as at Florence or Bologna, there are no difficulties of this sort,—and they would be better employed than in their present state, painted and patched, like an opera girl, for the
idle

idle to stare at. What would a Watfon, a Milner, or a Priestley say, upon a proposal to have their laboratories brushed out clean and spruce? I believe they would kick out the operator who came on such an errand. In like manner, I hate a library well gilt, exactly arranged, and not a book out of its place; I am apt to think the owner better pleased with the reputation of his books, than with reading them. Here is a chamber for machines applicable to mechanics; and the country is full of carts, with wheels two feet high, with large axles; what experiments have been made in this chamber to inform the people on a point of such consequence to the conduct of almost every art? I have, however, a greater quarrel than this with the Institute. There is an apartment of the art of war and fortification. Is there one of the machines of agriculture, and of such of its processes as can be represented in miniature?—No: nor here, nor any where else have I seen such an exhibition: yet in the King's library at Paris, the art of English gardening is represented in wax-work, and makes a play-thing pretty enough for a child to cry for. The attention paid to war, and the neglect of agriculture in this Institute, gives me a poor opinion of it. Bologna may produce great men, but she will not owe them great obligations for this establishment. View some churches and palaces, which I did not see when here before. In the church of St. Dominico, a slaughter of the Innocents, by Guido, which will command attention, how little inclined soever you may be to give it. The mother, and the dead child, in the fore-ground, are truly pathetic, and the whole piece finely executed. The number of highly decorated churches at Bologna is surprising. They count, I think, above an hundred; and all the towns, and many villages in Italy, offer the same spectacle; the sums of money invested in this manner in the 15th and 16th centuries, and some even in the 17th, are truly amazing; the palaces were built at the same time, and at this period all the rest of Europe was in a state of barbarism: national wealth must have been immense, to have spared such an enormous superfluity. This idea recurs every where in Italy, and wants explanation from modern historians. The Italian republics had all the trade of Europe; but what was Europe in that age? England and Holland have had it in this age without any such effects; with us architecture takes quite a different turn; it is the diffusion of comfort in the houses of private people; not concentrated magnificence in public works. But there does not appear, from the size and number of the towns in Italy, built in the same ages, to have been any want of this—private houses were numerous, and well erected. A difference in manners, introducing new and unheard-of luxuries, has probably been the cause of the change. In such a diary as this, one can only touch on a subject—but the historians should dwell on them, rather than on battles and sieges.

The 6th. Left Bologna, with Abbate Amoretti, in a *vettura*, but the day so fine and frosty, that we walked three-fourths of the way to Modena. Pass.

Anfolazen, the feat of the Marchese Abbergatti, who, after having passed his grand climacteric, has just married a *ballarina*, of seventeen. The country to Modena is the same as the flat part of the Bolognese; it is all a dead level plain, inclosed by neatly wrought hedges against the road, with a view of distinguishing properties. I thought, on entering the Modenese dominions, across the river, that I observed rather a decline in neatness and good management. View the city; the streets are of a good breadth, and most of the houses with good fronts, with a clean painted or well washed face,—the effect pleasing. In the evening to the theatre, which is of the oddest form I have seen. We had a hodge-podge of a comedy, in which the following passage excited such an immoderate laugh, that it is worth inserting, if only to shew the taste of the audience, and the reputation of the *ballorini*; “*Era un cavallo sì bello, sì svelto, sì agile, di bel petto, gambe ben fatte, groppa grossa, che se fosse stato una cavalla, converrebbe dire che l’anima della prima ballerina del teatro era trasmigrata in quella.*” Another piece of miserable wit, was received with as much applause as the most sterling:—Arlocch. “*Cbi e quel rè che ha la più gran corona del mondo?*—Brighel. “*Quello che ha la testa più piccola.*”——24 miles.

The 7th. To the ducal palace, which is a magnificent building, and contains a considerable collection of pictures, but nothing to what were once here. The library, celebrated for its contents, is splendid; we were shewn the curious MS. of which there is an account in De la Lande. The Bible made for the D’Este family, is beautifully executed, begun in 1457, and finished in 1463, and cost 1875 *zechini*. In the afternoon, accompanied the Abbate Amoretti, to Signore Bolontani; and in the evening, to Signore Venturi, professor of physicks in the university, with whom we spent a very agreeable and instructive evening. We debated on the propriety of applying some political principles to the present state of Italy; and I found, that the professor had not only considered the subjects of political importance, but seemed pleased to converse upon them.

The 8th. Early in the morning to Reggio. This line of country appears to be one of the best in Lombardy; there is a neatness in the houses, which are every where scattered thickly, that extends even to the homesteads and hedges, to a degree that one does not always find, even in the best parts of England; but the trees that support the vines being large, the whole has now, without leaves, the air of a forest. In summer it must be an absolute wood. The road is a noble one. Six miles from Modena, we passed the Secchia, or rather the vale ruined by that river, near an unfinished bridge, with a long and noble causeway leading to it, on each side, which does honour to the duke and states of Modena. It being a *fiesta* (the immaculate conception), we met the country people going to mass; the married women had all muffs, which are here wedding presents. Another thing I observed, for the first time, were children
standing

standing ready in the road, or running out of the houses, to offer, as we were walking, asses to ride: they have them always saddled and bridled, and the fixed price is 1*sol* per mile. This shews attention and industry, and is, therefore, commendable. A countryman, who had walked with us for some distance, replied to them, that we were not *Signori d'asini*. In the afternoon to Parma. The country the same; but not with that air of neatness that is between Reggio and Modena; not so well inclosed, nor so well planted; and though very populous, not so well built, nor the houses so clean and neat. Pass the Eusa, a poor miserable brook, now three yards wide, but a bridge for it a quarter of a mile long, and a fine vale, all destroyed by its ravages; this is the boundary of the two duchies.—30 miles.

The 9th. At the academy is the famous picture of the holy family and St. Jerome, by Correggio, a master more inimitable perhaps than Raphael himself. To my unlearned eyes, there is in this painting such a suffusion of grace, and such a blaze of beauty, as strike me blind (to use another's expression) to all defects which learned eyes have found in it. I have admired this piece often in Italy in good copies, by no ordinary masters, but none come near the original. The head of the Magdalen is reckoned the *chef d'œuvre* of Correggio. The celebrated cupola of the Duomo is so high, so much damaged, and my eyes so indifferent, that I leave it for those who have better. At St. Sepulchro, St. Joseph gathering palms, &c. by the same great hand. There are works by him also in the church of St. John, but not equally beautiful, and a copy of his famous *Notte*. At the academy is a fine adoration, by Mazzola. The great theatre here is the largest in the world. In the afternoon to the citadel; but its governor, count Rezzonico, to whom I had a letter, is absent from Parma. Then to the celebrated *reale typografia* of Signore Bodoni, who shewed me many works of singular beauty. The types, I think, exceed those of Didot at Paris, who likewise often crowds the letters close, as if to save paper. The Daphne and Chloe, and the Amynta, are beautifully executed; I bought the latter, as a specimen of this celebrated press, which really does honour to Italy. Signore Bodoni had the title of the printer to the King of Spain, but never received any salary, or even gratification, as I learned in Parma from another quarter; where I was also informed, that the salary he has from the Duke is only 150 *zecchins*. His merit is great and distinguished, and his exertions are uncommon. He has 30,000 matrices of type. I was not a little pleased to find, that he has met with the best sort of patron, in Mr. Edwards, the bookseller, at London, who has made a contract with him for an impression of two hundred and fifty of four Greek poets, four Latin, and four Italian ones—Pindar, Sophocles, Homer, and Theocritus; Horace, Virgil, Lucretius, and Plautus; Dante, Petrarcha, Ariosto, and Tasso. In searching bookfellers shops for

printed agriculture, I became possessed of a book which I consider as a real curiosity—*Diario di Colorno per l'anno 1789*, preceded by a sermon, on this text, *Ut seductores et veraces*; Corinth. cap. vi. ver. 8. The diary is a catalogue of saints, with the chief circumstances of their lives, their merits, &c. This book, which is put together in the spirit of the tenth century, is (marvellously be it spoken!) the production of the duke of Parma's pen. The sovereign, for whose education a constellation of French talents was collected—with what effect, let this production witness. Instead of profanely turning friars out of their convents, this prince has peopled his palace with monks: and the holy office of inquisition is found at Parma, instead of an academy of agriculture. The dutchess has her amusements, as well as her husband: doubtless they are more agreeable, and more in unison with the character and practice of this age. The memoirs of the court of Parma, both during the reigns of Don Philip and the present duke, whenever they are published, for written I should suppose they must be, will make a romance as interesting as any that fiction has produced. If I lived under a government that had the power of fleecing me, to support the extravagancies of a Prince, in the name of common feelings, let it be to fill a place with mistresses, rather than with monks. For half a million of French livres, the river Parma might be made navigable from the Po; it has been more than once mentioned; but the present duke has other and more holy employments for money: Don Philip's were not so directly aimed at the gates of Paradise.

The 10th. In the morning, walked with Signore Amoretti to Vicomero, seven miles north of Parma towards the Po, the seat of the count de Schaffienatti. For half the way, we had a fine clear frosty sun-shine, which shewed us the constant fog that hangs over the Po; but a slight breeze from the north rising, it drove this fog over us, and changed the day at once. It rarely quits the Po, except in the heat of the day in fine weather in summer, so that when you are to the south of it, with a clear view of the Appenines, you see nothing of the Alps: and when to the north of it, with a fine view of the latter, you see nothing of the Appenines. Commonly it does not spread more than half a mile on each side wider than the river, but varies, by wind, as it did to-day. The country, for four miles, is mostly meadow, and much of it watered; but then becomes arable. Entered the house of a *metayer*, to see the method of living, but found nobody; the whole family, with six or eight women and children, their neighbours were in the stable, sitting on forms fronting each other in two lines, on a space paved and clean, in the middle of the room, between two rows of oxen and cows: it was most disagreeably hot on entering. They stay there till they go to bed, sometimes till midnight. This practice is universal in Lombardy. Dine with the count de Schaffienatti, who lives entirely in
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the country, with his wife. He shewed me his farm, and I examined his dairy, where cheeses are made nearly in the same way, and with the same implements as in the Lodofan; these cheeses may therefore, with as much propriety, be called Parmefan, as those that come from Lodi. My friend, the Abbate Amoretti, having other engagements in this country, I here took leave of him with regret.—14 miles.

The 11th. Having agreed with a *vetturino* to take me to Turin, and he not being able to procure another passenger, I went alone to Firenzola. It is fine sun-shine weather, decisively warmer than ever felt in England at this season: a sharp frost, without affecting the extremities as with us, where cold fingers and toes may be classed among the nuisances of our climate. I walked most of the way. The face of the country is the same as before, but vines decrease after Borgo St. Domino. An inequality in the surface of the country begins also to appear, and every where a scattering of oak-timber, which is a new feature.—20 miles.

The 12th. Early in the morning to Piacenza, that I might have time to view that city, which, however, contains little worthy of attention to any but those who study painting as connoisseurs. The country changed a good deal to-day. It is like the flat rich parts of Essex and Suffolk. Houses are thinner, and the general face inferior. The inequalities which began yesterday increase.—The two equestrian statues of Alexander and Rannutio Farnese, are finely expressive of life; the motion of the horses, particularly that of Alexander's, is admirable; and the whole performance spirited and alive. They are by John of Bologna, or Moca his *eleve*. Sleep at Castel St. Giovanne.—26 miles.

The 13th. Cross a brook, two miles distant, and enter the King of Sardinia's territory, where the skulls of two robbers, who, about two months ago, robbed the courier of Rome, are immediately seen: this is an agreeable object, that strikes us at our entrance into any part of the Piedmontese dominions; the inhabitants having in this respect an ill reputation throughout all Italy, much to the disgrace of the government. The country, to Tortona, is all hill and dale; and being cultivated, with an intermixture of vines, and much inclosed, with many buildings on the hills, the features are so agreeable, that it may be ranked among the most pleasing I have seen in Italy. Within three miles of Vogara, all is white with snow, the first I have seen in the plain; but as we approach the mountains, shall quit it no more till the Alps are crossed. Dine at Vogara, in a room in which the chimney does not smoke; which ought to be noted, as it is the only one free from it since I left Bologna. At this freezing season, to have a door constantly open to aid the chimney in its office; one side burnt by the blaze of a faggot, and the other frozen by a door that opens into the yard, are among the *agremens* of a winter journey in lat. 45. After
Vogara,

Vogara, the hills trend more to the south. The sun setting here is a singular object to an eye used only to plains. The Alps not being visible, it seems to sit long before it reaches the plane of the horizon. Pass the citadel of Tortona on a hill, one of the strongest places in the possession of the King of Sardinia.—33 miles.

The 14th. Ford the Scrivia; it is as ravaging a stream as the Trebbia, subject to dreadful floods, after even two days rain; especially if a Scirocco wind melts the snow on the Appenines: such accidents have often kept travellers four, five, and even six days at miserable inns. I felt myself lighter for the having passed it; for there were not fewer than six or seven rivers, which could have thus stopped me. This is the last. The weather continues sharp and frosty, very cold, the ice five inches thick, and the snow deep. Dine at Alexandria, joined there by a gentleman who has taken the other seat in the *vettura* to Turin. Just on the outside of that town, there is an uncommon covered bridge. The citadel seems surrounded with many works. Sleep at Fellisham, a vile dirty hole, with paper windows, common in this country, and not uncommon even in Alexandria itself.—18 miles.

The 15th. The country, to Asti and Villanova, all hilly, and some of it pleasing. Coming out of Asti, where we dined, the country for some miles is beautiful. My *vetturino* has been travelling, in company with another, without my knowing any thing of the master till to-day; but we joined at dinner; and I found him a very sensible agreeable Frenchman, apparently a man of fashion, who knows every body. His conversation, both at dinner, and in the evening, was no inconsiderable relief to the dullness of such a frozen journey. His name Nicolay.—22 miles.

The 16th. To Turin, by Moncallier; much of the country dull and disagreeable; hills without landscape; and vales without the fertility of Lombardy.—My companion, who is in office as an architect to the King, as well as I could gather from the hints he dropped, lived nine years in Sardinia. The account he gives of that island, contains some circumstances worth noting. What keeps it in its present unimproved situation, is chiefly the extent of estates, the absence of some very great proprietors, and the inattention of all. The duke of Assinara has 300,000 liv. a-year, or 15,000l. sterling. The duke of St. Piersa 160,000. The Marchese di Pascha, very great. Many of them live in Spain. The Conte de Girah, a grande of Spain, has an estate of two days journey, reaching from Poula to Oliustre. The peasants are a miserable set, that live in poor cabins, without other chimnies than a hole in the roof to let the smoke out. The *intemperia* is frequent and pernicious every where in summer; yet there are very great mountains. Cattle have nothing to eat in winter, but brouzing on shrubs, &c. There are no wolves. The oil so bad as not to be eatable. Some wine

wine almost as good as Malaga, and not unlike it. No silk. The great export is wheat, which has been known to yield forty for one; but seven or eight for one is the common produce. Bread, 1*s.* the pound; beef, 2*s.*; mutton, 2½*s.* There are millions of wild ducks; such numbers, that persons fond of shooting have gone thither merely for the incredible sport they afford.

The 17th. Waited on our ambassador, the honourable Mr. Trevor, who was not at home; but I had an invitation to dinner soon after, which I accepted readily, and passed a very pleasant day. Mr. Trevor's situation is not compatible with his being a practical farmer; but he is a man of deep sense, and much observation; all such are political farmers, from conviction of the importance of the subject. He converses well on it; Mr. Trevor mentioned some Piedmontese nobles, to whom he would have introduced me, if my stay had been long enough; but he would not admit an excuse respecting the Portuguese ambassador, of whom he speaks as a person remarkably well informed; and who loves agriculture greatly. In the evening, accompanied Mrs. Trevor to the great opera-house; a rehearsal of *l'Olympiade*, new-set by a young composer, Frederici; Marchese sung.

The 18th. I am not a little obliged to Mr. Trevor for introducing me to one of the best informed men I have any where met with, Don Roderigo de Souza Continho, the Portuguese minister at the court of Turin, with whom I dined to-day; he had invited to meet me the *Medico* Bonvicino, l'Abbate Vasco, author of several political pieces of merit, and Signore Bellardi, a botanist of considerable reputation, whom I had known when before at Turin. What the young and beautiful Madame de Souza thinks of an English farmer, may be easily guessed; for not one word was spoken in an incessant conversation, but on agriculture, or those political principles which tend to cherish or restrain it. To a woman of fashion in England this would not appear extraordinary, for she now and then meets with it; but to a young Piedmontese, unaccustomed to such conversations, it must have appeared odd, uninviting, and unpolite. M. de Souza sent to the late prince of Brazil, one of the best and most judicious offerings that any ambassador ever made to his sovereign; Portugal he represents as a country capable of vast improvements by irrigation, but almost an entire stranger to the practice; therefore, with a view of introducing a knowledge of its importance, he ordered a model, in different woods, to be constructed of a river; the method of taking water from it; and the conducting of it by various channels over the adjoining or distant lands, with all the machinery used for regulating and measuring the water. It was made on such a scale, that the model was an exhibition of the art, so far as it could be represented in the distribution of water. It was an admirable thought, and might have proved of the greatest importance to his country. This machine is at Lisbon; and, I take it
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for granted, is there considered (if Lisbon be like other courts), as a toy for children to look at, instead of a school for the instruction of a people. I was pleased to find the Portuguese minister among the most intimate acquaintances of Mr. Trevor; the friendship of men of parts and knowledge, does them reciprocal honour: I am sorry to quit Turin, just as I am known to two men who would be sufficient to render any town agreeable; nor should I be sorry if Don Roderigo was a farmer near me in Suffolk, instead of being an ambassador at Turin, for which he is doubtless much obliged to me.

The 19th. The King has sent a message to the academy of sciences, recommending them to pay attention to whatever concerns dying. The minister is said to be a man of abilities, from which expression, in this age, we are to understand, a person who is, or seems to be active for the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, but never one who has just ideas on the importance of agriculture in preference to all other objects. To multiply mulberries in Piedmont, and cattle and sheep in Savoy—to do something with the fertile wastes and pestiferous marshes of Sardinia, would give a minister reputation among the few real politicians only in any country: but dying, and buttons*, and scissars, and commerce, are calculated to please the many, and consequently to give reputation to those who build on such foundations. Dine with Mr. Trevor, and continue to find in him an equal ability and inclination to answer such of my enquiries as I took the liberty of troubling him with. In the evening he introduced me to count Granari, the secretary of state for home affairs, that is the prime minister, under an idea that he had an intention of introducing Spanish sheep: he was ambassador in Spain, and seems, from his conversation, well informed concerning the Spanish flocks. This minister was called home to fill his present important situation to the satisfaction of the people, who have very generally a good opinion of his ability and prudence. To-morrow I leave Turin: I have agreed with a *vetturino* for carrying me to Lyons across Mont Cenis, in a chariot, and allowed him to take another person; this person he has found; and it is Mr. Grundy, a considerable merchant of Birmingham, who is on his return from Naples.

The 20th. Leave Turin; dine at St. Anthony, like hogs; and smoked all the dinner like hams. Sleep at Suza, a better inn.—32 miles.

The 21st. The shortest day in the year, for one of the expeditions that demand the longest, the passage of Mont Cenis, about which so much has been written. To those who, from reading, are full of expectation of something very sublime, it is almost as great a delusion as to be met with in the regions of romance: if travellers are to be believed, the descent, *rammassant* on the snow, is made with the velocity of a flash of lightning; I was not fortunate enough to

* See Milan.

meet with any thing so wonderful. At the *grand croix* we seated ourselves in machines of four sticks, dignified with the name of *traineau*: a mule draws it, and a conductor, who walks between the machine and the animal, serves chiefly to kick the snow into the face of the rider. When arrived at the precipice, which leads down to Lanebourg, the mule is dismissed, and the *rammassing* begins. The weight of two persons, the guide seating himself in the front, and directing it with his heels in the snow, is sufficient to give it motion. For most of the way he is content to follow very humbly the path of the mules, but now and then crosses to escape a double, and in such spots the motion is rapid enough, for a few seconds, to be agreeable; they might very easily shorten the line one half, and by that means gratify the English with the velocity they admire so much. As it is at present, a good English horse would trot as fast as we *rammassed*. The exaggerations we have read of this business have arisen, perhaps, from travellers passing in summer, and accepting the descriptions of the muleteers. A journey on snow is commonly productive of laughable incidents; the road of the *traineau* is not wider than the machine, and we were always meeting mules, &c. It was sometimes, and with reason, a question who should turn out; for the snow being ten feet deep, the mules had sagacity to consider a moment before they buried themselves. A young Savoyard female, riding her mule, experienced a complete reversal; for, attempting to pass my *traineau*, her beast was a little restive, and tumbling, dismounted his rider: the girl's head pitched in the snow, and sunk deep enough to fix her beauties in the position of a forked post; and the wicked muleteers, instead of assisting her, laughed too heartily to move: if it had been one of the *ballerini*, the attitude would have been nothing distressing to her. These laughable adventures, with the gilding of a bright sun, made the day pass pleasantly; and we were in good humour enough to swallow with cheerfulness, a dinner at Lanebourg, that, had we been in England, we should have consigned very readily to the dog-kennel.—20 miles.

The 22d. The whole day we were among the high Alps. The villages are apparently poor, the houses ill built, and the people with few comforts about them, except plenty of pine wood, the forests of which harbour wolves and bears. Dine at Modane, and sleep at St. Michel.—25 miles.

The 23d. Pass St. Jean Maurienne, where there is a bishop, and near that place we saw what is much better than a bishop, the prettiest, and indeed the only pretty woman we saw in Savoy; on enquiry, found it was Madame de la Coste, wife of a farmer of tobacco; I should have been better pleased if she had belonged to the plough.—The mountains now relax their terrific features: they recede enough, to offer to the willing industry of the poor inhabitants something like a valley; but the jealous torrent seizes it with the hand of despotism, and,

like his brother tyrants, reigns but to destroy. On some slopes vines : mulberries begin to appear ; villages increase ; but still continue rather shapeless heaps of inhabited stones than ranges of houses ; yet in these homely cots, beneath the snow-clad hills, where natural light comes with tardy beams, and art seems more sedulous to exclude than admit it, peace and content, the companions of honesty, may reside ; and certainly would, were the penury of nature the only evil felt ; but the hand of despotism may be more heavy. In several places the view is picturesque and pleasing : inclosures seem hung against the mountain sides, as a picture is suspended to the wall of a room. The people are in general mortally ugly and dwarfish. Dine at La Chambre ; sad fare. Sleep at Aguebelle.—30 miles.

The 24th. The country to day, that is, to Chambery, improves greatly ; the mountains, though high, recede ; the vallies are wide, and the slopes more cultivated ; and towards the capital of Savoy, are many country houses, which enliven the scene. Above Mal Taverne is Chateauneuf, the house of the Countess of that name. I was sorry to see, at the village, a *carcan*, or seigneurial standard, erected, to which a chain and heavy iron collar are fastened, as a mark of the lordly arrogance of the nobility, and the slavery of the people. I asked why it was not burned, with the horror it merited ? The question did not excite the surprize I expected, and which it would have done before the French revolution. This led to a conversation, by which I learned, that in the *baut* Savoy, there are no seigneurs, and the people are generally at their ease ; possessing little properties, and the land in spite of nature, almost as valuable as in the lower country, where the people are poor, and ill at their ease. I demanded why ? *Because there are seigneurs every where.* What a vice is it, and even a curse, that the gentry, instead of being the cherishers and benefactors of their poor neighbours, should thus, by the abomination of feudal rights, prove mere tyrants. Will nothing but revolutions, which cause their *chateaux* to be burnt, induce them to give to reason and humanity, what will be extorted by violence and commotion ? We had arranged our journey, to arrive early at Chambery, for an opportunity to see what is most interesting in a place that has but little. It is the winter residence of almost all the nobility of Savoy. The best estate in the dutchy is not more than 60,000 Piedmontese livres a year (3000l.), but for 20,000 liv. they live *en grand seigneur* here. If a country gentleman has 150 louis d'or a year, he will be sure to spend three months in a town ; the consequence of which must be, nine uncomfortable ones in the country, in order to make a beggarly figure the other three in town. These idle people are this Christmas disappointed, by the court having refused admittance to the usual company of French comedians ;—the government fears importing, among the rough mountaineers, the present spirit of French libetry. Is this weakness or policy ?

policy? But Chambéry had objects to me more interesting. I was eager to view Charmettes, the road, the house of Madame de Warens, the vineyard, the garden, every thing, in a word, that had been described by the inimitable pencil of Rousseau. There was something so deliciously amiable in her character, in spite of her frailties—her constant gaiety and good humour—her tenderness and humanity—her farming speculations—but, above all other circumstances, the love of Rousseau, have written her name amongst the few whose memories are connected with us, by ties more easily felt than described. The house is situated about a mile from Chambéry, fronting the rocky road which leads to that city, and the wood of chesnuts in the valley. It is small, and much of the same size as we should suppose, in England, would be found on a farm of one hundred acres, without the least luxury or pretension; and the garden, for shrubs and flowers, is confined, as well as unassuming. The scenery is pleasing, being so near a city, and yet, as he observes, quite sequestered. It could not but interest me, and I viewed it with a degree of emotion; even in the leafless melancholy of December it pleased. I wandered about some hills, which were assuredly the walks he has so agreeably described. I returned to Chambéry, with my heart full of Madame de Warens. We had with us a young physician, a Monsieur Bernard, of Modanne en Maurienne, an agreeable man, connected with people at Chambéry; I was sorry to find, that he knew nothing more of the matter, than that Madame de Warens was certainly dead. With some trouble I procured the following certificate:

Extract from the Mortuary Register of the Parish Church of St. Peter de Lemens.

“ The 30th of July, 1762, was buried, in the burying ground of Lemens, Dame Louisa Frances Eleonor de la Tour, widow of the Seigneur Baron de Warens, native of Vevay, in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, who died yesterday, at ten in the evening, like a good Christian, and fortified with her last sacraments, aged about sixty-three years. She abjured the Protestant religion about thirty-six years past; since which time she lived in our religion. She finished her days in the suburb of Nefin, where she had lived for about eight years, in the house of M. Crepine. She lived heretofore at the Rectus, during about four years, in the house of the Marquis d’Alinge. She passed the rest of her life, since her abjuration, in this city. (Signed) GAIME, rector of Lemens.”

“ I, the underwritten, present rector of the said Lemens, certify, that I have extracted this from the mortuary register of the parish church of the said place, without any addition or diminution whatsoever; and, having collated it, have found it conformable to the original. In witness of all which, I have signed the presents, at Chambéry, the 24th of December, 1789..

(Signed) A. SACHOD, rector of Lemens.”

23 miles.

The 25th. Left Chambery much dissatisfied, for want of knowing more of it. Rousseau gives a good character * of the people, and I wished to know them better. It was the worst day I have known, for months past, a cold thaw, of snow and rain; and yet in this dreary season, when nature so rarely has a smile on her countenance, the environs were charming. All hill and dale, tossed about with so much wildness, that the features are bold enough for the irregularity of a forest scene; and yet withal, softened and melted down by culture and habitation, to be eminently beautiful. The country inclosed to the first town in France, Pont Beauvoisin, where we dined and slept. The passage of Echelles, cut in the rock by the sovereign of the country, is a noble and stupendous work. Arrive at Pont Beauvoisin, once more entering this noble kingdom, and meeting with the cockades of liberty, and those arms in the hands of THE PEOPLE, which, it is to be wished, may be used only for their own and Europe's peace.—24 miles.

The 26th. Dine at Tour du Pin, and sleep at Verpilliere. This is the most advantageous entrance into France, in respect of beauty of country. From Spain, England, Flanders, Germany, or Italy by way of Antibes, all are inferior to this. It is really beautiful, and well planted, has many inclosures and mulberries, with some vines. There is hardly a bad feature, except the houses; which, instead of being well built, and white as in Italy, are ugly thatched mud cabins, without chimnies, the smoke issuing at a hole in the roof, or at the windows. Glass seems unknown; and there is an air of poverty and misery about them quite dissonant to the general aspect of the country. Coming out of Tour du Pin, we see a great common. Pass Bourgoyn, a large town. Reach Verpilliere. This day's journey is a fine variation of hill and dale, well planted with *chateaux*, and farms and cottages spread about it. A mild lovely day of sun-shine, threw no slight gilding over the whole. For ten or twelve days past, they have had, on this side of the Alps, fine open warm weather, with sun-shine; but on the Alps themselves, and in the vale of Lombardy, on the other side, we were frozen and buried in snow. At Pont Beauvoisin and Bourgoyn, our passports were demanded by the *milice bourgeoise*, but no where else: they assure us, that the country is perfectly quiet every where, and have no guards mounted in the villages—nor any suspicions of fugitives, as in the summer. Not far from Verpilliere, pass the burnt *chateau* of M. de Veau, in a fine situation, with a noble wood behind it. Mr. Grundy was here in August, and it had then but lately been laid in ashes; and a peasant was hanging on one of the trees of the avenue by the road, one among many who were seized by the *milice bourgeoise* for this atrocious act.—27 miles.

* S'il une est petite ville au monde où l'on goûte la douceur de la vie dans un commerce agréable & sûr c'est Chambery.

The 27th. The country changes at once ; from one of the finest in France, it becomes almost flat and *sombre*. Arrive at Lyons, and there, for the last time, see the Alps ; on the quay, there is a very fine view of Mont Blanc, which I had not seen before ; leaving Italy, and Savoy, and the Alps, probably never to return, has something of a melancholy sensation. For all those circumstances that render that classical country illustrious, the seat of great men—the theatre of the most distinguished actions—the exclusive field in which the elegant and agreeable arts have loved to range—what country can be compared with Italy ? to please the eye, to charm the ear, to gratify the enquiries of a laudable curiosity, whither would you travel ? In every bosom whatever, Italy is the second country in the world—of all others, the surest proof that it is the first. To the theatre ; a musical thing, which called all Italy by contrast to my ears ! What stuff is French music ! the distortions of embodied dissonance. The theatre is not equal to that of Nantes ; and very much inferior to that of Bourdeaux.—18 miles.

The 28th. I had letters to Monf. Goudard, a considerable silk merchant, and, waiting on him yesterday, he appointed me to breakfast with him this morning. I tried hard to procure some information relative to the manufactures of Lyons ; but in vain : every thing was *selon* and *suivant*. To Monf. l'Abbé Rozier, author of the voluminous dictionary of agriculture, in quarto. I visited him, as a man very much extolled, and not with an idea of receiving information in the plain practical line, which is the object of my enquiries, from the compiler of a dictionary. When Monf. Rozier lived at Beziers, he occupied a considerable farm ; but, on becoming the inhabitant of a city, he placed this motto over his door—*Laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito*, which is but a bad apology for *no farm at all*. I made one or two efforts towards a little *practical* conversation ; but he flew off from that centre in such eccentric *radii* of science, that the vanity of the attempt was obvious in the moment. A physician present, remarked to me, that if I wanted to know common practices and products, I should apply to common farmers, indicating, by his air and manner, that such things were beneath the dignity of science. Monf. l'Abbe Rozier is, however, a man of considerable knowledge, though no farmer ; in those pursuits, which he has cultivated with inclination, he is justly celebrated—and he merits every eulogium, for having set on foot the *Journal de Physique*, which, take it for all and all, is by far the best journal that is to be found in Europe. His house is beautifully situated, commanding a noble prospect ; his library is furnished with good books ; and every appearance about him points out an easy fortune. Waited then on Monf. de Froffard, a protestant minister, who, with great readiness and liberality, gave me much valuable information ; and, for my further instruction on points with which he was not equally acquainted, introduced me to Monf.

Roland

Roland la Platerie, inspector of the Lyons fabrics. This gentleman had notes upon many subjects which afforded an interesting conversation; and as he communicated freely, I had the pleasure to find, that I should not quit Lyons without a good portion of the knowledge I sought. This gentleman, somewhat advanced in life, has a young and beautiful wife—the lady to whom he addressed his letters, written in Italy, and which have been published in five or six volumes. Mons. Frossard desiring Mons. de la Platerie to dine with him, to meet me, we had a great deal of conversation on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and differed but little in our opinions, except on the treaty of commerce between England and France, which that gentleman condemned, as I thought, unjustly; and we debated the point. He warmly contended, that silk ought to have been included as a benefit to France; I urged, that the offer was made to the French ministry, and refused; and I ventured to say, that had it been accepted, the advantage would have been on the side of England, instead of France, supposing, according to the vulgar ideas, that the *benefit* and the *balance* of trade are the same things. I begged him to give me a reason for believing that France would buy the silk of Piedmont and of China, and work it up to undersell England; while England buys the French cotton, and works it into fabrics that undersell those of France, even under an accumulation of charges and duties? We discussed these, and similar subjects, with that sort of attention and candour that render them interesting to persons who love a liberal conversation upon important points.— Among the objects at Lyons, that are worthy of a stranger's curiosity, is the point of junction of the two great rivers, the Soanne and the Rhone; Lyons would doubtless be much better situated, if it were really at the junction; but there is an unoccupied space sufficient to contain a city half as large as Lyons itself. This space is a modern embankment, that cost six millions, and ruined the undertakers. I prefer even Nantes to Lyons. When a city is built at the junction of two great rivers, the imagination is apt to suppose, that those rivers form a part of the magnificence of the scenery. Without broad, clean, and well built quays, what are rivers to a city but a facility to carry coals or tar-barrels? What, in point of beauty, has London to do with the Thames, except at the terrace of the Adelphi, and the new buildings of Somerset-place, any more than with Fleet-ditch, buried as it is, a common shore? I know nothing in which our expectations are so horribly disappointed as in cities, so very few are built with any general idea of beauty or decoration!

The 29th. Early in the morning, with Mons. Frossard, to view a large farm near Lyons. Mons. Frossard is a steady advocate for the new constitution establishing in France. At the same time, all those I have conversed with in the city, represent the state of the manufacture as melancholy to the last degree. Twenty thousand people are fed by charity, and consequently very ill fed; and

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the mass of distress, in all kinds, among the lower classes, is greater than ever was known,—or than any thing of which they had an idea. The chief cause of the evil felt here, is the stagnation of trade, occasioned by the emigrations of the rich from the kingdom, and the general want of confidence in merchants and manufacturers; whence, of course, bankruptcies are common. At a moment when they are little able to bear additional burthens, they raise, by voluntary contributions, for the poor, immense sums; so that, including the revenues of the hospitals, and other charitable foundations, there is not paid, at present, for the use of the poor, less than 40,000 louis d'or a year. My fellow traveller, Mr. Grundy, being desirous to get soon to Paris, persuaded me to travel with him in a post-chaise, a mode of travelling which I detest, but the season urged me to it; and a still stronger motive, was the having of more time to pass in that city, for the sake of observing the extraordinary state of things,—of a King, Queen, and Dauphin of France, actual prisoners; I, therefore, accepted his proposal, and we set off after dinner to day. In about ten miles come to the mountains. The country dreary; no inclosures, no mulberries, no vines, much waste, and nothing that indicates the vicinity of such a city. At Arnas, sleep at a comfortable inn.—17 miles.

The 30th. Continue early in the morning to Tarar; the mountain of which name is more formidable in reputation than in reality. To St. Syphorien the same features. The buildings increase, both in number and goodness, on approaching the Seine, which we crossed at Roane; it is here a good river, and is navigable many miles higher, and consequently at a vast distance from the sea. There are many flat bottomed barges on it, of a considerable size.—50 miles.

The 31st. Another clear, fine, sunshine day; rarely do we see any thing like it at this season in England. After Droiturier, the woods of the Bourbonnois commence. At St. Gerund le Puy the country improves, enlivened by white houses and *chateaux*, and all continues fine to Moulins. Sought here my old friend, Monf. L'Abbe Barut, and had another interview with Monf. le Marquis Degouttes, concerning the sale of his *chateaux* and estate of Riaux; I desired still to have the refusal of it, which he promised me, and will, I have no doubt, keep his word. Never have I been so tempted, on any occasion, as with the wish of possessing this agreeable situation, in one of the finest parts of France, and in the finest climate of Europe. God grant, that, should he be pleased to protract my life, I may not, in a sad old age, repent of not closing at once with an offer to which prudence calls, and prejudice only forbids! Heaven send me ease and tranquility, for the close of life, be it passed either in Suffolk, or the Bourbonnois!—38 miles.

JANUARY 1, 179c. Nevers makes a fine appearance, rising proudly from the Loire; but, on the first entrance, it is like a thousand other places. Towns,
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thus seen, resemble a groupe of women, huddled close together : you see their nodding plumes and sparkling gems, till you fancy that ornament is the herald of beauty ; but, on a nearer inspection, the faces are too often but common clay. From the hill that descends to Pougues, is an extensive view to the north ; and after Pouilly a fine scenery, with the Loire doubling through it.—75 miles.

The 2d. At Briare, the canal is an object that announces the happy effects of industry. There we quit the Loire. The country all the way diversified, much of it dry, and very pleasant, with rivers, hills, and woods, but almost every where a poor soil. Pass many *chateaux* some of which are very good. Sleep at Nemours, where we met with an inn-keeper, who exceeded, in knavery, all we had met with, either in France or Italy : for supper, we had a *soupe maigre*, a partridge and a chicken roasted, a plate of celery, a small cauliflower, two bottles of poor *vin du Pays*, and a dessert of two biscuits and four apples : here is the bill :—Potage, 1 liv. 10s.—Perdrix, 2 liv. 10s.—Poulet, 2 liv.—Celery, 1 liv. 4s.—Chouffeur, 2 liv.—Pain et dessert, 2 liv.—Feu & appartement, 6 liv.—Total, 19 liv. 8s. Against so impudent an extortion, we remonstrated severely, but in vain. We then insisted on his signing the bill, which, after many evasions, he did, *a l'etoile ; Foulhiare*. But having been carried to the inn, not as the star, but the *écu de France*, we suspected some deceit ; and going out to examine the premises, we found the sign to be really the *écu*, and learned, on enquiry, that his own name was *Roux*, instead of *Foulhiare* : he was not prepared for this detection, or for the execration we poured on such an infamous conduct ; but he ran away, in an instant, and hid himself till we were gone. In justice to the world, however, such a fellow ought to be marked out.—60 miles.

The 3d. Through the forest of Fontainebleau, to Melun and Paris. The sixty *postes* from Lyons to Paris, making three hundred English miles, cost us, including 3 louis for the hire of the post-chaise (an old French cabriolet of two wheels) and the charges at the inns, &c. 15l. English ; that is to say, 1s. per English mile, or 6d. per head. At Paris, I went to my old quarters, the hotel de La Rochefoucauld ; for at Lyons I had received a letter from the duke de Liancourt, who desired me to make his house my home, just as in the time of his mother, my much lamented friend, the dutchess d'Estillac, who died while I was in Italy. I found my friend Lazowski well, and we were *à gorge déployée*, to converse on the amazing scenes that have taken place in France since I left Paris.—46 miles.

The 4th. After breakfast, walk in the gardens of the Thuilleries, where there is the most extraordinary sight that either French or English eyes could ever behold at Paris. The King, walking with six grenadiers of the *milice bourgeoise*, with an officer or two of his household, and a page. The doors of the gardens

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are kept shut in respect to him, in order to exclude every body but deputies, or those who have admission-tickets. When he entered the palace, the doors of the gardens were thrown open for all without distinction, though the Queen was still walking with a lady of her court. She also was attended so closely by the *gardes bourgeoise*, that she could not speak, but in a low voice, without being heard by them. A mob followed her, talking very loud, and paying no other apparent respect than that of taking off their hats wherever she passed, which was indeed more than I expected. Her majesty does not appear to be in health; she seems to be much affected, and shews it in her face; but the King is as plump as ease can render him. By his orders, there is a little garden railed off, for the Dauphin to amuse himself in, and a small room is built in it to retire to in case of rain; here he was at work with his little hoe and rake, but not without a guard of two grenadiers. He is a very pretty good-natured-looking boy, of five or six years old, with an agreeable countenance; wherever he goes, all hats are taken off to him, which I was glad to observe. All the family being kept thus close prisoners (for such they are in effect) afford, at first view, a shocking spectacle; and is really so, if the act were not absolutely necessary to effect the revolution; this I conceive to be impossible; but if it were necessary, no one can blame the people for taking every measure possible to secure that liberty they had seized in the violence of a revolution. At such a moment, nothing is to be condemned but what endangers the national freedom. I must, however, freely own, that I have my doubts whether this treatment of the royal family can be justly esteemed any security to liberty; or, on the contrary, whether it were not a very dangerous step, that exposes to hazard whatever had been gained. I have spoken with several persons to-day, and have started objections to the present system, stronger even than they appear to me, in order to learn their sentiments; and it is evident, they are at the present moment under an apprehension of an attempt towards a counter revolution. The danger of it very much, if not absolutely, results from the violence which has been used towards the royal family. The National Assembly was, before that period, answerable only for the permanent constitutional laws passed for the future: since that moment, it is equally answerable for the whole conduct of the government of the state, executive as well as legislative. This critical situation has made a constant spirit of exertion necessary amongst the Paris militia. The great object of M. La Fayette, and the other military leaders, is to improve their discipline, and to bring them into such a form as to allow a rational dependence on them, in case of their being wanted in the field; but such is the spirit of freedom, that, even in the military, there is so little subordination, that a man is an officer to-day, and in the ranks to-morrow; a mode of proceeding, that makes it the more difficult to bring them to the point their

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leaders see necessary. Eight thousand men in Paris may be called the standing army, paid every day 15*l.* a man; in which number is included the corps of the French guards from Versailles, that deserted to the people: they have also eight hundred horse, at an expence each of 1500 liv. (6*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*) a-year, and the officers have double the pay of those in the army.

The 5th. Yesterday's address of the National Assembly to the King has done them credit with every body. I have heard it mentioned, by people of very different opinions, but all concur in commending it. It was upon the question of naming the annual sum which should be granted for the civil list. They determined to send a deputation to his Majesty, requesting him to name the sum himself, and praying him to consult less his spirit of œconomy, than a sense of that dignity, which ought to environ the throne with a becoming splendour. Dine with the duke de Liancourt, at his apartments in the Thuilleries, which, on the removal from Versailles, were assigned to him as grand master of the wardrobe; he gives a great dinner, twice a-week, to the deputies, at which from twenty to forty are usually present. Half an hour after three was the hour appointed, but we waited, with some of the deputies that had left the Assembly, till seven, before the duke and the rest of the company came.

There is in the Assembly at present a writer of character, the author of a very able book, which led me to expect something much above mediocrity in him; but he is made up of so many pretty littlenesses, that I stared at him with amazement. His voice is that of a feminine whisper, as if his nerves would not permit such a boisterous exertion as that of speaking loud enough to be heard; when he breathes out his ideas, he does it with eyes half closed; waves his head in circles, as if his sentiments were to be received as oracles; and has so much relaxation and pretension to ease and delicacy of manner, with no personal appearance to second these prettinesses, that I wondered by what artificial means such a mass of heterogeneous parts became compounded. How strange that we should read an author's book with great pleasure; that we should say, this man has no stuff in him; all is of consequence; here is a character uncontaminated with that *rubbish* which we see in so many other men—and after this, to meet the garb of so much littleness.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th. The duke of Liancourt having an intention of taking a farm into his own hands, to be conducted on improved principles after the English manner, he desired me to accompany him, and my friend Lazowski, to Liancourt, to give my opinion of the lands, and of the best means towards executing the project, which I very readily complied with. I was here witness to a scene which made me smile: at no great distance from the *chateau* of Liancourt, is a piece of waste land, close to the road, and belonging to the duke. I saw some men very busily at work upon it, hedging it in, in small divisions; levelling, and digging,

ging, and bestowing much labour for so poor a spot. I asked the steward if he thought that land worth such an expence? he replied, that the poor people in the town, upon the revolution taking place, declared, that the poor were the nation; that the waste belonged to the nation; and, proceeding from theory to practice, took possession, without any further authority, and began to cultivate; the duke not viewing their industry with any displeasure, would offer no opposition to it. This circumstance shews the universal spirit that is gone forth; and proves, that were it pushed a little farther, it might prove a serious matter for all the property in the kingdom. In this case, however, I cannot but commend it; for if there be one public nuisance greater than another, it is a man preserving the possession of waste land, which he will neither cultivate himself, nor let others cultivate. The miserable people die for want of bread, in the sight of wastes that would feed thousands. I think them wise, and rational, and philosophical, in seizing such tracks: and I heartily wish there was a law in England for making this action of the French peasants a legal one with us. — 72 miles.

The 9th. At breakfast this morning in the Thuilleries. Monf. Desmarests, of the Academy of Sciences, brought a *Memoire, présenté par la Société Royale d'Agriculture, à l'Assemblée Nationale*, on the means of improving the agriculture of France; in which, among other things, they recommend great attention to bees, to panification, and to the obstetrick art. On the establishment of a free and patriotic government, to which the national agriculture might look for new and halcyon days, these were objects doubtless of the first importance. There are some parts of the memoir that really merit attention. Called on my fellow traveller, Monf. Nicolay, and find him a considerable person; a great hotel; many servants; his father a marechal of France, and himself first president of a chamber in the parliament of Paris, having been elected deputy, by the nobility of that city, for the states general, but declined accepting it; he has desired I would dine with him on Sunday, when he promises to have Monf. Decretot, the celebrated manufacturer and deputy, from Louviers. At the National Assembly—The Count de Mirabeau, speaking upon the question of the members of the chamber of vacation, in the parliament of Rennes, was truly eloquent,—ardent, lively, energetic, and impetuous. At night to the assembly of the Duchés d'Anville; the Marquis and Madame Condorcet there, &c. not a word but politics.

The 10th. The chief leaders in the National Assembly, are, Target, Chappellier, Mirabeau, Bernave, Volney the traveller, and, till the attack upon the property of the clergy, l'Abbé Syeyes; but he has been so much disgusted by that step, that he is not near so forward as before. The violent democrats, who have the reputation of being so much republican in principle, that they do not admit any political necessity for having even the name of a king, are called the

enragés. They have a meeting at the Jacobins, called the revolution club, which assembles every night, in the very room in which the famous league was formed, in the reign of Henry III.; and they are so numerous, that all material business is there decided, before it is discussed by the National Assembly. I called this morning on several persons, all of whom are great democrats; and mentioning this circumstance to them, as one which favoured too much of a Paris junto governing the kingdom, an idea, which must, in the long run, be unpopular and hazardous; I was answered, that the predominancy which Paris assumed, at present, was absolutely necessary, for the safety of the whole nation; for if nothing were done, but by procuring a previous common consent, all great opportunities would be lost, and the National Assembly left constantly exposed to the danger of a counter-revolution. They, however, admitted, that it did create great jealousies, and no where more than at Versailles, where some plots (they added) are, without doubt, hatching at this moment, which have the King's person for their object: riots are frequent there, under pretence of the price of bread; and such movements are certainly very dangerous, for they cannot exist so near Paris, without the aristocratical party of the old government endeavouring to take advantage of them, and to turn them to a very different end, from what was, perhaps, originally intended. I remarked, in all these conversations, that the belief of plots, among the disgusted party, for setting the King at liberty, is general; they seem almost persuaded, that the revolution will not be absolutely finished before some such attempts are made; and it is curious to observe, that the general voice is, that if an attempt were to be made, in such a manner as to have the least appearance of success, it would undoubtedly cost the King his life; and so changed is the national character, not only in point of affection for the person of their prince, but also in that softness and humanity, for which it has been so much admired, that the supposition is made without horror or compunction. In a word, the present devotion to liberty is a sort of rage; it absorbs every other passion, and permits no other object to remain in view, than what promises to confirm it. Dine with a large party, at the duke de la Rochefoucauld's; ladies and gentlemen, and all equally politicians; but I may remark another effect of this revolution, by no means unnatural, which is, that of lessening, or rather reducing to nothing, the enormous influence of the sex: they mixed themselves before in every thing, in order to govern every thing: I think I see an end to it very clearly. The men in this kingdom were puppets; moved by their wires, who, instead of giving the *ton*, in questions of national debate, must now receive it, and must be content to move in the political sphere of some celebrated leader,—that is to say, they are, in fact, sinking into what nature intended them for; they will become more amiable, and the nation better governed.

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The 11th. The riots at Versailles are said to be serious; a plot is talked of, for eight hundred men to march, armed, to Paris, at the instigation of somebody, to join somebody; the intention, to murder La Fayette, Bailly, and Necker; and very wild and improbable reports are propagated every moment. They have been sufficient to induce Mons. La Fayette to issue, yesterday, an order concerning the mode of assembling the militia, in case of any sudden alarm. Two pieces of cannon, and eight hundred men, mount guard at the Thuilleries every day. See some royalists this morning, who assert, that the public opinion in the kingdom is changing apace; that pity for the King, and disgust at some proceedings of the Assembly, have lately done much: they say, that any attempt at present to rescue the King would be absurd, for his present situation is doing more for him than force could effect, at this moment, as the general feelings of the nation are in his favour. They have no scruple in declaring, that a well concerted vigorous effort would place him at the head of a powerful army, which could not fail of being joined by a great, disgusted, and injured body. I remarked, that every honest man must hope no such event would take place; for if a counter-revolution should be effected, it would establish a despotism, much heavier than ever France experienced. This they would not allow; on the contrary, they believed, that no government could, in future, be secure, that did not grant to the people more extensive rights and privileges than they possessed under the old one. Dine with my brother traveller, the count de Nicolay; among the company, as the count had promised me, was Mons. Decretot, the celebrated manufacturer of Louviers, from whom I learned the magnitude of the distresses at present in Normandy. The cotton mills which he had shewn me, last year, at Louviers, have stood still nine months; and so many spinning jennies have been destroyed by the people, under the idea that such machines were contrary to their interests, that the trade is in a deplorable situation. In the evening, accompanied Mons. Lazowski to the Italian opera, *La Barbiera di Seviglia*, by Paiesello, which is one of the most agreeable compositions of that truly great master. Mandini and Raffanelli excellent, and Baletti a sweet voice. There is no such comic opera to be seen in Italy, as this of Paris, and the house is always full: this will work as great a revolution in French music, as ever can be wrought in French government. What will they think, by and by, of Lully and Rameau? And what a triumph for the manes of Jean Jacques!

The 12th. To the National Assembly:—a debate on the conduct of the chamber of vacation, in the parliament of Rennes, continued. Mons. l'Abbé Maury, a zealous royalist, made a long and eloquent speech, which he delivered with great fluency and precision, and without any notes, in defence of the parliament: he replied to what had been urged by the count de Mirabeau, on a
former

former day, and spoke strongly on his unjustifiable call on the people of Bretagne, to a *redoubtable denombrement*. He said, that it would better become the members of such an assembly, to count their own principles and duties, and the fruits of their attention, to the privileges of the subject, than to call for a *denombrement*, that would fill a province with fire and bloodshed. He was interrupted by the noise and confusion of the assembly, and of the audience, six several times; but it had no effect on him; he waited calmly till it subsided, and then proceeded, as if no interruption had been given. The speech was a very able one, and much relished by the royalists; but the *enragés* condemned it, as good for nothing. No other person spoke without notes; the count de Clermont read a speech that had some brilliant passages, but by no means an answer to l'Abbe Maury, as indeed it would have been wonderful if it were, being prepared before he heard the Abbé's oration. It can hardly be conceived how flat this mode of debate renders the transactions of the Assembly. Who would be in the gallery of the English House of Commons, if Mr. Pitt were to bring a written speech, to be delivered on a subject on which Mr. Fox was to speak before him? And in proportion to its being uninteresting to the hearer is another evil, that of lengthening their sittings; since there are ten persons who will read their opinions, to one that is able to deliver an *impromptu*. The want of order, and every kind of confusion, prevails now almost as much as when the Assembly sat at Versailles. The interruptions given are frequent and long; and speakers, who have no right by the rules to speak, will attempt it. The count de Mirabeau pressed to deliver his opinion after the Abbé Maury; the president put it to the vote, whether he should be allowed to speak a second time, and the whole house rose up to negative it; so that the first orator of the Assembly has not the influence even to be heard to explain—we have no conception of such rules; and yet their great number must make this necessary. I forgot to observe, that there is a gallery at each end of the saloon, which is open to all the world; and side ones for admission of the friends of the members by tickets: the audience in these galleries are very noisy: they clap, when any thing pleases them, and they have been known to hiss; an indecorum which is utterly destructive of freedom of debate. I left the house before the whole was finished, and repaired to the duke of Liancourt's apartments in the Thuilleries, to dine with his customary party of deputies; Mess. Chapellier and Demeufniers were there, who had both been presidents, and are still members of considerable distinction; M. Volney, the celebrated traveller, also was present; the prince de Poix, the count de Montmorenci, &c. Waiting for the duke of Liancourt, who did not arrive till half after seven, with the greatest part of the company, the conversation almost entirely turned upon a strong suspicion entertained of the English having made a remittance for the purpose of embroiling matters in the kingdom. The count de Thiard, *cordons*
blue,

blue, who commands in Bretagne, simply stated the fact, that some regiments at Brest had been regular in their conduct, and as much to be depended on as any in the service; but that, of a sudden, money had found its way among the men in considerable sums, and from that time their behaviour was changed. One of the deputies demanding at what period, he was answered *; on which he immediately observed, that it followed the remittance of 1,100,000 liv. (48,125l.) from England, that had occasioned so much conjecture and conversation. This remittance, which had been particularly enquired into, was so mysterious and obscure, that the naked fact only could be discovered; but every person present asserted the truth of it. Other gentlemen united the two facts, and were ready to suppose them connected. I remarked, that if England had really interfered, which appeared to me incredible, it was to be presumed, that it would have been either in the line of her supposed interest, or in that of the King's supposed inclination; that these happened to be exactly the same, and if money were remitted from that kingdom, most assuredly it would be to support the falling interest of the crown, and by no means to detach from it any force whatever; in such a case, remittance from England might go to Metz, for keeping troops to their duty, but would never be sent to Brest to corrupt them, the idea of which was grossly absurd. All seemed inclined to admit the justness of this remark, but they adhered to the two facts, in whatever manner they might, or might not, be connected. At this dinner, according to custom, most of the deputies, especially the younger ones, were dressed *au polisson*, many of them without powder in their hair, and some in boots; not above four or five were neatly dressed. How times are changed! When they had nothing better to attend to, the fashionable Parisians were correctness itself, in all that pertained to the *toilette*, and were, therefore, thought a frivolous people; but now they have something of more importance than dress to occupy them; and the light airy character that was usually given them, will have no foundation in truth. Every thing in this world depends on government.

The 13th. A great commotion among the populace late last night, which is said to have arisen on two accounts—one to get at the baron de Besneval, who is in prison, in order to hang him; the other to demand bread at 2s. the pound. They eat it at present at the rate of twenty-two millions a-year cheaper than the rest of the kingdom, and yet they demand a further reduction. However, the current discourse is, that Favras, an adventurer also in prison, must be hanged to satisfy the people; for as to Besneval, the Swiss cantons have remonstrated so firmly, that they will not dare to execute him. Early in the morning, the guards were doubled, and eight thousand horse and foot are now patrolling the streets. The report of plots, to carry off the King, is in the mouth of every one;

* It was a late transaction.

and

and it is said, these movements of the people, as well as those at Versailles, are not what they appear to be, mere mobs, but instigated by the aristocrats; and if permitted to rise to such a height as to entangle the Paris militia, will prove the part only of a conspiracy against the new government. That they have reason to be alert is undoubted; for though there should actually be no plots in existence, yet there is so great a temptation to them, and such a probability of their being formed, that supineness would probably create them. I have met with the lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of horse, who is come from his quarters, and who asserts, that his whole regiment, officers and men, are now at the King's devotion, and would march wherever he called, and would execute whatever he ordered, not contrary to their ancient feelings; but that they would not have been inclined to be so obedient before he was brought to Paris; and from the conversation he has had with the officers of other regiments, he believes that the same spirit pervades their corps also. If any serious plans have been laid for a counter-revolution, or for carrying off the King, and their execution has been, or shall be prevented, posterity will be much more likely to have information of it than this age. Certainly the eyes of all the sovereigns, and of all the great nobility in Europe, are on the French revolution; they look with amazement, and even with terror, upon a situation which may possibly be hereafter their own case; and they must expect, with anxiety, that some attempts will be made to reverse an example, that will not want copies, whenever the period is favourable to make them. Dine at the Palais Royal, with a select party; politicians they must be, if they are Frenchmen. The question was discussed, Are the plots and conspiracies of which we hear so much at present, real, or are they invented by the leaders of the revolution, to keep up the spirits of the militia, in order to enable themselves to secure the government on its new foundation irreversibly?

The 14th. Plots! plots!—the marquis La Fayette, last night, took two hundred prisoners in the *Champs Elysées*, out of eleven hundred that were collected. They had powder and ball, but no musquets. Who? and what are they? is the question; but an answer is not so easily to be had. *Brigands*, according to some accounts, that have collected in Paris for no good purpose; people from Versailles by others; Germans by a third: but every one would make you believe, they are an appendix to a plot laid for a counter-revolution. Reports are so various and contradictory, that no dependence is to be placed on them; nor credit given to one-tenth of what is asserted. It is singular, and has been much commented on, that La Fayette would not trust his standing troops, as they may be called, that is the eight thousand regularly paid, and of whom the French guards form a considerable portion, but he took, for the expedition, the *bourgeoise* only; which has elated the latter as much as it has disgusted the former.

former. The moment seems big with events; there is an anxiety, an expectation, an uncertainty, and suspense that is visible in every eye one meets; and even the best informed people, and the least liable to be led away by popular reports, are not a little alarmed at the apprehension of some unknown attempt that may be made to rescue the King, and overturn the National Assembly. Many persons are of opinion, that it would not be difficult to take the King, Queen, and Dauphin away, without endangering them, for which attempt the Thuilleries is particularly well situated, provided a body of troops, of sufficient force, were in readiness to receive them. In such a case, there would be a civil war; which, perhaps, would end in despotism, whatever party came off victorious; consequently such an attempt, or plan, could not originate in any bosom from true patriotism. If I have a fair opportunity to pass much of my time in good company at Paris, I have also no small trouble in turning over books, MSS. and papers, which I cannot see in England: this employs many hours a day, with what I borrow from the night, in making notes. I have procured also some public records, the copying of which demands time. He who wishes to give a good account of such a kingdom as France, must be indefatigable in the search of materials; for let him collect with all the care possible, yet when he comes to sit down coolly to the examination and arrangement, will find, that much has been put into his hands, of no real consequence, and more, possibly, that is absolutely useless.

The 15th. To the Palais Royal, to view the pictures of the duke of Orleans, which I had tried once or twice before to do in vain. The collection is known to be very rich, in pieces of the Dutch and Flemish masters; some finished with all the exquisite attention which that school gave to minute expression. But it is a *genre* little interesting, when the works of the great Italian artists are at hand: of these the collection is one of the first in the world: Raphael, Hanibal Carracci, Titian, Dominichino, Correggio, and Paul Veronese. The first picture in the collection, and one of the finest that ever came from the easel, is that of the three Maries, and the dead Christ, by H. Carracci; the powers of expression cannot go further. There is the St. John of Raphael, the same picture as those of Florence and Bologna; and an inimitable Virgin and Child, by the same great master. A Venus bathing, and a Magdalen, by Titian. Lucretia, by Andrea del Sarto. Leda, by Paul Veronese, and also by Tintoretto. Mars and Venus, and several others, by Paul Veronese. The naked figure of a woman, by Bonieu, a French painter, now living, a pleasing piece. Some noble pictures, by Pouffin and Le Seur. The apartments must disappoint every one:—I did not see one good room, and all inferior to the rank and immense fortune of the possessor, certainly the first subject in Europe. Dine at the duke of Liancourt's: among the company was Monf. de Bougainville, the celebrated circumnavigator,

agreeable as well as sensible; the count de Castellane, and the count de Montmorenci, two young legislators, as *enragés* as if their names were only Bernave or Rabeau. In some allusions to the constitution of England, I found they hold it very cheap, in regard to political liberty. The ideas of the moment, relative to plots and conspiracies, were discussed, but they seemed very generally to agree, that, however the constitution might, by such means, be delayed, it was now absolutely impossible to prevent its taking place. At night to the national circus, as it is called, at the Palais Royal, a building in the gardens, or area, of that palace, the most whimsical and expensive folly that is easily to be imagined: it is a large ball room, sunk half its height under ground; and, as if this circumstance were not sufficiently adapted to make it damp enough, a garden is planted on the roof, and a river is made to flow around it, which, with the addition of some spiriting *jets d'eau*, have undoubtedly made it a delicious place, for a winter's entertainment. The expence of this gew-gaw building, the project of some of the duke of Orleans' friends, I suppose, and executed at his expence, would have established an English farm, with all its principles, buildings, live stock, tools, and crops, on a scale that would have done honour to the first sovereign of Europe; for it would have converted five thousand arpents of desert into a garden. As to the result of the mode that *has been* pursued, of investing such a capital, I know no epithet equal to its merits. It is meant to be a concert, ball, coffee, and billiard room, with shops, &c. designed to be something in the style of the amusements of our Pantheon. There were music and singing to night, but the room being almost empty, it was, on the whole, equally cold and *sombre*.

The 16th. The idea of plots and conspiracies has come to such a height as greatly to alarm the leaders of the revolution. The disgust that spreads every day at their transactions, arises more from the King's situation than from any other circumstance. They cannot, after the scenes that have passed, venture to set him at liberty before the constitution is finished: and they dread, at the same time, a change working in his favour in the minds of the people: in this dilemma, a plan is laid for persuading his Majesty to go suddenly to the National Assembly, and, in a speech, to declare himself perfectly satisfied with their proceedings, and to consider himself as at the head of the revolution, in terms so couched, as to take away all idea or pretence of his being in a state of confinement or coercion. This is at present a favourite plan; the only difficulty will be, to persuade the King to take a step that will apparently preclude him from whatever turn or advantage the general feeling of the provinces may work in his favour; for, after such a measure, he will have reason to expect that his friends will second the views of the democratical party, from an absolute despair of any other principles becoming efficient. It is thought probable, that this scheme will

will be brought about ; and if it is, it will do more to ease their apprehensions of any attempts than any other plan. I have been among the booksellers, with a catalogue in hand to collect publications, which, unfortunately for my purse, I find I must have on various topics, that concern the present state of France.— These are now every day so numerous, especially on the subjects of commerce, colonies, finances, taxation, *deficit*, &c. not to speak of the subject immediately of the revolution itself, that it demands many hours every day to lessen the number to be bought, by reading pen in hand. The collection the duke of Liancourt has made from the very commencement of the revolution, at the first meeting of the notables, is prodigious, and has cost many hundred louis d'ors. It is uncommonly complete, and will hereafter be of the greatest value, to consult on abundance of curious questions.

The 17th. The plan I mentioned yesterday, that was proposed to the King, was urged in vain : his Majesty received the proposition in such a manner as does not leave any great hope of the scheme being executed ; but the marquis La Fayette is so strenuous for its being brought about, that it will not yet be abandoned ; but proposed again at a more favourable moment. The royalists, who know of this plan (for the public have it not), are delighted at the chance of its failing. The refusal is attributed to the Queen. Another circumstance, which gives great disquiet at present to the leaders of the revolution, are the accounts daily received from all parts of the kingdom, of the distress, and even starving condition of manufacturers, artists, and sailors, which grow more and more serious, and must make the idea of an attempt to overturn the revolution so much the more alarming and dangerous. The only branch of industry in the kingdom, that remains flourishing, is the trade to the sugar-colonies ; and the scheme of emancipating the negroes, or at least of putting an end to importing them, which they borrowed from England, has thrown Nantes, Havre, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and all other places connected secondarily with that commerce, into the utmost agitation. The count de Mirabeau says publicly, that he is sure of carrying the vote to put an end to negro slavery—it is very much the conversation at present, and principally amongst the leaders, who say, that as the revolution was founded on philosophy, and supported by metaphysics, such a plan cannot but be congenial. But surely trade depends on practice much more than on theory ; and the planters and merchants, who come to Paris to oppose the scheme, are better prepared to shew the importance of their commerce, than to reason philosophically on the demerits of slavery. Many publications have appeared on the subject—some deserving attention.

The 18th. At the duke of Liancourt's dinner, to-day, meet the marquis de Casaux, the author of the mechanism of societies ; notwithstanding all the warmth, and even fire of argument, and vivacity of manner and composition for

which his writings are remarkable, he is perfectly mild and placid in conversation, with little of that effervescence one would look for from his books. There was a remarkable assertion made to-day, at table, by the count de Marguerite, before near thirty deputies; speaking of the determination on the Toulon business, he said, it was openly supported by deputies, under the avowal that more insurrections were necessary. I looked round the table, expecting some decisive answer to be given to this, and was amazed to find that no one replied a word. Monf. Volney, the traveller, after a pause of some moments, declared, that he thought the people of Toulon had acted right, and were justifiable in what they had done. The history of this Toulon business is known to all the world. This count de Marguerite has a *tetè dure* and a steady conduct—it may be believed that he is not an *enragé*. At dinner, M. Blin, deputy from Nantes, mentioning the conduct of the revolution club at the *Jacobins*, said, we have given you a good president; and then asked the count, why he did not come among them? He answered, *Je me trouve heureux en verité de n'avoir jamais été d'aucune société politique particuliere; je pense que mes fonctions sont publiques, et qu'elles peuvent aisément se remplir sans associations particulieres.* He got no reply here.—At night, Monf. Decretot, and Monf. Blin, carried me to the revolution club at the *Jacobins*; the room where they assemble, is that in which the famous league was signed, as it has been observed above. There were above one hundred deputies present, with a president in the chair; I was handed to him, and announced as the author of the *Aritbmetique Politique*; the president standing up, repeated my name to the company, and demanded if there were any objections—None; and this is all the ceremony, not merely of an introduction, but an election: for I was told, that now I was free to be present when I pleased, being a foreigner. Ten or a dozen other elections were made. In this club, the business that is to be brought into the National Assembly is regularly debated; the motions are read, that are intended to be made there, and rejected or corrected and approved. When these have been fully agreed to, the whole party are engaged to support them. Plans of conduct are there determined; proper persons nominated for being of committees, and presidents of the Assembly named. And I may add, that such is the majority of numbers, that whatever passes in this club, is almost sure to pass in the Assembly. In the evening at the dutchess d'Anville's, in whose house I never failed of spending my time agreeably.

One of the most amusing circumstances of travelling into other countries, is the opportunity of remarking the difference of customs amongst different nations in the common occurrences of life. In the art of living, the French have generally been esteemed by the rest of Europe, to have made the greatest proficiency, and their manners have been accordingly more imitated; and their customs more adopted than those of any other nation. Of their cookery,

cookery, there is but one opinion; for every man in Europe, that can afford a great table, either keeps a French cook, or one instructed in the same manner. That it is far beyond our own, I have no doubt in asserting. We have about half a dozen real English dishes, that exceed any thing, in my opinion, to be met with in France; by English dishes I mean, a turbot and lobster sauce—ham and chicken—turtle—a haunch of venison—a turkey and oysters—and after these, there is an end of an English table. It is an idle prejudice, to class roast beef among them; for there is not better beef in the world than at Paris. Large handsome pieces were almost constantly on the considerable tables I have dined at. The variety given by their cooks, to the same thing, is astonishing; they dress an hundred dishes in an hundred different ways, and most of them excellent; and all sorts of vegetables have a favouriness and flavour, from rich sauces, that are absolutely wanted to our greens boiled in water. This variety is not striking, in the comparison of a great table in France with another in England; but it is manifest, in an instant, between the tables of a French and English family of small fortune. The English dinner, of a joint of meat and a pudding, as it is called, or *pot luck*, with a neighbour, is bad luck in England; the same fortune in France gives, by means of cookery only, at least four dishes to one among us, and spreads a small table incomparably better. A regular dessert with us is expected, at a considerable table only, or at a moderate one, when a formal entertainment is given; in France it is as essential to the smallest dinner as to the largest; if it consists only of a bunch of dried grapes, or an apple, it will be as regularly served as the soup. I have met with persons in England, who imagine the sobriety of a French table carried to such a length, that one or two glasses of wine are all that a man can get at dinner: this is an error; your servant mixes the wine and water in what proportion you please; and large bowls of clean glasses are set before the master of the house, and some friends of the family, at different parts of the table, for serving the richer and rarer sorts of wines, which are drunk in this manner freely enough. The whole nation are scrupulously neat in refusing to drink out of glasses used by other people. At the house of a carpenter or blacksmith, a tumbler is set to every cover. This results from the common beverage being wine and water; but if at a large table, as in England, there were porter, beer, cyder, and perry, it would be impossible for three or four tumblers or goblets to stand by every plate; and equally so for the servants to keep such a number separate and distinct. In table-linen, they are, I think, cleaner and wiser than the English: that the change may be incessant, it is every where coarse. The idea of dining without a napkin seems ridiculous to a Frenchman, but in England we dine at the tables of people of tolerable fortune, without them. A journeyman carpenter in France has his napkin as regularly as his fork; and at an inn, the *fille* always lays a clean one

to every cover that is spread in the kitchen, for the lowest order of pedestrian travellers. The expence of linen in England is enormous, from its fineness; surely a great change of that which is coarse, would be much more rational. In point of cleanliness, I think the merit of the two nations is divided; the French are cleaner in their persons, and the English in their houses; I speak of the mass of the people, and not of individuals of considerable fortune. A *bidet* in France is as universally in every apartment, as a basin to wash your hands, which is a trait of personal cleanliness I wish more common in England; on the other hand their necessary houses are temples of abomination; and the practice of spitting about a room, which is amongst the highest as well as the lowest ranks, is detestable: I have seen a gentleman spit so near the cloaths of a dutchess, that I have stared at his unconcern. In every thing that concerns the stables, the English far exceed the French; horses, grooms, harness, and change of equipage; in the provinces you see cabriolets undoubtedly of the last century; an Englishman, however small his fortune may be, will not be seen in a carriage of the fashion of forty years past; if he cannot have another, he will walk on foot. It is not true that there are no complete equipages at Paris, I have seen many; the carriage, horses, harness, and attendance, without fault or blemish;—but the number is certainly very much inferior to what are seen at London. English horses, grooms, and carriages, have been of late years largely imported. In all the articles of the fitting up and furnishing houses, including those of all ranks in the estimate, the English have made advances far beyond their neighbours. Mahogany is scarce in France, but the use of it is profuse in England. Some of the hotels in Paris are immense in size, from a circumstance which would give me a good opinion of the people, if nothing else did, which is the great mixture of families. When the eldest son marries, he brings his wife home to the house of his father, where there is an apartment provided for them; and if a daughter does not wed an eldest son, her husband is also received into the family, in the same way, which makes a joyous number at every table. This cannot altogether be attributed to economical motives, though they certainly influence in many cases, because it is found in families possessing the first properties in the kingdom. It does with French manners and customs, but in England it is sure to fail, and equally so amongst all ranks of people: may we not conjecture, with a great probability of truth, that the nation in which it succeeds is therefore better tempered? Nothing but good humour can render such a jumble of families agreeable, or even tolerable. In dress they have given the *ton* to all Europe for more than a century; but this is not among any but the highest rank an object of such expence as in England, where the mass of mankind wear much better things (to use the language of common conversation) than in France: this struck me more amongst ladies
who

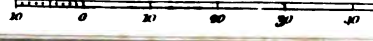
who, on an average of all ranks, do not dress at one half of the expence of English women. Volatility and changeableness are attributed to the French as national characteristics,—but in the case of dress with the grossest exaggeration. Fashions change with ten times more rapidity in England, in form, colour, and assemblage; the vicissitudes of every part of dress are phantastic with us: I see little of this in France; and to instance the mode of dressing the gentlemen's hair, while it has been varied five times at London, it has remained the same at Paris. Nothing contributes more to make them a happy people, than the cheerful and facile pliancy of disposition with which they adapt themselves to the circumstances of life: this they possess much more than the high and volatile spirits which have been attributed to them; one excellent consequence is, a greater exemption from the extravagance of living beyond their fortunes, than is met with in England. In the highest ranks of life, there are instances in all countries; but where one gentleman of small property, in the provinces of France, runs out his fortune, there are ten such in England that do it. In the blended idea I had formed of the French character from reading, I am disappointed from three circumstances, which I expected to find predominant. On comparison with the English, I looked for great talkativeness, volatile spirits, and universal politeness. I think, on the contrary, that they are not so talkative as the English; have not equally good spirits, and are not a jot more polite: nor do I speak of certain classes of people, but of the general mass. I think them, however, incomparably better tempered; and I propose it as a question, whether good temper be not more reasonably expected under an arbitrary, than under a free government?

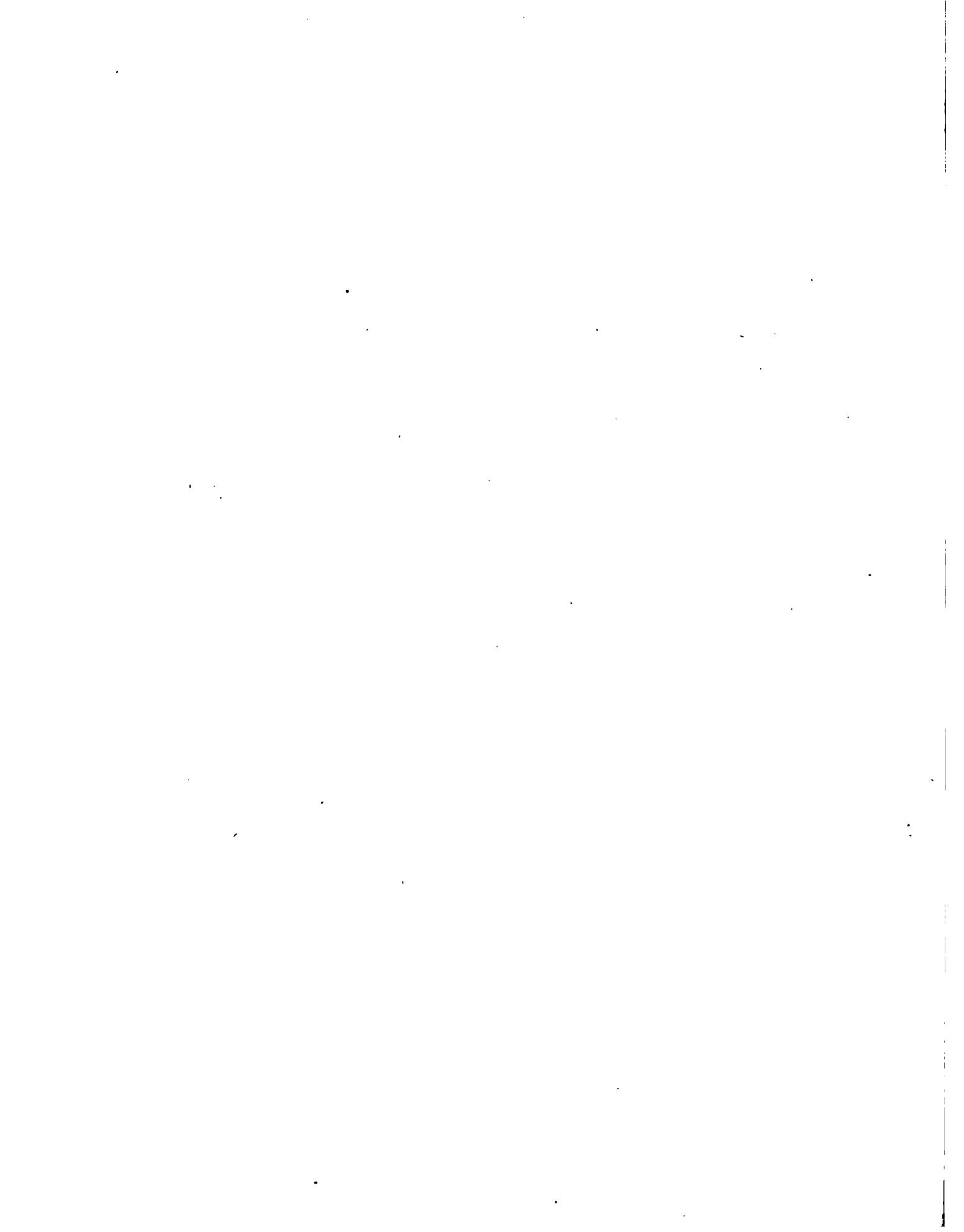
The 19th. My last day in Paris, and, therefore, employed in waiting, on my friends, to take leave; amongst whom, the duke de Liancourt holds the first place; a nobleman, to whose uninterrupted, polite, and friendly offices I owe the agreeable and happy hours which I have passed at Paris, and whose kindness continued so much, to the last, as to require a promise, that if I should return to France, his house, either in town or country, should be my home. I shall not omit observing, that his conduct in the revolution has been direct and manly from the very beginning; his rank, family, fortune, and situation at court, all united to make him one of the first subjects in the kingdom; and upon the public affairs being sufficiently embroiled, to make assemblies of the nobility necessary, his determination to render himself master of the great questions which were then in debate, was seconded by that attention and application which was necessary in a period, when none but men of business could be of importance in the state. From the first assembling of the States General, he resolved to take the party of freedom; and would have joined the *tiers* at first, if the orders of his constituents had not prevented it; he desired them, however,
either

either to consent to that step or to elect another representative; and, at the same time, with equal liberality, he declared, that if ever the duty he owed his country became incompatible with his office at court, he would resign it; an act that was not only unnecessary, but would have been absurd, after the King himself had become a party in the revolution. By espousing the popular cause, he acted conformably to the principles of all his ancestors, who in the civil wars and confusions of the preceding centuries, uniformly opposed the arbitrary proceedings of the court. The decisive steps which this nobleman took at Versailles, in advising the King, &c. &c. are known to all the world. He is, undoubtedly, to be esteemed one of those who have had a principal share in the revolution, but he has been invariably guided by constitutional motives; for it is certain, that he has been as much averse from unnecessary violence and sanguinary measures, as those who were the most attached to the ancient government. With my excellent friend Lazowski, I spent my last evening; he endeavouring to persuade me to reside upon a farm in France, and I enticing him to quit French bustle for English tranquility.

The 20th—25th. By the diligence to London, where I arrived the 25th; though in the most commodious seat, yet languishing for a horse, which, after all, affords the best means of travelling. Passing from the first company of Paris to the rabble which one sometimes meets in diligences is contrast sufficient,—but the idea of returning to England, to my family, and friends, made all things appear smooth.—272 miles.

The 30th. To Bradfield; and here terminate, I hope, my travels. After having surveyed the agriculture and political resources of England and Ireland, to do the same with France, was certainly a great object, the importance of which animated me to the attempt: and however pleasing it may be to hope for the ability of giving a better account of the agriculture of France than has ever been laid before the public, yet the greatest satisfaction I feel, at present, is the prospect of remaining, for the future, on a farm, in that calm and undisturbed retirement, which is suitable to my fortune, and which, I trust, will be agreeable to my disposition.—72 miles.





PART SECOND.

CHAP. I.

Of the Extent of France.

THE circumstances which are most apt to command the attention of mankind, for giving importance to a country, are really valuable no farther than as they contribute to the ease and prosperity of the inhabitants. Thus the extent of a kingdom is of no other consequence than affording nourishment for a people too numerous to be reasonably apprehensive of foreign conquest. When a territory is much more considerable than for this purpose, it tends to inspire ambitious projects in the minds of the men that govern, which have proved, perhaps, more disastrous than the deficiency of power that endangers the national defence. France, under Lewis XIV. was a remarkable instance of this fact. The situation to which the ambition of that prince had reduced her immense territory, was hardly preferable to that of Holland, in 1672, whose misfortunes flowed from the same origin. Of the two extremes, France has undoubtedly more to apprehend from the ambition of her own rulers, than from that of any neighbour. Authorities vary considerably in describing the extent of this fine kingdom. The Maréchal de Vauban makes it 30,000 leagues, or 140,940,000 arpents; Voltaire 130,000,000 arpents.—The accuracy of round numbers is always to be doubted. Templeman gives it an extent of 138,837 square geographic miles, of sixty to a degree; a measurement, which renders all his tables absolutely useless for any purpose, but that of comparing one country with another, a degree being sixty-nine miles and an half, which makes it 119,220,874 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres.—Pauçon reduces his measure to French arpents, and makes the number 107,690,000. The Encyclopædia, article *France*, assigns 100,000,000 of arpents as the contents; and observes, that, by Cassini's maps, the amount is 125,000,000. A late author* calculates it at 105,000,000: and another † at 135,600,000. None of these accounts seem sufficiently accurate for the purpose of giving a correct idea. The authority on which I am inclined most to rely is that of M. Necker ‡, who

* L'Impôt Abonné. 4to. 1789.

† Apologie sur l'édit de Nantes.

‡ Oeuvres. 4to. p. 326.

calculates it (without Corfica) at 26,951 leagues square, of 2282 $\frac{1}{2}$ toises; this, I find, amounts to 156,024,213 arpents of Paris, or 131,722,295 English acres. Pauton, by covering his map with shot to every indenture of outline, with the greatest care, found the kingdom to contain 103,021,840 arpents, each of 100 perch, at 22 feet the perch, or 1344 $\frac{1}{2}$ toises square to the arpent; instead of which, the arpent of Paris contains but 900 toises:—this measurement makes 81,687,016 English acres*.—Notwithstanding the credit usually given to this writer for his accuracy, I must here reject his authority in favour of that of M. Necker. Pauton's calculation, which gives 81,687,016 English acres to France, assigns by the same rule to England 24,476,315 †; yet Templeman's survey, at 60 miles to a degree, and therefore confessedly below the truth, makes it 31,648,000, which, at 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ to a degree, are 42,463,264 $\frac{5}{8}$; a greater difference than is found between them in estimating the surface of France, which, by Pauton, is made 81,687,016 English acres, with a general admission of about a million more; and by Templeman, 88,855,680; or at 69 $\frac{1}{2}$, is 119,220,874 $\frac{2}{3}$.

It is in vain to attempt reconciling these contrary accounts. I shall therefore adopt, with the author of the *Credit Nationale* ‡, the estimation of M. Necker, which supposes 156,024,113 arpents of Paris, or 131,722,295 English acres.

For a comparison of the French and English dominions, I must for the latter adopt Templeman's measurement, who gives to

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">England,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">49,450 square miles.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Scotland,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">27,794</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ireland,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">27,457</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">104,701</td> </tr> </table>	England,	49,450 square miles.	Scotland,	27,794	Ireland,	27,457		104,701		<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">France,</td> <td style="text-align: right;">138,837 square miles.</td> </tr> </table>	France,	138,837 square miles.
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Calculated at 60 to a degree; but at 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ these numbers become,

	Sq. miles.		Acres.		Sq. miles.		Acres.
England,	66,348	-	42,463,264		France,	186,282	119,220,874
Scotland,	37,292	-	23,867,016				
Ireland,	36,840	-	23,577,630				
	140,480		89,907,910				

Hence it appears, that France, according to these proportions, contains 29,312,964 acres more than the three British kingdoms; and it is to be noted, that as the extent of France is taken from the more modern and correct authorities, whence M. Necker deduced his measurement at 131,722,295 English acres, which is

* I have made this reduction, by valuing, with Pauton, the French arpent at 1,0000, and the English 0,7929.

† That is 30,869,360 arpents royale, of 22 feet to the perch.

‡ Monf. Jorré. 8vo. 1789. He calculates on 27,000 leagues, at 2282 toises; 5786 arpents of Paris in a league; or in France 156,225,720 arpents. P. 95.

consequently

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* It may be remarked, that Dr. Grew calculated the real contents of England and Wales at 46,080,000 acres. *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 330, p. 266. Which seems a confirmation that we are not far from the truth.

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consequently

consequently much more exact than that of Templeman ; so it is equally fair to suppose, that the latter is as much below the fact in the contents of our islands, as he was in those of France. Corrected by this rule, the areas will be

England *,	46,915,933 † acres.	France,	131,722,295 acres.
Scotland,	26,369,695		
Ireland,	26,049,961		
	99,335,589		

These numbers, I am upon the whole inclined to believe, are as near to the truth as may reasonably be expected from calculations, when the *data* are not absolutely correct.

C H A P. II.

Of the Soil, and Face of the Country.

THE modern French geographers, in a branch of that science, to which they have properly given the epithet *physical*, have divided the kingdom into what they call *bassins* ; that is to say, into several great plains, through which flow the principal rivers, and which are formed of several ridges of mountains, either *original*, as they term it, of granite, or secondary of calcareous and other materials. Of these *bassins* the chief are, 1. Of the Loire and all the rivers that fall into it. 2, Of the Seine and its branches. 3, Of the Garonne. 4, Of the Rhone and Soane. There are likewise some smaller ones, but of much less account. The reader who wishes to consult the detail of these, may turn to the *Journal Physique*, tom. 30. for a memoir by M. la Metherie.

In respect to the geponic division of the soils of the kingdom, the rich calcareous plain of the north-eastern quarter first calls for our attention. I crossed this in several directions, and from the observations I made, the following are the limits I would assign to it. On the coast it may be said to extend from Dunkirk to Carentan in Normandy, for the northern promontory of that province, which projects into the sea at Cherbourg, &c. is of a different soil. In M. la Metherie's map, is marked a ridge of granite mountains in this promontory ; I should remark, that I saw nothing in that country which deserves the

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name of a mountain, any more than at Alençon; merely hills, and those not considerable ones. I may terminate the rich track at Carentan, as thence to Coutances the land is chiefly poor and stoney, and holds, with many variations, quite to Brest. In the line a little to the S. of the coast, before Caen, is seen the first considerable change of soil from Calais; it there becomes a red *stone brafb*; this rich tract is here, therefore, narrow. On re-entering Normandy on the side of Alençon, from Anjou and Maine, I first met with the rich loams on a calcareous bottom at Beaumont; at Alençon there is a noble soil, which I then lost no more in advancing northwards. In another line I entered this rich district about ten miles to the south of Tours. The hills on the Loire, though all calcareous that I noticed, are not all rich, though on some the soil is deep and good. Directly to the south of Orleans begins the miserable Sologne, which, though on a calcareous bottom of marl, is too poor to be included in the present district. From Orleans to Paris, and also Fontainebleau, no exceptions are to be made, but in the small space of poor sand stone in the royal forest of the latter town. In a fourth direction this district is entered, but not so decisively as in the preceding cases, a few miles to the south of Nemours. At Croisiere the first chalk is visible to the traveller. Advancing to the N. E. very good land is found near Nangis, and then bearing N. I entered the fertile plain of Brie. Some of the vales through which the Marne flows are rich, and what I saw calcareous; but the hills are poor. The plain of Rheims may be classed in the present district, but at Soissons and thence due N. all is excellent. These limits inclose one of the finest territories that I suppose is to be found in Europe. From Dunkirk to Nemours is not less than one hundred and eighty miles in a right line. From Soissons to Carentan is another right line of about two hundred miles. From Eu, on the Norman coast, to Chartres is one hundred miles; and though the breadth of this rich district at Caen, Bayeux, &c. is not considerable, yet the whole will be found to contain not a trifling proportion of the whole kingdom. This noble territory includes the deep, level, and fertile plain of Flanders, and part of Artois, than which a richer soil can hardly be desired to repay the industry of mankind; two, three, and even four feet deep of moist and putrid, but friable and mellow loam, more inclining to clay than sand, on a calcareous bottom, and from its marine origin (for there can be little doubt but that the whole plain of Flanders and Holland has been covered by the sea, long since our globe has taken its present appearance), abounding with particles that add to the common fertility, resulting from such compounds found in other situations. The putridity of the *humus* in Flanders and its position, being a dead level, are the principal circumstances that distinguish it from the better soils of the rest of this fertile part of Europe. Every step of the way from the very gate of Paris to near Soissons, and thence to Cambrai, with but little va-

riation

riation of some inferior hills of small extent, is a sandy loam of an admirable texture, and commonly of considerable depth. About Meaux it is to be ranked among the finest in the world; they call it *bleaunemeau*; it tends much towards an impalpable powder, which betrays few signs of sand, even when, to the eye, it has the appearance of a sandy loam. It is of an admirable texture and friability. Mons. Gibert informed me, that it is of the depth of eighteen feet where his well is digged, and under it a stratum of white marl, found under the whole country, at different depths. This marl has the appearance of a consolidated paste. The line through Picardy is inferior, yet, for the most part, excellent. But all the arable part of Normandy, which is within these limits, is of the same rich friable sandy loam, to a great depth; that from Bernay to Elbœuf can scarcely be exceeded; four to five feet deep of a reddish brown loam on a chalk bottom, and without a stone. As to the pastures of the same province, we have, I believe, nothing either in England or Ireland equal to them; I hold the vale of Limerick to be inferior. The famous Pays de Beauce, which I crossed between Arpajon and Orleans, resembles the vales of Meaux and Senlis; it is not, however, in general, so deep as the former. The limits I have traced are those of great fertility; but the calcareous district, and even of chalk, is much more extensive. To the E. it reaches across Champagne; a strong change, not having occurred to me till about St. Menehould. From Metz to Nancy all is calcareous, but not chalk. Lime-stone land I found plentifully in the southern parts of Alsace; and from Befort across Franche Comté to Dole, all the stones I tried, and many from quarries, were calcareous. Immense districts in Dauphiné and Provence, &c. &c. are the same; I shall therefore only observe, that I remarked the chalk country to extend E. to about St. Menehould, and S. to Nemours and Montargis* in one line. In another, that all of the Angoumois which I saw is the same; much in Poitou, and through Touraine to the Loire. Had I penetrated more to the W. I should probably have found the chalk of Angoumois, and that of the Loire to be connected uninterruptedly. Most of the course of the Loire is, I believe, chalk, and the whole of it calcareous. Hence it appears, that the chalk country of France is of very considerable extent; not less than two hundred miles E. and W. and about as much, but more irregularly, N. and S. and comprises, by far, the richest and most fertile provinces of the kingdom.

The next considerable district, for fertility, is that which I may call, without impropriety, the plain of the Garonne. Passing to the S. from Limosin, it is entered about Creissensac, with the province of Quercy, and improves all the way to Montauban and Toulouse, where it is one of the finest levels of fertile

* I believe much further; and there is the more reason to think so, because Mr. Townshend found, that in another road it reached to Auxere, where he lost it. *Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 46.

soil that can any where be seen. It continues, but not equally fruitful, to the foot of the Pyrenees, by St. Gaudents, &c. very even to the eye, when viewed from the promenade at Montauban, which commands one of the richest, as well as magnificent prospects, to be met with in France. This plain I found, however, to be much indented and irregular; for to the W. of Auch, and all beyond it to Bayonne, is too inferior to be admitted; and to the E. Mirepoix, Pamiers, and Carcassonne are among the hills, and all the way from Agen to Bourdeaux, though the river flows through one of the richest vallies that is to be seen in the world, yet the breadth appeared to be every where inconsiderable. Through all this plain, wherever the soil is found excellent, it consists usually of a deep mellow friable sandy loam, with moisture sufficient for the production of any thing; much of it is calcareous. White lime-stone and white chalky loams are found about Cahors, &c. and white loams more tenacious near Montauban. At Tonance, on the Garonne, they are red, and apparently as good at ten feet deep as on the surface.

In travelling from Narbonne to Beziers, Pezenas, Montpellier, and Nimes, every one I conversed with represented that vale as the most fruitful in France. Olives and mulberries, as well as vines, render it very productive; but in point of soil (the only circumstance I consider at present), much the greater part of it is inferior to all I have named. The Bas Poitou, as I was informed by a person who resides in it, is of a fertility that deserves to be classed with the richest soils of France, extending 18 leagues by 12, or 216 square leagues, which, at 5,786 arpents per league, are 249,776 arpents. 100,000 arpents of rich marshes have been drained there*. Being also informed at Nantes, that there was a very rich track to the S. of the Loire, in the quarter of Bourgneuf and Macheoul, I have extended the region of good land to that river, as seen in the annexed map.

The narrow plain of Alsace, the whole fertile part of which hardly exceeds the surface of 1000 square miles, must be classed among the richest soils of France. It resembles Flanders a good deal, though inferior to that fine province. It consists of a deep rich sandy loam, both moist and friable, equal to the large production of all sorts of crops. A more celebrated district is the Limagne of Auvergne, a flat, and chiefly a calcareous vale, surrounded by great ranges of volcanic mountains. It is certainly one of the finest soils in the world. It commences at Riom; the plain there is of a beautiful dead level of white calcareous loam, the whole surface of which is a real marl, but so mixed with *humus* as to be of prime fertility. The French naturalists, that have examined it, assert the depth to be twenty feet of beds of earth, formed of the ruins of what they style the primitive (granite) and volcanized mountains. At Iffoire, Dr. Brés shewing me his farm, in an inferior part of the Limagne (for the best of it

* *Des Canaux de Navig.* Par M. de la Lande, p. 391.

reaches no farther than from Riom to Vaires, which is scarcely more than twenty miles), made me observe, that the river had, in all probability, formed the whole plain, as it was adding rapidly to his land, and had given him a depth very perceptible in a few years, having buried the gravelly shingle of its bed, by depositing a rich surface of sandy mud. The vale here, on the banks, is seven or eight feet deep of rich brown sandy loam. On the contrary, there are philosophers who contend for the whole having been a lake. The mountains that surround this vale are various. The white argillaceous stone, in the hills between Riom and Clermont, is calcareous. The volcanic mountains are found to be better than the others, except in the case of *tufa* or cinders, which are so burnt as to be good for nothing. The calcareous and clayey ones good, and the basalt decomposed and become clay excellent. Their base is commonly granite. The calcareous sandy stones, and the argillaceous calcareous earths are heaped on them by the action of volcanoes, according to the theory of the French philosophers. The fertility that results from the volcanic origin of mountains, has been often remarked, and especially in the case of Etna; the same fact appeared in many tracts of country as I passed from Le Puy to Montelimart, where many considerable mountains are covered with beautiful chestnuts, and various articles of cultivation, which in districts not volcanic are waste, or in a great measure useless.

I have now noticed all the districts of France, which, to my knowledge, are of any remarkable fertility: they amount, as it will be shown more particularly in another place, to above 28 millions of English acres.

Of the other provinces, Bretagne is generally gravel, or gravelly sand, commonly deep, and on a gravelly bottom, of an inferior and barren nature, but in many places on sand stone rock. I tried various specimens, but found none calcareous; and having seen a ship at Morlaix unloading lime-stone from Normandy, I may conclude, that the fact does not contradict the conclusion which I drew from the eye. All that I saw in the two provinces of Anjou and Maine are gravel, sand, or stone—generally a loamy sand or gravel; some imperfect schistus on a bottom of rock; and much that would in the west of England be called a *stone-brash*, and that would do excellently well for turnips: they have the friability, but want the putrid moisture and fertile particles of the better loams. Immense tracks, in both these provinces, are waste, under ling, fern, furze, &c. but the soil of these does not vary from the cultivated parts, and, with cultivation, would be equally good. Touraine is better; it contains some considerable districts, especially to the south of the Loire, where you find good mixed sandy and gravelly loams on a calcareous bottom; considerable tracks in the northern part of the province are no better than Anjou and Maine; and, like them, it is not without its heaths and wastes. Sologne is one of the poorest

poorest and most unimproved provinces of the kingdom, and one of the most singular countries I have seen. It is flat, consisting of a poor sand or gravel, every where on a clay or marl bottom, retentive of water to such a degree, that every ditch and hole was full of it: the improvement of such a country is so obviously effected on the easiest principles, that it is a satire on the French government, and on the individuals who are owners or occupiers of estates in this province, to see it remain in such a miserable condition. Berry is much better, though both sandy and gravelly; but good loams, and some deep, are not wanted in some districts, as that of Chateauroux, on quarries, and near Vatan on calcareous ones. La Marche and Limosin consist of friable sandy loams; some on granite, and others on a calcareous bottom. There are tracts in these provinces that are very fertile; and I saw none that should be esteemed steril. Of the granite, they distinguish two sorts; one hard, and full of micaeous particles; the grain rather coarse, with but little quartz, hardening in the air in masses, but becoming a powder when reduced to small pieces;—this is used for building. The other sort is in horizontal strata, mixed with great quantities of spar, used chiefly for mending roads, which it does in the most incomparable manner. I was assured at Limoges, that, on the hard granite, there grow neither wheat, vines, nor chesnuts; but upon the other kind, those plants thrive well: I remarked, that this granite and chesnuts appeared together on entering Limosin; and that, in the road to Toulouse, there is about a league of hard granite without that tree. The rule, however, is not general; for so near as to the S. of Souillac, chesnuts are on a calcareous soil.—Poitou consists of two divisions, the upper and the lower; the last of which has the reputation of being a much richer country, especially the grass lands on the coast. The soil of the upper division is generally a thin loam, on an imperfect quarry bottom—a sort of *stone-brash*; in some tracts calcareous: it must be esteemed a poor soil, though admirably adapted to various articles of cultivation. I have already observed, that all I saw of Angoumois is chalk, and much of it thin and poor. Those parts of Guienne and Gascoign, not included in the rich vale of the Garonne, of which I have already spoken, must be considered in respect of soil as poor. The *landes* (heaths) of Bourdeaux, though neither unproductive, nor unimproveable, are in their present state to be classed amongst the worst soils of France. I have been assured, that they contain 200 leagues square; and the roots of the Pyrenees are covered with immense wastes, which demand much industry to render profitable. Roussillon is in general calcareous; much of it flat and very stoney, as well as dry and barren: but the irrigated vales are of a most exuberant fertility. The vast province of Languedoc, in productions one of the richest of the kingdom, does not rank high in the scale of soil: it is by far to stoney:—I take seven-eighths of it to be mountainous.

I tra-

I travelled near four hundred miles in it, without seeing any thing that deserved the name of an extensive plain, that of the Garonne, already mentioned (part of which extends within the limits of Languedoc), alone excepted. The productive vale, from Narbonne to Nimes, is generally but a few miles in breadth; and considerable wastes are seen in most parts of it. Many of the mountains are productive, from irrigation, as I have observed too in the volcanic territory of the Vivarais. Some parts of the vale are however very rich; and indeed there are few finer soils in France than what I saw near the canal, in going from Beziers to Carcassonne. A rich mellow loam, tenacious, and yet friable; in some states the particles adhere into clods; in others they recede and melt with friability. Provence and Dauphiné are mountainous countries, with the variation of some lovely plains and vallies, which bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the whole. Of these two provinces, the former is certainly the driest, in point of soil, in the kingdom. Rock and quarry-land, with sandy gravels, abound there; and the course of the Durance, which in some countries would be a fine vale, is so ruined by sand and shingle, that, on a moderate calculation, above 130,000 acres have been destroyed, which would have been the finest soil in the country, if it had not been for that river. All I saw in both the provinces is calcareous; and I was informed, that the greater part of the mountains of Provence are so. These, towards Barcelonette, and in all the higher parts of the province, are covered with good grass, that feeds a million of emigrating sheep, besides vast herds of cattle. With such a soil, and in such a climate, a country must not be thought unproductive because mountainous.—The vales which I saw are in general fine: that of the Rhone at Loriol, in Dauphiné, is rich,—an admirable sandy clay, five or six feet deep, on a bed of blue marl, with many stones in it. But more to the S. from Montelimart to Orange, this great river passes through soils much inferior. The north plain of this province, as we go from Savoy to Lyons consists much of a good deep red loam, on a gravel bottom. The county of Venaissin, or district of Avignon, is one of the richest in the kingdom. Its admirable irrigation, is, of itself, sufficient to make it appear so; but I found the soil to consist of rich deep loam, with white and calcareous clays. The whole coast of Provence is a poor stony soil, with exceptions of very small spaces under happier circumstances. About Aix, the land is all calcareous, even the clays that are red and ferruginous. This province, however, contains one of the most singular districts in the kingdom, namely, that of the Crau, which is a stony plain to the S. E. of Arles, not containing less than 350 square miles, or 224,000 acres. It is absolutely covered with round stones of all sizes, some of which are as large as a man's head. The soil under them is not a sand, but appears to be a kind of cemented rubble of fragments of stone, with a small mixture of loam. The naturalist who has described

this province, says, they are of a calcareous nature, with neither the grain nor texture of flint; in some quartzose molecules predominate—and others are metallic*. Vegetation is extremely thin, as I shall mention more particularly when I treat of the pasturage of sheep in France.

The Lyonois is mountainous, and what I saw of it is poor, stony, and rough, with much waste land. In passing from Lyons to Moulins, it is, near Roanne, on the limits of the province, before the gravelly plain of the Loire commences, the same which M. La Metherie calls the calcareous plain of Montbriffon.

Auvergne, though chiefly mountainous, is not a poor province; the soil, for a hilly country, is in general above mediocrity, and the highest mountains feed vast herds of cattle, which are exported to a considerable amount. Beside a variety of volcanic soils, Auvergne is covered with granite and gravelly and sandy loams.

The Bourbonnois and Nevernois, form one vast plain, through which the Loire and the Allier pass; the predominant soil, in much the greater part, is gravel; I believe commonly on a calcareous bottom, but at considerable depths; Some tracks are sandy, which are better than the gravels; and others are very good friable sandy loams. The whole, in its present cultivation, must be reckoned amongst the most unproductive provinces of the kingdom, but capable of as great improvement, by a different management, as any district in France.

Burgundy is exceedingly diversified, as I found in crossing it from Franche Compté to the Bourbonnois by Dijon, I saw the best of it; that line is through sandy and gravelly loams; some good vales, some mountains, and some poor granite soils. The subdivision of the province, called Bresse, is a miserable country, where the ponds alone, mostly on a white clay or a marl, amount, as it is asserted by an inhabitant †, to sixty-six square leagues of 2000 toises, not much less than 250,000 acres. This is credible from the appearance of them in the map of Cassini.

Franche Compté abounds with red ferruginous loams, schistus, gravel, with lime-stone in the mountains very common; and I should remark, that all the stones I tried, some of which were from quarries between Besort to Dole, effervesced with acids. From Besançon to Orechamps the country is rocky, quite to the surface much lime-stone; a reddish brown loam on rock; with iron forges all over the country. The whole province is very improveable.

Lorraine is poor in soil; from St. Menchould to the borders of Alsace I saw scarcely any other than stony soils, of various denominations; most of them would in England be called *stone-brash*, or the broken and triturated surface of imperfect quarries, mixed by time, forest, and cultivation, with some loam and

* Hist. Nat. de la Povençe. 8vo. 3 tom. 1782. tom 1. p. 290.

† Observations, expériences, & memoires sur L'Agriculture; par M. Varenne de Fenille. 8vo. 1789. p. 270.

vegetable mould—much is calcareous. There are indeed districts of rich, and even deep friable sandy loams; but the quantity is not considerable enough to deserve attention in a general view. I have already remarked, that the predominant feature of Champagne is chalk; in great tracks it is thin and poor; the southern part, as from Chalons to Troyes, &c. has, from its poverty, acquired the name of *pouilleux*, or lousy. The appropriating of such land to sainfoin is little known there.

I have now made the tour of all the French provinces, and shall in general observe, that I think the kingdom is superior to England in the circumstance of soil. The proportion of poor land in England, to the total of the kingdom, is greater than the similar proportion in France; nor have they any where such tracks of wretched blowing sand as are to be met with in Norfolk and Suffolk. Their heaths, moors, and wastes not mountainous, what they term *lande*, and which are so frequent in Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, are infinitely better than our northern moors; and the mountains of Scotland and Wales cannot be compared, in point of soil, with those of the Pyrenees, Auvergne, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc. Another advantage almost inestimable is, that their tenacious, loams do not take the character of clays, which in some parts of England are so stubborn and harsh, that the expence of culture is almost equal to a moderate produce. Such clays as I have seen in Suffex, I never met with in France. The smallness of the quantity of rank clay in that kingdom is indeed surprising.

Face of the Country.

THE chief distinction that marks the faces of different countries, is that of being mountainous or level. In the language, as well as in the ideas common in France, mountains are spoken of, to which we should give no other appellation than that of hills: the tracks really mountainous in that kingdom are to be found in the S. only. It is four hundred miles S. of Calais before you meet with the mountains of Auvergne, which are united with those of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, but not with the Pyrenees, for I crossed the whole S. of France, from the Rhone to the ocean, either by plains or ranges of inconsiderable hills. The mountains of Voge, in Loraine, deserve, perhaps, that name, but yet are not to be ranked with the superior elevations I have noticed. The inequalities of all the rest of the kingdom are sufficient to render the prospects interesting, and to give variety to the face of the country, but they deserve not to be called mountains. Some of the hilly and mountainous tracks of France receive a very considerable beauty from the rich and luxuriant verdure of chestnuts. To those who have not viewed them, it is not easy to believe how

much they add to the beauty of the Limosin, the Vivarais, Auvergne, and other districts where they are common. There is no doubt that the Pyrenees are more striking than all the other mountains of France; I have described them so particularly in the Journal, that I would only observe in general here, that their verdure, their woods, their rocks, and their torrents have all the characters of the sublime and beautiful. I saw nothing among the Alps that offered such pleasing scenes as those of the northern parts of Dauphiné; which, however, are less varied than those in the neighbourhood of Chambéry so abounding in landscapes. According to every account, the course of the Iser is a scene of perpetual beauty. The Vivarais, and part of Velay, are most romantic.

Of the great rivers of France I prefer the Seine, which is every where an agreeable object. I should suppose the reputation of the Loire must have originated from persons who either had never seen it at all, or only below Angers, where in truth it merits every *éloge*. From that city to Nantes it is, probably, one of the finest rivers in the world, the breadth of the stream, the islands of woods, the boldness, culture, and richness of the coast, all conspire, with the animation derived from the swelling canals of active commerce, to render that line eminently beautiful; but for the rest of its immense course, it exhibits a stream of sand; it rolls shingle through vales instead of water, and is an uglier object than I could possibly have conceived, unless I had actually seen it. The Garonne receives more beauty from the country through which it flows than it confers upon it; the flat banks, fringed with willows, are destructive of beauty. I am not equally acquainted with the Rhone; where I saw it, from Montelimart to Avignon, and again at Lyons, it does not interest me like the Seine. The course of the Soane is marked by a noble track of meadows.

In regard to the general beauty of a country, I prefer Limosin to every other province in France. The banks of the Loire below Angers, and those of the Seine, for two hundred miles from its mouth, superior, undoubtedly, in point of rivers, the capital feature of the country; but the beauty of the Limosin does not depend on any particular feature, but the result of many. Hill, dale, wood, inclosures, streams, lakes, and scattered farms, are mingled into a thousand delicious landscapes, which set off every where this province. Inclosures, which add so much ornament to the face of a country, would furnish observations, but I must treat of them expressly in a more important view.

Of the provinces of the kingdom, not already named, none are of such singular features as to demand particular attention. The beauties of Normandy are to be found on the Seine, and those of Guienne on the Garonne. Bretagne, Maine, and Anjou have the appearance of deserts; and though some parts of Touraine are rich and pleasing, yet most of the province is deficient in beauty. The fertile territories of Flanders, Artois, and Alsace are distinguished by their utility.

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utility. Picardy is uninteresting. Champagne in general, where I saw it, ugly, almost as much so as Poitou. Loraine, and Franche Compté, and Bourgogne are *sombre* in the wooded districts, and want cheerfulness in the open ones. Berry and La Marche may be ranked in the same class. Solagne merits its epithet, *triste*. There are parts of the Angoumois that are gay, and consequently pleasing.

It may be useful to those who see no more of France than by once passing to Italy, to remark, that if they would view the finest parts of the kingdom, they should land at Dieppe and follow the Seine to Paris, then take the great road to Moulins, and thence quit it for Auvergne, and pass to Viviers, on the Rhone, and so by Aix to Italy. By such a variation from the frequented road, the traveller might suffer for want of good inns, but would be repaid by the sight of a much finer and more singular country than the common road by Dijon offers, which passes, in a great measure, through the worst part of France.

C H A P. III.

Of the Climate of France.

OF all the countries of Europe there is not, perhaps, one that proves the importance of climate, so much as France. In the natural advantages of countries, it is as essential as soil itself; and we can never attain to an idea tolerably correct, of the prosperity and resources of a country, if we do not know how clearly to ascertain the natural advantages or disadvantages of different territories, and to discriminate them from the adventitious effects of industry and wealth. It should be a principal object with those who travel for the acquisition of knowledge, to remove the vulgar prejudices which are found in all countries among those who, not having travelled themselves, have built their information on insufficient authorities.

France admits a division into three capital parts; 1, of vines; 2, of maiz; 3, of olives—which plants will give the three districts of, 1, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2, the central, in which maiz is not planted; 3, the south, in which olives, mulberries, vines, and maiz are all found. The line of separation between vines and no vines, as I observed myself, is at Coucy, ten miles to the N. of Soissons; at Clermont, in the Beauvoisis; at Beaumont, in Maine; and Herbignac, near Guerande, in Bretagne. Now there is something very remarkable in this, that if you draw a strait line on the map from Guerande to Coucy, it passes very near both Clermont and Beaumont; the former

former of which is a little to the north of it, and the latter a little to the south. There are vines at Gaillon and La Roche Guyon, which is a little to the N. of this line; there are also some near Beauvais, the most remote from it which I have seen; but even this distance is inconsiderable; and the melancholy spectacle of the vintage of 1787, which I saw there in the midst of incessant rains, is a proof that they ought to have nothing to do with this branch of culture: and at Angers I was informed, that there are no vines, or next to none, between that place and Laval and Mayenne. Having made this remark on the vine climate of France, I wished to know how far the fact held true in Germany; because, if the circumstance arose from a difference of climate, it ought, by parity of reason, to be confirmed by vines in that country being found much farther north than in France. This happens precisely to be the case; for I find, by a late author, that vines in Germany are found no farther north than lat. 52*. The meeting with these in that latitude is a sufficient proof of the fact in question, since in France their limit is at 49½. The line, therefore, which I have drawn as the boundary of vines in France, may be continued into Germany, and will probably be found to ascertain the vine-climate in that country, as well as in France. The line of separation between maiz and no maiz is not less singular; it is first seen on the western side of the kingdom, in going from the Angoumois and entering Poitou, at Verac, near Ruffec. In crossing Lorraine, I first met with it between Nancy and Luneville. It is deserving of attention, that if a line is drawn from between Nancy and Luneville to Ruffec, that it will run nearly parallel with the other line that forms the separation of vines: but that line across the kingdom, is not formed by maiz in so unbroken a manner, as the other by vines; for in the central journey, we found it no farther north than Douzenach, in the S. of the Limosin; a variation, however, that does not affect the general fact. In crossing from Alsace to Auvergne, I was nearest to this line at Dijon, where is maiz. In crossing the Bourbonnois to Paris, there is an evident reason why this plant should not be found, which is the poverty of the soil, and the unimproved husbandry of all that country being universally under fallow, and rye, which yields only three or four times the seed. Maiz demands richer land, or better management.—I saw a few pieces so far north as near La Fleche, but they were so miserably bad, as evidently to prove that the plant was foreign to that climate. In order to give the reader a clearer idea of this, I have annexed a map, explaining, at one *coup d'œil*, these zones or climates, which may be drawn from the productions of France.—The line of olives is pretty nearly in the same direction. In travelling south from Lyons, we see them first at Montelimart; and, in going

* *De la Monarchie Prussienne, par M. Ce Comte de Mirabeau.* tom. 2. p. 158.

from Beziere to the Pyrenees, I lost them at Carcassonne: now, the line on the map drawn from Montelimart to Carcassonne, appears at once to be nearly parallel with those of maiz and vines. Hence we may apparently determine, with safety, that there is a considerable difference between the climate of France in the eastern and western parts: that the eastern side of the kingdom is $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude hotter than the western, or, if not hotter, more favourable to vegetation. That these divisions are not accidental, but have been the result of a great number of experiments, we may conclude from these articles of culture, in general, gradually declining before you quite lose them. On quitting the Angoumois, and entering Poitou, we find maiz dwindling to poor crops, before it ceases to be cultivated: and in going from Nancy to Luneville, I noticed it in gardens, and then but in small pieces in the fields, before it became a confirmed culture. I made the same remark with respect to vines. It is very difficult to account for this fact; it seems probable that the climate is better when remote from the sea, than near it, which is contrary to numerous other facts; and I have remarked, that vines thrive even in the sea air, and almost fully exposed to it, at the mouth of the river of Bayonne, and in Bretagne. A great many repeated observations must be made, and with more attention than is in the power of a traveller, before such a subject, apparently very curious, can be thoroughly ascertained. In making such enquiries as these, a general culture is alone to be regarded: vines will grow in England; I have maiz now on my farm—and I have seen it at Paris: but this is not the question; for it turns solely on the climate being so well adapted to such articles as to enable the farmer to make them a common culture.

Of the northern climate of France I may remark, that though vines will yield little profit in it for wine, yet there is a strong distinction, in respect of heat, between it and England, at the same time, that much of it is, I believe, to the full as humid as the S. and E. of England. The two circumstances to be attended to in this enquiry are, the quantity of fruit and the verdure and richness of pastures. In regard to heat, we must attend neither to the thermometer nor to the latitude, but to the vegetable productions. I travelled in the fruit season through Artois, Picardy, Normandy, Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, and I found at every town, I might properly say at every village, such a plenty of fruit, particularly plumbs, peaches, late cherries, grapes, and melons, as never can be seen in England in the very hottest summers. The markets of all the towns, even in that poor and unimproved province of Bretagne, are supplied with these in a profusion of which we have no idea. It was with pleasure I walked through the market at Rennes. If a man were to see no other in France, lighting there from an English balloon, he would in a moment pronounce the climate to be totally different from that of Cornwall, our most southerly

erly county, where myrtles will stand the winter abroad; and from that of Kerry, where the arbutus is so ac-climated, that it seems indigenous, though probably brought from Spain by the original inhabitants of the country. Yet in this province of Bretagne I saw no maiz nor mulberries, and, except in the corner I have mentioned, has no vineyards. Paris is not supplied with melons from provinces to the S. but from Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine.

For the humidity of the climate, I may quote the beautiful verdure of the rich pastures in Normandy, which are never irrigated. And I was a witness to three weeks of such rain at Liancourt, four miles only from Clermont, as I have not known, by many degrees, in England. To the great rains in the N. of France, which render it disagreeable, may be added the heavy snows and the severe frosts, which are experienced there to a greater degree than in the S. of England. I am assured that the N. of Europe has not known a long and sharp frost, which has not been much severer at Paris than at London.

The central division that admits vines without being hot enough for maiz, I consider as one of the finest climates in the world. Here are contained the province of Touraine, which, above all others, is most admired by the French; the picturesque province of Limosin; and the mild, healthy, and pleasant plains of the Bourbonnois; perhaps the most eligible countries of all France, of all Europe, as far as soil and climate are concerned. Here you are exempt from the extreme humidity which gives verdure to Normandy and England; and yet equally free from the burning heats which turn verdure itself into a russet brown in the S.; no ardent rays that oppress you with their fervour in summer; nor pinching tedious frosts that chill with their severity in winter; a light, pure, elastic air, admirable for every constitution except consumptive ones. But at the same time that I must commend these central provinces of France, for every circumstance of atmosphere that can render a country agreeable to inhabit, I must guard the reader against the idea of their being free from great inconveniencies; they are certainly subject to those in relation to agriculture, which are heavily felt by the farmer. They are subject, in common with the olive district, to violent storms of rain, and what is worse, of hail. Two years ago, one violent storm of hail swept a track of desolation in a belt across the whole kingdom, to the damage of several millions of our money. Such extended ruin is not common, for if it were, the finest kingdoms would be laid waste; but no year ever passes without whole parishes suffering to a degree of which we have no conception, and on the whole to the amount of no inconsiderable proportion of the whole produce of the kingdom. It appears, from my friend Dr. Symonds's paper on the climate of Italy*, that the mischief of hail is dreadful to the utmost in that country. I have heard it calculated in the S. of France, that the damage

* Annals of Agriculture, vol. iii. p. 137.

in some provinces amounted to one-tenth of the whole produce of them on an average. A few days before my arrival at Barbesieux, there had fallen, at the duke de la Rochefoucauld's seat in the Angoumois, and some neighbouring parishes, a shower of hail that did not leave a single grape on the vines, and cut them so severely, as to preclude all hope of a crop the year following, and allowed no well founded expectation of any beneficial produce even the third year. In another place, the geese were all killed by the same storm; and young colts were so wounded that they died afterwards. It is even asserted, that men have been known to be killed by hail, when unable to obtain any shelter. This storm destroyed a copse of the duke's, that was of two years growth. With such effects, it must be obvious to every one, that all sorts of corn and pulse must be utterly destroyed. At Pompion, between Montauban and Toulouse, I was witness to such a shower of rain as never fell in Britain; in that rich vale, the corn, before the storm, made a noble appearance; but imagination can hardly picture a more entire destruction than it poured over the whole; the finest wheat was not only beaten flat to the ground, but streams of liquid mud covered it in many places, in a manner that made all expectation of recovery hopeless. These hasty and violent showers, which are of little consequence to a traveller, or to the residence of a gentleman, are dreadful scourges to the farmer, and immense drawbacks from the mass of national products.

A circumstance of less consequence, but not undeserving attention, is the frosts which happen in the spring. We know in England how injurious these are to all the fruits of the earth, and how much they are supposed to damage even its most important products. Towards the end of May 1787, I found all the walnut trees with leaves turned quite black by them, S. of the Loire; and farther to the S. at Brive, we no sooner saw fig trees, for the first time, scattered about the vineyards, than we remarked them bound about with straw to defend them from the frosts of June. Still more to the S. about Cahors, the walnut trees were black on the 10th of June by frosts, within a fortnight; and we were informed of rye being in some years thus killed; and that rarely there is any spring month secure from these unseasonable attacks. In the N. E. quarter I found, in 1789, the frost of the preceding winter had made a sad havock amongst the walnut trees, most of which were killed in Alsace, and the dead trees made a strange figure in summer; they were left in expectation of their shooting again, and some few did. From Autun, in Burgundy, to Bourbon Lancy, the broom was all killed. Spring frosts were also complained of as much as on the other side of the kingdom. About Dijon they said that they have them often late, and they damage or destroy every thing. And all the countries within reach of the mountains of Voge are affected by the snow that falls upon them, which was in 1789, on the 29th of June. This renders the vineyard an uncertain culture. Perhaps it may arise from the late frosts in the

spring, that we meet with so few mulberries in France N. of the olive district. The profit of that tree is very great, as I shall explain fully in another place; yet the districts, where they are found in France, are very inconsiderable, when compared with the extent of the whole kingdom. It has been conceived in England, that the mildew is owing to late frosts; when I found myself in a region where rye was sometimes thus killed in June, and where every walnut hung with black, I naturally enquired for that distemper, and found in some places, near Cahors for instance, that their wheat was perfectly exempt from that malady in many springs, when other plants suffered the most severely; and we met even with farmers whose lands were so little subject to the distemper that they hardly knew it. This should seem to set aside the theory of frosts being the cause of that malady. As spring frosts are as mischievous in France as they can be with us, so also there are they troubled with autumnal ones earlier than is common with us. On the 20th of September 1787, in going on the S. of the Loire, from Chambord to Orleans, we had so smart a one, that the vines were hurt by it; and there had been, for several days, so cold a N. E. wind, yet with a bright sun, that none of us stirred abroad without great coats.

The olive-climate contains but a very inconsiderable portion of the kingdom, and of that portion, not in one acre out of fifty is this tree cultivated. Several other plants, beside the olive, mark this climate. Thus at Montelimart, in Dauphiné, besides that tree, you meet with, for the first time, the pomgranate, the arbor judæ, the paliurus, figs, and the evergreen oak; and with these plants, I may add also that detestable animal the mosquito. In crossing the mountains of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, I met, between Pradelles and Thuytz, mulberries and flies at the same time; by the term flies, I mean those myriads of them, which form the most disagreeable circumstance of the southern climates. They are the first of torments in Spain, Italy, and the olive-district of France: it is not that they bite, sting, or hurt, but they buz, teize, and worry: your mouth, eyes, ears, and nose, are full of them: they swarm on every eatable, fruit, sugar, milk, every thing is attacked by them in such myriads, that if they are not driven away incessantly by a person who has nothing else to do, to eat a meal is impossible. They are, however, caught on prepared paper, and other contrivances, with so much ease, and in such quantities, that were it not from negligence they could not abound in such incredible quantities. If I farmed in those countries, I think I should manure four or five acres every year with dead flies. Two other articles of culture in this climate, which deserve to be mentioned, though too inconsiderable to be a national object, are capers in Provence, and oranges at Hieres. The latter plant is so tender, that this is supposed to be the only part of France in which it will thrive in the open air. The whole of Rouffillon is to the south of this, yet none are to be found there. I went to Hieres to view them, and it was with pain I found

found them almost, without exception, so damaged by the frost, in the winter of 1788, as to be cut down, some to the ground, and others to the main stem. Vast numbers of olives were in the same situation throughout the whole olive-district, and abundance of them absolutely killed. Thus we find, that, in the most southerly part of France, and even in the most sheltered and secure situations, such severe frosts are known as to destroy the articles of common cultivation.

In the description I took of the climate of Provence, from Mons. le President, Baron de la Tour d'Aigues, he informed me, that hail, in some years, does not break glass; but it was mentioned as an extraordinary thing. The only seasons in which is to be expected rain with any degree of certainty, are the equinoxes, when it comes violently for a time. No dependence for a single drop in June, July, or August, and the quantity always very small; which three months, and not the winter ones, are the pinching season for all great cattle. Sometimes not a drop falls for six months together*. They have white frosts in March, and sometimes in April. The great heats are never till the 15th of July nor after the 15th of September. Harvest begins June 24th, and ends July 15th,—and Michaelmas is the middle of the vintage. In many years no snow is to be seen, and the frosts not severe. The spring is the worst season in the year, because the *vent de bize*, the *mæstrale* of the Italians, is terrible, and sufficient, in the mountains, to blow a man off his horse; it is also dangerous to the health, from the sun, at the same time, being both high and powerful. But in December, January, and February, the weather is truly charming, with the *bize* very rarely, but not always free from it; for, on the 3d of January 1786, there was so furious a *mæstrale*, with snow, that flocks were driven four or five leagues from their pastures; numbers of travellers, shepherds, sheep and asses in the Crau perished. Five shepherds were conducting eight hundred sheep to the butcheries at Marseilles, three of whom, and almost all the sheep, perished †. To make a residence in these provinces agreeable, a man should also avoid the great summer heats. For during the last week in July, and some days in August, I experienced such a heat at Carcassonne, Mirepoix, Pamiers, &c. as rendered the least exertion, in the middle of the day, oppressive: it exceeded any thing I felt in Spain. It was impossible to support a room that was light. No comfort but in darkness; and even there, rest was impossible from myriads of flies ‡. It is true, such heats are not of long duration; if they were so,

* A writer, who has been criticised for this assertion, was therefore right---“Telle est la position des provinces du midi on l'on reste souvent, six mois entiers, sans voir tomber une seule goutte d'eau.” *Corps complet d'Agri.* tom. 8. p. 56.

† *Traité de l'Olivier, par M. Couture.* 2 tom. 8vo. Aix, 1786. tom. 1. p. 79.

‡ I have been much surpris'd, that the late learned Mr. Harmer should think it odd to find, by writers who treated of southern climates, that driving away flies was an object of importance. Had he been with me in Spain and in Languedoc, in July and August, he would have been very far from thinking there was any thing odd in it. *Observ. on divers passages of scripture,* vol. 4. p. 159.

nobody, able to quit the country, would reside in it. These climates are disagreeable in spring and summer, and delicious in winter only. In the Bourbonnois, Limosin, and Touraine; there is no *vent de bise*. On the mountains above Tour d'Aigues, are chiefly found lavender—thymus—cistus rosea—cistus albidus—soralia bitumina—buxus sempervirens—quercus ilex—pinus montana—rosmarinus officinalis—rhamnus cathartica—genista montis ventosa—genista hispanica—juniperus phœnicia—satureja montana—bromus sylvatica, &c. In the stubbles of all the olive-district, and in every waste spot are found centaurea calycitropa—centaurea solstitialis,—also the eryngium campestrum, and the eryngium amethystinum:—they have sown in Provence, the datura stramonium, which is now habituated to the country. In the mountains, from Cavalero to Frejus, and also in that of Estrelles, the lentiscus—myrtus—arbutus—lavendera—cistus—and laurustinus.

Upon a general view of the climate of France, and upon comparing it with that of countries, not so much favoured apparently by nature, I may remark, that the principal superiority of it arises from adapting so large a portion of the kingdom to the culture of the vine; yet this noble plant is most unaccountably decried by abundance of writers, and especially by French ones, though the farmer is enabled to draw as extensive a profit from poor and otherwise barren, and even almost perpendicular rocks, as from the richest vales.—Hence immense tracks of land may be ranked in France among the most valuable, which in our climate would be absolutely waste, or at least applied to no better use than warrens or sheep walks. This is the great superiority which climate gives to that kingdom over England:—of its nature and extent, I shall treat fully under another head.

The object of the next importance is peculiar to the olive and maiz districts, and consists in the power of having, from the nature of the climate, two crops a-year on vast tracks of their arable land; an early harvest, and the command of plants, which will not thrive equally well in more northern climates, give them this invaluable advantage. We see wheat stubbles left in England, from the middle of August, to yield a few shillings by sheep, which, in a hotter climate, would afford a second crop, yielding food for man, such as millet, the fifty day maiz (the cinquantina of the Italians) &c.; or prove a better season for turnips, cabbages, &c. than the common season for them here. In Dauphiné, I saw buck-wheat in full blossom the 23d of August, that had been sown after wheat. I do no more than name it here, since, in another place, it must be examined more particularly. Mulberries might in France be an object of far greater importance than they are at present, and yet the spring frosts are fatal impediments to the culture: that this plant must be considered for all important purposes, as adapted only to southern climates, appears from this, that Tours is the only place I know in France, north of the maiz climate, where they are cultivated

cultivated for silk with any success: considerable experiments have been made (as I shall shew in the proper place) for introducing them into Normandy and elsewhere, but with no success; and the force of this observation is doubled, by the following fact—that they succeed much better in the olive climate than in any other part of the kingdom. But that they might be greatly extended, cannot for a moment be doubted. In going south, we did not meet with them till we came to Causade, near Montauban. In returning north, we saw them at Auch only—a few at Aguilon, planted by the duke—the promenade, at Poitiers, planted by the intendant—and another at Verteul, by the duke d’Anville; all which are experiments that have not been copied, except at Auch. But at Tours there is a small district of them. In another direction, they are not met with after Moulins, and there very few. Maiz is an object of much greater consequence than mulberries; when I give the courses of the French crops, it will be found, that the only good husbandry in the kingdom (some small and very rich districts excepted) arises from the possession and management of this plant. Where there is no maiz, there are fallows; and where there are fallows, the people starve for want. For the inhabitants of a country to live upon that plant, which is the preparation for wheat, and at the same time to keep their cattle fat upon the leaves of it, is to possess a treasure, for which they are indebted to their climate. The quantity of all the common sorts of fruits, which, through the greater part of France, is such as to form a considerable object in the subsistence of the great mass of the people, is a point of more consequence than appears at first sight. To balance these favourable circumstances, other countries, not so happily situated (especially England) have advantages of an opposite nature, which are very material in the practice of their agriculture: that humidity of atmosphere, which the French provinces north of vines enjoy—which England has in a greater degree, and Ireland still more, and which is better marked by the hygrometer than by the rain gage, is of singular importance in the maintenance of cattle by pasturage, and in adapting the courses of crops to their support. Artificial grasses, turnips, cabbages, potatoes, &c. thrive best in a humid climate. It would take up too much room here fully to explain this; to mention it will be sufficient for those who have reflected on similar subjects. From a due attention to all the various circumstances that affect this question, which, relatively to agriculture, is the best climate, that of France, or that of England?—I have no hesitation in giving the preference to France. I have often heard, in conversation, the contrary asserted, and with some appearance of reason—but I believe the opinion has arisen more from considering the actual state of husbandry in the two countries, than the distinct properties of the two climates. We make a very good use of our’s; but the French are, in this respect, in their infancy, through more than half the kingdom.

C H A P. IV.

On the Produce of Corn, the Rent, and the Price of Land in France.

IN England, we have not the advantage of one uniform measure of land; there are three or four different acres in common use: but the general statute measure of the realm has gained ground rapidly of late years, so that the greater part of the counties have rid themselves of the pest of customary measure; and where this beneficial effect has not taken place, yet almost every man one can converse with, knows the proportion their own measure bears to the statute, which greatly facilitates all agricultural enquiries in this kingdom. In Ireland, the uniformity is still greater; for they have only the Irish and the Conyngnam measure, except in a very few districts that have adopted the English statute acre. In the measure of corn also, we have only the variations of the bushel to guard against; for the measure is every where a bushel, and the difference of the contents, not much through the greater part of the kingdom; add to this, that the name and the contents of the statute capacity of eight gallons, is every where understood; and that the gallon itself is of the same contents. In Ireland, the statute barrel of four bushels takes place universally; but in France, the infinite perplexity of the measures exceeds all comprehension. They differ not only in every province, but in every district, and almost in every town; and these tormenting variations are found equally in the denominations and contents of the measures of land and corn. To these sources of confusion, is added the general ignorance of the peasantry, who know nothing of the Paris arpent, or the Paris septier, the most commonly received measure of the kingdom. For the knowledge of a French farmer is limited absolutely to his farm and his market; he never looks into a newspaper or a magazine, where the difference of the measures of the kingdom would probably strike his attention, many times in his life. And if he were rather better instructed, yet, as there are two national measures of land, they would occasion a confusion of which we can form no judgment: the arpent de Paris, and the arpent de France, are both legal and common measures; notwithstanding which, they are of very different contents; and, what is strange to say, are sometimes confounded by French writers on agriculture, as I shall shew in more instances than one—even by societies in their public memoirs. The denominations of French measure, as the reader will see, are almost infinite, and without any common standard to which they can be referred: the number of square feet in the contents is the only rule to adhere to: yet the foot itself varies, and contains, in some provinces, as Lo-

raine,

raine, but ten inches and a fraction. Even the valuation of money itself there failed me; the measure of corn and land peculiar, and the *livre* and *sol* no longer of the same value as in the rest of France. The denominations of bushel and acre pervade all England; and the mere denomination leads every where towards proportioning the contents to the common standards; but in France, they have no common denomination: if you travel seventy miles from Paris, in some directions, you hear no more of the *septier*, or the *arpent*: you find the *mine* of land, even within thirty miles of the capital,—and a little farther, you will be bewildered with *franchars* of corn, and *manco*s of land. The only clue tolerably general, that can be in the least relied upon, is drawn from the quantity of seed sown: the measure of wheat or rye, and of land also, hath often in France the same denomination, as *septier*, *septeree*; *quartier*, *quarteree*; *manco* of corn and of land: *boiseau*, *boiselee*, &c.—These generally imply, that the measure of corn is the quantity of seed sown on the same denomination of land. But I have found variations even in this; so that great caution is necessary before a traveller can note his information. When to this confusion of measures is added the almost universal ignorance of the people in the provinces, who often know nothing of their own measures, and give information totally erroneous, as I have found, from suspecting their authority, by its militating with the idea I formed from the eye, and from applying for certainty to land-surveyors (*arpenteurs*), the reader will be ready to credit me in assuring him, that the labour, perplexity, and vexation, which the present chapter has given me, both in travelling and in writing, has much exceeded any thing I could have conceived before I went abroad; and which no person can believe to the extent of the truth, who has not been engaged under equal difficulties in similar pursuits. After all my labour, it would be a want of candour were I to offer the result thus given as correct. I am confident, that in several articles, and perhaps in more than I suspect, it is not so. I can only say, I think the material errors are not numerous; and that the reader will, in such a labyrinth of difficulties, look rather for the information that is practically to be given, than for that ideal accuracy which is impossible for any individual, much less for a foreigner to attain. The French writers, I have consulted, gave me little or no assistance, where I had so much reason to expect it. *Monsr. Paucton's* tables of the measures of land and corn, which contain those of some of the provinces, would lead us astray as often as they would guide us. By going through the country, I have found, from five to ten different measures in a province, where he has noted only one—I suppose the legal one of the capital cities.—It is surprising to read French books of agriculture, descriptive of some provinces in France, yet without an explanation of the contents of the measures named repeatedly in those works. Such omissions are totally inexcusable; for they
render

render books useless, not to foreigners only, but to most of their own countrymen. But while accuracy is so difficult, not to say impossible, to be acquired under such circumstances, it is some satisfaction to consider, that the reader will here find the very interesting parts of the produce, rental, and price of land in that vast empire, ascertained upon a larger basis of enquiry, than can be found in any book hitherto offered to the public; my library abounds more with French georgical authors, as well as those branches of political œconomy which tend to elucidate such questions, than any other I have had the opportunity to examine; yet these books contain little else beside conjectures, loose and general ideas, and calculations without data, particularly in giving the gross produce of the whole kingdom. In a multitude of guesses some must, in the nature of chances, approximate the truth; but such have little more merit, and no more authority, than the wildest efforts of imagination; for inquiries of this kind are not to be made in the bureaus of great cities; books and papers will not afford the information: a man must travel through the country, or must always remain ignorant, though surrounded by ten thousand volumes. Neither is it travelling for other pursuits that will allow this knowledge to be gained; nor moving in public *voitures*, nor flying with rapidity from town to town; nor is it easy for one or two men, or even three to effect it; many should be employed for that purpose, and paid by government; for assuredly the object is of great national importance, particularly in the imposing of taxes; a business in which all the legislators that have yet arisen have gone so blindly to work, that their efforts in every country, and in none more than in France, cannot but excite a contempt of their ignorance and detestation of their injustice. To expect that men will be thus appointed and employed, and, above all, well chosen for the business, would be childish; governments are otherwise employed in every country. While, therefore, from the public nothing is to be expected, the private efforts of individuals are surely not devoid of merit; who, amidst great disadvantages, undertake a work of unquestionable utility.

DISTRICTS OF RICH LOAM.

Picardy.

This province has been, by so many French writers, extolled for its good and profitable cultivation, that I crossed it with my attention every where awake to discover such merit. I have already observed, in speaking of soils, that this is usually very good; the exceptions, where the under stratum of chalk rises too near the surface, as is the case about Berney, and more still at Flixcourt, are not of great extent, compared with the rich deep friable loams on a calcareous bottom. The nature of the country demands that I should consider it

as one from Calais to the woods of Chantilly, where a poor country begins; and, though in the neighbourhood of Paris, it again becomes good, yet we should consider it separately. From Calais to Bolougne and Montreuil the good land lets at 24 liv. the journal or arpent of Paris, and the inferior at 12 liv.; the first is 11. 5s. per English acre *, which is a higher rent than similar land would produce in England, if rent only were considered; but our heavy tythes and poor rates being added do occasion nearly an equality. Near Berney the soil, and with it the rent, declines, rising from 8 to 12 liv. the arpent. It would be useless to add always the proportion per English acre; I just observed, that 24 liv. per arpent equals 25s. per acre; 12 liv. are palpably the half, and 8 liv. two-thirds of that. It rises to 24 liv. again at Ally-le-haut Clochers, where they reckon their wheat crops at 5½ louis, when corn sells high, this is 20 bushels per acre; and spring corn the same, which, on such land, is a miserable produce. At Flixcourt the chalk rises to the surface, and the rents are so low as 2 liv. to 5 liv. which would be much under the value, if they knew what to do with it, yet the country is not without sainfoin. At Picquigny rent regains the 24 liv. but at Hebecourt and Breteuil not more than 15 or 16 liv.; here they value wheat at 60 liv. the arpent, and spring corn at 30 liv. Near Clermont the land is good and the rent high, and from thence to Creil by Liancourt is a vale of exceedingly rich loam. The rent from Calais to Clermont is pretty regular, the best land 24 liv. the middling 15 liv. and the chalks 4 liv. to 8 liv. The produce of the first is about 24 bushels per acre, and of the spring corn 22. Landed property, upon an average, through Picardy pays 3 per cent.; but if bought with judgment and attention 3½, and in some cases 4. On the other hand, I was told that some estates did not return more than 2½, but this is rare. They have in general in France a very false idea of the good husbandry of this province: Monsr. Turgot was not free from the error, when he named it in the same breath with Flanders †.

Isle of France.

In the country about Arpajon rents vary from 15 to 24 liv. and some capital arable lands are at 30 liv.; but here we enter upon a new measure of land, for the arpent of the Gatinois is 100 perch of 20 feet, or 40,000 feet, 24 liv. may be taken as the medium; in general in the Gatinois the good land is at 20 liv. and the ordinary at 10 liv.; at 20 liv. it is 16s. 9d. per acre. The product of wheat is stated at six septiers of Paris, of 240 lb. per arpent, which, if we attend to the French pound, is to the English as 1,000 to 0,9264, and also as to measure equals twenty-three bushels per acre, spring corn thirty bushels. Within two leagues of Estampes there is much sand, the rent of which is 3 liv. 10s. and

* Wherever acre, quarter, bushel, gallon, &c. are named, English measure is implied.

† *Lettre sur les Graines*, p. 43.

of measure now occur at almost every town. At St. Quintin they reckon by the septier of land being eighty verge of twenty-four feet, 46,080 feet; this space sells for 500 to 600 liv. or 20l. 1s. 0½d. What throws great perplexity into these inquiries here, is the payment or the reckoning of rent by corn. Thus they pay here four to seven septiers of wheat, each 60 lb. and four of them making a sack, as rent for each septier of land. Suppose wheat, as at present, 20 liv. the sack, it is 5 liv. the septier, and if six are paid it is 30 liv. the septier. In some cases, but not all, this rent frees the land for the three years course of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, spring corn; in which case the 30 liv. become 10 liv. At La Belle Angloise the rent is three septiers of wheat per septier of land. The product twelve septiers on bad land, and twenty on good. On a farm of eight hundred septiers thirty-five horses are kept; on another, of four hundred septiers, there are twenty. This evidently makes the measure about an arpent, as well as the price noted above, and agrees also with the produce; hence the St. Quintin measure continues here of 46,080 feet,—but the septier of wheat cannot be the quantity of seed for a septier of land, which is uncommon. From hence to Cambrai, the septier of land produces, on an average, six sacks of wheat, worth now 22 liv. the sack. And the rent is five septiers of both sorts of corn; this appears to be five septiers of wheat, or at 5½ or 27½ liv. and five of oats, which, at 10 sols the Paris boiseau, the present, price is 1 liv. 7s. the septier, or for five 6 liv. 15s. in all 34 liv. five for three years, which is 11 liv. 8s. per annum; a rent very inadequate to the goodness of the soil and its product.

Flanders.

In the way from Cambrai to Valenciennes, enter this celebrated province, which, among the French themselves, has the reputation of being the best cultivated in the kingdom. The difficulties, however, of gaining intelligence increased every step, for not one farmer in twenty speaks French; and all the way to Valenciennes, the confusion of measures, both of land and corn, makes the utmost circumspection necessary. The manco of land is sown with the manco of seed wheat, which weighs 80lb. being one-third of a Paris septier; the present price is 7 liv. 10s.—and of a sack, 22 liv. 10s. If they sow as we do, which, from their earliness, and the appearance of the young plant, I believe they do, this makes the manco two-thirds of an acre, which agrees very well with the measure I took by my eye of a piece, which I was informed contained six mancos of land, the rent, I was informed, was five to seven mancos of the corn produced, or the value per manco of land, six will be 480lb. of wheat, or two sacks 45 liv.; add 2 sacks of oats at 5½ liv. it is 56 liv. for three years, or 18 liv. rent per manco, which agrees well enough with the quality of the soil, and other circumstances of the country; it is 23s. 7½d. per acre. For the best land, the rent rises to eight manco of produce, this makes 1l. 11s. 6d. Between Bou-

chaine

chaine and Valenciennes, end the open fields, which have travelled with me, more or less, all the way from Orleans. After Valenciennes, the country is inclosed; here also is a line of division in another respect. The farms in the open country are generally large; but in the rich deep low vale of Flanders, they are small, and much in the hands of little proprietors. A fourth distinction also is in the husbandry; from Orleans, nearly to Valenciennes, the course is every where similar,—1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, spring corn. But in Flanders the land is cropped every year. All these circumstances are sufficient to prove, that near Bouchaine is the agricultural division between French and Flemish husbandry; and it is to be noted, because the fact is curious, yielding much food to those political reflections, which arise in the mind on the contemplation of different governments, that Bouchaine stands but a few miles on the Austrian side of the old frontier of the kingdom. Hence the line of division, formed by these four agricultural circumstances mentioned above, and being a real division between good and bad husbandry, are found pretty exactly to agree with the ancient line of separation of the two states of France and Flanders. The conquests of the French, as every one knows, pushed their present dominion much further, but this does not obliterate the old divisions; and it is most curious to see, that the merit of husbandry forms, to this day, a boundary that answers not to the political limits of the present period, but to ancient ones, forming a line distinctly traced between the despotism of France, which depressed agriculture, and the free government of the Burgundian provinces, which cherished and protected it. The distinction certainly is not owing to soil, for there can hardly be a finer than much the greater part of the vast and fertile plain, which reaches, with scarcely any interruption, from Flanders nearly to Orleans, a deep mellow friable loam, on a chalk or marl bottom, capable of being applied in all the principles of the Flemish husbandry, but lying under the unprofitable neglect of open fields, and disgraced with the execrable system of fallowing, never found with any degree of regularity, but to the banishment of adequate product, profit, and improvement. Passing Valenciennes, the flax lands of St. Amand present themselves: they speak of them, on the spot, as being the most celebrated in Europe,—and the accounts I received at several towns justified the report; but this subject being distinctly treated, I have only to observe, that a quartier of arable land, containing one hundred verge of twenty feet, or 40,000 feet, sells at 1350 liv. equal to 56l. 10s. 6d. and the rent is 36 liv. for the farm all round per quartier, or 11. 9s. 9d.—Another account I received, made the average rent of farms 30 liv. or 11. 6s. 3½d. and the price 1200 liv. (50l. 4s. 6d). The product of wheat twenty-five to thirty-six measures per quartier, each 50lb. Thirty such measures are equal (as the pound here is nearly the same as the English) to twenty-four bushels. Not a great

great produce; but the land is better adapted to flax, than it is to wheat. At Orchies, repeating my enquiries, find, that land is measured by the centier, a square of one hundred feet, four of which make a quartier, and four quartiers a bonier. This is therefore the same measure as at St. Amand's. Rent in common 24 liv. the quartier, equal to 11. 1s. but some at 30 liv. or 11. 5s. 1d. And the price of land 1200 liv. the quartier, equal to 50l. 6s. Their measure of wheat is the boifeau of 36 to 40lb. four of which make a razier or coup; they sow a boifeau of 40 lb. on a centier of land:—this, proportioned to English measure, is 153 lb. to the acre, or about 2½ bushels. They seed, therefore, nearly as we do. On so fertile a soil, they probably would not sow so much, but for the circumstance of all their crops succeeding some other, which will often necessarily make their season late. In the vicinity of Lille, rents are 36 liv. the quartier, or 11. 10s. 2½d. Some not more than 24 liv. (11. 1s. 1d.) The price 1200 liv. (50l. 6s.) To Bailleul, rent 24 liv. and price 3120 liv. the bonier, or 780 the quartier, or 32l. 13s. 3d. To Montcassel, soil and husbandry both decline; the latter circumstance is remarkable. That excellent management I have admired so much in this province on the richest soils, should not extend, with proper variations, to the poorer, seems to indicate, that the general fact of the whole kingdom of France, extends, in some measure, even hither. Is the same fact found in the Austrian Flanders?—I shall always consider myself as ignorant in husbandry, till I have well viewed these provinces. In this line, from Lille to Montcassel, there is a great deal of land, which does not let for more than 12 to 15 liv. the quartier, or 11s. 3½d.—To Berg I was informed, that custom has substituted a measure under the same denomination but one-fifth larger than what we have hitherto been guided by. Land sells at 900 liv. or 30l. 2s. 8½d.—rent 26 florins of 25*f.* or 11. 7s. 7½d.—Here finished the notes of this journey; and as, in the following, I did not pass into Flanders, I shall make one or two observations appropriated to that province. In the following notes, the rent and the price were both minuted.

Price	—	Rent
1350 liv.	—	36 liv.
1200	—	30
1200	—	30
1200	—	36
780	—	24
5730	—	156

This proportion is scarcely 2½ per cent. It is then to be considered, that the landlord has his own taxes to pay out of this, when, if he states his account, he probably will not receive more than two per cent. on his capital. This I attribute to the number of small properties, and the consequent passion of the people to become proprietors. They are induced to give more for land than it is worth,
and

and thus raise the price of that of all the country. The whole province is full of rich manufacturing and commercial towns; many persons in these are always ready to invest their savings in land, and to retire to the cultivation of it, circumstances which ought necessarily to have the effect of raising the price beyond the proportion of the rent. In the minutes of produce, there does not appear so great a superiority over other provinces, as the soil and excellent husbandry seem to imply; but it is to be remembered, that in other parts of the kingdom, a year's fallow, two years rent, and all the dung of the farm go for wheat, which makes a moderate crop in Flanders yield more net profit to the farmer, than three larger crops in Picardy, or the Pays de Beauce, afford to the cultivators of those districts. Wheat is not here the only dependence; flax and cole-seed excel it: and beans, carrots, turnips, and a variety of products, receive the farmer's attention, sufficiently to cover the whole country with cultivation every year: and where this is not the case, assuredly the products generally taken, and with them the net profit, will be much inferior. The second journey began in the same rich district, by passing from Calais to St. Omers.

Picardy.

At Recouffe, the price of the poorest land is 200 to 300 liv. the arpent of one hundred perch, of eighteen feet, or 12l. 19s. 9d.; but the best rises to 1000 liv. or 51l. 19s. 1d. and such lets at 30 liv.—In general rents are 15 to 20 liv. equal to 18s. 2d. the price proportioned. A good crop of wheat, on good land, rises to seven septiers per arpent, and is to be considered as extraordinary; common crops four one-half septiers, or twenty-three bushels. Beans yield eight septiers, or forty-one bushels; and oats produce eight to ten. It is plain, that this vicinity, on the borders of Artois, partakes more of that province than the miserable fallowing of Picardy.

Artois.

To St. Omers, price 800 liv. in the vale, and 600 liv. on the hills; rents in the vale 15 to 18 liv.—and on the hills 12 liv.—Oats yield sixteen raziers, each 120lb. of wheat. Near Aire, the price of the best land 1500 liv.; rent 30 liv. and some even to 36 liv. But much sold at 600 liv. and from that price to 1000 liv. Lilliers to Bethune, an Artois measure of good wheat is worth 200 liv. but this is not general. To Douvens, price 600 liv.; and rent 12 liv.—Here we re-enter

Picardy.

At Beauval, the price per journal is 700 liv. (25l. 19s.) Good wheat produces ten raziers of 180lb. (thirty-one bushels). In passing from Poix to Aumale, the chalk land sells at 240 liv. (12l. 9s. 4d.) Better lands 500 liv. (25l. 19s. 6d.) and the rent 16 liv. (16s. 7½d.)

Normandy.

Normandy.

Near Aumale enter this province, where the measure of land is the acre of an hundred and sixty perch, of twenty feet, or 64,000 feet. Arable here sells at 800 liv. (21l.); rent, 24 liv. to 30 liv. (14s. 10½d.) Wheat produces to the value of 100 liv. to 120 liv. (2l. 12s. 10d.) Oats, 60 liv. to 70 liv. (1l. 12s. 3d.) In passing from Neufchatel to Rouen, price of good arable, 700 to 800 liv. (19l. 13s. 8d.) Open fields, 400 liv. (10l. 10s.) About Rouen, much at 40 liv. (1l. 1s.) and price 1200 liv. (31l. 10s.) Estates in Normandy, pay 3 per cent.—From Rouen cross the Pays de Caux to Havre. At Yvetot, price 1000 liv. (26l. 5s.) and rent 35 to 40 liv. (19s. 7½d.) At La Botte, rents rise from 30 to 50 liv. (1l. 1s.) But at Havre, where I had opportunities of being very well informed, I understood that the whole Pays de Caux, on an average, let at 50 liv. (1l. 4s. 3d.) that the taxes deducted 10 liv. (5s. 3d.); and that the net rent was, to the landlord, 40 liv. (1l. 1s.) the price 1200 liv. (31l. 10s.) consequently, making about 2½ per cent. The produce of wheat, upon these noble soils, is not more than thirty to forty boisseau, of 50lb. per acre (thirty is sixteen bushel) and forty-five or fifty a large crop. Of Oats, they get fifty such boisseau. Shameful products! This for the great mass of the country, here and there are to be found crops something better. I must, upon this, observe, that the whole Pays de Caux is a manufacturing country; the properties usually small; and that farming is but a secondary pursuit to the cotton fabric, which spreads over the whole of it. Wherever this is the case, we may take for granted, that land sells much above its value; for there is a competition to get it, that arises from views distinct from the produce which it is expected to yield. And we may also be equally assured that, in such cases, the soil is badly cultivated, and produces little, on comparison with what mere farmers would make it do. There wants no inquiries into products in the Pays de Caux; the appearance of most I saw was miserable, and such as proved the land to be in an execrable system of management; yet was this the country to which several gentlemen at Paris referred me for examining the immense benefits to agriculture, from manufactures spreading over a whole country, but of this question more in another place. I will only observe here, that wherever this effect takes place every possible effort should be applied to convert the whole country to grass, in which state even manufactures can hardly hurt it; and let it always be kept in mind, that it is not the price, but the product of land, that a politician should regard. Crossing the Seine at Havre, and passing from Honfleur to Pont au de Mer, rents are from 20 to 40 liv. (13s. 1½d.) Enter here the rich pasturages, or grazing lands, of the Pays d'Auge, of which the valley of Corbon is the most famous, and classes with the finest in the world; the best here sell at 2000 to 3000 liv. (54l. 13s. 9d.); let at 70 to 100 liv. (1l. 17s. 2½d.); the price of others, not equally good

good, 1200 liv. (26l. 5s.) and to 1500 liv. (32l. 16s. 3d.); on the hill sides there are some at the same price of 1500 liv. and that let at 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10½d.); woods here sell at not more than 600 liv. (13l. 2s. 6d.) Examine a pasture, that was sold at 3000 liv. (65l. 12s. 6d.), in the way from Lisieux to Caen. In the valley of Corbon, reckoned to contain the richest pasturages of Normandy, they have been sold so high as 4000 liv. (87l. 10s.), which were rented at 200 liv. (4l. 7s. 6d.), these prices of the acre, measured by the perch of twenty-two feet: some confusion, however, is always found in reports, owing to their using also the perch of twenty-four feet, which gives 92,160 feet in an acre; if attention is not paid to this variety of the Norman acres, errors may be the consequence. Rent of the arable land, for some miles from Lisieux, 30 liv. to 50 liv. (17s. 6d.) Caen to Falaise, rent 20 liv. to 40 liv. average 25 liv. (10s. 11½d.). To Argentan rent 35 liv. (15s. 2d.); they sow five boisseau of wheat, each 40lb. equal to 110lb. English per acre, and they reap fifty such (18 bushels) an acre. Estates pay four per cent. being now, 1788, at 24 years purchase. Woods in general through Normandy yield 20 liv. but these, I believe, are measured by the national, and not by the provincial measure. About Isigny the salt marshes let at 100 liv. (2l. 3s. 9d.); arable 50 to 60 liv. (1l. 4s. 3½d.). And to Carentan the marshes are 40 liv. the verge of 40 perch, of 24 feet, (2l. 18s. 4d.), some so high as 60 liv. (4l. 7s. 6d.) At that place rent 40 to 50 liv. (3l. 5s. 7½d.), but much at 30 to 40 liv. (2l. 11s. ½d.) If a farm in this vicinity costs 10,000 liv. it will commonly let at 400 liv.; the price of arable 700 liv. (30l. 12s. 6d.) At Nonant come again to the common Norman acre, arable sells at 800 liv. (17l. 10s.) The rent of which is 40 liv. (17s. 6d.); but in general the price is 500 to 600 liv. (12l. 7½d.); pasturage sells at 1200 to 1500 liv. (29l. 10s. 7½d.) Again entering this great province from Maine at Lessiniolle wheat produces 20 to 40 boisseau of 60 lb. (16½ bushels.) In the vicinity of Bernay, there is some of the finest arable land to be seen in the world, which lets at the low rent of 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10½d.) The produce of wheat on it 250 to 300 gerbs of six per boisseau of 90lb. (37 bushels); but not so high on an average. At Brionne, the rent of fine arable is 60 liv. (1l. 6s. 3d.) And here also wheat has yielded so high as 45 to 50 boisseau, which equals the Bernay crops. It is to be noted, that these rents are those of farms on an average of all their lands, some of which are not equal to those noble soils, which hardly have an equal. Near Louviers, the rich arable vale lets at 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10d.) to 80 liv. (1l. 15s.) Passing the poor lands to Rouen, and by the chalk hills to Vernon, cross the country to La Roche Guyon, where we come once more to the arpent de Paris; good arable sells at 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 4d.) but in general, at 400 liv. the rent 20 liv. (1l. 9½d.) and estates pay in common 3 to 3½ per cent. In the rich plain of Magny, the rent is 20 liv. and the product of wheat,

on the best land, rises, in a good year, to eight septiers of 240 lb. but in common six (thirty-one bushels) on good land. Return to Rouen, and again cross the Pays de Caux to Dieppe, having my former intelligence confirmed in every particular concerning the rent and price of land in that celebrated district. And as I here quit Normandy, I may, in general, observe, on that noble territory, which is considerable enough for a kingdom, rather than a province, that its character, for husbandry, is very much mistaken in France: before I viewed Normandy, I heard it represented as a very finely cultivated province. Nothing too great can be said of the rich pasturages which are applied in fattening bullocks to the highest advantage, except in the article of the breed of the sheep that are found amongst the cattle. They ought to be large, and bearing long combing wool; except this point, their herbage, as they call them, are very well managed, and no want of capital appearing among them. But as to arable land, I did not see a well cultivated acre in the whole province. You every where find either a dead and useless fallow, or else the fields so neglected, run out, and covered with weeds, that there can be no crop proportioned to the soil. A finer soil, than this province in general possesses, can hardly be seen, and would yield a very different product from what is found on it at present. The best lands, says Mons. Paucton *, in Normandy, yield but a little above six fold; the less good, or middling, but five, and the greatest part only four fold.

Isle of France.

In my third journey, I entered ground new to me, in passing from Paris to Guignes. About that place rents are 15 to 20 liv. the arpent de Paris (18s. 3d.) At Nangis, the best arable is 15 liv. (15s. 8½d.); middling 12 liv. and the worst 8 liv. Wheat produces, upon the best, five septiers, or twenty-five bushels in a good year; that of the middling land four septiers; and of the worst three. From Columiers to Meaux rent 20 liv. (1l. 9½d.) At that district, and Neufmoutier, they measure by the perch, of twenty-two feet, or the arpent de la France. Rent 40 liv. (1l. 8s.) for great tracks together, and for small ones 50 liv. and even to 60 liv. (2l. 2s.): and I heard that some pieces have reached 100 liv. (3l. 10s.) the highest rent I have heard of in France for arable land; the soil, however, is amongst the finest to be met with in the world. Such of these soils, as let commonly at 40 liv. sell for 15 or 1600 liv. (54l. 4s. 11½d.) In regard to products, wheat, on the best land, gives ten septiers, (35 bushels), and fifteen are known † (52½ bushels). But the common produce is seven, tythe deducted (24½ bushels), much below what it ought to be on this land, which in Eng-

* *Metrologie.* 4to. 1780. p. 610. The passage is a strong confirmation of my notes.

† It is asserted, that on the farm of Puisieux, near Meaux, M. Bernier, farmer, reaped twenty-two two-fifths septiers, or above seventy bushels. *Recherches sur la Houille d'Engrais.* t. 2. p. 5.

land,

land, I am confident, would not give less than 32 bushels on an average, without any fallowing. I estimate the crops I viewed on the farm of Mons. Gibert at 36 bushels an acre on an average. But as to the spring corn all is, soil considered, miserable. I saw none that would reach forty bushels an acre; it ought, in a good course of crops, to produce eighty.—As here terminate my notes on this noble district of rich loam, the finest plain in Europe, Lombardy only excepted, for all the level of Austrian Flanders and Holland are parts of it, I shall draw, into one view, the various minutes of rent, price, and product of wheat—it is useless to name spring corn, for it is every where really contemptible, except in Flanders, and there the quantity cultivated is not considerable.

Average *,—Rent, 11. 3s. 10d. Price, 29l. 13s. 3d. Product of wheat, 23½ bush.

The average of twenty-six articles, where both rent and price are noted, is, rent, 11. 1s. 5d. price, 31l. 5s.

PLAIN OF THE GARONNE.

This district, though of no such extent as the former, is one of the richest in the world. The soil is very fine, but not equal, I am inclined to think, to the deep loams of Bernay, Meaux, and Flanders. In climate, however, it far exceeds the northern territory. This is so superior, that the products of every kind are much more exuberant, and more valuable, even on inferior soils; and the tracks which, in the north of France, would be under sheep-walk or wood, are here covered with vines, that yield as rich crops as the most fertile spots of the vales themselves. As I treat of that branch of culture in a separate chapter, no notice is taken of it in this; a point essential for the reader to have in his contemplation, as he examines the sums here minuted.

Quercy.

The measure of land is the cartonat, which contains 19,100 feet. In passing from Creiffensac to Souillac, meadow lets at 30 liv. (2l. 12s. 6d.); the price of arable 400 liv. (35l.) and the rent 10 liv. (17s. 6d.) Advancing to the Dordogne the cartonat changes its contents to 30,000 feet; rent of arable here 10 liv. (11s. 3d.) and some higher. At Pellecoy they reckon by the sesterée, which sells from 100 to 300 liv. but meadows in vallies up to 1200 liv. At Caussade the rent of a cartonat is a quartier of wheat, of 150 lb.; reckoning wheat at 20 liv. the septier of 240 lb. this is 12½ liv. (13s. 9d.) To Montauban, we heard of the arpent once more, though not the common measure of the country. That of an hundred perch, of twenty-two feet, sells from 800 to 1000 liv. (31l. 10s.) and the rent of such land is 35 to 40 liv. (11. 6s. 2½d.) At Pompinion, the price of ordinary land 400 liv. (14l. 8s.); but of rich 800 liv. (28l. 16s.) From

* The articles of 4l. 7s. 6d. and 80l. 4s. 2d. not included.

thence to Tolouse, I passed through the finest plain of wheat I have ever beheld, the space at many views very considerable, and promising to the eye to produce full five quarters English per acre on an average. From Tolouse to Nohe, an arpent 400 liv. (14l. 18s.) At Ourooze meadows 600 liv. the journal; some arable so low as 100 liv. In returning from the Pyrenees northwards, I entered this rich district again between Fleuran and Leitour, and here met with a new measure, the cuzan, which sells at 1000 to 1200 liv.—and there are that rise to 3000 liv. Near Leitour, the cuzan sells for 3200 liv. Towards Estafort, they measure land by the sack, being the quantity sown with a sack of wheat of 145 lb. good land to 600 liv. The vale from Estafort to Port de Leyrac, contains much admirable land. It sells at 3000 liv. the carterée. I was much perplexed to discover the contents of the carterée, and especially as they are not regular in the quantity of seed, sowing in some places two quartiers or sacks, each of 145 lb. and in others only 1½: I am however, from comparing the various circumstances with M. Paucton's measure of Agen, in this immediate vicinity, inclined to calculate the carterée at 70,000 feet, at that measure 3000 liv. is 72l. 5s. 9d. Wheat produces 33 sacks of 145 lb. on the best land, and in a good year, (40 bushels). We were shewn a field that had produced 48 sacks (57½ bushels). In this reduction, I attend to the weight of the country, which is here not *poid de marc*, but *poid de table*. In the vicinity of Agen, the common price is 2000 liv. (48l. 4s. 2d.) The product of wheat is 30 sacks (36 bushels.) Hemp yields ten quintals on the same carterée, at 40 liv. the quintal. Rye land, of which there is some on the hills, sells at 1000 liv. (24l. 2s. 1d.) At Port St. Marie, common price 2000 liv. (48l. 4s. 2d.) At Aguilon the price of the best land 4000 liv. (96l. 8s. 4d.) much at 3000 liv. (72l. 5s. 9d.) Wheat here yields twenty for one of the seed. I was shewn a small field, that was twice sold for 3000 liv. I stepped it carefully, and made it 3600 square yards, which ascertains the price per English acre to be (155l. 17s. 3¼d.); but it is close to the town, though never used for a garden. The same piece has often produced in wheat twenty sacks of 125 lb. this is forty-nine bushels. It is remarkable, that they sow but one-third of a sack on it, the produce being sixty for one. It is under a bushel an acre English. At Tonneins the price of a journal, which, by Mr. Paucton, is to the arpent as 0,9516 to 1,0000, is 1000 to 1200 liv. (80l. 4s. 2d.) To La Motte Landron, the very worst land in the country bears the price of 400 liv. the journal (20l. 6d.) In one stage farther we are plagued with a new measure, as it has been so often in this district, it is here 150 perch of 15 feet, or 33,750 feet. The general rate is 1000 liv. (50l.) and much rises to 1500 liv. (75l.) They sow this measure with a sack of 140 lb. of wheat, which is about 2¼ bushels: the product from 16 to 20 sacks (43 bushels). They plough one of these journals in a day with a pair of oxen. Advancing to-

ward

ward Langon, the poorest land is 500 liv. (25l.) In general from 1000 to 1500 liv. (62l. 10s.) They sow a sack per journal, and reap twenty. At Castres the price of a journal, of thirty toises by seven, is 300 liv. (56l. 15s. 7½d.) And passing Bourdeaux and the Garonne, in the way to Cubzac, we find the journal changed again; it is to the arpent of France as 0,6218 is to 1,0000; the price of arable 500 liv. (27l. 17s. 2d.) Wheat produces eight sacks of 180 lb. each (31 bushels.) They sow three-fourths of a sack. At Cavignac rich land sells at 1600 liv. (89l. 4s. 11½d.) but they have also some so bad as to be worth no more than 100 liv. (5l. 11s. 6½d.) From hence we enter another district, and it will not be improper to pause for a moment, and review the intelligence received in this region of uncommon fertility; premising, however, that the principal feature of the whole is vines, which do not come into the present enquiry, but add immensely to the products, rendering the inferior soils almost equal to the best.—Average,—Price, 51l. 10s. Product, 37 bushels*.

It is to be observed, that the reason why a money rent is so seldom minuted, arises from the land being generally at half produce, consequently no rent in money can be ascertained; but this is not the sole reason, it results also from small properties being very numerous in the vicinity of the Garonne, to which circumstance we must have recourse for explaining some of these prices. Land always sells beyond its value where there is much competition for small parcels of it, as we have found in other districts, and the fact will often occur. From the prices at which these lands sell, their prodigious fertility may be imagined. At Aguilon I was assured, that they have many fields that have produced what I calculated on the spot to be equal to 9l. sterling per acre in wheat, and 15l. in hemp, yielding no other crop but those valuable ones in the rotation, 1, hemp; 2, wheat. If the average of the twelve minutes from Port de Leyrac to Castres be taken, it amounts to 70l. an acre, for a line of between fifty and sixty miles. I am inclined to think that the richest ride and most flourishing country in France, for the eye of a traveller to command, as he keeps the great road, is that from Bourdeaux to Montauban and Toulouse. Parting from the noble city of Bourdeaux, equalled by very few in the world for commerce and beauty, the magnificent river Garonne, alive with inland trade; one of the most fertile vales in Europe; the hills covered with the most productive vineyards to be met with perhaps in the world; the towns frequent and opulent; the whole country an incessant village, and all gilt and invigorated by a genial sun. He who has not viewed this animated scenery has not seen the finest thing in France. Flanders, with all its fertility of soil, has the foggy climate of the N. and yields a *coup d'œil* every where flat and *sombre*, nor are her productions, flax excepted, of equal value.

* Rejecting the articles of 155l. 17s. 3d. and 5l. 11s. 6d. and also the produce of 57½ bushels.

Plain of Alsace.

I entered this rich plain at Wiltenheim, where the measure of land is one hundred verge, at twenty-two feet; the price from 1500 to 2000 liv. (61l. 5s.) Good wheat crops twelve sacks of 190 lb. (thirty-three bushels). Poppies are much cultivated here as well as in Flanders and Artois; they yield six sacks, at 30 liv. a sack (6l. 6s.) The wheat of the year through this country I should guess, from its appearance, at three and a half quarters per acre, and the barley at five. From hence to Strasbourg is by one of the richest and best cultivated plains to be seen, crowded with crops in endless and quick succession. Land not immediately contiguous to that city, designed for gardens, but not planted, sells at 2000 liv. the arpent of 24,000 feet (138l. 5s. 1d.) Arable land in general, and it appears to be almost all so, 600 to 800 liv. (48l. 9s. 9½d.); on such land wheat yields four sacks of 180 lb. (20 bushels) which is inadequate to the soil; barley and beans six sacks. They sow 60 lb. of wheat (100 lb.), and half that quantity, by measure, of beans. Estates here, as in all the rich districts where the division of property is great, pay but little interest for money, in general 2½ to 3 per cent. About Benfelt the price of land rises to 1200 liv. (58l. 6s. 8d.) and lets at 24 liv. on an average (1l. 3s. 4d.), but this is farms through, one with another. Estates pay no more than 2½ per cent. At Schelestadt the average price of arable is 300 liv. (14l. 11s. 8d.), but there are some pieces that rise to 1000 liv. (48l. 12s. 2½d.) Wheat yields five sacks of 190 lb. (twenty-five bushels); barley six; beans six to eight; and maize five to six. Upon the whole, this plain of Alsace, though the soil is exceedingly fertile, and the cultivation very excellent, is not so productive, with a much better climate, as Flanders, and not comparable to the Garonne; it is, however, proper to observe, that I was not in the part of the province where hemp is a principal article of culture, for which it is famous; there I should probably have found the lands more productive. On an average good land may be reckoned at 50l. per acre.

Plain of Limagne.

Amidst the mountains of the province of Auvergne, which are mostly volcanic, there is a small but level plain, which some of the French naturalists think was once a lake, and some, who seem to have more probability in their supposition, that it is the gift of the river Allier that runs through it, having washed from the great region of mountains, from which itself and its kindred streams flow, that rich mud or sediment of which this plain, to a considerable depth, is formed. I was shewn some places where the river seemed, even to the eye, to be in the act of raising its bed by depositions of mud, which in the memory of man has formed solid ground. It is not wonderful that a plain of this nature and origin should be of extraordinary fertility; it was represented to me as by far the most fertile

fertile district in all France, and it will remain a question whether the idea be not a just one. I entered this beautiful plain at Riom, from whence to Montferrand arable fells from 1000 to 1200 liv. the septerée of eight hundred toises (64l. 3s. 4d.); some lands are known to have been sold even for 4000 liv.; and to Clermont the average of arable lands 800 liv. (46l. 13s. 4d), much rising higher. Meadows near Clermont fell to 1500 liv. the arpent of six hundred toises (116l. 13s. 4d.); the medium of meadows is 1200 liv. (98l. 6s. 8d.); the rent 50 liv. (3l. 17s. 9½d.) and that of arable 30 to 40 liv. (2l. 14s. 7½d.) The produce of wheat from seven to ten times the seed, which, for the land, is nothing at all; but I met afterwards with something of an explanation, that the best lands are too rich for that grain, giving little beside straw; for which reason they sow rye on the best soils, and wheat only on the worst:—barley gives fifteen feeds. From Vertaizon to Chauriet price 2400 liv. for eight hundred toises (140l. 12s.) At Izoire and its vicinity good arable 800 liv. the septerée of eight cartonats, each one hundred and fifty toises, 43,200 feet (31l. 2s. 4d.); bad arable 400 liv. (15l. 11s. 1½d.); watered gardens and hemp grounds 2000 liv. (79l. 5s. 9½d.); watered meadows 1200 liv. (46l. 13s. 5½d.) but these, if also planted with apples and well inclosed, will yield 2000 to 3000 liv. (97l. 12s. 3d.) The septier of wheat is eight cartonats, each of 32 lb.; of these they sow six of wheat (173 lb.) and they gain forty-eight (23 bushels); of rye they sow six cartonats also, and they gain sixty (29 bushels); of barley they sow eight and get sixty-four of the same measures; of oats they sow eight, and the crop is eighty, (which is about seventy-two of such measures per acre, or more than thirty-six bushels); and in their tillage they keep eight working oxen to one hundred septerées of land. In this plain of Limagne, which, by the way, never reposes in a fallow, we are to regard the price at which the land fells. Cultivation is so ill understood here, and I saw such execrable ploughing, that I am clear the products of common crops are not by half, certainly by one-third, equal to what they ought to be, except in cases of meadow, hemp grounds, gardens, or orchards, in all which the management is excellent, and the produce adequate to the soil and culture. The price of the land rises very high indeed; the best arable may be calculated on an average at about 60l. One circumstance demands particular attention, relative to the Limagne, which is its situation being cut off from all immediate connection with the sea, any inland navigation, or any great city*, or even any considerable manufacture, for the fabrics of Auvergne are of no account. It is a circumstance from which political conclusions may be drawn, that agriculture is here able to support itself without

* I have read of apples being sent from Auvergne to Paris for sale; it may be so, but the observation in the text is little affected by it; they must be particular sorts to supply, at a high price, the demand of luxurious consumption,

the aid of any of those assistants commonly supposed to be so essentially necessary to give a value to landed property.

Upon these four principal districts of the fertile plains of France, to dwell on general observations would be useless; I shall not, however, quit them without remarking the similarity which may be found between them, distant and unconnected as they are with relation to each other.

In the chapter of the general produce of France, it appears, that the proportion of these plains to each other, is as follows:—District of the N. E. 57.—The Garonne 24.—Alsace 2.—The Limagne is not equal to 1.—I mention them here, not to draw an average of the whole, because I do not conceive the *data* to be ample enough for that: but to caution the reader against supposing, that a proportion of the plain of the Garonne, equal to twenty-four in this table, is of the value of 51l. 10s. per acre. My journey was so much on the richest part of that plain on the river, that the soil is, beyond question, superior to what it is on an average, of so large an extent as the number twenty-four here marks.—The same objection does not hold in relation to the north eastern district, which is more equal: *that* may very generally be averaged at about 30l. an acre: and the *better parts* of the plain of the Garonne, at 51l. 10s. The good land in Alsace at 50l. and in the Limagne at 60l. And when it is considered that these plains, including the Bas Poitou, amount to twenty-eight millions of acres; that is, to a larger extent, by about a fifth, than is to be found in the kingdoms either of Scotland, Ireland, or Portugal—a fact which must necessarily give us a very high idea of the natural fertility of this noble kingdom, as well as of the internal wealth that supports such immense tracks of land, at so vast a price.

DISTRICT OF HEATH.

It is absolutely necessary, to explain one circumstance to the reader, without which, he would form a very erroneous judgment from the following notes:—The title of *heath* is not unaptly given to the countries I now treat of. The quantity of actual waste, producing heath or ling (*erica vulgaris*), is immense; and, independent of this, the general aspect of the country presents a widely spreading gloomy view from vast tracks of cultivated lands having been exhausted and abandoned to spontaneous growths. In such countries, the real average rent, or value, or produce, is not to be attained. converse with any person on the topics of agriculture, and you will always find him referring to the land actually profitable at the present time, of which there are every where tracks that never are abandoned, and which bear a value that has nothing in common with the country in general. Sometimes, with difficulty, I got precise ideas of the price, &c. of the wastes, but these notes I shall give under the head of waste land,
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a very important article, and highly deserving the attention of such as wish to cultivate the most profitable fields of French agriculture. Normandy, notwithstanding its general fertility, has a large district contiguous to the western coast, which, though much better than Bretagne, has more resemblance to it than to the richer parts which we have described; I therefore unite them here. This district is entered before Vologne, in the road to Cherbourg. At Carentan, there are some rich pastures, but none afterwards, and a decisive change of soil.—rent 5 to 6 liv. (8s.); but good land to 15 liv. (1l. 1s. 10d.) Carentan to Pery, 5 to 10 liv. (10s. 11½d.) Coutances to Granville 12 liv. (17s. 6d.)

Bretagne.

From thence, in the way to Doll, enter this province. The price of good land 500 or 600 liv. (19l. 12s. 9½d.) the journal of two Norman verge, or 46,080 feet. Bad land, but cultivated, price 300 liv. (10l. 18s. 9d.); the good lets at 25 liv. (18s. 2½d.); product of wheat 20 boiseau of 72 lb. (20 bushels.) From Hedé to Rennes rent of middling land 10 liv. (7s. 4½d.); but some rises to 20 and 30 liv. (18s. 2½d.); sells at twenty-five years purchase, and pays 5 per cent. At Rennes, and its vicinity, rents, near the town, 50 liv. (1l. 16s. 5d.) At a distance commonly about 12 liv. (8s. 9d.) but some to 30 liv. (1l. 2s. 1d.) Wastes, *landes*, to be had for ever at 10*s.* Of wheat, they sow five boiseau of 40lb. (166lb.) Of buck-wheat, they sow one one-half boiseau, and gain thirty-two. At St. Brioux spots near the town, of very rich land, sell at 2000 to 3000 liv. (91l. 10s. 5d.) and let at 80 to 100 liv. (3l. 5s. 7½d.) Wheat, on such land produces up to 90 boiseau, of 40 lb. (50 bushels). Price at a distance from the town 300 liv. (10l. 18s. 9d.); and lets at 12 liv. (8s. 9d.) At Morlaix improved land lets at 20 to 30 liv. but the rough wastes are thrown into the bargain. At Brest I was informed, that the bishoprics of St. Pol de Leon and Tragner do not, on an average of cultivated land, let at more than 12 to 15 liv. (9s. 7d.); but they have good land that rises to 20 and 24 liv. (15s. 10d.) Three-fourths of all Bretagne waste, and half of those bishoprics, which are the richest parts of the province. At Rospenden they have meadows, in their waste country, that let at 24 liv. (17s. 6d.) and that sell at 600 or 700 liv. (24l. 13s. 11d.); but large tracks cultivated, that would not yield more than from 100 to 150 liv. (4l. 11s. 1d.) At Quimperl no rent per journal known; farms are taken in the lump, rough, waste, and good land. In the neighbourhood of Mufilac the best improved meadows sell at 1500 liv. (65l. 12s. 6d.); almost incredible in a country where wastes are to be had at 10*s.* capable of yielding sainfoin and other grasses. At Auvergnac wheat yields eight septiers of 240lb. (26½ bushels); but this is on good land, and a fine crop; average five septiers. Meadow sells at 1200 liv. (43l. 15s.); but arable not more than 400 liv. Estates pay 5 per cent.; and some more. Of thirty-nine parts of Bretagne, twenty-four are waste.

rive at the great city of Nantes, near which rents are 60 liv. (2l. 3s. 9d.) ; but at a distance 20 to 30 liv. (18s. 3d.) I cannot quit this immense province of Bretagne without remarking, that in most circumstances it wears a singular aspect. The products, which are not to be collected so much from these notes, as from a general idea formed from having viewed it, are contemptible ; and the tolerable rent which appears in some of these minutes, with the immense value put upon scraps of very good land, as at Brioux, and every where for good meadow are all three equal proofs of the poor and miserable state in which agriculture is found throughout this province, St. Pol de Leon alone excepted, where are some exertions that mark a better spirit. But the circumstance of half a province being waste, and to be rented for ever at 10*l.* a journal, of near five roods English ; which is every where maritime, abounding with ports and commerce, and having in it the the royal ports of Brest and l'Orient ; the great city of Nantes, and the very commercial one of St. Maloes ; containing in its bosom one of the greatest linen manufactures in Europe ; enjoying privileges and freedom from taxation beyond any other province ; and yet, with all these palpable advantages, which ought to give the greatest activity and vigour, according to received ideas, the whole forms a picture of misery hardly to be equalled in the whole kingdom, in point of a contemptible culture. The *triste* and wretched Sologne is, I think, superior. It is necessary that this fact should be in the reader's contemplation, while he reflects on the produce, rent, and price of land in Bretagne ; but the developement of the circumstances, that cause so extraordinary a spectacle, will be treated of, when I attempt to explain the political principles that have governed agriculture in France.

Anjou.

There is not much distinction between this province and the preceding ; the quantity of heath and wastes is immense, but it has not, in the line I travelled, so *sombre* and neglected an appearance. In the neighbourhood of Angers and Mignianne, the measures are the arpent of Anjou, which contains an hundred cords of twenty-five feet, or 62,500 feet. But the journal is more commonly used, which is eighty of these cords, or 50,000 feet. Of wheat, they sow eight boifeau of 28lb. (172lb. per acre) ; and get forty-eight (17 bushels). At Duretal, rye land sells at 100 liv. the boifelee. From thence to Le Mans, there is such a mixture of heaths and wastes to so great an extent, that what I have to offer concerning it will come in more properly under the head of waste lands.

Gascoign.

I ought not to begin the detail of this district without observing, that as a considerable part of it is within what may be called the roots of the Pyrenees, which consist of rough tracts of mountain, intersected by rich and cultivated vallies,

vallies, the prices minuted will have, as in many other cafes, a reference more to the latter than to the former; the generic term, land, will always be applied to thofe fields in the contemplation of the perfon that fpeaks; as for wafte mountains it is, when let, thrown into the bargain. Thus prices may run apparently high, and yet the country, taken in general, not a tenth part cultivated. At the famous valley of Campan and near Bagnere they meafure by the journal of feven hundred cannes, each canne eight pann of eight inches. Land in culture fells on the hills at 300 or 400 liv. (30l. 12s. 6d.); in the country between Bagnere and Lourd the journal of arable fells at 240 liv. (24l.) Maiz here is worth 40 liv. the journal (3l. 1cs.) Such land lets at 15 liv. (1l. 6s. 3d.); and the foils that yields and lets at thofe fums, fells at 300 liv. (26l. 5s.) paying 5 per cent.. At Lefcu the arpent fells in the vale at 500 liv. From Pau, in Bearn, to Monen, an arpent that is fown with four meafures each of 36 lb. fells for from 300 to 400 liv.; this may be calculated, without apprehenfion, about an Englifh acre (15l. 8s. 3d.) From Navareen to Sauveterre the fame meafure by feed continues; wheat produces forty meafures, which, if my conjecture is right, equals twenty-four bufhels per acre; in general twenty-feven (fixteen bufhels). Maiz, from half a meafure of feed planted at two feet fquare, yields fixty meafures; the price now, 1787, is 54*f.* to 55*f.* but in common varies from 18*f.* to 30*f.* In the vale an arpent fells at 500 liv. (21l. 17s. 6d.) but near towns to 800 liv. (35l.) From St. Palais to Anspan there are vaft fern waftes, which the communities fell; afterwards, when cultivated and fold by the proprietors, the price is about 300 liv. (26l. 5s.) Paffing Bayonne I met, at St. Vincent's in the Landes, fome difficulties in afcertaining what their arpent was. They fow four meafures of rye, each of 36 lb. and a pair of good oxen plough two arpents a day, which in this light fand, and with their double breaft plough in ridging, agreed well enough with the feed rye. At laft I was fhewn a garden that contained juft an arpent; on stepping I found it 3366 fquare yards, whence it appears that their rye is fown exceedingly thick. Pine land, which is here very bad, fells at 60 liv. the arpent (3l. 16s. 1d.) It muft not be imagined from hence that the pine land of the Landes of Bourdeaux fells in this proportion in general. Vaft tracks are greatly preferable to thefe, and, if well planted, yield from 10s. to 20s. per acre, and fell at 10l. to 20l. an acre, but ufually 12l. or 13l. Cultivated land 120 liv. (7l. 12s. 2d.) Maiz yields thirty meafures per arpent, or forty-three meafures per acre. The produce of rye the fame, twenty-fix bufhels; but this is a great crop. At Tartafs inclofed and cultivated land fells at 300 liv. (18l. 18s. 10d.) the beft at 400 liv. but that is uncommon. At St. Severe 500 liv. (33l. 10s.) It is ever thus; when a country like this is in general wafte, and the cultivated fpofts rich, they fell them as they would do in diftricts the whole of which are in culture. About Aire the arpent fown with

240 lb. of wheat, that is, with two facks, each four measures of 30 lb. sells at 1000 liv. If they sow 150 lb. per acre, this is 27l. 16s. 10d. To Plaisance at 600 liv. From all which prices of this district of heath it appears, that the cultivated and improved lands, or those naturally rich and good, have been here in contemplation. But certainly not one-tenth of this line of country is in that state; for the general and predominant features of the whole are wastes, of which in another chapter.—Average,—Rent, 16s. 3d. Price, 19l. 18s. 4d.

It is to be noted in calculating these averages, that I reject the first articles of St. Brioux to Mufilac, and the second of Campan; they are too much exceeding the common rates to be admitted, depending on merely local or extraordinary circumstances; 20l. an acre may, on a general idea, be considered as the price of the land in these districts that is improved and in regular culture; and when it is recollected that the enormous wastes are, generally speaking, of as good a soil naturally, and by very easy and practicable means capable of being made equally productive, and that they are to be hired for ever at 5d. an acre, the ignorance of the people in breaking up and improving uncultivated lands will appear amazing; it is indeed, of all the other branches of agriculture, that which is least understood in France. The few notes taken of the year's purchase, at which land sells, give twenty-five. The interest for money paid by land, 5 per cent.; and the ratio of the crop of wheat and rye to the seed, six for one; and lastly, taking the average of Doll, St. Brioux, Rosporden, and Lourd, being those places where rent and price are both minuted, it is 11. 7s. rent, and 34l. 11s. 2d. price; the gross receipt of the landlord therefore does not amount to 5 per cent.

6.

DISTRICT OF MOUNTAIN.

The same observation is applicable in the present case; for though the provinces of Rouffillon, Languedoc, Auvergne, Dauphiné, and Provence are the most mountainous in France, yet the great roads lead mostly along vales; and when they do not, but cross the highest ridges of those mountains, which is the case in the Velay and Vivarais, and somewhat so in Provence, yet when the price of land is demanded, the answer from every tongue always refers to appropriated and cultivated spots, which probably sell higher than similar ones would do in the best countries. Another circumstance, in countries where irrigation is well understood, is, that the waters of great tracks of mountains being directed over small ones of vallies, to their prodigious improvement, must of necessity add a value to them, which would grossly deceive us, if the slightest general idea was formed from it.

Rouffillon.

Bellegarde to Perpignan, a measure of watered arable sells for 1200 liv. and lets for 50 liv. Their measure is to the arpent de Paris as fifteen to eleven, this there-

therefore is 880 liv. for that arpent (50l. 1s. 10d.), and the rent 11. 11s. 6d. At Pia watered arable fells at 1000 liv. (32l. 1s. 3d.); good arable not watered at 600 liv. (19l. 4s. 8d.); the vale not watered 30 liv. rent (18s. 10d.)

Languedoc.

At Cauffan the festerée of arable land is sown with 96 lb. of seed. Mr. Pauc-ton makes the festerée to the arpent de France, as 0,3979 is to 1,0000, or 19,158 feet; this is 192 lb. per acre. At Beziers I saw a farm of 250 festerées, that was sold for 70,000 liv. or 250 liv. per festerée (21l. 17s. 6d.) At Carcaf-fonne the septier of wheat is 150 lb. and they got on good land six per festerée, the festerée here being 1024 cannes of eight pans, this makes 25,000 feet; the produce therefore is 23 bushels. Extraordinary crops rise to ten septiers. This province bears a much greater character for fertility than it deserves. Mons. Astruc says of it, "Je ne pretens point parler ni du bled ni de la laine: ces deux articles sont portés dans la Languedoc à peu pres au plus haut point où ils puis-sent aller.*" A pretty reason for the natural historian of a province to say no more about them! At Narbonne there is good wool, but the culture of corn there has little merit. Another writer is near the truth when he says, "If we except what we call the Plain of Languedoc, the lower grounds, and the low Cevenois, the rest, which makes half the province, is, of all the countries I know, the most ungrateful and the least fertile †."

Auvergne.

At Briude and its vicinity, the septerée of mountain land contains 1800 toises, and fells at 50 to 80 liv.; there are 64,800 feet in it, or two arpents of Paris (11. 13s. 3d.); of middling land cultivated, the septier contains 1600 toises, and the price is 1000 liv. (29l. 3s. 7d.); the best land measures 1400 toises, and fells at 2000 liv. (66l. 14s. 4d.) What a perplexity to have a different measure, ac-cording to the quality of the soil! At a distance from the town, good land fells for 500 liv. (16l. 13s. 7d.); and middling 200 liv. (5l. 16s. 8d.) At Fix the septerée contains 1800 toises, and the price of good land is 800 liv. but one with another, not more than 400 liv. (10l. 7s. 9d.) Rent 10 liv. and produce 30 liv. consequently pays only 2½ per cent.; but it is to be recollected, that few will hire land on such elevated spots; it is generally in the hands of the pro-prietors. From hence reach Pradelles, where the measure changes again; four cartonats make a journal, and fell at 300 liv. but bad land down to 30 liv.; some near towns rises to 1000 liv. A man mows, and a pair of oxen ploughs a journal

* *Mem. pour l'Hist. Nat. de la Prov. de la Languedoc.* 4to. 1737. Pref.

† *Hist. Nat. de la Prov. de la Languedoc.* Par M. Genfane. 8vo. 4 tom. 1777. Tom. iv. p. 193.

a day. At Villeneuve de Berg wheat yields four for one of the seed, in good years. The measure sells for 400 liv.

Dauphiné.

At Montilimart, the measure is the septérée, which they sow with a septier of wheat of 103 lb. supposing them to sow, as usual in the south of France, their crop, which is eight for one, amounts to (23½ bushels.) Good arable in the vale, that admits watering, sells at 400 liv. (27l. 19s. 1d.) Not watered 200 liv. (13l. 19s. 6d.); the worst 150 liv. (10l. 9s. 7d.) Rent of good land in the vale, when let 24 liv. (1l. 13s. 3d.); of the middling 18 liv. and of the bad 10 liv. Estates pay 4 per cent.

Provence.

At Avignon, we meet with the same difficulty in discovering the measure of land accurately as at Montilimart. I must therefore take the seed for my guide here also. The *salma* of wheat weighs 400 lb. but the pound is not the *poid de marc*; it is to that weight as 0,8375 is to 1,0000, or 477 lb. Their measure of land is the *salma* also; but it is not to be ascertained by the supposition of seed. Arable land, near the city, sells at 1200 to 3000 liv. Wheat yields eight, ten, and twelve for one of the seed. Meadows are measured by the *eymena*, which space yields a ton of hay. At Lille arable sells at 400 liv. the *eymena*, if planted with mulberries; if without them 200 liv. and down to 120 liv. Pafs from hence, by the Crau to Aix, where they measure by the *carterée* of 600 cannes,—the canne eight pans; the pan nine inches and three lines, or 21,600 feet. Arable 600 liv. the *carterée* (47l. 5s.) Land pays 4 per cent. At Tour d'Aigues, their measure is the *somma* of 1400 cannes, or 50,400 feet. Arable sells at 200 to 500 liv. average 400 liv. (13l. 6s. 10d.) Of wheat, they sow eight *pannaux* of 32 lb. 256 lb. on good land; but the pound here is the *poid de table*; these make, therefore, only 220 lb. *poid de marc*. (167 lb.) On bad land, however, they sow but one-fourth of this quantity, which is a most extraordinary circumstance. A good product is eight for one; a bad one four for one; and the medium of the district five (14 bushels), which is a sad proof of miserable husbandry. If, however, the wheat is put in with their hough instead of the plough, in which way the ground is stirred deeper and better, they get seven or eight for one (20 bushels). The best purchases do not pay more than 4 per cent. At Marseilles, the celebrated Abbé Raynal assured me, that he had been informed by many agriculturists, who well know France, that the whole kingdom does not produce more than 4½ for one of the seed, on an average. And on my return from Italy, passing near Lyons, I was informed, that that province does not yield more than four for one; and also, that the common price of arable land is half that of meadow. And as at this place I am in the neighbourhood of the sub-province of Bresse, which

which is a part of the generality of Dijon, I shall add here, from the information of the very ingenious *Monf. Varenne de Fenille*, that throughout that province, the measure of land is the *coupée* of 6250 feet, which is sown with a *coupée* of wheat of 22lb. the average value of which, for many years, is 2 liv. but on an average of the last ten years, at 45*s.*—the common product is five for one (12½ bushels); but maiz yields at least twelve for one. Before I take leave of this district of mountain, I should observe, that by far the greater part of all these provinces bears no rent at all, and yields no other produce than what results from pasturing cattle in the mountains during the summer season, the amount of which is very trifling*. Perhaps seven-eighths of Languedoc are mountainous; half of Provence or more; three-fourths of Auvergne; and two-thirds of Dauphiné. These immense districts of mountain, abound, it is true, with lovely vallies, but their breadth is usually inconsiderable; nor do the cultivated slopes bear any proportion to the parts absolutely waste. These vast tracks uninclosed, unappropriated, and generally common to the respective communities, have no other fixed price than what they sometimes are sold for to individuals, which is noted under the head of waste lands. The value is too small to be an object in this inquiry. The seigneurs, who possess the same rights, sell and fief them at a still cheaper rate. The vicinity of such great tracks of mountains is a cause for vale lands selling at a much higher price than they otherwise would. In France, hay and straw are almost the only articles of the winter food of cattle and sheep. This miserable œconomy gives a value to meadow-ground, which in a better system would probably sink full half: and for the same reason arable lands are greatly raised in their price. The more cattle the possessors can keep on the mountains in summer, so much the more valuable are all cultivated lands.—Average,—Rent, 17*s.* 7*d.* Price, 21*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

The average thus stated is that of land improved and cultivated, and chiefly vales, in this mountainous district. I may add also, that the rate per cent. paid by purchases varies from two one-half to four, which are the extremes; the mean may be stated at three one-half, perhaps three three-fourths. The product of wheat and rye, proportioned to the seed, rises from four for one, to ten for one, but the latter is in watered vales; such advantages excepted; about four or five for one. Lastly, let me observe, that on selecting Rouffillon, Languedoc, and Dauphiné, articles which have both rent and price minuted, I find the average of them to be, rent 11. 3*d.* price 21*l.* 4*d.*

* The best mountains in this respect, that I heard of, are those that begin at Colmars, and at Barcelonetta, which are covered with a good turf, and in summer feed an immense number of cattle and sheep.

DISTRICT OF STONY SOILS.

Lorraine.

At St. Menehould, good arable sells for 250 to 300 liv. the journal of 21,384 feet (211. 11s. 4d.); but some is so low as 10 liv. (15s.) To Braban the same price: but near that place, whole farms through, the land of all sorts included, 80 liv. (6l. 6s.) At Verdun good arable 300 to 500 liv. (31l. 10s.); but upon the hills some so low as 10 to 20 liv. (1l. 2s. 9d.) At Mar-le-Tours arable 400 liv. (31l. 10s.); and in the way to Metz, where the measure changes to 22,575 feet, by one account, and to 480 perch, at eight feet two inches, by another; the latter is 31,680 feet, and they measure wheat by the franchar of 42 lb. The uncertainty of the measure makes a good deal of intelligence which I received useless. At Metz, where the measure is 22,575 feet, on the best land wheat yields 5½ for one, viz. one quartier of seed, at 5 liv. 15s. yields 5½ quartiers, or 31 liv. 12s.; some so low as 3½ for one. Arable sells at 150 liv. (11l. 4s.) Estates produce neat 3½ to 4 per cent. and sell for 24 years purchase. At Pont à Mousson another measure 300 verge of 10 feet, the foot 10 inches, or 16,200 feet. I shall enter the intelligence as I received it, but some of the rates appear extraordinary; I am not, however, allowed to doubt, as my authority was the best the country could afford. Bad arable land in the plain sells at 300 liv. this is (reducing both measure and money, for here 31 liv. make but 24 liv. in France) 24l. 13s.; of a middling quality it sells at 500 liv. (40l. 12s. 1d.); some at 1000 liv. (79l. 12s. 2d.) The best wheat produces seven quartiers, at 130 lb. but this is uncommon; the general produce is four such quartiers (23 bushels). One person here informed me, that the best produce is 10 quartiers, the middling seven, and the worst three; but as this would make the average 40 bushels, I reject the intelligence, and adhere to what I have noted above. I have been recommended to at least a dozen persons in France connected nearly with agriculture, who did not know and could not discover the measure of the place where they lived, if, unfortunately, the arpenteur was absent, or non-resident in the town. Rents in the plain from 30 to 50 liv. (3l. 3s. 10d.). Estates pay 3 to 3½ per cent. At Nancy the arpent contains 19,360 feet, or 250 toises of 10 perch. Arable land sells at 500 liv. (33l. 17s. 6d.); some at 700 liv.; the worst at 250 liv. (16l. 8s. 9d.) Estates subject to feudal honorific rights pay 3 to 3½ per cent.; others not subject five. At Luneville finding also some difficulty in ascertaining the measure of land, I stepped a piece that was exactly a journal, and found it to contain 1974 yards, or 15,620 French feet. Arable land near good villages sells at 300 liv. (24l. 17s. 10d.) but more commonly at 124 liv. (10l. 7s. 3d.) A good produce of wheat is three razeau of 180 lb. this, the

the pound being to the poid de marc as 0,9309 is to 1,0000, equals 23 bushels; a middling two razeau ($15\frac{1}{2}$ bushels); the worst $1\frac{1}{2}$ ($11\frac{1}{2}$ bushels). To Haming arable fells at 100 to 200 liv. the journal (12l. 8s. 11d.), and lets at 10 liv. (8s. 9d.)

Alsace.

To Befort the best land 600 liv. but in general arable 250 liv. the journal of 800 toises (14l. 11s. 4d.) They sow this measure with four quarters of wheat, each 42 lb. (224 lb.) produce thirteen to sixteen quarters ($14\frac{1}{2}$ are 12 bush.) The common price of the sack is 16 liv. or for 4, 64 liv. Barley half the value, 32 liv.—total produce, in three years, as the course is,—1, fallow,—2, wheat, 3, spring corn, 96 liv.—Rent of such land 11 liv. (12s. 3d.) At Isle, the journal contains four quarters, each ninety perch, at nine feet, or 29,160 feet. Land, in general, fells from 240 to 400 liv. (18l. 5s. 9d.) The produce of wheat, twelve to twenty quarters, at 40 lb. ($15\frac{1}{2}$ bushels.)

Franche Compté.

The journal of Befançon is 360 perch, at $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 33,507 feet. Very bad arable land is to be had for 50 liv. (2l. 11s. 10d.); but some rises to 1500 liv. (77l. 15s.) and these prices are the extremes; in common, 500 liv. (25l. 18s. 4d.) The produce of wheat is two to five measures of 40 lb. (from 36 to 50 lb.) on an *œuvre*, the eighth of a journal,—at three, this is 20 bushels. Estates pay scarcely 4 per cent.; and in the mountains, on the frontiers of Switzerland, only 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. To Orechamps, in the flat rich vale, a journal fells at 700 liv. (36l. 5s. 8d.) All I saw of Franche Compté, is under a wretched culture; fallows very general, yet the corn poor; and where there are exceptions, which do not often occur, still the management is without merit. The culture of maiz is a good feature, but it is neither flourishing nor clean, and much mixed with hemp.

Burgundy.

About Longeau, the measure is the journal of 360 perch, of nine feet, or 28,800 feet. The common price of land 600 liv. (34l. 19s. 2d.) The measure of wheat holds 32 lb. and a journal yields to 50 (41 bushels); but this is an extraordinary crop,—thirty are more common (24 bushels); maiz yields forty measures (32 bushels), besides ten to twenty-five measure of harricots: barley thirty-five measure. In the neighbourhood of Dijon, where the journal is the same as the arpent de Paris, arable fells for 200 liv. (10l. 7s. 9d.) to 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 3d.) And the half produce of wheat, which the landlord receives from the *metayer*, five measures of 45 lb. (5 bushels). The land yields, however, much more than 10 bushels, for there are deductions for certain expences of culture before he takes his half, as tythe, harvest, and threshing. At Nuys the

journal of arable fells at 300 to 400 liv. (18l. 3s. 6d.) It has been impossible to avoid, in this district, general errors flowing from the intelligence received, being much more in reference to good land, and such as has been long cultivated and improved, than an average of the whole. In the chapter of universal produce, which includes every species of land, this district does not class high; it is, on the contrary, among the worst cultivated in the kingdom, after the district of heath, Sologne, the Bourbonnois, and Nivernois, I know none worse: much is waste, and more under culture is neglected, yet land in the rich flat vales, through which the rivers lead, is fertile enough to command great prices, and to yield large products, even with bad management. Immense tracks in Loraine are plagued with common rights, which are more general than in most of the other provinces. Where these are found, husbandry cannot flourish. The good duke of Loraine, the wisest and most benevolent sovereign of his age, seems to have done nothing in this respect, and without it the province will continue what it is, one of the poorest in France. It is a bad sign, when you find the pay of troops reckoned a great blessing. If you believe the people of these provinces, Loraine, without her garrisons, and Franche Compté without her forges, would both be desolate; a sure mark, that agriculture is ill understood, and overstocked with useless hands, or rather mouths.—Average,—Price, 21l. 10s. 2d.—Product, 18 bushels.

In calculating this average, I reject merely local advantages of the vicinity of Befançon. I should add here, as before, that land, in this district, sells at twenty-four years purchase, and yields from 2½ to 5 per cent.;—average 3½. The average of the minutes, where both rent and price are noted,—rent, 1l. 8s. 3d.; price 35l. 10s. 9d.

DISTRICT OF CHALK.

Sologne.

Sologne has not a chalk soil; but I saw in several places a very good clay marl, and as the province is nearly surrounded by a calcareous one, I think I am justified in my arrangement of it, notwithstanding Mons. d'Autroche says it has no calcareous stones*. In passing from Orleans to La Ferté Lowendahl, this most wretched of the French provinces is entered. Poverty and misery pervade the whole; agriculture is at its lowest ebb, and yet every where it is capable of being made rich and flourishing. Between these towns are twelve miles of a poor flat sandy gravel; for the first mile from Orleans improved; but all the rest in a miserable state; many neglected lands covered with heath. It yields nothing but rye, the crops are wretched, that being sown is a satire upon

the kingdom. Rent of an arpent of France, 4 liv. (3s.); but waste for sheep-walk given into the bargain, which is of a much greater extent. Near La Ferté 4½ liv. all here gained through the medium of *metayers*. To La Motte Beuvron 400 liv. for 150 mines of land, three mines making two arpents; this is not quite 4 liv. but much rough ground for cattle and sheep thrown in.—Miserable rye and buck-wheat, the only crops: the farmers think the former promising this year, which I am clear will not produce two quarters the acre. To Nonan-le-Fuzelier, the same country and husbandry, and the rye this year no more than one-half to one quarter per acre. To La Loge, nearly the same, and not one-tenth of it cultivated. They sow here a vernal rye, which is a true spring corn, that will not succeed if sown in autumn. It is committed to the ground in March or April, yet the crop is out only one week later than the common rye; the produce not quite so large. Buck-wheat yields 8 to 12 septiers per septerée—the septier holds 120 lb. rye; this is ten bushels upon the land that is sown with two. Rye yields three to one of the feed. At Salbris, newly broken up land yields 12 boisseau of rye, of 13 lb. per measure of land, of which there are 12 in a septerée, or 12 septiers of 156 lb.; and advancing, rye produces three septiers the septerée; it is nearly an acre—the crop is therefore about one quarter per acre. Upon Sologne, in general, I should observe, that a gentleman of the province has calculated it to contain 250 leagues square, or a million of arpents*;—and that the net rent of it, without the landlord furnishing the cattle, is only 20*s.* to 25*s.* per arpent one with another. Another writer says, the worst lands in the province, sell at 110 liv. per arpent † de Paris (5*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*); he means cultivated I presume, for certainly the wastes bring no such price.) I can believe this from the view I took of it; and surely nothing can be a more severe satire on the agriculture of a country!—Government and the gentry are equally to blame. I have seldom seen a country so easily capable of improvement, for the soil is sand or gravel, and under it is every where found clay, or clay marl.

Saintonge.

In returning northwards, re-enter the chalk district in this province. At La Grawle the measure is thirty-two carreaux, each eighteen feet square, or 10,368 feet; sells at 10 liv. (1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*) being very bad, but better soils at 30 liv. (4*l.* 17*s.*) At Rignac the soil being strong and good, the Paris arpent, which is the common Saintonge measure, sells for 600 liv. (31*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*) Wheat produces ten sacks of 150 lb. (32 bushels) but this is an extraordinary crop, seven and a half much more common (24 bushels). At Barbesieux they sow wheat two years in succession; the first crop twelve to fifteen boisseau per journal; the second eight or nine: a sufficient proof of their barbarism.

* *Memoire sur l'amélioration de la Sologne, par M. d'Autroche. 8vo. 1787. p. 4.*

† *Credit National, p. 114.*

Angoumois.

The journal is to that of France, as 0,674 is to 1,000, which is something more than the arpent de Paris. At Petignac good land sells at 400 liv. (20l. 16s. 9d.) but bad, by which they mean chalk soils, yields little or nothing, if others are bought with them. At Roulet the arpent is one and a half journal of 200 carreaux, each twelve feet, or 28,800 feet. Maiz here produces thirty to forty boiseau, which contains 45 lb. of wheat (38 bushels). Wheat twenty-five boiseau the first crop (26 bushels), but the second not above sixteen (17 bushels); and all these crops are on the best lands only; inferior ones produce much less. At Angoulême wheat yields twelve boiseau the journal, the boiseau 78 to 92 lb. Strong land sells at 200 liv. (11l. 12s. 9d.) At Verteuil the journal is 200 carreaux, each 12 feet square, which is the same as at Boulet; land sells at 300 liv. (17l. 10s.) being from 20 to 25 years purchase; rent 12 liv. (14s.) They sow more than a boiseau of wheat, of 80 lb. per journal (90 is 120 lb. per English acre); produce five (10 bushels). At Caudac wheat three sacks per journal, the sack two boiseau, the boiseau 70 to 80 lb. (11 bushels); maiz 4½ sacks (16½ bushels). Upon Angoumois in general I may observe, that the only possible method of cultivating land well in such a province, would be by sainfoin and turnips being well understood; of the latter they have not an idea; and the former, though not absolutely unknown, is yet so very weakly and sparing cultivated, that there is not one acre where there ought to be a thousand. When chalks are farmed upon the common routine of management that pervades all France, no wonder we hear of such miserable crops. The province does not, on an average, produce one-fourth of what similar land in England yields.

Poitou.

At Ruffec they take their crops of wheat in succession; produce of the first, 12 to 16 boiseau of 80 lb.; of the second, six to nine; and of the third, three. At Coute Verac 12 boiseau per journal, on land that sells at 100 liv. For many miles to Poitiers, the country all appears as badly cultivated as it is *sombre* to the eye, being one of the most dreary I have seen in France. The products run very low, if I may judge by the state of the stubbles, and from the scattered hints, rather than information, I received; it does not yield the half of what a little better husbandry would enable it to do. At Clain the measure is the boise-rée of 16 chains square, each chain 10 feet, or 25,600 feet, which space yields 12 to 18 boiseau of 32 lb. of rye (13 bushels). The same measure of land sells at La Tricherie at 60 to 90 liv. (4l. 18s.); at Chateaurault for 60 liv. (3l. 18s. 9d.) Rye produces 10 boiseau (8 bushels). Advancing, the soil improves a little; it sells at 100 liv. (6l. 11s. 2d.) and produces 12 to 14 boiseau of rye.

Touraine

Touraine.

At Beauvais loamy land sells at 100 liv. the arpent, but chalky soils at only half that sum. Wheat after sainfoin yields 80 boiseau, but after fallow only 20. I am so much in doubt what the arpent is, and what the boiseau, that I give no reduction; they told us the former was 100 chain of 12 feet. At Montbazon the arpent of 100 chain, each 25 feet square, or 62,500 feet, sells at 3 to 8 liv. the chain, or 300 to 800 liv. the arpent (14l. 16s. 7d.) Wheat yields 50 gerbs, each 1½ boiseau (16 bushels): barley now cutting, and not two quarters per English acre. At Tours large purchases pay 5 per cent. but small ones 3½. Amboise, an arpent of land 200 liv. To Blois the best land 300 liv. (15l. 12s. 4d.) There are 12 boiserée in the arpent, sown with a boiseau of seed of 10 lb. (157 lb.)

Sologne.

Re-enter this province, where it has no such miserable countenance as in the part we passed before. To Chambord the arpent is 1600 toises, the rent of which is 24 liv. (14s.) but this is the best land only; the general produce being, vines excepted, very low. To Orleans pass some buck-wheat, that will not yield more than five or six bushels an acre; rent of lands 8 liv. (4s. 2d.)

Champagne.

To Chateau Thiery the vale arable lets at 12 liv. the arpent (8s. 2d.); but the hills are poor and yield much less. All the products I see are miserably poor, yet the soil is a good loam. Near Mareuil farms are let at the third franc, paying the landlord by that division 20 to 24 liv. the arpent (16s.) Land sells at thirty years purchase, and pays 5 per cent. At Epernay estates in general pay 3 per cent. The chalky marl of the vale, for four miles before Rheims, has not much wheat, but a great deal of rye, which is by far the cleanest corn I have seen this year in France, unless the poor have weeded the stubble for their cows. Price 200 to 250 liv. the arpent of France (7l. 16s. 7d.) In the country between La Loge and Chalons there is much that has been sold at 30 liv. the arpent (1l. 1s.) and some even at 6 liv. (4s. 2d.); and many tracks let at 20s. (8d.); and much is left waste to weeds, not being deemed worth sowing, that would yield sainfoin worth three guineas an acre. To Ove, the miserably poor chalky soils sell at 48 liv. the journal (1l. 13s. 3d.) and some at 27 liv. (18s. 4d.); nor can any thing be more wretched than the products. With regard to the whole province I should note here, that the provincial assembly, in their return of the whole, stated, that Champagne contained four millions of arpents, the rental of which was 20,000,000 liv. and the gross product 60,000,000 liv.; this makes the produce 15 liv. (10s.)—and the rent 5 liv. (3s. 6d.); which valuations

tions clearly shew, that great wastes are supposed to yield little or nothing; for the product of vines, and the lands on the rivers, is considerable. Land sells in Champagne as it sells elsewhere, according to the interest expected to be made by it; the price, therefore, follows the culture; the rent, where *metayers* are the tenants, depends absolutely upon the produce; while agriculture, therefore (vineyards excepted), is at such a low and miserable pitch, the landlord can reasonably expect nothing more than the pittance he receives at present. But the improvements to be made in this country are immense, by means of artificial grasses, turnips, and sheep. But the stupid ignorance of the landlords, and the pernicious prejudices they inherit for the army, in common with other Frenchmen, remove all pity of their condition; they receive the full measure of their merit; but the poverty of the peasantry truly deserves compassion. Upon the whole, the poor chalk provinces must be considered as the worst cultivated in France; and no wonder; the proper management of this soil depends absolutely on three things, turnips, grasses, and sheep, neither of which is known here any more than among the Hurons. This circumstance is decisive.

Average,—Rent, 6s. 9d. Price, 9l. 1s. 5d. Product, 13½ bushels.

Land in these districts sells, at an average, at 25 years purchase; yields 4 per cent. interest on the capital invested; and the produce of wheat and rye is four for one of the seed. There are but two minutes that contain, in the same article, both rent and price. The average is 10s. 4d. rent, and 12l. 13s. 3d. price: it pays, therefore, about 4 per cent. by this account; and it should be observed, that the rent is not a net produce—for the landlord has his vingtièmes to pay out of it.

DISTRICT OF GRAVEL.

Burgundy.

At Autun is the separation between the various stony soils of the rest of this province, the lands of which are high, and the plain gravelly through which the Loire runs. The measure is the boiselée, the space which a boiseau of rye sows, that contains 40 lb.; at 160 lb. per English acre, the boiselée would be about 9600 French feet. As to rent, nothing can be discovered accurately, without details, which few landlords would know how to give; for grass, waste, and wood are thrown into the bargain to the farmer, and he divides rye and cattle with the landlord; as to price, the only information I could get from a person who I should have thought qualified to answer many queries was, that an estate which yields 500 boiseau of rye with grass, waste, and wood proportioned to the practice of the country in general, would sell for 30,000 liv. At Luzy rye, in a good year, yields five or six for one of the seed. The whole country
from

from Autun to Bourbon Lancy is a granite, or gravel soil, and no produce to be seen but very miserable rye.

Bourbonnois.

At Chavanne they sow a boiseau of rye of 20 lb. on a boifelée of land, the produce in a good year five or six for one. An estate to be sold here, consisting of three farms, which yield, by *metaying*, 3000 liv. a year, and the price asked 80,000 liv. but to be had for 60,000 liv. consequently pays 5 per cent. At Moulins the arpent contains eight boifelées, each of 168 toises square, or 48,384 feet, and in the boifelée 6048 feet. Good arable sells at 150 to 200 liv. the arpent (51. 19s. 10d.), but there is much so bad as to be had for 12 liv. the arpent (7s. 10d.) All purchases pay 5 per cent. They sow 160 lb. of rye per arpent (140 lb.), and get four or five times the seed. In the neighbourhood an estate of 10,000 liv. a year to be sold, the price asked 300,000 liv. but timber, &c. &c. given in reduce it to 250,000 liv.; it would pay 4 per cent. neat for the money, by the miserable produce of $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 liv. (2s. 6d.) per arpent for the landlord's half, to gain which he is obliged, like all his neighbours, to provide the whole live stock of the farms; take the price at 250,000 liv. (10,937l.) and the annual rent at 10,000 liv. (437l.) at 2s. 6d. per English acre, and there will be 3496 acres, at the price of 3l. 2s. 6d. per acre. This estate yields annually 5381 boiseau of rye, at 20 lb. (at 55 lb. English the bushel, this is 2150 bushels, and at 3s. the bushel is 322l. 10s.); the produce is five for one of the seed. At La Palisse rye produces four for one. The gravelly plain continues to Neufmoutier.

Nivernois.

All I saw of this province resembles the Bourbonnois in soil, culture, and produce; rye here, as there, is almost the only crop; but there are more variations, for oats are sometimes taken after the rye, and there are districts that produce some wheat. The gravelly plain of the Loire, which includes these two provinces, commences to the S. at Roanne, in the Lyonnois. I shall in general observe upon this gravelly district, that it is one of the most improveable I have any where seen; much might be done in it, by a husbandry well adapted to sheep, for which species of stock both the provinces are admirably calculated; and I should add, that it is hardly possible to conceive any thing more despicable than the breed of that animal which is found here; rye-straw, the winter provision, instead of turnips, is sufficient to explain it. Nothing can hardly be poorer than the *metayers* of the Bourbonnois; and the landlords feel the effects of their poverty in a manner that one would think sufficient to open their eyes to their real situation. They receive about 2s. 6d. an acre, on an average, not for the rent of the land only, but also for running the hazard of all the live stock, which

which they provide for the estate; thus they have the principal part of the stock and hazard of farming, without any of the profit of it; for the ignorance of the *metayers* is such, that it is in vain to expect any improvement from them. If in such a situation gentlemen will not take their lands into their own hands, at least enough to prove that the country might yield far other crops, they must be as torpid as their *metayers*, and receive from their poverty the just reward of prejudice and indolence.—Average,—Price, 3l. 3s. 4d.

I should suppose the rental, on an average of the whole district, might, from the *metayers*, be about (2s. 6d.) an acre, from which, however, should be deducted the interest of the sums invested in stocking the farm with cattle, sheep, horses, and hogs, which is a considerable deduction. On the other hand, timber, underwood, some meadows, always kept in hand—vines, ponds, of which there are many; the rent of mills, &c. more than balance that deduction, and may probably raise the total receipt to (3s.) an acre, or something more. Estates, in those provinces, pay about 4½ per cent.; and the produce of rye may be calculated at five for one.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS.

Berry.

In passing from the *triste* Sologne into this province, the soil improves, and with it the products, but continue, however, very moderate, and far inferior to what they ought to be. A few leagues before Verſon, where the count d'Artois's forest ends, rye and buck-wheat yield 5½ to six septiers on the festerée of land, but barley less; this is five or six for one. A farmer occupies 50 festerées of land for 150 liv. rent. The boiseau of rye is 15 lb. and twelve make a septier of 180 lb. which quantity of seed makes the festerée to be more than an acre; five roods at least. Wheat and barley yield five or six septiers. Advancing toward Vatan, the soil improves much; the product of wheat 3½ septiers of 204 lb. the boiseau being 17 lb.; and they sow a septier of all sorts of corn per festerée, on all sorts of land. On good land, the *metayers* pay half the produce; but on middling, the rent is a septier per festerée. This makes the rent equal only to the seed, and the landlord consequently gets nothing for the fallow year. They very amply merit such rents. Wheat, on the best land, yields five or six for one. At Vatan, I conversed with a farmer, who, for thirty festerées of arable, and six of meadow, pays 600 liv. and eighteen septiers of corn, each twelve boiseau, that now sells at 25*s*. He has two oxen, six horses, eight cows, and 700 sheep. His whole rent, therefore, is about 27l. which, for such a stock, appears ridiculous: but it seems to be a feudal rent

to

to the seigneur, the property of the land being in the man. He spoke of his whole farm being thirty-six festerées, paying no regard to woods and wastes that support his live stock. At Argenton, wheat produces five or six boiseau of 25 lb. per boiserée, eight of which make a festerée; oats and barley three boiseau. Advancing, find that they sow a boiseau of wheat, of 25 lb. per boiserée of land. Upon the whole of this intelligence concerning Berry, I must observe, from the portions of seed, 180 lb. 204 lb. 200 lb. we may, in a rough way, estimate that the arpent, journal, or festerée, nearly equals the arpent of France, and that the respective products which amount to 1122 lb. 1080 lb. and 1096 lb. amount, on an average, to about two quarters per acre. M. du Pré de St. Maur says, that ordinary land, *terres mediocres*, let in Berry at 15*l.* the arpent*. But all rents are risen since his time.

La Marche.

Near Boismandé, much sandy land, that produces rye only, and the crops exceedingly poor; I saw much that will not yield more than a quarter per acre, yet the sand is good, but it is all fallowed. Produce eight boiseau, of 25 lb. per boiserée. At La Ville au Brun good sand yields five boiseau per boiserée, but on a general average not more than three. The septier is eight boiseau, and the festerée, or arpent, eight boiserée. From these proportions it should seem, that the Berry measure continues here.

Limosin.

In this province the festerée is 625 toises, or 21,500 feet; it is sown with four quarters of 28 lb. or 112 lb. (218 lb.) Rye produces four times the seed, but no trifling quantity is sown, that hardly yields more than the seed, by reason of poverty and bad management. At Limoge I was informed, that the whole province, on an average, does not yield more than six for one of the seed of all sorts of grain; this cannot be more than 4*l.* of wheat †. The price of land is much increased; sells now at 33 years purchase, and yields 3 per cent.; common price 100 liv. (7*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*) From Limoge to St. George the country is much better than La Marche; there is some wheat every where, and the crops are rather superior. Arable 100 liv. the festerée, and at Douzenac 100 to 150 liv. (9*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*)

In this district the price of land, on an average, is 7*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* per acre. The produce is 14 bushels; the return for seed is five for one; and the interest paid by purchases may be estimated at 4 per cent.

* *Essai sur les Monnoyes.*

† In the Cahier of the nobility of Limoge it is asserted, that the soil is the most ungrateful in the kingdom, and gives at most but three net for one, but this is an exaggeration,---P. 4.

PRODUCE.—RENT.—PRICE.

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

Price.

North Eastern District, £. 29 13 3	Alface, - - £. 50 0 0
The Garonne, - 51 10 0	Limagne, - - 60 0 0

It would fill too much of these papers if I were to insert the reasons for supposing the average of these, proportioned to the extent of each, to be 33l. per acre, at which I calculate it.

District of Heath, - £. 19 18 4	District of Chalk, £. 9 1 5
Mountain, 21 7 7	Gravel, 3 3 4
Stone, - 21 10 2	Various, 7 8 9

Average of the whole, proportioned to the extent of each, rejecting fractions, 20l.

Rent.

North Eastern District, £. 1 3 10	Chalk, - - - £. 0 6 9
Heath, - - - 0 16 3	Gravel, - - - 0 3 0
Mountain, - - - 0 17 7	

This table is too incomplete to draw any average from it: the most satisfactory way of ascertaining the rent, that is proportioned to the price minuted, is to have recourse to those notes that contain, at the same places, both rent and price; these are, on a medium,

	Rent.			Price.				Rent.			Price.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Loam, N. E. District,	1	1	5	31	5	0	Stone, - -	1	8	3	35	10	9
Heath, -	1	7	0	34	11	2	Chalk, - -	0	10	4	12	13	3
Mountain, -	1	0	3	22	0	4	Gravel, - -	0	2	6	3	2	6

Average,—Rent, 18s. 3d. Price, 23l. 3s. 10d. This is 3l. 18s. per cent.

And from hence we may venture to assign the rent fairly proportioned to the above general average price of 20l. per acre, viz. 15s. 7d. Mons. Papillon de la Tapy calculates that, on an average, lands that sell for 520 liv. per arpent, yield a *produit* of 7 liv. 11s. * by which I suppose he means rent, this is 1½ per cent. ; I quote it only to shew what mere calculations are worth, that are founded on suppositions.

* *Tableau Territorial de la France.* Folio. 1789. P. 9.

Produce.

Loam, N. E.	23½ bushels.	Mountain,	- - -	18 bushels.
— Garonne,	37	Stony,	- - -	18
— Alface,	26	Chalk,	- - -	13½
Average of Loam*,	25	Gravel,	- - -	12
Heath,	19	Various,	- - -	14

Average of the whole, proportioned to the extent of each, 18 bushels.

Quantity of Seed sown.

Flanders,	Orchies,	153	Anjou,	Angers,	172
Normandy,	Falaife,	110	Languedoc,	Cauffan,	192
Guienne,	Landron,	160	Provence,	Tour d'Aigues,	167
	Cubfac,	169	Angoumois,	Verteuil,	120
Alface,	Straßbourg,	100	Orleanois,	Blois,	157
	Befort,	224	Bourbonnois,	Moulins,	140
Auvergne,	Izoire,	173	Limofin,	Limoge,	218
Bretagne,	Rennes,	166			

Average, 161 lb. per English acre.

Return for Seed.

District of Loam,	- 8 for 1.	District of Stone,	- 4 for 1.
Heath,	- 6	Gravel,	- 5
Mountain,	5	Various,	5

The average may probably be stated at six for one. It is hardly to be conceived by what miserable management they can contrive to get such a wretched produce; but as they are universal fallowists, except on the richest soils, we may consider it as an exact picture of the consequences that flow from this absurd practice. The French writers depress the products of their kingdom even below this: Monf. Quefnay says it is only five for one on good lands †; and Monf. l'Abbé Raynal four and a half on an average of all.

Interest per cent.

District of Loam, N. E.	- 3	District of Stone,	- - -	3½
Alface,	- 2½	Chalk,	- - -	4
Heath,	- 5	Gravel,	- - -	4½
Mountain,	- 3½	Various,	- - -	4

Average, 3½.

* In calculating this average, I assign thirty as the produce of the Garonne district, and then give it the proportion of its full extent.

† *Encyclopædia*. Tom. i. p. 189. Folio.

And now, drawing the whole into one view, we may say,

That the average price of all the cultivated land in the kingdom is, per English acre, 20l.

That the rent of such part as is let is 15s. 7d.

That the average produce of wheat and rye is 18 bushels.

That the seed yields return 6 for 1.

That land pays per cent. 3½.

OBSERVATIONS.

I must, in the first place, caution the reader against supposing, that these proportions are applicable to the whole territory of France; vines, and wastes, and gardens, and spots of extraordinary fertility are excluded; and the price of 20l. per acre, and the rent of 15s. 7d. are those of the cultivated lands commonly found throughout the kingdom. No waste, no sheep-walk, nor any tracks neglected, and not in profitable produce, are included. But whenever rent is mentioned, we must recollect, that much the greater part of the lands of France are not let at a money-rent, but at one-half or one-third produce, and that in those places, in the central and southern provinces, and in several of the northern ones, where rent occurs in the notes, it is probable that for one acre so let, there are twenty at half produce. This will serve in a good measure to explain the height of the rent here minutéd, on comparison with the husbandry.—Such management in England would not afford any such rent; but as the landlord in France is obliged to stock his farms at his own expense, the greatness of this rent is more apparent than real; for it must not only pay him for the use of his land, but also for that of the capital which he is obliged, through the poverty of the farmers, to invest upon it. Another circumstance, which raises rent beyond all comparison with it in England, is the freedom from poor rates; to which may be added, the very moderate demands made for tythes. By combining the preceding tables, there appears some reason to believe, that the persons who, in different parts of the kingdom, gave me intelligence of the interest per cent. accruing from land had in contemplation rather the *gross receipt*, than the *net profit*. The two accounts of rental and price give 3l. 18s. per cent. gross receipt;—if the two vingtièmes, and 4s. per livre, being the landlord's tax, are deducted, there will remain about 3½ per cent.—from which there must be a further deduction for incidental losses; and for the interest of the capital invested in live stock; which will certainly demand some deduction. It should therefore seem, that 3, or 3½ per cent. absolutely net, is as much as can be reckoned by this account; whereas the direct intelligence was 3½. These little variations will for ever arise in such inquiries,
when

when founded, as they must be, on the intelligence received from such a variety of persons, who have different degrees of knowledge and accuracy.

In order to judge the better of these particulars, so interesting to the political arithmetician, it will be necessary to contrast them with the similar circumstances of England; by which method their merit or deficiency may be more clearly discriminated. In respect to England, may be remarked, in the first place, a very singular circumstance, which is the near approximation of the two kingdoms, in the two articles of *price* and *rent*. The rent of cultivated land in England, exclusive of sheep-walks, warrens, and wastes, if it could be known accurately, would be probably found not much to exceed 15s. 7d. per acre; at least I am inclined to think so, for several reasons, too complex to give here: I have indeed none for fixing on that *exact* sum; but I should calculate it somewhere between 15s. and 16s. Now 15s. 7d. at twenty-six years purchase, which I take to be the present average price of land in this kingdom (1790 and 1791), is 20l. 5s. 2d. The two kingdoms are, therefore, on a foot of equality in this respect. The interest paid by land 3½ in France, is higher than in England, where it cannot be calculated at more than three, perhaps not more than 2½. If it be thought extraordinary, that land should sell for as high a price in France as in England, there are not wanted circumstances to explain the reason. In the first place, the net profit received from estates is greater. There are no poor rates in that kingdom; and tythes were much more moderately exacted, as it has been observed above. Repairs, which form a considerable deduction with us, are a very trifling one with them. But what operates as much, or perhaps more than these circumstances, is the number of small properties. I have touched several times on this point in the course of the notes, and its influence pervades every part of the kingdom; all the savings which are made by the lower classes in France, are invested in land; but this practice is scarcely known in England, where such savings are usually lent on bond or mortgage, or invested in the public funds. This causes a competition for land in France, which, very fortunately for the prosperity of our agriculture, does not obtain here.

As to the next article, namely, the acreable produce of corn land, the difference will be found very great indeed; for in England, the average produce of wheat and rye (nineteen-twentieths the former) is twenty-four bushels, which form a vast superiority to eighteen, the produce of France; amounting to twelve for one of the seed, instead of five for one. But the superiority is greater than is apparent in the proportion of those two numbers; for the corn of England, as far as respects *dressing*, that is cleaning from dirt, chaff, seeds of weeds, &c. is as much better than that of France, as would make the difference at least twenty-five (instead of twenty-four) to eighteen; and I am inclined to think even
more.

more. There is not a plank threshing-floor in France; and no miller can grind corn as he receives it from the farmer, without further cleaning. Another point, yet more important, is, that English wheat, in much the greater part of our kingdom, succeeds other preparatory crops; whereas the wheat of France follows almost universally a dead fallow, on which is spread all the dung of the farm. A circumstance, which ought to give a considerable superiority to the French crops, is that of climate, which in France is abundantly better for this production than in England; and, what is still of greater moment, the spring corn of France, compared with that of England, is absolutely contemptible, and indeed unworthy of any idea of comparison. While, therefore, in France, the wheat and rye are relied on for the almost total support of the farm and farmer, reason tells us, that the wheat ought to be much superior to the produce of a country, in which it does not bear an equally important part. Lastly, let me observe, that the soil of France is, for the most part, better than that of England. Under these various circumstances, for the average produce of the former, to be so much inferior, is truly remarkable. But eighteen bushels of wheat and rye, and miserable spring corn, afford as high a rent in France, as twenty-four in England, with the addition of our excellent spring corn: this forms a striking contrast, and leads to the explanation of the difference. It arises very much from the poverty of the French tenantry; for the political institutions and spirit of the government having, for a long series of ages, tended strongly to depress the lower classes, and favour the higher ones, the farmers, in the greater part of France, are blended with the peasantry; and, in point of wealth, are hardly superior to the common labourers; these poor farmers are *metayers*, who find nothing towards stocking a farm but labour and implements; and being exceedingly miserable, there is rarely a sufficiency of the latter. The landlord is better able to provide live stock; but, engaged in a dissipated scene of life, probably at a distance from the farm, and being poor, like country gentlemen in many other parts of Europe, he stocks the farm not one penny beyond the most pressing necessity:—from which system a wretched produce must unavoidably result. That the tenantry should generally be poor, will not be thought strange, when the taxes laid upon them are considered; their *tailles* and capitation are heavy in themselves; and the weight being increased by being laid arbitrarily, prosperity and good management are little more than signals for a higher assessment. Under such a system, a wealthy tenantry, on arable land, can hardly arise. With these farmers, and this management, it is not much to be wondered at that the land yields no more than eighteen bushels. Such a tenantry, contributing so little beyond the labour of their hands, are much more at the landlord's mercy than would be the case of wealthier farmers, who, possessing a capital proper for their undertakings, are not

not content with a profit less than sufficient to return them a due interest for their money ; and the consequence is, that the proprietor cannot have so high a rent as he has from *metayers*, who, possessing nothing, are content merely to live. Thus, in the division of the gross produce, the landlord in France gets half ; but in England, in the shape of rent only, from a fourth to a tenth ; commonly from a fourth to a sixth. On some lands he gets a third, but that is uncommon. Nothing can be simpler than the principles upon which this is founded. The English tenant must not only be able to support himself and his family, but must be paid for his capital also,—upon which the future produce of the farm depends, as much as on the land itself.

The importance of a country producing twenty-five bushels per acre instead of eighteen, is prodigious ; but it is an idle deception to speak of twenty-five, for the superiority of English spring corn (barley and oats) is doubly greater than that of wheat and rye, and would justify me in proportioning the corn products of England, in general, compared with those of France, as twenty-eight to eighteen* ; and I am well persuaded, that such a ratio would be no exaggeration. Ten millions of acres produce more corn than fifteen millions ; consequently a territory of one hundred millions of acres more than equals another of one hundred and fifty millions. It is from such facts that we must seek for an explanation of the power of England, which has ventured to measure itself with that of a country so much more populous, extensive, and more favoured by nature as France really is ; and it is a lesson to all governments whatever, that if they would be powerful, they must encourage the only real and permanent basis of power, AGRICULTURE. By enlarging the quantity of the products of land in a nation, all those advantages flow which have been attributed to a great population, but which ought, with much more truth, to have been assigned to a great consumption ; since it is not the mere number of people, but their ease and welfare, which constitute national prosperity. The difference between the corn products of France and England is so great, that it would justify some degree of surprise, how any political writer could ever express any degree of amazement, that a territory, naturally so inconsiderable as the British isles, on comparison with France, should ever become equally powerful ; yet this sentiment, founded in mere ignorance, has been very common. With such an immense superiority in the produce of corn, the more obvious surprise should have been, that the resources of England, compared with those of France, were not yet more decisive. But it is to be observed, that there are other articles of culture to which recourse must be had for an explanation : vines are an immense object in the cultivation of the latter kingdom,

* In the *Cahier de la Noblesse de Blois*, p. 26, it is asserted, that the land products of England are to those of France, arpent for arpent, as forty-eight to eighteen. But on what authority?

and

and yield all the advantages, and even superior ones to those afforded by the assiduous culture of corn in England. Maiz is also an article of great consequence in the French husbandry; olives, silk, and lucerne are not to be forgotten; nor should we omit mentioning the fine pastures of Normandy, and every article of culture in the rich acquisitions of Flanders, Alsace, and part of Artois, as well as on the banks of the Garonne. In all this extent, and it is not small, France possesses a husbandry equal to our own; and it is from well seconding the fertility of nature in these districts, and from a proper attention to the plants adapted to the soil, that there has arisen any equality in the resources of the two kingdoms; for, without this, France, with all the ample advantages she otherwise derives from nature, would be but a petty power on comparison with Great Britain. In order the better to understand how the great difference of product between the French and English crops may affect the agriculture of the two kingdoms, it will be proper to observe, that the farmer in England will reap as much from his course of crops, in which wheat and rye occur but seldom, as the Frenchman can from his, in which they return often.

<i>An English Course.</i>		<i>A French Course.</i>
1, Turnips,		1, Fallow,
2, Barley,		2, Wheat, - - 18
3, Clover,		3, Barley, or oats,
4, Wheat, - - 25		4, Fallow,
5, Turnips,		5, Wheat, - - 18
6, Barley,		6, Barley, or oats,
7, Clover,		7, Fallow,
8, Wheat, - - 25		8, Wheat, - - 18
9, Tares, or beans,		9, Barley, or oats,
10, Wheat, - - 25		10, Fallow,
11, Turnips,		11, Wheat, - - 18
—		—
75		72

The Englishman, in eleven years, gets three bushels more of wheat than the Frenchman. He gets three crops of barley, tares, or beans, which produce nearly twice as many bushels per acre, as what the three French crops of spring corn produce. And he farther gets, at the same time, three crops of turnips and two of clover, the turnips worth 40s. the acre, and the clover 60s. that is 12l. for both. What an enormous superiority! More wheat; almost double of the spring corn; and above 20s. per acre per annum in turnips and clover. But farther; the Englishman's land, by means of the manure arising from the consumption of the turnips and clover is in a constant state of improvement, while the Frenchman's farm is stationary. Throw the whole into a cash-account, and it will stand thus:—

English

<i>English System.</i>				<i>French System.</i>			
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Wheat 75 bushels, at 5s. -	18	15	0	Wheat 72 bushels, at 5s. -	18	0	0
Spring corn three crops, at 32 bushels, 96 bushels, at 2s. 6d.	12	0	0	Spring corn three crops, at 20 bushels, 60 bushels, at 2s. 6d.	7	10	0
Clover two crops, - - -	6	0	0				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	36	15	0		25	10	0
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
Per acre per annum, -	3	6	10	Per acre per annum, -	2	6	4
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

In allowing the French system to produce twenty bushels of spring corn, while I assign thirty-two only to the English, I am confident that I favour the former considerably; for I believe the English produce is the double of that of France: but stating it as above, here are the proportions of thirty-six on an improving farm to twenty-five on a stationary one; that is to say, a country containing 82,000,000 acres produces as much as another, whose area contains 119,000,000, which are in the same ratio as thirty-six and twenty-five.

C H A P. V.

Of the French Courses of Crops.

THERE is no circumstance, which so strongly distinguishes the knowledge of the present age, in the theory and practice of husbandry, on comparison with that of all preceding periods, as this of the right arrangement of the crops cultivated on arable land. Compared with this, all other articles are of very little importance. And were the present the proper place to expatiate on it, I should not be ill employed in explaining the amazing ignorance or negligence of the generality of writers in either totally omitting, or grossly mistaking, a subject so essential to every species of good management*. Unless this part of the farmer's conduct be well understood, the greatest exertion and improvement in other branches of his business, lose their effect; and a nation finds the cultivation of its territory, producing wealth and prosperity, almost exactly in proportion to the intelligence with which its husbandmen observe this leading prin-

* It is a singular circumstance, that till the year 1768, there did not appear a single work (as far as I can judge from my collection, which is considerable), where this subject was treated with any tolerable attention to those rules of practice, which are now so well known.

principle of the art. As the difference between good and bad farmers depends more on this point than on any other, so the difference between well and ill cultivated countries is almost wholly resolvable into the effects derived from the rotation of crops,—a subject so important, that an ample dissertation would be necessary fully to elucidate it; for the present, I can only insert the miserable rotations commonly practised in France; and briefly explain in how great a degree the errors and deficiencies of the husbandry of that kingdom, and of every other, flow from this source. The most satisfactory method will be to arrange the courses according to the soils in which they are found.

DISTRICT OF RICH LOAM.

Through the provinces of Picardy, Isle of France, Normandy, and part of Artois, the prevalent course is, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, spring corn;—there are some variations, but not of consequence. In Flanders, and the rest of Artois, the management is exceedingly good; crops are in constant succession, without a fallow being known:—the superiority of the husbandry between Valenciennes and Lille may be easily conceived, from this common course:—1, wheat,—and after it turnips the same year; 2, oats; 3, clover; 4, wheat; 5, hemp; 6, wheat; 7, flax; 8, coleseed; 9, wheat; 10, beans; 11, wheat.

Observations.

Of this great portion of the richest and most fertile part of France, it is only an inconsiderable district, viz. the conquered province of Flanders and part of Artois, that are well cultivated. Hence it should appear, that the institutions of the French government have been unfavourable to agriculture; and indeed we shall find a confirmation of this remark in Alsace, another territory very well cultivated, and also conquered. When we see some of the finest, deepest, and most fertile loams that are to be met with in the world, such as those between Bernay and Elbeuf, and parts of the Pays de Caux, in Normandy, and the neighbourhood of Meaux, in the Isle of France, destined to the common barbarous course of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, spring corn; and the produce of this spring corn beneath contempt; the whole exertion and produce being seen in a crop of wheat, we must be convinced, that agriculture, in such a kingdom, is on the same footing as in the tenth century. If these lands were then tilled at all, they were, in all probability, as well tilled as at present. The country, in some parts of this N. E. district, being in open fields, and mixed properties, accounts very well for the system there pursued; but it is a very partial answer to my objection, since there are large portions much inclosed, in which the farmer might vary his rotation as he pleased; and we accordingly see Monf. Cretté, at Dugny, rejecting fallows:—I trust it is more
a want

a want of light and knowledge, than of power: and the clearest proof of this fact, is the same husbandry being pursued in accidental inclosures that are found in open districts, as in the fields, burthened with detestable common rights. However, as far as these extend, it must be confessed, that there is no power of improvement; and if the present constitution of France be entirely settled at last on mere democratical principles, no improvements, *in this respect*, can ever be looked for; because common rights usually give, to the lowest of the people, who have no property, a power of invading the properties of others; and the omnipotence of *the people* (by which term, should be understood men without property) in a pure democracy will give more efficacy to their right of injury, than to any right of preservation. Where the people have no rights over arable lands, the common consent of proprietors and farmers might do much; but how is such a consent to be looked for?—We may ask ourselves this question, as we well know that nothing among us, but legislative authority, will force men to follow their own manifest interests. The general ignorance of good agriculture is not, in this respect of courses of crops, more obvious in the fields of the farmer, than in the French books of rural œconomy. I could quote some hundred writers who boast of the culture of the Pays de Beauce, and of Picardy; yet those very districts are totally void of all merit, being bound in the thralldom of regular fallows, and producing but one good crop in three years.

PLAIN OF ALSACE.

In this flat vale of rich land the fields are never fallowed; the crops substituted, and preparatory to wheat, &c. are potatoes, poppies for oil, pease, maiz, vetches, clover, beans, hemp, tobacco, and cabbages.

Observations.

The rich plain of Alsace resembles Flanders, but is inferior in soil and management, yet both are excellent. The importance of getting two crops a year is better understood in Flanders, or at least more spiritedly practised; yet we are not to suppose them deficient in Alsace; but there is not an equal number of great towns to yield equal quantities of manure. The variety of crops in culture, however, is here a considerable merit; and shews a freedom from the silly and bigotted notion of the French (if I may use the expression), so common throughout the kingdom, of considering every thing as inferior to wheat; and of looking upon those rotations only as deserving of notice, in which it quickly recurs. It is remarkable that the good principles of management, in respect to courses of crops in Alsace, have not the power to banish, or even lessen, fallows an inch beyond the capital soils. It does not extend beyond Saverne one way, nor beyond Isenheim another; the soil declining, the manage-

ment declines; and you immediately find barren fallows on sand that would give the finest crops of turnips. The same remark is applicable to the rich district of the N. E. The methods of Flanders and Artois have no effect beyond the deep fertile soils; nor the principles of those methods, which are to the full as applicable to poor land as to that which is rich. They would demand turnips for the preparation on poor land, as much as beans or cabbages on the richer soils; but though such principles are vigorously carried into execution on the latter, they are absolutely unknown in the neighbourhood on the former. In this circumstance, as I shall shew more at large in another chapter, consists the material difference between English and French agriculture. The barren sands of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the poor flints of Buckinghamshire, and the chalks of Hertford, are as well cultivated as the rich loams of Kent and Berkshire. There is as much merit in the turnips upon sand, as in the beans upon clay. The sainfoin on chalk and flints lay claim to the same merit as the wheat and hops of the deeper loams. Such spectacles are common in England, the same principles governing the cultivation of counties absolutely distinct in soils; but step out of Flanders or Artois into Picardy, or out of the plain of Alsace into Loraine or Franche Comté, and all principles, connections, combination, and ideas are all broken; you are in a new kingdom; you pass a line of separation between common sense and folly. Here you are in a garden; cross a river, and it is the field of the sluggard:—on one soil the human mind seems active and alive, on the other it is torpid and dead. It will, perhaps, be found that this singular fact depends on government; but this is not the proper place for the inquiry.

PLAIN OF LIMAGNE.

Some pieces fallowed: stubbles ploughed to put in another crop. No fallow ever known at Vertaizon Chauriet. Rye after hemp, and then dung for hemp again. Wheat after beans, and after rye also, and rye after wheat. Plant cabbages directly after hemp: 1, barley; 2, rye; 3, hemp; 4, rye. The reason for sowing rye in this rich vale is singular; they assert that it is too fertile for wheat. Dr. Brés shewed me his best land sown with rye, and his worst with wheat: this plant on the rich land runs so much to straw, that the produce is small. It is evident from these few *traits*, that they understand the right management of their fertile plain very indifferently; and that, in this material part of the farmer's art, they are backward and uninformed.

PLAIN OF THE GARONNE.

In travelling southward from the Limosin, it is a remarkable circumstance that fallows never cease till maiz is met with; but that afterwards this plant becomes the preparation for wheat in the course, 1, maiz; 2, wheat; and this husbandry

husbandry commences at no great distance from Creiffensac, in Quercy; here begins also the culture of what they call *gieyfe*, which is a *latbyrus*, I believe *sitifolius*, and also *jarash*, the *vicia latbyroides*. These plants are sown both in September and the spring, and assist in banishing fallows. Turnips are there found likewise, and more than in most other parts of France; they are a second crop sown after wheat and rye. Not far from Cahors four other articles are found in common cultivation, viz. a *vicia sativa varietas*, the *cicer arietinum*, the *eruum lens*, and the *lupinus albus*; but maiz as a preparation is of much more consequence, and hemp of yet greater; by means of which articles, fallows on the rich lands are unknown; but upon the inferior ones they are found as every where else in France.

The leading features of husbandry in this rich plain of the Garonne, are similar to what I have already remarked in the preceding districts. Where the soil is of such capital fertility, as to demand nothing that bears the resemblance of improvement, crops the most profitable are crowded in; and the land is well cultivated, though with little merit in the cultivator: but where inferior soils demand something more of exertion, there is here, as in all other parts of France, an absolute blank; a fallow is the immediate resource, and you step at once from good into execrable management. The turnip culture of Quercy is a singular circumstance in French husbandry; I was not there at a season that enables me to speak of the methods in which that plant is cultivated, nor of the success; but as we saw many fields, uncropped, in preparation for it, I am willing to believe that they really have the culture; and yet the universality of *raves* in France, called *rabbet*, *rabboules*, &c. &c. another plant, and much inferior to the real turnip, do not leave me entirely free from suspicion. I thought the question merited attention, and I procured a few seeds, which I sowed at Bradfield; I had but two plants; one was a turnip, but of a habit and size very much inferior to our own; the other was a rave, that is to say, with a carrot root (not at all like a tankard turnip), long, thin, poor, and, compared with turnips, of no worth. They have many of them in culture near Caen, in Normandy, in the road to Bayeaux. It is plain the *navets*, cultivated in Bresse, are also the same plant, from the description of Mons. Varenne de Fenille, who says they are like turnips, *à cela près que sa forme est plus alongée* *. The culture of the *latbyrus*, of vetches, and of the varieties of pease, &c. in the same province, are points of merit; and the more so, as they are found in considerable quantities on soils which, though rich, do not equal the exuberant fertility of the lower vales. The most singular circumstance in the preceding minutes, is the infinite importance of the culture of maiz. From Calais to Creiffensac, in Quercy, you never once quit fallows; but no sooner do you enter the climate

* *Observ. sur l'Agricult. p. 42.*

of maiz, than fallows are abandoned, except on the poorest soils: this is very curious. The line of maiz may be said to be the division between the good husbandry of the S. and the bad husbandry of the N. of the kingdom. Till you meet with maiz, very rich soils are fallowed, but never after; perhaps it is the most important plant that can be introduced into the agriculture of any country whose climate will suit it. It is a more sure crop than wheat; its product, in the food of man, is so considerable, that the populousness of a country is necessarily very different without, or with this article of culture; it is, at the same time, a rich meadow for a considerable part of the summer, the leaves being stripped regularly for oxen, affording a succulent, and most fattening food, which accounts for the high order of all cattle in the south of France, in Spain, and in Italy, in situations that seem to deny all common meadows. It is planted in squares or rows so far asunder, that all imaginable tillage may be given between them; and the ground thus cleaned and prepared at the will of the farmer, is an invaluable circumstance; and finally, it is succeeded by wheat.—Thus a country, whose soil and climate admit the course of, 1, maiz; 2, wheat, is under a cultivation that, perhaps, yields the most food for man and beast, that is possible to be drawn from the land; for as to potatoes, it would be idle to consider them in the same view as an article of human food, which ninety-nine hundredths of the human species will not touch. They have in provinces, where the people will live on them, a similar, though perhaps an inferior merit. But maiz has the additional advantage of affording the best food that is known for fattening oxen, hogs, and poultry, by grinding, or otherwise preparing the seed; thus affording a meadow to feed your cattle in summer, and grain to fatten them in winter. In some of the minutes, mention is made of a practice which deserves attention, namely, that of sowing it broadcast, and thick for mowing to soil cattle. In the south of France, the climate permits this so late, that such sowing is always for an after-crop—and never done except after the reaping of some other produce. Such practices should convince us of the superiority of the southern climates; and ought to instigate the farmers in our northerly ones to emulate these examples as closely as possible, by adopting the principle, though we have not the power to transfer the plant. Ploughing our stubbles not *after*, but *in* harvest, for turnips, and coleseed, approaches as nearly as our climate will admit. We have had a variety of turnips, and cabbages, and other plants introduced. I wish we had a turnip that would bear this late sowing better than the common one. I cannot quit this subject, without remarking, that a very sensible French writer, speaking of the culture of maiz in Bresse, and particularly of sowing the land every year in the course of, 1, maiz; 2, wheat, condemns it:—*cet usage me semble pernicieux* *; and in an-

* *Observ. Exper. et Mem. sur l'Agricult. par M. Varenne de Fenille, 8vo. 1789. p. 24.*

other place recommends fallow.—I am sorry to say, that this great point of the arrangement of crops is as little understood by the enlightened world in France, as by the peasants themselves; one can hardly give a more striking instance than that of an *œconomiste*, who says, “clover does so much good to land, that you may take two or three successive crops of oats, before sowing the land with wheat*.”

General Remarks.

Throwing these several rich districts together, in union with one which I know by report only (the Bas Poitou), amounting in the whole to a territory almost as large as England, we cannot but admit, that France is in possession of a soil, and even of a husbandry, that is to be ranked very high amongst the best in Europe. Flanders, part of Artois, the rich plain of Alsace, the banks of the Garonne, and a considerable part of Quefcy are cultivated more like gardens than farms. Perhaps they are too much like gardens, from the smallness of properties; but this is not the place to examine that question, which is curious enough to demand a more particular discussion. The rapid succession of crops; the harvest of one being but the signal of sowing immediately for a second, can scarcely be carried to greater perfection: and this in a point, perhaps of all others the most essential to good husbandry, when such crops are so justly distributed, as we generally find them in these provinces; cleaning and ameliorating ones being made the preparation for such as foul and exhaust. These are provinces, which even an English farmer might visit with advantage. Such praise, however, cannot be given indiscriminately; for fallows disgrace, in some rich districts, the finest soils imaginable: a country can hardly be worse cultivated than Picardy, Normandy, and the Pays de Beauce; every acre of which provinces would admit the exclusion of fallows, with as much propriety as Flanders itself. In the Pays de Caux, where fallows are very much excluded, for want of understanding the right arrangement of crops, their noble soil is full of beggary and weeds.

DISTRICT OF HEATH.

To detail all the barbarous rotations, which ignorance has spread through Bretagne, Maine, and Anjou, would be tedious; the general feature of their management is to pare and burn the fields exhausted, abandoned, and by time recovered, that a succession of crops may bring it once more into the same situation. Great quantities of buck-wheat are found every where. In St. Pol de Leon there is a better conduct; parsnips are found; but broom is, even there, an object of profit. Common course, 1, broom, sown with oats; 2, 3, 4, broom; it is cut the fourth year, but fed all the four: 5, wheat; 6, rye; 7,

* Encyclopædie. Tom. 5. p. 686. Folio.

buck-wheat; 8, oats, or broom.—This most singular culture of broom is for fuel; the country has neither coals nor wood—and broom faggots sell so well, that a good arpent is worth about 400 liv. or about 16l. 16s. an English acre. But it is of a height and thickness of produce, in St. Pol de Leon, much exceeding any thing I have seen; and they say, that four years growth of broom improves the land.

Observations.

The vast province of Bretagne, which bears a near resemblance to Maine and Anjou, is perhaps as striking an instance as Europe affords of the immense importance of the right arrangement of crops; a great portion of all the three provinces is under cultivation, even a regular cultivation, however barbarous; yet so infamously cropped, that almost the whole must appear to a traveller an absolute waste. It was to me an astonishing spectacle, to see such a wretched state of agriculture in a province like Bretagne, which I knew enjoyed some of the most valuable privileges in the kingdom; which possessed one of the greatest linen fabrics in Europe; and which was surrounded in every part by the sea, and abounded with ports and commerce. But Flanders itself would, if cropped like Bretagne, become poor and contemptible. A great portion of the three provinces above-mentioned is adapted to sainfoin, and yet a sprig of it is not found. Every acre that I saw was perfectly well adapted to turnips and clover, and consequently to the Norfolk husbandry; but there is nothing except broom, furz, weeds, waste, and corn. Not an appearance of any thing for the winter-support of cattle and sheep, except straw. These provinces are admirably calculated for sheep; but the number is too inconsiderable to be noticed. A change of the rotation of crops is the only thing wanted to alter the face of these provinces. It would be an impropriety to say, that government and feudal oppressions are the sole cause; and that if these are not reversed, nothing could be done; for the rich proprietors and wealthy farmers, the number of whom is very considerable, as well as the nobility themselves, have their estates and farms exactly in the same condition, cropped in the same manner, and covered with the same quantity of weeds and rubbish. Considering how well adapted the soil and climate are to sheep much the greater part of all the three provinces ought to be in some such course as this; 1, turnips; 2, barley; 3, clover; 4, wheat. Also, 1, turnips; 2, barley, or oats; 3, artificial grasses, for three years; 4, wheat; 5, winter tares, pease, beans, or buck-wheat; 6, wheat; with no other variation than taking the winter tares, pease, and beans immediately on the lay, if the ground abounded with the red worm, and wheat following. By such courses, these provinces would produce more than the double of what they do at present.

GASCOIGN.

GASCOIGN.

I must, in the first place, remark, that the lands in which the preceding courses take place, are but a small part of this heath division, which is mostly either mountain, waste, or *lande*; and that the *landes*, or heaths, of Bourdeaux cover two hundred square leagues of territory; not absolute waste, but cropped with pines for resin only. And there are other vast tracks that yield little besides fern, and other spontaneous rubbish. In the small districts that are under cultivation, husbandry, as it appears from the preceding minutes, is infinitely better understood than in the other great division of heath, Bretagne, &c. It is, on the contrary, in some places practised on very enlightened principles; a circumstance that must, if ever those wastes become cultivated, have very powerful effects in spreading there that good system already established in the country.

About St. Palais to Bayonne, many turnips in a singular husbandry. I observed several fields quite black, and demanding what it was, found it the ashes of burnt straw: I afterwards saw them strewing straw thickly over the land. They do this on a wheat stubble, but do not think they leave stubble enough, and therefore spread much straw, set fire to it, and it burns all weeds as well as itself, cleaning as well as manuring the land. As there are immense wastes through all the country covered with fern, I asked why they did not burn that, and keep their straw? The reply was, that they preferred fern for making dung, cutting a great deal of it for litter. As soon as burnt they plough and harrow. They hoe and hand-weed, as I was told. After turnips sow maiz, in this course, 1, maiz; 2, wheat and turnips; which is certainly deserving of commendation.

St. Vincent.—They sow clover among maiz in August; at the end of April or the beginning of May the clover is cut once, yielding a fine crop, sometimes three feet in height; it is then ploughed up, and maiz planted again; after which something else. Another course is to sow rye; after that millet; and with this *barricots*, or kidney-beans.

Dax to Tartas.—They have three crops in two years in this course; 1, maiz; 2, rye, and then millet. Clover, called *farouche*, is sown alone throughout the country, at the beginning of September; mown for hay in spring, and ploughed for maiz, in which case it is after rye, instead of millet: nothing can be better husbandry.

To St. Severe good maiz; much land ploughed ready for clover. All the men and women in the country now hoeing millet (August 17th), on three feet ridges, with three irregular rows on each ridge; clean as a garden. 1, Maiz, and in August turnips sown among it; 2, spring wheat sown in January or February,

bruary, which is nearly as good as autumnal ; 3, clover sown in September and mown, fine crops, in March or April ; 4, maiz planted again ; and sometimes flax sown among maiz in September and gathered in April :—no fallow. Excellent ! These are rotations of a superior kind ; all the rest in the district are bad.

General Observations.

What is equally applicable to all countries, that are, for the most part, uncultivated, or at least in a very waste or rough state, like much in Gascoign, Anjou, and Maine, but chiefly in Bretagne, is the proper use and application of paring and burning ; when such lands are in some degree of culture, but not entirely reclaimed, this mode of husbandry, properly used, is excellent ; on the contrary, as applied here, it is a most barbarous and mischievous practice. The common method we have seen is to burn periodically, and to sow immediately wheat, rye, barley, or oats, as long as the land will yield a crop worth the reaping ; then to throw it aside, as if of no further value, and leave it to recover itself under a coat of weeds, broom, fern, furz, or any rubbish that may come. Abominable courses of crops, like these, have brought the practice of paring and burning into most unjust disrepute in every country in Europe. But such a general condemnation is one instance in a thousand of that utter want of discrimination which is so pernicious in agriculture. Paring and burning, properly managed, that is, in a judicious course of crops, is one of the most excellent methods of ameliorating land ; but it should always be made the preparation for grass, and not immediately for corn ; and it is in this case, as in many others, that the man who would wish to act on sound and sure principles, should bend his views to get grass on his lands, not ill termed a *layer* in Norfolk and Suffolk. Let him insure grass, and he needs not be anxious for corn ; he has it when he pleases. Paring and burning should always be given for a crop, that cattle may eat on the land, either rape, cabbage, or turnip, as the great mass of alkaline manure should have a mucilaginous one to act upon. A crop of corn, barley or oats (the latter best) follows, because you cannot get grass profitably in such a climate as Bretagne, Maine, or Anjou without corn. In Gascoign, where it may safely be sown in September, the necessity of corn is not equal. With this first sowing of corn, the grass seeds most suitable to the soil should be sown ; they never fail in such a case. And having a fine, clean, and uncontaminated produce of grass, you may keep it as long as it is profitable, and answers your purpose ; and after that you may break it up for corn, with a physical certainty of seeing none but crops large in proportion to the soil. And in the whole management of laying down, this rule ought never to be departed from, viz. of not letting wheat, rye, barley, or oats follow

follow one another, without a hoeing and ameliorating crop intervening. Let such principles govern the wastes of Bretagne, and animate the heaths of Maine and Anjou; and the traveller will not then curse them for *sombre*, desolate, and neglected provinces, but hail the influence of happier days!

DISTRICT OF MOUNTAIN.

To Perpignan from Spain, July 21st, stubbles ploughed up and sown with millet. No idea of a fallow, where water is at command, substituting clover, harricots, millet, and maiz; but the last not in a large quantity. Their clover culture is very singular; they plough their stubbles the beginning of August, and clover seed is harrowed, or rather rubbed in by a piece of wood fixed to the plough. This clover produces much luxuriant and valuable food for sheep and lambs early in the spring; after which it is watered, and produces by the end of May a full crop of hay. It is then ploughed up, and harricots, maiz, or millet planted, either of which is off in time for putting in wheat—and after the wheat, another crop of harricot or millet is taken; two crops are therefore gained every year. But where they have no water, fallows are known, which prepare for wheat. The fallow, however, is made on good land to produce millet, harricots, or barley, for forage. In the whole vale from Narbonne to Nismes, the principal object are vines, olives, or mulberries; but the vale land, wherever good, yields much wheat; some parts of it being a considerable corn country.

Dauphiné—Montelimart.—Immediately after the wheat harvest some buck-wheat, which is now (August 23d), in full blossom; this, on comparison with England, is gaining a full month of us, which, at this season, gives two crops, instead of one. With a judicious management, they might have as good turnips after wheat, as we get with almost a year's preparation. Mons. Faujas de St. Fond found all his farm in the fallow course; but now there is none, by means of sainfoin and clover. Another most singular circumstance, which shews what climate will do, is, that M. Faujas has potatoes eighteen inches high, planted on the ground which produced wheat this year.

Observations.

So far as my minutes were taken, fertile vales, however narrow or inconsiderable in extent, may be supposed to partake nearly of the character of richer districts. The principal range of mountains here crossed, is the volcanic country of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais; what cultivation I saw in them is very bad, and not to be commended, but for its being carried to so great an height, it climbs up into regions, where nothing but the greatest industry, animated by

property, the most powerful of instigations, could possibly lead it. But in the modes pursued by these proprietors, whose possessions are very small, there is little that calls for our attention. They are, in general, unenlightened, and practise the worst courses, with as unremitting exertions as the best. The principal, and perhaps the best feature of those mountains, are the chestnuts, which are numerous, and yield a considerable revenue to the proprietors. The mountains of Provence, which I saw both in the neighbourhood of Tour d'Aigues, and on the coast of the Mediterranean, are in general a miserable waste, and afford no other exhibitions of culture, than such as had perhaps be better omitted; to look for proper courses of crops, in such cases, would be absurd. The mountains of Provence, towards the Alps, by Barcelonetta, &c. are covered, as mountains always ought to be, with herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep.—The proper application of mountainous regions, is pasturage; whatever cultivation takes place, should be absolutely subservient to the endeavours, after raising the greatest possible quantity of winter food for cattle and sheep. Wheat, rye, or other crops, to feed the families of the farmers, are, on comparison with this, of very trivial consequence. The courses of crops should therefore be not much more than an arrangement of turnips, cabbages, rape, potatoes; with the cultivated grasses, that give the largest products of hay—and with corn, but in subservience to the rest. Such a system, however, will not be found on these mountains. Nor is it a wonder that the great object of cattle and sheep should not be understood in remote provinces, when they are so grossly neglected even near the capital, where all their products are sure of an immediate market.

DISTRICT OF STONY SOILS.

This miserably cultivated division of the kingdom, which presents so few practices in common husbandry that deserves attention, offers nothing in the minutes that calls for notice, except the introduction of potatoes in some of their courses; that root being much more cultivated in Loraine and Franche Comté, than in any other parts of the kingdom with which I am acquainted. The general arrangement of crops, throughout these provinces, being the common rotation of a third fallow, a third wheat, or rye, and a third barley, or oats, has resulted from the great quantity of open land therein subject to common rights; it is, however, a disgrace to the cultivators, that they too often pursue the same miserable routine in their inclosures. It would be useless to dwell on such husbandry; it is enough to class these provinces among the worst cultivated ones (vines excepted) that are to be found in the kingdom; and considering the extent of the open fields, there is very little probability of their amelioration.

DISTRICT

DISTRICT OF CHALK.

Through the province of Sologne, the general rotation is, 1, fallow ; 2, rye ; it is the most wretched of all the French provinces, as more than once observed. The soil is all a sand, or a sandy gravel, on a white marl bottom ; in some places quite chalky ; and in others a clay marl, but white ; and if we can judge by the size and growth of every sort of wood, it has sufficient principles of fertility for the production of any crop, well adapted to the nature of its surface. In every hole, and in every ditch there is stagnant water ; so that in a dry sandy country one of the first improvements would be a partial draining, which is an extraordinary circumstance. I have rarely seen a country more susceptible of improvement of the most obvious nature ; nor any better adapted to the Norfolk husbandry of 1, turnips ; 2, barley ; 3, clover ; 4, wheat ; rye has no business here, if the land was marled and thrown into the turnip and clover management ; not the clover alone without turnip (which has been the common blunder of half the improvers, as they have called themselves, in Europe), but by considering a good crop of turnips, fed on the land by sheep, as the parent of clover, without which that grass is but a poor matrix for wheat, on any but rich soils. The misery of this *triste* Sologne, as the French writers call it ; the poverty of the farmers ; the wretched state of every part of the country result, in no inconsiderable degree, from the courses of crops practised ; the least and most obvious change of them would give a new face to this desolate province. It is hardly possible to suppose worse husbandry than what is practised, I may almost say through every acre of the other provinces, which form the rest of this extensive calcareous district. Where the land is good, they crop without mercy ; and where it is bad, they have nothing but fallows and weeds, instead of turnips and sainfoin. All the ideas that regulate the agriculture of these chalk provinces must be absolutely annihilated, before any cultivation can be introduced that can make either individuals easy, or the community prosperous. It is a strange spectacle to see vineyards kept in the most beautiful and garden-like order, and all the arable lands around them nothing but filth and weeds ; and cropped in courses that either render them foul or sterile. A considerable portion of these calcareous districts should be thrown into sainfoin courses ; and the rest in rotations of cattle and corn :—one year producing food for cattle and sheep, and the next food for men or horses.

DISTRICT OF GRAVEL.

To give any table of the courses pursued in the two provinces of the Bourbonnois and Nevernois would be needless, since but one feature is found throughout them ;—1, fallow ;—2, rye ; a system to which they must be strangely partial ;

partial; for it is found in a country of which nine-tenths are inclosed, and at the command of farmers to sow what they please. It is not produce and success that should make them in love with fallows; for the farmers are as poor as their crops: the common produce is four times the seed, and they have often less; and with all this ploughing and fallowing, which, according to some visionaries, are essential towards keeping land clean and in heart, the soil is in such a state of degradation, that they actually find it exhausted by their management, and to restore it to some degree of fertility, they leave it to weeds and broom for seven or eight years, in order to recruit the soil, which fallows cannot effect. The world perhaps cannot afford a completer instance of the futility of the practice*. From what I observed of the Bourbonnois, and I examined it with particular attention, as I had no small temptation to become a farmer in it myself—the whole agriculture of it should be subservient to sheep; and the course of crops so arranged, as to keep, by means of turnips and durable cultivated grasses, as large flocks as possible. For corn, trust to turnips, grasses, and sheep: such tools must be badly handled indeed, if they will not make corn!—and very different corn from the beggarly rye at present in these provinces.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS.

It is rather a singular circumstance that turnips, or, if not turnips (for I was not there at the time to see them), raves, with roots large enough to fatten very good oxen, should in these provinces be not at all uncommon; and yet that the culture should hardly have any effects in improving their husbandry: the fact deserves attention. I have been finding fault throughout France with their want of turnips; and here they are; and yet am I not satisfied!—So a Frenchman would exclaim. But the case is a comment on the importance of deeply studying this most interesting branch of husbandry. It is not turnips that are so much wanted as a good course of crops. A five-and-twentieth part of a farm sown with turnips, which are followed by wheat, may be practised till doomsday, before a farm will be improved; but let the turnips be eaten on the land by sheep; sow barley and clover with it, and take the wheat on the clover; and do this once on four acres; you will then do it on fourteen, and then on forty. But we may easily imagine how well turnips are understood in a country where the predominant course is fallowing for rye. The best feature in their husbandry does not come within the scope of this chapter, viz. that of fattening oxen with

* I have heard some practical farmers in England assert, that rye does not exhaust; or, at least, much less than any other sort of white corn; if this be true, the exhausting of these provinces is by the operation of fallowing; and the land recruiting, under weeds and broom seems to speak the same language.

rye meal, and with the small quantity of turnips which they have. So far as they support cattle by *arable* crops, their merit is considerable; and is one material step towards remedying the great deficiency of French husbandry; but in regard to the arrangement of their crops, they are as barbarous in their practice as their neighbours.

General Remarks on the Courses of the Crops in France.

The particular errors of the respective districts, which fell within my knowledge, having been already noted and commented on, there remain at present some more general observations on such circumstances as are applicable to the whole kingdom. Whatever merit has been found depends on one of these two points, either upon an extraordinary fertility of soil, as in the case of Flanders, Alsace, and the Garonne, or on the culture of a plant particularly adapted to the southern and middle climates of the kingdom, that is maiz. But as this plant is not found on bad or even ordinary soils, the poorer ones, in the same climates, are abandoned to nature, or to fallows. It is a most singular circumstance, that the worst soils in England are the best cultivated, or at least as well cultivated as the most fertile; and that in France, none but capital ones are well managed.—When I come to explain the connexion between government and agriculture, this will be accounted for. The leading mischief, in most of the courses of crops throughout France, is the too great eagerness to have as much wheat or rye as possible. A vast population, and a subsistence which experience has proved precarious, have been probably the occasion of it: but the blindness of the conduct can, with enlightened persons, admit of no doubt. The more wheat you sow, the more you do not reap; and that land, which is kept by means of large stocks of cattle and sheep in good heart, will yield more when sown but once in four years, than with fewer cattle it would do if sown every third year. In the arrangement of courses, it is necessary to throw all such views absolutely out of the question: that conduct, in this respect, which is suitable to an individual, is proper for a nation. It rarely answers to a man to change his purpose in the cultivation of his farm, on account of some transitory expectation of a price; he ought to sow his ground with the plant best adapted to his general views, and to the state of his land: and not swerve from his purpose on the speculation of any particular view; and in like manner, it will always be for the national benefit, that the lands should be sown with whatever crop is most suitable to them, and whose product will pay best, when valued in money. A populous and rich country can never want bread to eat, but from the fault of its government, attempting to regulate and encourage what can flourish by absolute freedom only: the inhabitants of such a country will always command wheat, because they can afford to pay for it: and her own farmers will never fail
of

of raising that, or any other product, in any quantity demanded, provided they are not impeded by injudicious laws and restrictions. In these principles, it is necessary to consider all products as equally beneficial, provided they may be equally converted into money. The quantity of rye, in every part of France, even in the richest provinces, is probably one of the grossest absurdities in the agriculture of Europe; wheat is almost every where sown with it, to use the farmer's language. Yet throughout that whole kingdom, there is hardly any soil to be found bad enough to demand rye. All, generally speaking, is sufficiently good for wheat. In part of Sologne, near Chambord, there are some poor sands, that would not answer well for wheat; but there being a rich marl under the whole, if improved and thrown into the turnip and clover husbandry, it would yield more wheat than it now does rye; the same observation is applicable to the poorest lands of the Bourbonnois and Nevernois; after these, there are but very partial spots that would not yield wheat. In considering, with respect to the national interests, the proper courses of crops for France, two circumstances should be had in remembrance, which may not at first be thought to bear upon the question; it is the quantity of forest necessary in a country that either has not coal, or does not use it; and the vast tracks that are under vines. These are subjects that demand notice under other heads, but here they should be mentioned to shew, that while the quantity of arable land is thus prodigiously lessened, attention to banish fallows, and introduce proper courses of crops, becomes of the highest importance. When we reflect, that from a sixth to a seventh of the kingdom is occupied by wood, and that the space covered by vines is exceedingly great, at the same time that the wastes are in some provinces of enormous extent, it will appear amazing how so numerous a people are fed, with a third or fourth of all their arable land incumbered, not cleaned, by barren fallows.

There are practical farmers in England, who think fallowing necessary; and there are no practices in the minutiae of the farmer's business, but will in every age meet with those who strenuously support and defend them. There is no period without some favourite schemes, every one of which may, under certain circumstances, have merit; but the politician has nothing to do with such questions; he must either consider husbandry in its great outlines, or he cannot consider it at all; he must view the richest and best cultivated countries, and see whether all the lands in such are not every year productive; he must enquire if sheep and cattle in great quantities are not essential in a thousand respects; whether manure does not depend on them; and whether corn does not depend on manure; he will ask whether the conversion of the turnips of Norfolk, the beans of Kent, the cabbages and carrots of Flanders, the maiz of Guyenne, or the lucerne of Languedoc, into fallows, would in such provinces be esteemed
rational

national improvements? He will conclude, that as sheep and cattle cannot possibly abound where fallow rotations are pursued, the first and most obvious improvement is to make the fallows of a country support the additional cattle and sheep wanted in it. He will draw this conclusion in the outline, because he will see the fact established and practised in the best cultivated countries, let their soil be what it may. The particular modes of applying the general principle he may not understand, but the leading principle is obvious to common sense. The practice, however, of districts, and even of individuals, speaks the same language most decisively. To compare this spot with that is not the business;—but that country, that farm, will be most improved and most productive upon which the greatest quantity of cattle and sheep is kept. This holds good of an acre, a field, a farm, a district, a province, or a kingdom. This point, of such infinite and national importance, depends absolutely on the courses of crops. Reiterated and satisfactory experiment has proved, that two crops of white corn ought not to come together; instances may possibly be quoted to the contrary, but to reason on particular exceptions would be endless. If this rule be broken, it is generally at the expence of cattle and sheep, and of dung; and whatever is purchased at that expence is purchased dearly*. Out of such a maxim, the right conduct rises naturally: it supposes corn and cattle crops alternate; part of the arable, therefore, maintains cattle, and part yields corn. This will decide the nature of the crop; for cattle and sheep must be supported in winter as well as in summer; the crops for each season must, therefore, be proportioned to each other, and the arrangement must be such as preserves the land clean. It would be evidently useless to take notice of the variety of cases that may admit variations, without militating against the leading principles of such a deduction. Land may be so rich as to want neither cattle or sheep; it may, like some on the Garonne, produce hemp and wheat for ever; it may be so near a great city, that purchased manure may make other courses more eligible; certain crops may be in such demand, as to make it desirable to cultivate them by way of fallow, though not for cattle or sheep, as coleseed for oil, tobacco, flax, and other articles. Such exceptions, which in the nature of things must be numerous, are, in no respect, contrary to the leading principle that ought to govern

* It is not from theory or reasoning, or even from the view of the farms of others, that these ideas are suggested; my own farm supports me in the opinion. The average rental of it is pretty exactly the average rental of England; but if the kingdom in general were equally stocked, it would contain twenty-two millions more of sheep than it does at present, near one and a half million more of cattle, two hundred thousand fewer horses, and between two and three millions more of people. This is a system which may be called national and political husbandry. There are, doubtless, men who will ask me if my crops are drilled? If I horse-hoe very well? If my hedges are clipped? Or my ridges high or low, broad or narrow? Or, perhaps, whether my sheep have horns, or my gates painted? It is in agriculture as it is in morals; a virtue purchased at the expence of a greater virtue, becomes a vice.

throughout this inquiry. For the winter support of cattle and sheep, there are turnips, cabbages, potatoes, rape, carrots, parsnips, beans, vetches; for the summer sustenance, cultivated grasses of all kinds, which should necessarily be adapted to the quality of the soil, and to last in proportion to the poverty of it, and to the nature of the grass. Hence then some courses arrange themselves that are applicable, perhaps, to all the soils of the world.

1, Roots, cabbage, or pulse.

2, Corn.

3, Grasses.

4, Corn.

And, 1, Roots, or cabbage.

2, Corn.

3, Grasses.

4, Pulse, or maiz, hemp, or flax.

5, Corn.

And in these the chief distinction, relative to soil, will be the number of years in which the grasses are left: there are variations in particular cases, but the number is inconsiderable. To enlarge upon and explain such cases, to shew in what manner they clear and improve; and to point out what the variations ought to be for adapting the general principle to particular soils and situations, would be a proper business if I were writing a treatise of agriculture, but would be misplaced in the rapid view which brevity obliges me to take as a traveller. With these principles for our guide, we may venture to assert, that the generality of the courses of crops in France, and all of them on indifferent soils, are absolutely inconsistent with the profit of individuals, and with national prosperity. When Louis XIV. beggared his people, in order to place a grandson of France on the throne of Spain, and to acquire Flanders and Alsace, &c. he would have rendered his kingdom infinitely richer, more prosperous, and more powerful, had he banished the fallows from half a dozen of his provinces, or introduced turnips in some others; there is scarcely a step he could have taken in such an improvement of his agriculture which would not have given him more subjects and more wealth than any of his conquered provinces; every acre of which was purchased at the expence of ten of his old acres rendered waste or unproductive; nor was one Fleming or German added to his subjects, but at the expence of five Frenchmen.

When the importance of attending to COURSES OF CROPS is thus manifest and striking, we shall know pretty well how to estimate the merit of the forty societies of agriculture that are in France, by the subjects about which they busy themselves.

C H A P . VI.

Irrigation.

NONE of the least consequence in crossing from Calais to La Marche. *La Ville au Brun to Bassie.*—Meet with it first. The quicker the water runs off, the greater the improvement. Flat lands are improved, but the rushes not destroyed. The best water is the coldest—and immediately as it issues from the spring. Seldom irrigate in winter: cut but once. It is plain the practice is but ill understood here.

LIMOSIN to Limoges.—Every spot of land in the mountains is watered that is possible; and with such attention, as marks how sensible they are of the importance of this improvement. The water is conducted very high up the slopes of the hills; and, in several instances, I was at a loss to conjecture from whence it was brought. But in the low flat bottom it is badly done, with lines of rushes along the carrier-trenches, and little attention paid to the conducting of the water away speedily enough.

Ufarch.—Water with great care; in summer they prefer spring water just as it issues from the earth; but, in the beginning of the spring, river water.

ROUSILLON—Perpignan. Great exertions in watering in the vale lands, and perfectly well understood. The richest arable, of the vale at Pia, sells, if not watered, at 600 liv. the minatre (20l. 9s. 6d. per acre), but the watered lands at 1000 liv. (37l. 9s. 10d. per acre). Near Perpignan, a considerable aqueduct for it. From Perignan to Villa Franche, great exertions. They prefer, in many places, clear water—and the nearer to the spring the better.

LANGUEDOC.—Through all this province it is much practised, and with great success.

Gange.—Coming out of this town, I was surprised to find by far the greatest exertion in irrigation I had yet seen in France; a solid flank of timber and masonry is formed across a considerable river between two rocky mountains, to force the water into a very fine canal, in which it is, on an average, six feet broad by five deep, and half a mile long; built, rather than dug, on the side of the mountain just under the road, and walled in like a shelf—a truly great work, equally well imagined and executed!—A wheel raises a portion of the water from this canal thirty feet, by its hollow periphery. An aqueduct, built that height, on two tiers of arches, receives the water, and conducts it on arches built on the bridge, across the river, to water the higher grounds; while the canal below carries the larger part of the water to lower fields:—an

undertaking which must have cost considerable sums, and shews the prodigious value of water in such a climate.

St. Laurence—Lodeve.—Within a few miles of Gange, another similar irrigation; the water taken from the river in the same manner, and lifted equally high by another wheel; this is just by the chateau of Madame la Marquise de Gange. For the whole way through these mountains, the exertions in watering are prodigious; there is not an inch capable of being irrigated, over which water is not thrown, conducted on the slopes of the mountains every where possible.

Beg de Rieux.—Every where watered that is practicable; and the bed of a river laid so dry, from its water being all taken for irrigations, that it is curious to view.

Campan.—Lands, with water at command, sell at 600 liv. the journal (49l. 17s. 6d. per acre), of 700 cannes (about 19,600 feet), but not watered, from 300 to 400 liv.

Bagnere—Bigore.—Arable vale watered, and with great success.

GASCOIGN—*St. Vincents to Dax.*—Several streams above wastes or bad lands, and no use made of them.

To Tartas.—Several more.

Beauvoisis.—Some watered meadows pretty well done, which is an extraordinary thing in this part of France.

NORMANDY—*Neufchatel.*—Practised for meadows, but not well.

Falaise.—A vale of watered meadows that produce 100 liv. per acre, 22 feet to the perch (3l. 10s.)

BRETAGNE—*Belleisle.*—Some scraps attempted to be watered, the first I have seen in this province, but ill done, and the water not carried off.

ANJOU—*Tourbilly.*—Irrigation absolutely unknown in the country, though good opportunities are not wanted.

MAINE—*Beaumont.*—Fine streams through all the country, but no use made of them.

NORMANDY—*Bernay.*—Some near the town, cut for the second time, Oct. 3.

ALSACE—*Isenheim to Befort.*—First appearance in Alsace, and not well done.

BOURBONNOIS—*Moulins.*—Monf. Martin, the gardener of the royal nursery, who is from Languedoc, waters his garden after the manner of that province. A Persian wheel of buckets raises the water from a well twelve feet, the receiver being placed so low as to have five or six of the buckets emptying at a time, and very little water is lost; not the twentieth part, according to all appearance. A horse turns the wheel. It raises 200 poinçons, each of 200 bottles, an hour. The water is conducted, by small channels, to all the beds that want it.

AUVERGNE—*Riom.*—For two or three miles, a most noble irrigation, in a part of the rich vale of Limagne. The carrier-trenches all crowded with double rows of willows. A fine second growth. Some land under corn that should be grass.

Clermont.—At Royau, the volcanic mountain sides all watered; but it is coarsely done.

Izoire.

Izovre.—Much practised; their gardens are planted in quick succession, by means of it: after hemp, cabbages immediately. The distribution of the water, in these gardens, is very defective; they throw it from the trenches, on to the beds with bowls, instead of flowing equally of itself. It probably arises from this circumstance, that their gardens and hemp-grounds are not so valuable as what they call *vergers*; that is, watered meadows planted with apples, and other fruit-trees.

LANGUEDOC.—From Riom to the Rhone, across Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, all lands are, for the most part, watered, that are capable of being so.

DAUPHINE—*Montelimart*.—Irrigation carried here to a considerable perfection. Close to the town, a septier, which is one-half of an arpent of Paris, lets at 2½ louis d'or, or five the arpent, 120 liv. (6l. 2s. 6d. per acre). At a distance 60 liv. with obligation to dung every second year, which is remarkable: 100 septereés, that receive the washing of the city, lets at 5000 liv. besides 600 liv. for the winter feed of sheep. They are cut three or four times a-year. In Dauphiné, the water of springs is preferred to that of rivers, except of the Rhone, which is as good. And the reason they assign is, that the former never freezes, but river water does; and consequently improper to water with in winter. In summer, turbid water damages the grass.

PROVENCE—*Avignon*.—Irrigation is here carried on in great perfection, by means of the waters of the river Durance and the Crillon canal, made only for the purposes of watering. The meadows are mown thrice a-year, producing from 30 quintals of hay, at 40*s.* to 60*s.* the quintal, on each eymena of 21,600 feet (7 ton 14 cwt. per acre) at three cuts. Sell near the town such meadows to 1000 liv. (76l. 10s. per acre); further from it, 800 liv. (61l. 5s. per acre). If the season is dry, they are watered every twelve days; but in a moist time, once in three or four weeks. In some cases, they begin with turbid water, and finish with what is clear to clean the crop. Never water their corn at all, but in extraordinary droughts.

Lille.—The road from Avignon hither passes, for some miles, through the dead level of the plain; the whole watered with great attention. The channels for conducting the streams, appear to be traced with much skill, and the distribution is to every crop at will. There are many vines from which it is excluded; but it seems to be very ill management, to plant vines on land that admits watering. It certainly would not be done, if the profit on that crop were not very great. Much of this land is under clover and lucerne, watered; but the same, while in corn, is not watered. And the effect of irrigation is such, that the clover (which is sown among wheat in autumn) is cut once for hay the same year in which the wheat is reaped: thrice the following year; and then either ploughed up for corn, or left for meadow; in which latter case, the
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chief grass that comes is the *avena elatior*. The soil a white calcareous loam, till within four miles of Lille, and then a brown argillaceous earth, without stones three or four feet deep, apparently of great fertility, with or without water. At Lille, watered meadows sell at 400 liv. the eymena, and are cut thrice; but they complain of a want of water, which is extraordinary, for they seem to have the greatest command of it. It is raised into gardens by many wheels with hollow fellows turned by the stream, and conducted artfully into every bed.

Vaucluse.—The spring at this village, which will for ever be celebrated in the annals of love and poetry, ought not to be less so in those of cultivation. The waters are used in irrigation within three or four hundred yards of the rock from which they burst, and with great effect.

Orgon.—In going hither from Vaucluse, there is much irrigation. Near Ca-vaillon the land is, for that purpose, dug, and some even trenched. At Orgon the canal de Boisgelin, so called from its patron, the Archbishop of Aix, is a noble work, but unfinished; it passes here in a tunnel four hundred and forty yards through a mountain; it is twenty feet broad, and eight deep; has no water in it, as the work has stood still for some years, for want of money. The mountain it cuts is of chalk and marl; a stony chalk, not at all like common lime-stone; and a stony clay also, but calcareous, with a fine chalky marl, twenty or thirty feet deep. Pass on the great road to Aix for about a league, all richly watered, and then quit it for Salon. Cross the above-mentioned canal, but without water in the midst of an arid stony flat, that would pay admirably for irrigation; but in the vale afterwards the canal de Boisgelin is finished; finely executed in stone, and quite full; and there are three others, so that the quantity of water here conveyed is very considerable.

La Crau.—By this term is to be understood the most singular stony desert that is to be met with in France, and perhaps in Europe. It is about five leagues every way, and contains, probably, from twenty to twenty-five square leagues: in twenty there are 136,780 English acres. It is composed entirely of shingle, being so uniform a mass of round stones, some to the size of a man's head, but of all sizes less, that the newly thrown up shingle of a sea shore is hardly less free from soil. Beneath these surface stones is not so much a sand, as a kind of cemented rubble, a small mixture of loam, with fragments of stone. Vegetation is rare and miserable. Some of the absinthium and lavender, so low and poor, as hardly to be recognized; and two or three miserable grasses, with the *centaurea*, *calycitropa*, and *salsifialis*, were the principal plants I could find; and I believe, on recollection, an *eryngium*. I searched for the *lolium perenne*, but could not discover a single stalk, or any signs of it; I conclude, therefore, that this plant was all so eaten down, as not in this season (August) to be visible. After travelling some miles on this extraordinary desert, I asked my guides

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if the rest of it were similar to what I had seen; and they answered me, that it was all alike, both in respect of soil and plants. The only use to which the uncultivated part is applied, is that of winter feeding an immense number of sheep (to the amount of a million, as I was informed, but which I doubt), that are summer-fed in the Provence Alps, towards Barcelonetta and Piedmont. If any think that a million are fed here, the number of acres must be much larger than I have mentioned. The reason why I arrange this stony region under the title *irrigation*, is on account of some very noble undertakings to water it, which deserve more attention than any thing else to be met with in it. In advancing from Salon into the Crau, at about four miles, the road crosses the canal of Boisgelin. The old canal of Crappone, at the same place, is seen distributing water in various directions, for the amelioration of one of the most arid tracks that is to be met with in the world. The canal de Crappone takes its waters from the Durance at La Roche, and carries it to the southern part of it at Istres. This canal is forty miles long. That of Boisgelin receives it from the same river at Malavort, and crossing the other divides into three branches; one of which leads to lands in the neighbourhood of Istres; the second, to St. Saumas and Magnan, and this part of the Crau; the third is a small one, that turns to the left towards Salon. In consequence of water being thus conducted to a region where it is so much wanted; some very capital improvements have been wrought. Some large tracks of the Crau have been broken up, and planted with vines, olives, and mulberries, and converted into corn and meadow. Corn has not succeeded; but the meadows I viewed, are amongst the most extraordinary spectacles which the world can afford, in respect to the amazing contrast between the soil in its natural, and in its watered state, covered richly and luxuriantly with clover, chicory, rib grass, and *avena elatior*. The mode in which the improvements were made, has been that of removing the stones for ploughing; these are laid in an irregular slovenly manner, by way of fences to the inclosures; and particularly in one part, where a new improvement has taken place near the road.—Upon the subject of watering this most singular district, I had conversations with some gentlemen at Salon, who much questioned whether these improvements had answered, the expences having been very great. On this point, I shall presume to remark, that the great expence they put themselves to in removing the stones with so much care, does not seem to me to have been judicious. If I were to attempt the cultivation of any such track of ground, so level as this is in its natural state, I would conduct water with the greatest attention, but content myself with removing the largest stones only. I would sow the proper grass seeds on the shingle and water immediately; and aim more at converting the soil to good pasturage than to meadow. No ploughing, and no other expence than grass seeds and irrigation would be incurred. After some

some years watering, I should find the interstices of the stones filled with artificial mould; and then a very little labour would convert it to meadow. In such attempts undertakers are too apt to aim at complete improvements, and are dissatisfied if they do not bring such wastes at once to the resemblance of fields that have been long under cultivation; but to render such works profitable, enormous expences should be avoided; and something left to time to effect, silently but surely, and without other expenditure than that of a little patience. It is at least worth the experiment. I am much mistaken if *water* and *seeds* would not make very valuable pasturage, without other exertions, and perhaps better than with tillage. *Monf. de la Lande* speaks of the Canal de Provence; which takes the waters of the Durance to Aix and Marseilles, being 110,000 toises long; and of the irrigations, by its bringing in a million of livres a-year*.

Hieres.—Never water corn, or any arable crop, except lucerne; unless it be in the greatest droughts. Yet it is here perfectly well understood, and is the great support of all the low grounds and slopes. They use it with great attention and success. They have a pretty contrivance for watering their gardens, out of a ditch seven or eight feet deep, never thinking of the miserable method used in England of carrying and spreading with watering-pots: on the contrary, they fix a post of five or six feet high on the bank of the ditch, and a long pole is balanced for swinging every way on the top of it, with a pail at one end, and a stone for a balance at the other. A man, by dipping the pail, which he does incessantly, and emptying it into a trench cut for receiving the water, supplies a constant stream, which is conducted alternately to different beds, prepared in the same manner as for common irrigation,—a contrivance highly deserving the attention of those who have perennial ponds near their gardens.

Observations.

From the foregoing notes it appears, that in some parts of France, particularly in the southern provinces, this branch of rural œconomy is very well understood, and largely practised; but the most capital exertions are very much confined; I met with them only in Provence and the western mountainous parts of Languedoc. In the former, canals are cut, at the expence of the province, for conducting water many miles, in order to irrigate barren tracks of land: in England we have no idea of such a thing. The interests of commerce will induce our legislature to cut through private properties, but never the interests of cultivation. The works I observed at Gange, in Languedoc, for throwing the water of a mountain stream into a canal, and raising it by enormous wheels into aqueducts built on arches, being much more limited in extent, and even confined to single properties, might more reasonably be looked for in the moun-

* *Des Canaux de Navigation.* Folio. 1778. p. 175. 184.

tainous districts of England and Wales. Such would answer greatly, and therefore ought to be undertaken; for I hardly need observe, that watering in our northerly climate answers upon most soils, as well as it does in the S. of Europe. The difference in value between cultivation, watered or not watered, is not greater there than here, except on arid and absolutely barren lands, on which the difference arising from climate is certainly enormous. Under a hot sun and in a dry climate like that of Provence, sandy or stony tracks, such as La Crau, yield, comparatively speaking, nothing; but watered, they become clothed with the richest verdure, and yield the finest crops. In regarding, therefore, the latitude of a country as an index for ascertaining the degree of improvement effected by irrigation, theory would deceive us greatly. Water gives many other things besides humidity; it manures, consolidates, deepens the staple or surface mould, and guards against cold; effects as obvious in a northern as in a southern climate. If I hold up the example of the southern provinces for England to copy, the French will not contend that they do not want it in their northern districts. In travelling from Calais to the Pyrenees, I met with this practice first in La Marche, between La Ville au Brun and Baffie, having passed considerably more than half the kingdom; thence it holds, with little interruption, to the Pyrenees, and the whole district of those mountains from Perpignan, where the practice is in great perfection, as it is through the chief part of Roussillon; almost to Bayonne all is watered; but strange to say, it is unknown (at least I saw no traces of it) in that part of Gascoign near St. Vincents, Dax, Tartas, and to Auch. Through all the N. of France, comprehending every thing N. of the Loire, I no where found it, excepting only a few traces imperfectly executed, at Neufchatel, Bernay, and Falaise, in Normandy, and at Izoire, in the Beauvoisis, but to so inconsiderable an amount, that they do not merit attention in a general view of the kingdom. The duc de Liancourt, always attentive to every thing that promises public utility, has made a noble experiment at Liancourt, to introduce this practice into the Clermontois, where it is so greatly wanted, that many considerable vales are hardly better than bogs, which, watered, would be the richest meadows; his first cutting was sixty-five tons on eight arpents. France owes much to the enlarged views of that active, patriotic, and enlightened citizen. Through Picardy, Flanders, Artois, Champagne, Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Compté, Bourgogne, and the Bourbonnois, I will not assert that the practice is unknown; I have noted something of it in Alsace; but generally speaking, it may be understood, that these provinces are not watered. In travelling much above a thousand miles through them, I saw nothing that merits a moment's attention upon this head; but I viewed and even examined many hundred streams, in various parts of them, affording numerous opportunities of irrigation, without being used for this purpose. It is at Riom, in Auvergne, before this practice is met with in effect. Hardly more, therefore,

than one-third of the kingdom can be said to understand this most obvious and important object, one of the first in the circle of rural œconomics. If academies and societies of agriculture are amenable to the judicature of common sense, what are we to think of their employing their time, attention, and revenues on drill-ploughs and horse-hoes—on tinctures from roots—and thread from nettles—while two-thirds of such a territory as that of France remain ignorant of irrigation?

C H A P. VII.

Meadows.

IN a country, the greater part of which is open, and much the greater part very ill cultivated, meadow must necessarily bear a price much beyond the proportion of other countries differently situated. I hardly know a surer proof of the backward state of a country, than that of meadows bearing an exorbitant price. When chalk hills become covered, as they ought to be, with sainfoin, the price of meadows sinks half. When the arable lands yield neither cabbage, turnip, nor potatoe for the winter nourishment of cattle, hay is the only dependence. When the value of clover is little known, meadow must be rated at too high a value. These simple instances shew at once the connection, and the cause. It follows, that the price and rental will vary, not according to the intrinsic value, but the circumstances of the arable districts in its neighbourhood. The price in France is every where considerable, and in some places exceedingly great; suggesting no flattering ideas of the general husbandry of the kingdom. The produce of hay is in some cases large, but, on the whole, does not answer the price; arising, doubtless, in some measure, from the lands being fed at seasons when food is scarce and valuable, and thereby lessening the quantity of hay.

In the general management of meadow ground, the first feature is irrigation, on which this is not the place to enlarge. It is sufficient to remark here, that hardly more than one-third of the meadows of the kingdom is so improved. Draining, smoothing the surface, by keeping it free from all mole and ant hills, rolling, weeding, &c. are performed very insufficiently, every where, except in watered districts: draining is almost universally neglected. Immense tracks, in all the provinces of the kingdom, and on almost all the principal rivers, are *commons*; consequently cursed with rights absolutely subversive of all ideas of good husbandry.

From the minutes I took of the useful plants most frequent in the meadows of France quite to the Pyrenees, it appears, that they are exactly the same as we find

find in the best meadows of Great Britain. The principal are, 1, *lathyrus pratensis*, which I take to be the first plant for meadows that is to be found in either of the kingdoms, and meriting an attention which it has been very far from receiving; 2, *achillea millefolium*, an admirable plant, equally neglected with the former; 3, *trifolium pratense*, the common clover, a biennial plant, but found abundantly in most meadows; 4, *trifolium repens*, the white Dutch clover, not valued by some very good farmers; but its being found largely in the best meadows of Europe, should make such an idea very doubtful; 5, *plantago lanceolata*, rib grass; 6, *medicago lupulina*, trefoil, indigenous over the whole kingdom, as it is also in England; 7, *medicago arabica polymorpha*; 8, *lotus corniculata*; 9, *poterium sanguisorba*, burnet, excellent in situations and soils directly the reverse of each other; on barren sands for sheep-walk, and it is found largely in the finest meadows. To these we may add another plant, found amply in the richest meadows over the south of Europe, and indigenous in England on poor sands, the *chicorium intybus*, equal, perhaps superior to all the rest, except the *lathyrus pratensis*, the culture of which is different.

I say nothing of grasses, from the extreme uncertainty, as well as difficulty, of getting seed clean. If the nursery that affords it be kept without alternate tillage, many sorts bad, as well as good, are found in it; and for alternate tillage, in courses of crops, it must be discovered, that they improve and prepare for corn like clover, &c. Ray grass, in England, has been cultivated under that great deficiency for a peculiar purpose, the early spring feed of sheep. If the seed of the *festuca pratensis*, *poa trivialis*, the *poa pratensis*, the *alopecurus pratensis*, and a few others, could at all times be procured at a reasonable price, they ought to be objects of more attention.

When the plants are well known that fill the best meadows of a country, the most important knowledge is gained for forming new ones; such of these plants as yield seed so plentifully as to enable seedsmen to deal in them, should be sown, and never the chance-medley of hay chambers, a practice pretty well exploded in England, but in France such questions are novel.

C H A P. VIII.

Lucerne.

PICARDY—*Boulogne*.—LASTS twelve to sixteen years; three cuts, very fine and thick; sixteen pounds of feed per measure, about an acre; four or five horses kept for five months.

Breteuil.—Value it more than corn ; three cuts ; in spots four feet high ; lasts ten years ; first cut for horses, the rest for cows.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Arpajon.*—Much ; three cuts.

ROUSSILLON—*Bellegarde.*—Watering shortens its duration ; give it water every eight days, when there is no rain.

Perpignan.—Watered lucerne in all the bottoms.

Pia.—By far the richest crop, and most profitable culture ; it is sown largely on two sorts of land, the dry stony poor soils that are watered, and also on the rich deep friable loam in the vale between Pia and the calcareous northern mountains, which are not watered ; in all cases it is sown broadcast and without corn. It is cut, for the first time, the end of April ; and if watered every forty days afterwards, to the amount of five cuts in all ; if the land be not watered it is cut thrice with a full product ; and a fourth time with an inferior one. If watered it does not last above seven or eight years, but in other land twenty and even thirty years ; the hay is preferred to all others ; a minatre is worth 6 louis at four cuts (5l. 9s. 4d. per acre) ; I walked over many fields of it, and found the crops beautifully clean and luxuriant, of a complexion and product very different from what is ever seen in England, but not equal to that of Barcelona in height by a third. Perpignan to Villa Franché, take three crops of wheat after lucerne.

Sijeau.—Yields two cuttings in dry years, and four in wet ones ; lasts ten years.

LANGUEDOC—*Caussan.*—Fine ; under mulberries ; from thirty-six sesterées get an hundred septiers of seed ; the sesterée is sown with 100 lb. of wheat ; the price last year was 50 liv. the septier. Vale land under lucerne lets sometimes at 40 liv. to 72 liv. the sesterée ; corn land only 15 liv.

Pezenas.—Lucerne every where ; lasts ten or twelve years ; is excellent for every thing except sheep, for which animal it is too fattening.

Pinjan.—Sow 15 lb. the sesterée ; always alone ; cut five times a year, and lasts fifteen years, yielding 1200 lb. dry hay each cutting ; and the seed of a sesterée has yielded 100 liv. ; the present price of the seed is 45 liv. the quintal, and of the forage 40s. When it is weedy they clean it by ploughing in the winter with a narrow pointed share, chusing frosty weather, which kills the weeds, but not the lucerne ; an admirable practice, and apparently the origin of Rocque's harrowing, if it extend into Provence, his country. When it is worn out, their conduct is no less excellent : greatly as it improves the land, they do not venture to sow wheat, but barley and oats for hay, not corn, for two years in succession ; a great deal of lucerne, pushing from the old roots, would considerably injure any corn, but add equally to the value of a crop of forage, as they call it ; and the mowing early cuts off abundance of weeds ; after these two crops they sow wheat, which proves very fine.

• Lunel.

Lunel.—Much lucerne, but not fine, for the soil is inferior.

Carcaffone.—Cut it four to six times, according to rain; lasts 10 to 14 years.

GASCOIGN—St. Vincents.—Cut in good years thrice, in bad ones twice; much over-run with couch.

Fleuran.—A few small pieces used for foiling horses.

Estafort.—Cut four times for foiling horses, and it is the best food of all for them.

Landron.—See a small piece of lucerne, but no other in the rich vale of the Garonne.

POITOU—Poitiers.—Lasts fifteen years; use it both for foiling and hay, which is better than that of sainfoin.

TOURNAINE—Cbanteloup.—The duc de Choiseul's cows always tied up the year round; in summer foiled on lucerne, which gave cream and butter of the very finest flavour.

Blais.—Pieces of it on a poor and almost blowing sand; lasts five years; cut it thrice; and the produce more valuable than corn.

Orleans.—Lasts eight or nine years, and is cut thrice.

Petiviers.—Lasts twelve or fifteen years.

Melun.—Much here; lasts ten years; it is cut thrice, and the produce more valuable than wheat.

Yersaint.—Cut thrice; the first yields 400 bottes of hay; the second 200; the third 100; in all 700 (about 4 tons per acre), and the selling price 20 liv. the 100: or 140 the arpent. The finest of all their corn crops are those which succeed it.

To Montgeron.—It is the best feature of their husbandry. Sow 22 lb. of seed per arpent, with oats. It lasts twelve years. The price, at present, 20 liv. the 100 bottes. When they break it up, they sow oats, and then wheat, getting by far the finest crops they ever experience.

Liancourt.—Cultivated in considerable quantities. Sow 30 lb. of seed per arpent, at the average price of 20 to 24*s.* the pound. Mons. Prevost, a very intelligent and understanding farmer in the vale of Catnoir, has remarked a great difference between the seed of Provence, &c. which is commonly sold in the north of France, and their own. The former rarely succeeds so well as their own, which he attributes to the great difference of the climate: with their own seed they never fail.—The general custom is to sow it with oats. It lasts, with tolerable management, ten or twelve years; but on a rich deep soil, on a dry bottom, it has been known to reach the duration of twenty years. To destroy the weeds which arise in it, they harrow it partially with iron toothed harrows, and manure it with rotten dung. It is always cut three times a-year, and sometimes four; but that is not common: a very good arpent would let at 150 liv. a-year, which is more than any other production in the country. The finest of all

all may give 1600 bottes of hay, each of 12lb. or 19,200 lb. which is above seven tons the English acre. In general, the crop may be reckoned at 500 bottes, at two cuts on a mine, or 1000 the arpent, which is 12,000 lb. or better than five tons per English acre. The price of it does not equal that of good common hay; nor is it reckoned so good for horses. At present, it is not worth more than 20 liv. the 100 bottes: they save seed of the third growth, and reckon 200 lb. per arpent a middling crop. Seeding does not destroy it; on good land it is just as good after; but sometimes on poor land it is injured. A vast object in the culture is the great improvement it works in the land; when they plough it up, they do not venture to have wheat, as the luxuriance would be such that the product would be all straw. They take two, three, four, and even five crops of oats in succession, which are prodigiously great; and when the oats decline, they sow wheat, and get a very fine crop!

Marenne.—Lasts twelve to fifteen years; cut thrice; when ploughed up, sow two crops of oats, and then wheat, all sure to be excellent.

Pontoise.—Near the town half the land is under it.

Brasseuse.—Commonly sown with oats that succeed wheat, and often upon one ploughing only; yet such is the happy texture of the soil, a fine friable sandy loam, that it succeeds tolerably well, and would, with better husbandry, yield an immense advantage; it lasts ten or twelve years, and longer when taken care of. They cut it thrice a year. It yields, at the two first cuttings, 300 or 400 bottes per arpent of hay fit for horses, and the third is for cows. Madame la viscountess du Pont, sister of the dutchess de Liancourt, has possibly more lucerne than any other person in Europe. She has 250 arpents, 80 of which were mowed this year. I saw the hay, and never met with better or sweeter, yet bottled from the field in the method universal in France. She was so good as to inform me, that no food for cows yielded finer butter; I tasted it, and none could be better flavoured.

Dammartin.—Much; lasts nine years; cut thrice, unless for seed, in which case, twice only. The first cutting yields 400 or 500 bottes; the second half as much. The archbishop of Aix, who has an abbey in the neighbourhood, has taken great pains to spread the culture, and has occasioned near 800 arpents being sown.

Soissons.—Lasts eight or nine years; cut thrice; yields at the first 300 bottes of hay, of 12lb.; at the second 250; and at the third 100 per arpent, of 96 perch, of 22 feet, 46,464 feet (3 tons 3 cwt.)

ARTOIS—*Recouffe.*—They have some; cut thrice; lasts twelve to fifteen years, and reckoned excellent.

NORMANDY—*Coutances.*—In the way to Granville many patches, the first I had seen in Normandy, and they increase to pieces of some consequence; lasts twenty years, and is constantly cut thrice.

La Roche Guyon.—Much cultivated; the dutchefs d'Anville has fifty arpents, and a farmer in the neighbourhood forty-seven; and I saw some good pieces in going to Magny; it is cut thrice, but does not last more than six years; sow it with oats; when broken up, they take three crops of corn in succession; in the open fields every body turns into it the 1st of November.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Nangis.*—Seed 20 lb. an arpent de Paris, at 12 to 20*s.* the pound (26 lb. the acre); sow it with barley or oats that follow wheat; lasts six years, if manured eight; a good arpent yields three hundred bottes the first cut (1 ton 14 cwt. per acre), two hundred the second (1 ton 3 cwt.), one hundred the third (11½ cwt.), each of 10 lb. (in all 3 tons 8½ cwt.); some sown alone on a clean fallow in August, and this is by far the best; the hay 20 to 30 liv. the hundred bottes (2l. 3s. 8d. a ton); if let it is at 40 liv. (2l. 2s. per acre); when they break it up, two crops of oats, and then one of wheat, and all good.

Meaux.—When oats have two leaves, they harrow in the lucerne seed 20 lb. per arpent (100 perch 22 feet) (17 lb. per acre); the price per lb. 4 to 10*s.* usually 6*s.*; the first year it produces, the first cut, but one hundred bottes per arpent, afterwards four hundred (2 ton 2 cwt. per acre), some five hundred, each of 12 to 16 lb.; the second cut two hundred (1 ton 1 cwt. per acre), the third one hundred (10½ cwt. per acre), in all 3 tons 13½ cwt.; the hay of the first cut is given to horses, the second to sheep, and the third to cows; it is never manured; but the soil is a deep rich loam, that is to be ranked among the finest in the world; couch is the greatest enemy to it; they never use it in soiling, but always for hay; for mowing, making, cocking, and carting, 10 liv. the arpent; all is bottled in the field. They are now (July 3,) mowing the first growth, but some has been cut some time; nothing, they say, improves land so much; all the good oats that Mr. Gibert shewed me, at Neufmoutier, were after lucerne; the difference between those, and the other crops after wheat, being that of yellow and green.

DAUPHINE—*L'Oriol.*—Prepare for it with the spade, at the expence of 12 liv. the septerée; dung well; lasts five years; after that time, if they would preserve it, they plough it across with a little plough, called a *binet*, to destroy the grass, and then it succeeds for two years more. When they break it up, they take five crops of wheat in succession. I expressed my amazement at this execrable management; and Monf. Faujas de St. Fond attested the truth of the fact. If wild oats come the third year, they sow oats or rye instead of wheat, on that account.

PROVENCE—*Avignon.*—Much; it is usually sown alone in March, 5 lb. of seed per eymena of 21,600 feet (10 lb. per acre); cut four, five, or six times, and lasts seven or eight years if much watered, ten or twelve if less; they then plough it, and find the amelioration so great, that they take five, six, seven, and even eight crops of wheat in succession! But, bad as such management may be, it

it is not, however, to be classed with a similar rotation among us; for water works miracles; and the wheat harvest is so early, that it affords time for what they please. Lucerne suits light rich land best; the produce at every cutting twenty-five quintals (3 tons 3 cwt. per acre); but for this it must be dunged as well as watered, which must be done in winter, after the frosts are gone; if no dung fifteen quintals (1 ton 5 cwt. per acre); the price 40 to 50*s.* the quintal, being 10*s.* below meadow hay. They reckon the hay bad for horses, blowing them up too much, but excellent for all other animals; I saw some of it at Avignon so beautifully green, that I felt it to ascertain if it were really hay, and not, as my eyes told me, fresh cut; it is sometimes let, and rents from 20 to 60 liv. the cymena (60 liv. is 4*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* per acre); at five cuttings the produce per acre in money is 2*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*

Hyerès.—I viewed a new plantation making by Monf. Battaile; the piece contained one and a half acre English, and he was working it at the following expence:—First digging, 96 liv.—Burning roots, weeds, clods, &c. 96 liv.—Dunging, 120 liv.—Second digging, 96 liv.—Seed, 60 liv.—Total, 468 liv. or 13*l.* 13*s.* per acre. It was left quite smooth and fine to the depth of a foot, free from every sort of root weed, and laid in beds ready for watering, and now (September) sowing; next year he will cut it four times, afterwards five, and perhaps six; it will last fifteen years, and possibly twenty; could let it at 400 liv. a year (11*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* per acre), and the produce gross 500 liv. (14*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* per acre); and when broken up it will give great crops of wheat.

Observations.

The culture of the plant under our consideration, is one of the principal features of French husbandry. We have gone to the French school for the culture of it, yet it is ill managed, and with bad success in England, and has been so in every period; but in France, even in climates similar to our own, it is an object of almost uniform profit; and it must therefore be unfortunate indeed, if we do not extract something from the French practice deserving our attention and imitation. The first leading circumstance that demands our attention is the unvarying practice of sowing it broadcast. The lucerne in Spain, which is of a luxuriance we have no conception of, and the little I have seen in Italy, is all sown in the same way: a contrary practice, namely, that of drilling has very generally taken place in England; it has been repeatedly urged, that the humidity of our climate renders hoeing necessary to keep it free from the spontaneous grasses; and, if hoeing is necessary, drilling is certainly so. But this necessity is not found to take place in the north of France, the climate of which very nearly resembles our own. After some years, those grasses destroy it there as well as here; but the French think it much more profitable when that happens

pens to plough it up, than to insure a longer possession by perpetual expense and attention.

A Frenchman from Provence (Rocque), introduced this broadcast culture of lucerne, about twenty-five years ago, into England: I saw his crops, which were very fine, and equal to any in the north of France. Mr. Arbuthnot, of Mitcham, had it also in the same method on a large scale, and with considerable success; other persons have succeeded equally well, whose experiments may be found in the registers of my agricultural tours through England; the method, however, has not been generally pursued; and the little lucerne to be found in England is chiefly in drills. It certainly deserves inquiry, whether this is not the reason of the cultivation at large not having made a greater progress with us. The introduction of hoes and horse-hoes among crops that are cleared but once a year from the land, and with no necessity of mowing them close to the ground, appears to be much easier, and more practicable, than hoeing and horse-hoeing a meadow cut and cleared thrice in a year; and which must of necessity be mown quite closely. The preceding minutes seem to allow the conclusion, that the drill is not necessary for this culture; the broadcast succeeds well in every part of France, in proportion to the goodness of the soil and to management, like every other crop.

I wish not to make this a didactic work, or I could offer hints that might be of advantage possibly to the culture in England; I should apprehend, that a turnip or cabbage fallow is the right preparation; if the field be foul for two years in succession, fed on the land, sown with barley or oats, three-fourths the common quantity of seed, say two bushels; should weeds appear the first year, I would bestow 10s. per acre in drawing, weeding, or otherwise extirpating them; and after that the lucerne should take its chance. Explanations are endless; a hint is sufficient for the practical husbandman, without prejudices: I would never manure till the crop was two years old.—Its ameliorating effect is a singular feature in the preceding notes; the accounts are such as will surprize some persons; but where husbandry is not very well understood, effects so remarkable must be estimated with caution; and it may, without danger of deception, be admitted, that a material reason for this apparently exaggerated merit is, that fallows are the common preparation for wheat. If the French were well acquainted with the culture of clover as a preparation for wheat, nothing very marvellous would be found in lucerne. The intelligence at Pinjan indicates, in this respect, a conduct that is truly excellent; taking a tillage crop of fodder, winter tares for instance, on the first breaking up, is a practice that merits the greatest commendation.

C H A P. IX.

Sainfoin.

THE brevity to which I am obliged to reduce my work, does not allow the insertion of my notes on this grass. To a person who considered them carelessly, they would probably appear to be the register of some plant quite unknown in England, for it would be difficult to believe that sainfoin could be managed as it is actually in France. With us this grass lasts generally from twelve to fifteen years; in France three, four, or five, and not often six years. I viewed much in many parts of that kingdom, and though it was not equal to our crops, yet I could not remark any appearance that seemed to shew a necessity of breaking it up so soon. This very extraordinary circumstance I attribute to the shortness of leases, to the bad arrangement of farms, and to the importance of cattle being scarcely any where understood. Leases are generally for nine years; and a tenantry fixed in confidence upon estates is rarely found; under these circumstances, one might naturally suppose, that a crop which lasts longer than the whole duration of the lease, and is known at the same time to prepare the land for corn, would not be cultivated at all; as he who sowed would have no certainty of reaping the harvest. The conclusion appears natural; but there is at the same time an objection to it which raises a difficulty. I found precisely the same culture and the same conviction of its propriety among gentlemen who farm their own lands, as well as amongst the tenantry around them. So far as it respects those who do not occupy their lands, by means of *metayers*, at half or third produce, the objection has some force; but very little as to those whose practice is different. Under the proper head it is shewn, that no improvements or new practices can be introduced under the species of occupation above-mentioned, without too great a hazard or much injustice. But where a proprietor fairly occupies his land, without the intervention of a *metayer*, he can have no inducement of this nature to act absurdly. Either therefore the common practice influences the idea, and occasions an imitation, without inquiry or experiment, or there are other reasons for this conduct. When corn is the only capital object of a farmer, and through ignorance in his profession he thinks there is no better view than to sow as much as possible, regardless of every other circumstance he may be supposed to be in haste to break up sainfoin before the proper time; he is eager to get those three or four crops of wheat, which the barbarous practices of his country have permitted him to expect. And on similar principles, a farmer who has no just attention to cattle, and knows nothing of the art of making them productive of corn,

corn, by a well ordered arrangement of his fields, will feel no compunction at setting a plough to work in a sainfoin field, at the very moment it is coming to perfection. These remarks are chiefly applicable to crops that are apparently good; and, from their appearance, promise to last much longer than the farmer has an inclination to permit them: but for others, which seem worn out or choaked with grass and weeds, another observation is necessary. There is not in any part of France, where I have been, the least idea of making land perfectly clean and free from weeds, *as a preparation for grass*; whatever attention of this sort is any where met with, is all exerted in fallowing for wheat. Sainfoin is usually sown with a second or third crop of corn, and in some places the farmers do not think of this grass till their land is so full of weeds and so exhausted, that it will produce corn no longer. In such cases I do not so much wonder at sainfoin lasting only four or five years, as that it should be produced at all, or that enough of it should be found on the land to ascertain what the crop is. The different circumstances which may be supposed to occasion the management I speak of, it is not very material to discriminate. It is sufficient to remark, that there can hardly be produced, in the range of husbandry, a proof more decisive of that art being in its infancy in France. On poor, chalky, stony soils, very indifferently adapted to corn, to be eager to plough up sainfoin, before it is worn out, or to lay it down in such a slovenly manner, as to shorten its proper duration two-thirds, is a conduct that cannot be too severely condemned. I was repeatedly assured, that no management would make it last longer in France. To refute such assertions, by shewing their absurdity, would take up more room and time than such questions are worth. The French cannot at present understand how much every sort of the cultivated grasses depends on a judicious course of crops; nor do they comprehend how such plants depend as much on turnips (or on some other plant whose culture may answer the same end) as upon any preparation immediately to be given. Clean fallows in a kingdom, where agriculture is ill understood, will always be sown with bread corn; but if covered with plants that are not removed or consumed time enough for wheat or rye, and consequently barley or oats to be sown, the land may be laid down in good order, *provided the farmer will give up a second crop*. To those who sow these grasses with rye on fallow, this observation is not equally applicable; their common husbandry offers the same opportunity, if they will forbear the second and third corn crops. In some provinces, particularly in the Bourbonnois and Nevernois, on dry sound gravels, some of which are on a hard bottom, the course is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; and the country is not open. Here, one would think, grasses, and particularly sainfoin, might very easily be introduced, as the farmers would have a crop in lieu of a fallow the third year; but such is the perverseness of French agriculture, that no grasses are there cultivated. In many conversations

I have had in France, on the subject of grasses, a favourite topic in that kingdom, I have always told them they must begin with turnips; the connection with which they could not understand. It is, however, a fact, that this culture no where thrives without the fallow being a crop that yields green winter food for cattle; such as turnips, cabbages, rape, potatoes, &c. &c. This is not the place for enlarging on such a point; in the chapter of courses of crops it is shewn, that the cultivation of grasses, without that of green winter crops, is but a poor system, and hardly worth attention. It appears from the notes, that sainfoin is no where well managed, or on the scale in which it ought to be found, but that it is cultivated through a great extent of country; in some provinces, however, such as the vast one of Bretagne, and some others, I met with none. There is nothing in the notes so remarkable as the ameliorating quality in preparing for corn, universally attributed to it in every part of the kingdom.—Wherever the comparison is made, wheat is better after it than after fallow; yet sainfoin is sown without any attention to the cleanness of the land. This surely merits notice, and seems to prove strongly how futile a preparation the expensive one of a fallow is; and it ought to be received, as a lesson of the first consequence, not for the French only, but for ourselves and every other people, that a *lay* is a much better preparation for corn than a fallow: and farther, that there is no improvement of land apparently so cheap or so sure as a cessation of tillage by laying to grass. These conclusions arise from an uniform concurrence of facts observable throughout the kingdom. The general management of such crops in France is indeed too bad for Englishmen to learn from them; but there is no country, from which we may not glean something; nor any people, whose rules and experience, when properly combined with what we already possess, may not prove a valuable addition to the common stock of knowledge. It would be easy, and even pleasant, to enlarge on such topics—but I am registering the result of travels, and not composing dissertations on these subjects.

C H A P. X.

Vines.

THE number of notes I took in most of the provinces of the kingdom, relative to the culture of vineyards, was not inconsiderable; but the difficulty of reducing the infinite variety of French measures of land and liquids, to a common standard, added to an unavoidable uncertainty in the information itself, renders this the most perplexing inquiry that can be conceived. It was an object to ascertain the value given to the soil by this culture; the amount of the annual produce, and the degree of profit attending it: inquiries not undeserving the attention

attention even of politicians, as the chief interests of a country depend, in some measure, on such points being well understood. Now there is scarcely any product so variable as that of wine. Corn lands and meadow have their bad and their good years, but they always yield something—and the average produce is rarely far removed from that of any particular year. With vines, the difference is enormous; this year they yield nothing. In another, perhaps, casks are wanted to contain the exuberant produce of the vintage: now the price is extravagantly high; and again so low, as to menace with poverty all who are concerned in it. Under such variations, the ideas even of proprietors, who live by the culture, are not often correct, in relation to the *medium* of any circumstance: nor is it always easy to bring individuals to regard rather the average of a district, than the particular one of their own fields. In many cases it is more satisfactory to rely on particular experience, when it appears tolerably exact, than to demand ideas, so often vague of what is not immediately within the practice of the man who speaks. These difficulties have occurred so often, and in so many shapes, that the reader can hardly imagine the labour which it repeatedly cost me to gain that approximation to accuracy, which I was fortunate enough sometimes to attain. But, after all the inquiries I have made, with attention and industry, I do not presume to insert here an abstract of my notes as intelligence that can be *entirely* relied on: I am satisfied, that it is impossible to procure such, without application, time, and exertions, which are not at the command of many travellers. Contenting myself, therefore, with the probability of being free from gross errors, and with the hope of giving some information on the subject, not to be found in other books, I venture to submit the following extract to the public eye, though it be a result inadequate to the labour, variety, and expected success of my inquiries. It is necessary farther to premise, that the reader must not contrast the circumstance of one place with those of another, under the idea that a considerable difference is any proof of error in the account. The price of an arpent is sometimes out of proportion to the produce, and the profit at other times unaccounted for by either:—this depends on demand, competition, the division of properties, the higher or lower ratio of expence, and on various other circumstances, which, to explain fully in each article, would be to enlarge this single chapter into a volume; I touch on it here, merely to guard against conclusions, which are to be made with caution. The towns named in the following table, are the places where I procured intelligence.—None are inserted in which I did not make enquiry, as I was at every place mentioned in the margin. The rents of vines are named at but few places; for they are very rarely in any other hands than those of the proprietor; even where rent is named, there is not one acre in an hundred let. The price of the product is every where that of the same autumn as the vintage: those who can afford to keep their wine have much greater profits: but as that is a species
of

of merchandize as much in the power of a dealer as of a planter, it ought not to be the guide in such accounts as these*.

At Epernay, &c. in Champagne, two-thirds of all the country around, about Aye, Cumiere, Piery, Dify, Hautvilliers, &c. under vines: and here all the famous Champagne wines are made. The country producing the fine white wine, is all contained in five leagues length: and three or four more for Avise, Aungé, Lumenée, Grammont, &c. where they make the white wine with white grapes only. At Aye, Piery, and Epernay, the white wine is all made with black grapes. La Montagne de Rheims, Bouzé, Verféé, Verznée, Teafe, Airy, and Cumiere, for the *bon rouge de la Marne*. At Airy, the first quality of the white also made. With the black grape, they make either red or white wine; but with the white, only white wine. The price of the land is very high; at Piery 2000 liv.; at Aye 3000 to 6000 liv.; at Hautvilliers 4000 liv. The worst in the country sell at 800 liv. (3000 liv. is 105l. 9s. per acre, 6000 liv. 210l. 18s.)—The produce, as may be supposed, varies much: at Aye two to six pieces, and four the average. At Reuil and Vanteuil to 20 pieces. At O Vilet, a convent of Benedictines, near Epernay, eighty arpents that yield two to four. And the price varies equally; at Aye, the average is two at 200 liv.; one at 150 liv.; and one at 50 liv.—By another account, 200 liv. to 800 liv. the queu of two pieces. Average 400 liv. the queu.—At Reuil and Vanteuil, it is 60 to 100 liv. The vines of Vilet, 700 liv. to 900 liv. the queu. Red wine is 150 liv. to 300 liv.

Account of a considerable Vineyard, an average one, given me at Epernay.

	liv.	£.	s.	d.	
For an Arpent.—Interest of purchase 3000 liv.	- 150	6	11	3	English Acre,
Labour, - - -	55	2	8	1½	
Renewal (<i>provins</i>) ditto, -	24	1	1	0	
Tying, - - -	8	0	7	0	
Props, - - -	30	1	6	3	
Manure, one part dung to 14 earth,	20	0	17	6	
Vintage, 12 liv. a-piece, -	48	2	2	0	
Casks, - - -	15	0	13	1½	
Taxes—taille, vingtieme, and capitation,	9	0	7	10½	
Aides, 15 the queu, - - -	30	1	6	3	
Cellar, vaults, pres, reservoirs, tubs, &c. and building to hold them, 8000 liv. for 20 arpents, or 400 liv. per arpent, the interest -	20	0	17	6	
	409	17	17	10½	

* I have permitted the above introduction to my notes to remain, though I have not inserted them; for it would be idle to attempt concealing the number of passages where I have contracted these papers. These numerous minutes which I made in all the wine provinces of France, the brevity to which I have condemned myself obliges me to insert but one, as a specimen of the intelligence I procured; and then to proceed to a few general observations on the culture.

Product.

Product.

	<i>liv.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	English Acre,
An Arpent.—Two pieces, at 200 liv.	400	17	10	0	
One ditto, -	150	6	11	3	
One ditto, -	50	2	3	9	
	<hr/>				
	600	26	5	0	
Expences, -	409	17	17	10½	
	<hr/>				
Profit, - -	191	8	7	1½	

Which, with the interest charged, makes 10 per cent. on 3000 liv. land, and 400 liv. buildings, the general computation, and which seems admitted in the country. Sixty women are necessary to gather the grapes for four pieces, by reason of the attention paid in the choice of the bunches, a circumstance to which much of the fine flavour of the wine is owing, as well as to singularity of soil and climate; the former of which is all strongly calcareous, even to being white with the chalk in it. A fine lengthened slope of a chalk hill hanging to the south between Disy and Aye, which I examined, is entirely covered with vines from top to bottom, and is the most celebrated in the province. It is indeed rather a marl than a chalk; in some places white—in others, much browner; and may properly be called a calcareous loam on a chalk bottom. This marl is in some places very deep, and in others shallow. I was shewn pieces worth 600 liv. the arpent, and others worth 3000 liv.; but the difference of soil was not perceptible; nor do I credit that this difference depends on soil: none of it approaching to pure chalk. It is impossible to discover, in the present state of knowledge and information, on what depends the extraordinary quality of the wine. The people here assert, that in a piece of not more than three arpents, in which the soil is, to all appearance, absolutely similar, the middle arpent only shall yield the best wine—and the other two, that of an inferior quality. In all such cases, where there is something not easily accounted for, the popular love of the marvellous always adds exaggeration, which is probably the case here.—Attention in gathering and picking the grapes, and freeing every bunch from each grape that is the least unsound, must tend greatly to insure the wine of the first quality, when the difference of soil is not striking. The vines are planted promiscuously, three or four feet or two and a half from each other; are now about eighteen inches or two feet high; and are tied to the props with small straw bands. Many plantations are far from being clean; some full of weeds; but a great number of hands spread all over the hill, sarcling with their crooked hoe. As to the culture, in the middle of January they give the cutting, *taille*. In March dig the ground. In April and May they plant the *provins*. In June tie and hoe the *seps*. In August hoe again. In October, or in good years in September, the vintage. To plant an arpent of vines costs in all 50 louis d'or.—

There

There are 8000 plants on an acre, and 24000 saps; and the props cost 500 liv. to keep up the stock of props, 30 liv. a year. It is three years before they bear any thing, and six before the wine is good. None are planted now; on the contrary, they grub up. Very few persons have more than 20 or 30 arpents, except the marquis de Sillery, near Rheims, who has 250 arpents.—At Piery, there are 20 arpents now to be sold, a new house, a good cellar, magazine, a good press, and every thing complete, for 60,000 liv. The vines a little, but not much neglected. For this sum I could buy a noble farm in the Bourbonnois, and make more in seven years, than by vines in twenty. Those who have not a press of their own, are subject to hazards, which must necessarily turn the scale very contrary to the interests of the small proprietor. They pay 3 liv. for the two first pieces, and 25*s.* for all the rest: but as they must wait the owner's convenience, their wine sometimes is so damaged, that what would have been white, becomes red. Steeping before pressing makes red wine. As to pressing, to do it very quickly and powerfully, is much the better way; and they prefer turning the wheel of the press, by six, seven, or eight men, rather than by a horse. In regard to the aides or tax on the transfer of wine:

The proprietor who sells a piece worth 200 liv. pays	-	10 liv.
Ten sols per livre,	-	5
Augmentation— <i>gauge, constage, &c.</i>	-	5
<i>Oùroi de la ville, & du Roi,</i>	-	5
		<hr/>
		25

The merchant, when he sells it, pays the same; and every person through whose hands it passes. The duty at the port, on exportation, is about 15 liv. each piece. The cabareteer and aubergiste pays 30 or 40 more retail duty. The wine trade with England used to be directly from Epernay; but now the wine is sent to Calais, Boulogne, Montreuil, and Guernsey, in order to be passed into England, they suppose here, by smuggling. This may explain our Champagne not being so good as formerly. Should the good genius of THE PLOUGH ever permit me to be an importer of Champagne, I would desire Mons. Quatrefoux Paretclaine, merchant at Epernay, to send me some of what I drank in his fine cellars. But what a pretty supposition, that a farmer in England should presume to drink Champagne even in idea!—the world must be turned topsy-turvy before a bottle of it can ever be on my table. Go to the monopolizers and exporters—go to—and to—and every where—except to a friend of the plough!

The ecclesiastical tythe is a heavy burthen. At Hautvilliers the 11th is taken for dixme; at Piery the 20th, or in money, 4 liv. 10*s.*; at Aye 48*s.*; and at Epernay 30*s.*; at Disy $\frac{1}{12}$; but with all this weight of tax, nothing is known, or ever heard of, like the enormities practised in England, of tak-
ing

ing the *actual* tenth. The idea of the poverty attending vines, is here as strong as in any other part of France: the little and poor proprietors are all in misery. The fact is obvious, that a hazardous and uncertain culture is ridiculous, for a man with a weak capital. How could a Kentish labourer be a hop planter? But no discrimination is found commonly in France.—The assertion is general, that the vine provinces are the poorest; but an assertion, without explanation, is utterly ridiculous. To render vines profitable, it is a common observation here, that a man ought to have one-third of his property in rents, one-third in farm, and one-third in vines. It is easy to conceive, that the most successful cultivators are those who have the largest capitals. It is thus that we hear of the exertions of merchants; men who not only have many arpents of their own vines, but buy the wine of all their little neighbours. M. Lafnier, at Aye, has from 50,000 to 60,000 bottles of wine always in his cellar; and M. Dorlé from 30,000 to 40,000.

Observations.

It is merely for curiosity I observe, that the average of all the prices per measure, in the purchase of these vineyards, amounts to 61l. 8s. per acre; such a medium demands very little attention, unless the minutes were exceedingly numerous, and equally so in every province. Rejecting those in which the prices exceed 100l. an acre, as going certainly much beyond what can possibly be the medium of the kingdom, the average of the rest is 41l. 1s. 6d. per acre. But I should wish that attention were rather given to another mode of calculating the price and produce of these vineyards; there are twenty-three minutes that include both price and produce; the average of these exclusive of such as rise above 100l. purchase, and 21l. produce, is

For the price per English acre,	-	£. 45	r	0
For the produce,	-	9	2	0*

Which is in French money, per arpent of Paris.—Price, 871 liv.
Produce, 175

From which it appears, that vines, in these provinces, give, in annual produce, one-fifth of their fee simple. The amount of labour per acre, on an average of those minutes, in which it appears to be satisfactorily noted, and rejecting the higher articles as before, is 2l. 12s. 6d. The net profit appears, from several of the minutes, to vibrate between 7 and 10 per cent. on the capital employed. How nearly these averages, noticed in my route, approach the real medium of the

* The Marquis de Mirabeau observed, that an arpent of vines is, on an average, worth double the best arpent of corn. *L'Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760, tom. 6; p. 137. This agrees pretty well with my notes.

whole kingdom, it is impossible, with any degree of accuracy, to conjecture; but I am inclined to believe, that the difference may not be considerable. This, however, must be left, with a proper diffidence, to the well informed reader's superior sagacity. The importance of this branch of cultivation to the kingdom, and the idea so common there, I may almost say universal, that the wine provinces are the poorest, and that the culture is mischievous to the national interests, are subjects too curious to be dismissed hastily: as my opinion is directly the reverse of the prevalent one in France, it is necessary to explain the circumstances on which it is founded. It appears, by the preceding minutes, that the value of the soil thus employed was probably higher than it could be in any other application, good meadows (valuable from their scarcity) alone excepted: that the produce much exceeds all others; and lastly, that the employment depending upon it is very considerable. Under such leading and powerful circumstances, and connected as they are with another not less essential, that vast tracks of the land thus employed are rock and declivities, too steep for the plough,—it should seem astonishing, how an idea could ever be entertained that such a cultivation could be prejudicial to a country: it is, however, very general in France. The question ought to be put solely on this issue,—Would the same land under any other culture sell at the same price? 45*l.* per acre, amounting to thirty years purchase, at 30*s.* an acre, is such a value as France, in the richest vales, knows nothing of (meadows alone excepted, which will always be valuable according to scarcity and to heat of climate), and we in England as little. But this greater value arises not by any means from the richest lands, but from those which, considered on a medium, are certainly very inferior to the rest of the kingdom. Great tracks could be applied to no other use than of sheep-walk or warren; much is situated, in some of the poorest soils of the kingdom, on sands, sharp gravels, and lands so stony, as to be inapplicable to the plough: to possess a climate that gives the power of raising such land to the value of 30*l.* or 40*l.* an acre, is, beyond all doubt or question, a superiority that cannot be too much valued. The amount of the produce is not less striking: rich pastures sell every where at high prices, because they are attended with no expences; and thus a small product may be classed with a large one; but it is not so with vines. The average of 9*l.* an acre, on a mean of good and bad years, is such as no other plant will equal that is cultivated in France, watered lands alone excepted. It is only on singularly fine soils, in certain peculiar districts, that any thing approaching such a product is to be met with. There is no part of Europe, in which a crop of wheat of such value is not exceedingly large, and much beyond the average. That of all the wheat, in any of the richest counties of England, vibrates between 6*l.* and 7*l.* an acre, prepared for, perhaps, by a barren and expensive fallow,—at least by something much less profitable than itself. What then are we to think
of

of a plant which covers your land with a rich crop of wheat every year? There are many men, however, in France, who will say, YOUR REASONING MUST BE ERRONEOUS; *for there is not a vine proprietor in France, who would not give you his vineyard for your ideal wheat of every year.* The observation may be perfectly just; but it is no answer to me, who am not speaking of *net profit*, but of *produce*. To him, who considers the subject in a national light, and as a politician, the former is not the object;—the great point is to secure a large produce. The prince may levy such heavy taxes on the produce; and it may be gained by such an operose culture, that the poor may levy a much heavier for their labour; the consequence to the cultivator may be a low profit, but to the nation at large the importance of the product remains the same, and unimpeached. And in this light I look upon that of vines as so considerable, that should the fact of the real average of the whole kingdom prove less than I make it—even so little as 7l. per acre, I should still esteem the culture an object of infinite national consequence. In regard to the net profit, which on the minutes vibrates from 7 to 10 per cent. it does not seem to some to be adequate to the peculiar happiness of the climate, and the reputation of the wine throughout the world; or to the price of the land, or amount of the product. But, in this respect, it must be considered, that the minutes, so far as they concern the returns in money, are the prices of the vintage only; whereas every man that has a capital sufficient, by keeping his wine for three months only, adds considerably to the profit.—If a proprietor be merely able to store his crop in casks in his cellar, long enough to avoid the immediate necessity of selling for want of casks, he has an advance of price, which will greatly augment the ratio of his profit: it is very fair to give the cultivator of vines the same time that is taken by most of his brethren with whom corn is the object, that is to say, six months from the harvest. The difference of profit is exceedingly great between the sale in the vintage, and that of six months after. But it is still of more consequence to observe, that the rate per cent. here mentioned, is not on the mere business of the cultivator, but on the purchase of the estate upon which the culture is carried on. This makes an enormous difference. If agriculture, in England, yield 15 per cent. and landed property three, throw the two together, and the mean is not more than 5½ or 6; and those who, in England, buy an estate, and stock, and cultivate it, and make 6 per cent. will not think they are suffering, notwithstanding the accumulated advantages of a century of freedom.

It is this large annual product which in the vine provinces gives bread to such numbers of people; beside the direct object of common labour, which amounts, as we have seen, to 2l. 12s. 6d. per acre, and consequently is above thrice as high as that of common arable crops, and if they are not in very complete culture,

the superiority is much more considerable, there is the trade of casks, which, independent of the employment of coopers, gives a value to the woods of a country, as well as an activity to foreign commerce, by the import of staves and hoops. The props have the same effect as our hop-poles, and render willow plantations, as well as common under-woods, much more valuable than they would be otherwise. Besides, there is the circumstance, that so many politicians regard alone, the exportation of the wine, and the cask or the bottle; forming, whether in the shape of wine or of brandy (as I shall by and by shew), one of the greatest trades of export that is to be seen in Europe; as much the export of French labour, as that of the silks of Lyons, or the cloths of Louviers. And after all this, if I be allowed to place last, what in truth ought ever to be regarded first, that is, the home consumption, there is the invaluable advantage of a whole people being well and amply supplied with a beverage, the effect of their own industry, and the result of their own labour; and it surely will not be thought a small advantage, that a nation has recourse, for supplying this consumption, to her sands, gravels, declivities, and rocks; that she demands it not of her rich plains, but of those lands which her less fortunate neighbours are forced to cover with copse or rabbits. But here we are not to forget, that argument is always to give way to fact. From what I have just said, the reader is not to conclude that such lands *only* are under vines in France, the contrary is the fact; I found them on the noble and fertile plain of the Garonne; on the richest lands in the vale which extends from Narbonne to Nimes; in the vales of Dauphiné and of the Loire; and, in a word, indiscriminately on every sort of land in all the wine provinces; but I found them also on such rocky and bad soils as I have described, and in so great quantities as to shew how well adapted they are to such soils and situations. There are two reasons why vines are so often found in rich plains; the first is, the export of wheat being either prohibited or allowed with such irregularity, that the farmer is never sure of a price: but the export of wine and brandy has never been stopped for a moment. The effect of such a contrast in policy must have been considerable, and I saw its influence in every part of France, by the new vineyards already planted, or begun to be planted, on corn lands, while the people were starving for want of bread; of such consequence, in the encouragement of any culture, is a *steady unvarying policy!* The fact is the more striking in France, because the vine culture is very much burthened in taxation; but, always possessing a free trade, it thrives. The second reason is, that the culture of this plant is much better understood in France than that of corn. An advantageous rotation of crops, and that arrangement of a farm which makes cattle necessary to corn, and corn necessary to cattle, on which the profit of arable land so much depends, is what the French have hardly an idea of. In their practice it is never to be seen, and in their books it is never to be read.

But

But their vineyards are gardens; the turnips of Norfolk, the carrots of Suffolk, the beans of Kent, and the cabbages of an English gentleman are not so clean as the vines of France, while the whole œconomy of the plant is perfectly understood, both in theory and practice. It is a question, which I have heard often started in conversation, whether it be nationally more advantageous that wine should be, as in France, the common beverage, or beer, as in England? How it should ever become a question I cannot understand. We are, of necessity, *obliged* to have recourse to our best lands to supply our drink; the French, under a good government, would have *all* theirs from their worst soils. The sands of Sologne, which are passed in the way from Blois to Chambord, &c. &c. are as bad as ours in Suffolk and Norfolk, which feed only rabbits. The French sands, by means of vines, yield 8l. or 9l. an acre, and those of Suffolk not so many shillings. Through nine-tenths of England, the land that yields wheat in every rotation yields also barley. If our hills, rocks, sands, and chalky declivities gave us our liquor, could we not apply these richer soils to something better than beer? Could we not, by means of rotations, that made potatoes, tares, beans, and artificial grasses the preparatives for wheat alternately, contrive to raise infinitely more bread, beef, and mutton, if barley did not of necessity come in for an attention equal to what we give to wheat? Wheat, rye, barley, and oats exhaust, every other crop we raise, either actually or consequentially, ameliorates. Would it be no advantage to strike out one of these exhausters, and substitute an improver? Would it be no advantage to feed all the horses of Britain on beans instead of oats? Your populousness may be proportioned to your quantity of bread, mutton, and beef. With one-fourth of your land under barley, can you have as much bread, mutton, and beef, as if you were not under the necessity of having any barley at all? How few agricultural combinations must there be in a mind that can entertain doubts on such questions? There is a common idea that wine is not a wholesome beverage, I take this to be a vulgar error; bad wine, or wine kept till sharp and acid, may be unwholesome, but so is bad beer, or beer kept till acid: but this has nothing to do with the question. If the lower people be forced, through poverty, to drink bad liquor, the complaint ought not to be that wine is unwholesome, but that a bad government is unwholesome: the beer drinkers under such a one, will not have much to boast. There may be more strength and vigour of body among the common people in England than among the same class in France; if this be true, it proves nothing against wine. Are the French poor as well fed as ours? Do they eat an equal quantity of animal flesh? Were they as free? These common prejudices, for or against certain liquors, are usually built on very insufficient observation.

But the enemies of vineyards recur to the charge; *the vine provinces are the poorest of the kingdom; and you always see misery among the poor proportioned to the quantity*

quantity of vines *.—This is the main hinge on which the argument turns ; it is an observation, that has been made to me a thousand times in France, and conversation never touches on the subject but you are sure to hear it repeated.—There is some truth in it as a fact—there is none as an argument. There is usually a considerable population in vine provinces ; and doubtless it is not surprising, that where there is a great population there should be many poor, under a bad government. But there is another reason much more satisfactory, which arises not at all from the nature of the culture, but from the abuse of it. It is the smallness of the property into which vineyards are usually divided ; a circumstance carried to such excess, that the misery flowing from it can hardly be imagined by those who are whirled through France in a post-chaise. The nature of the culture depending almost entirely on manual labour, and demanding no other capital than the possession of the land and a pair of arms ; no carts, no ploughs, no cattle, necessarily leads the poor people to this species of property ; and the universal practice of dividing it between the children, multiplies these little farms to such a degree, that a family depends on a spot of land for support that cannot possibly yield it ; this weakens the application to other industry, rivets the children to a spot from which they ought to emigrate, and gives them a flattering interest in a piece of land, that tempts them to remain when better interests call them elsewhere. The consequence is, their labouring as much as they can for their richer neighbours ; their own little vineyards are then neglected ; and that culture, which to a more able proprietor is decisively advantageous, becomes ruinous to insufficient funds. But a misfortune, greater even than this, is the uncertainty of the crop ; to a man of a proper capital, and who consequently regards only the average of seven years, this is of no account ; but to the poor proprietor, who lives from hand to mouth, it is fatal ; he cannot see half a year's labour lost by hail, frost, cold, or other inclemencies of the season, without seeing, at the same time, his children in want of bread ; before the ample produce comes, which certainly will come on the average account, he finds himself in the hospital. This I take to be the origin of that general and too indiscriminate condemnation of vineyards in France. The poverty is obvious ; it is connected with vines, and for want of proper distinctions, it is considered as necessarily flowing from vineyards ; but in fact it is merely the result of small properties amongst the poor : a poor family can no where be better situated than in a vine province, provided he possesses not a plant. Whatever may be the season, they are sure of ample employ-

* So lately as in the *Journal-Physique* for May 1790, *Monf. Roland de la Platiere*, a gentleman with whom I had the pleasure of some agreeable conversation at Lyons, says, that of all countries the vine ones are the poorest, and the people the most wretched ! And in the *cabier* of the clergy of Auxerre, it is demanded, that the ordonances against planting vines on land proper for corn be executed. p. 19.

ment among their richer neighbours, and to an amount, as we have above seen, thrice as great as any other arable lands afford. That culture which demands 2l. 12s. in hand labour only, whether there be crop or no crop, and which employs women and children of all ages, ought not surely to be condemned as the origin of distress among the poor. Attribute the fact to its true cause, the desire and spirit of possessing landed-property, which is universal in France, and occasions infinite misery. This circumstance, so prevalent in that kingdom, and (comparatively speaking) so little known in ours, where the poor are so much more at their ease than in France and most other countries, is very curious to a political observer. What an apparent contradiction, that property should be the parent of poverty, yet there is not a clearer or better ascertained fact in the range of modern politics. The only property fit for a poor family, is their cottage, garden, and perhaps grass land enough to yield milk; this needs not of necessity impede their daily labour; if they have more, they are to be classed with farmers, and will have arable fields, which must, in the nature of things, be ill cultivated, and the national interest consequently suffer.

The explanations I have given of the wine system in France will be received, I trust, with candour. To investigate such questions fully, would demand dissertations expressly written on every subject that arises, which would be inconsistent with the brevity necessary to the register of travels: I attempt no more than to arrange the facts procured; it belongs to the political arithmetician fully to combine and illustrate them.

CHAP. XI.

Of Inclosures in France.

THERE is scarcely a circumstance concerning this great kingdom, which ought to be so well known, and yet which is so grossly misrepresented, both in common books and common conversation, as the subject of this inquiry. The idle loungers, that write the guides and journies to Paris and Rome, would make their readers believe, that if you turn a horse loose at Calais, he may run to Bayonne for want of an inclosure to stop him. France is certainly much less inclosed than England; but the travellers, who take the common route only from Calais to Paris, Dijon, Lyons, and Chambery, can have no more idea of the inclosures in that kingdom, than if they had staid at home in Portman or Grosvenor-squares. The principal districts of inclosure which I viewed are, all Bretagne, the western part of Normandy, with the northern part to the Seine.

Most

Most of Anjou and Maine, as far as near Allencçon. To the S. of the Loire an immense range of country is inclosed; Bas Poitou, Touraine, Sologne, Berry, Limosin, the Bourbonnois, and much of the Nevernois; and from Mont Cenis in Burgundy, to St. Poncin in Auvergne, all is inclosed. There is some open country in the Angoumois, and the eastern part of Poitou, but more is inclosed. Quercy is partly so; but the whole district of the Pyrenees, from Perpignan to Bayonne, extending to Auch, and almost to Toulouse, is all (wastes excepted) thickly inclosed. This contiguous mass of country comprehends not less than 11,000 square leagues * of the 26,000 contained in the whole kingdom; and if to this we add the considerable districts in other parts of France which are inclosed, they will, beyond a doubt, raise the total to a full half of the kingdom. It is to be considered, that Provence, especially about Avignon, is not without inclosures; Dauphiné has more. The whole range of the mountainous district of Auvergne, Velay, Vivarais, and Cevenois, contains many: Franche Comté and Burgundy, especially the former, have large tracks inclosed: Lorraine has some; and Flanders has them throughout. Add to this, most of the vineyards, woods and forests, and meadows †, of the kingdom; and it will not be thought too large an allowance, to suppose one-half of it in this state. In such a calculation, it would be absurd to pretend to accuracy; it is a guess, founded on actual observation, and innumerable notes taken on the spot. Some of the inclosed provinces are chequered by open fields; and every open province is chequered by tracks that are inclosed. Another remark, not unnecessary to make, for the use of such as may travel in future, is, that there are many lands in France really inclosed for most of the purposes of husbandry, though apparently open; that is, property is absolutely distinguished, though without the limit of a hedge or a ditch. The use which is made of inclosures in this great kingdom, is a subject of more importance. If they do not know what to do with them, they might as well not have them. That this is really the case, no person can doubt who travels there with attention; and a stronger proof cannot be adduced, than that the same price per arpent should be given for inclosed and open lands, provided both are arable. This fact I met with often, to my astonishment. It is the more singular, because there are many parts also of the same kingdom, where the small proprietors shew, by their practice, how well they understand the value of inclosing; no sooner acquiring the soil, than immediately securing it to themselves by hedges, or ditches, or both. Bearn is as striking an instance of this as any part of Europe can exhibit. There is not a district in England closer, thicker, or

* That is, equal to the contents of the following generalities Rennes, Caen, Tours, Bourges, Poitiers, Limoges, Moulins, Rochelle, Auch and Pau, Montauban, and Bourdeaux.

† Not all; for many are common, and there are rights over others.

better inclosed; and, what is uncommon in France, gates and stiles are in good order. The whole territory of the Pyrenees is in general an inclosed country, but fences are not so neat, or so well preserved, as in Bearn. In Bretagne also, the whole of which is more or less inclosed, though ordinarily with a rough and savage aspect, yet there is a district from Guingamp to Belleisle much better, where the gates are ingeniously contrived to save iron; by means of the posts being stout, that on which the gate swings has a projection at top and at bottom, the latter being sufficient for the gate to turn *on*, and the former to turn *in*, for confining it to the perpendicular position; and the other post has a hole, slit, or gash, cut across the face of it, for lifting a projection of the head of the gate into, by which it is as securely fastened, as by means of irons in the gates of England—a contrivance that answers well where wood is not too dear.

It cannot be doubted, but that in these provinces, and in Limosin, Berry, and others, where I observed the hedges well kept, and gaps attentively mended, the farmers must be well persuaded, from experience, of the advantages of inclosing. They would not put themselves to a considerable expense, if they did not expect a reimbursement. But in the provinces where the open fields predominate, there inclosures are little valued: I do not well understand the reason for this;—if the husbandry varied in the inclosed fields, from that of the uninclosed ones, there would be nothing surprising in it; but the marvellous folly is, that, in nine-tenths of all the inclosures of France, the system of management is precisely the same as in the open fields; that is to say, fallows as regularly prevail, and consequently the cattle and sheep of a farm are nothing in comparison of what they ought to be. Flanders and Alsace, and in general the very rich soils, are well cultivated, but not every where; for the noble loams of Bernay to Elbœuf, and those of the Pays de Caux, are disgraced with fallows. Sologne is inclosed, yet it is the most miserable province in France, of the same rank with Bretagne itself. The Bourbonnois, and great part of the Nevernois, are inclosed; yet the course pursued is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; and, 1, fallow; 2, rye; 3, left to weeds and broom—and all these on soils, as Bretagne, Sologne, and the Bourbonnois, highly improveable, and capable of the best Norfolk husbandry. With such miserable systems, of what good are inclosures?—Hence we may draw this conclusion, that when we find half of France inclosed, we are not to suppose that kingdom in the state of improvement and cultivation, which this circumstance implies among us; on the contrary, it indicates no such thing; for some of the poorest, and most unimproved provinces, are precisely these which are inclosed; and, for what I know, there may be visionary theorists in that kingdom, who will, from this circumstance, argue against the practice of inclosing, since no absurdities are so gross as to want advocates.

The chief cause of new inclosure in France, that fell within my knowledge, is, that the communities of many parishes, in various parts of the kingdom, and parti-

particularly in the territory of the Pyrenees, being proprietors of the wastes, sell them to any person that applies for the property; to him they give an absolute assignment, without reserving any rights of commonage or fuel; in consequence of which, the purchaser has the power of inclosure, of which he never fails making use. Hence such numerous improvements have been made in the mountainous provinces. On the other hand, in the waste plains of Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, the whole being in the hands of great lords or seigneurs, who will not sell, but only hief out these wastes, we see them remain in the same barren and desolate state in which they were five hundred years ago; nor is it a small impediment, in these cases, that the rights of commonage are claimed in many instances by communities, when the property is in the seigneurs; a claim that has no existence when the property is in the communities themselves.

The open arable fields of Picardy, Artois, part of Normandy, the Isle of France, Brie, and the Pays de Beauce, are cursed with all the mischievous circumstances known in similar cases in England, such as rights of common pasturage, commencing on given days, when under corn, and throughout the fallow year; as well as that miserable phantastical division of property which seems to have been contrived, for giving an occupier as much trouble and expence as possible in the culture of his scraps of fields. In England we have been making, for forty or fifty years past, a considerable progress in the allotment and inclosure of open fields; and though tythes, folly, obstinacy, prejudice, and heavy expences in parliament, operate powerfully in preventing great numbers of inclosures, yet we have enough to preserve the habit, mode, and system of doing the business; it goes on; and, from the progress of good sense and experience, we may hope to have the whole kingdom inclosed in another century. In France, on the contrary, they have not taken the first step; they have not devised a method of proceeding; they know not, nor have any idea of giving full powers to commissioners to go through the Herculean labour, as the French would esteem it, of making a fair division, without appeal. There was a royal edict for this purpose in 1764, or 1765, I think, which had a particular reference to Loraine; but, in passing through that province, I made enquiries into its effect, and found little or nothing had resulted from it. Nay, I was assured at Metz, Pont a Mousson, Nancy, and Luneville, that rights of common pasture were universal in the province, and that every thing was eaten which was sown contrary to the established routine. I asked, at Luneville, why they had not more lucerne? The answer was, the *droit de parcours* prevents it: But under the old government of France, no permission, or regulation of this sort, could be carried into execution, because there was in reality no legislature in France. I shall elsewhere shew this more distinctly: no law could be effectual, unless consented to *willingly* by the parliaments, and then vigorously executed by them; for, by means of the vicious constitution of their courts of justice, there was no execu-
tive

tive government to carry the law into execution; so that if all parties were not fully united in executing, as well as enacting in any measure, nothing could ever be done—the King being really impotent in this respect, with all his despotism. Under the new government, which is establishing in France, I have great doubts whether any progress can ever be made in this great and leading step to all useful improvements in agriculture: as far as the present constitution can be understood, it is the will of *the people* that is to govern; and I know of no country where the people are not against inclosures. The Tiers Etat, and clergy of Metz * expressly demand, that the edict of inclosure shall be revoked: that of Troyes, and Nismes, and Anjou, make the same request †; another, that the right of commonage in forests shall be granted to the neighbouring parishes ‡.—The nobility of Cambrai declare, that commons ought not to be broken up §. Nay, some of the *cabiers* go so far as to say, that the commons which have already been divided, ought to be thrown open again ||. Hence we may judge what probability there can be, of any new and effective laws to promote and enforce such a measure.

To enter largely into the advantages of inclosures, in such a work as this, and at this time of day, would be superfluous **; it is sufficient to remark, that without a regular system of inclosures no cattle can be kept, except on the

* *Cahier de Tiers Etat de Metz*, p. 45. *Du Clergé*, p. 11. The very people, therefore, most pestered with commons are those who are the first to desire them. *Mem. sur la Culture du Chou Navet*, par M. de Mononcourt. 8vo. 1788. p. 7.

† *T. Etat Troyes*. Art. 118. *Nismes*, p. 27. *Anjou*, p. 49.

‡ *T. Etat Thimerais*. p. 44.

§ *Nob. Cambrai*, p. 19. It is, however, but just to remark, that the division of commons is demanded by the nobility of Sens, p. 26; nobility of Provins, p. 24; nobility of St. Quentin, p. 12; the clergy of Bayonne, art. 51; the nobility of Lyons, p. 23. The Tier Etat of Cotentin, MS.

|| *Clergé Saumur*, p. 9. *Troyes*, p. 10.

** The King of Prussia justly remarks, “Ce ne fut qu’après la séparation des communes que l’agriculture des Anglois commença à prospérer.” *Oeuvres*, tom. v. p. 151. See also, for vast advantages, *L’Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760. vol. v. p. 125. But, above all, let me quote the instances given by a French writer, which are so pointed as to merit much attention. “There are in the election of Chateau Thiery, 109 communities, among whom 32 possess commons, and 74 have none. In the 32, eleven have augmented in their fires 152; twenty others have diminished 375; and one has rested as it was; in the 77 without commons, 13 have augmented 147 fires; 42 diminished 473; and 22 remained as they were. The election of Soissons offers an example not less striking; 32 parishes possess near 4000 arpents of commons, which contained, in 1729, families 2470; but at present they are reduced to 1689. In 20 villages without commons, there are 90 fires more than in 20 other villages that have commons. With commons there is a cow to 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ arpents; without, one to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ arpents.” *Traité des Communes*. 8vo. 1777. And it is very well observed by another, that commons and common fields are of much less use to those who want most, than to those who can do without them. *Memoire de la Soc. Oecon. de Berne*. 1762. t. ii. p. 80.

Flemish system of constant confinement in stables, stalls, or yards; and this method, when the lands which are to yield the food are distant from the home-stall, is inconvenient and expensive, though in a great variety of respects truly admirable. With open field farms, much dispersed, it is impossible to follow the Flemish system; not only because the established rotation excludes the proper plants for cattle, but because, if they were raised, they could not be daily carted home, without committing trespasses on other people; therefore, it should always be remembered, that cattle and inclosure are synonymous terms. The numerous academies and societies of agriculture in France, that, by premiums and dissertations, attempted to increase the cattle of the kingdom, by the culture of new grasses and other plants, without making proper distinctions, and paying a peculiar attention to inclosed districts, could not, in the nature of things, see any good effects result from their endeavours: it was something like the Intendant's giving turnip seed to farmers who had not, perhaps, a single acre of land in circumstances that permitted the cultivation. But we may safely assert, that without inclosure the half of France cannot possibly support the requisite stock of cattle and sheep; and without such stock, a good and productive husbandry is utterly impracticable. On whatever agricultural subject we may be employed, it is never to be forgotten, nor can we recur too often to the position, that the fallows of a farm are to support the cattle and sheep of it.

The first great object of French agriculture is to establish a better husbandry in the parts of the kingdom already inclosed; and the second is to inclose the parts now open. It is remarkable that vineyards are generally open, though property is distinct and ascertained; I have met with instances where the divided and scattered scraps of land in this culture have been as various and as inconvenient as in common arable fields, probably from their having been in this state before they were converted into vineyards. Inclosures, however, are in no culture more important than in the vineyard. Trespasses are mischievous in proportion to the value of the product, and to the ease and temptation of committing them. The assiduity exerted, and the expence bestowed, in watching vineyards in many parts of France, are a convincing proof, that the better they are inclosed, the more valuable they would be considered. How far the shelter resulting from inclosures would preserve the vines from the inclemencies of unfavourable seasons, deserves the attention of French agriculturists. There is another light in which this improvement may be placed, which in France merits particular attention, namely, the necessity of making every where provision for fuel, by some application of the land to it, from the scarcity or badness of coal in seven-eighths of the kingdom. I have already shewn what an immense proportion of it is under woods and forests, for supplying fuel; whereas a well regulated inclosure, the hedges judiciously planted and preserved,

would

would yield, as they do in England, considerable quantities of fuel. Where shelter or humidity were wanted, this quantity would be large; where the fence simply was the object, it would be less, as such motives would regulate the height of the hedge.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Tenantry, and Size of Farms in France.

TH**ERE** are five circumstances in the occupation of land in France, under which I may include the very numerous notes I took in all the provinces, and which are too voluminous for insertion: 1, the small properties of the peasants; 2, hiring at a money rent, as in England; 3, feudal tenures; 4, monopolizing lands hired at money rent, and re-let to peasants; 5, *metayers*; by which is to be understood, hiring at half or third produce.

I. The small properties of the peasants are found every where, to a degree we have no idea of in England; they are found in every part of the kingdom, even in those provinces where other tenures prevail; but in Quercy, Languedoc, the whole district of the Pyrenees, Bearn, Gascoign, part of Guienne, Alsace, Flanders, and Loraine, they abound to a greater degree than common. In Flanders, Alsace, on the Garonne, and Bearn, I found many in comfortable circumstances, such as might rather be called small farmers than cottagers, and in Bas Bretagne, many are reputed rich, but in general they are poor and miserable, much arising from the minute division of their little farms among all the children. In Loraine, and the part of Champagne that joins it, they are quite wretched. I have, more than once, seen division carried to such excess, that a single fruit tree, standing in about ten perch of ground, has constituted a farm, and the local situation of a family decided by the possession.

II. Hiring at money rent is the general practice in Picardy, Artois, part of Flanders, Normandy (except the Pays de Caux), Isle of France, and Pays de Beauce; and I found some in Bearn and about Navarens. Such tenures are found also in most parts of France, scattered among those which are different and predominant; but, upon a moderate estimate, they have not yet made their way through more than a sixth or seventh of the kingdom.

III. Feudal tenures.—These are fiefs granted by the seigneurs of parishes, under a reservation of fines, quit rents, forfeitures, services, &c.; I found them abounding most in Bretagne, Limosin, Berry, La Marche, &c. where they spread through whole provinces; but they are scattered very much in every part
of

of the kingdom. About Verfon, Vatan, &c. in Berry, they complained fo heavily of thefe burthens, that the mode of levying and enforcing them muft conftitute much of the evil; they are every where much more burthenfome than apparent, from the amount which I attribute to that circumftance. Legal adjudications, they affert, are very fevere againft the tenant, in favour of the feigneur.

IV. Monopoly.—This is commonly praftifed in various of the provinces where *metaying* is known; men of fome fubftance hire great tracks of land, at a money rent, and re-let it in fmall divifions to metayers, who pay half the produce. I heard many complaints of it in La Marche, Berry, Poitou, and Angoumois, and it is met with in other provinces; it appears to flow from the difficulties inherent in the metaying fyftem, but is itfelf a mifchievous praftice, well known in Ireland, where thefe middle men are almoft banifhed.

V. *Metayers*.—This is the tenure under which, perhaps, feven-eighths of the lands of France are held; it pervades almoft every part of Sologne, Berry, La Marche, Limofin, Anjou, Bourgogne, Bourbonnois, Nevernois, Auvergne, &c. and is found in Bretagne, Maine, Provence, and all the fouthern counties, &c. In Champagne there are many at *tier franc*, which is the third of the produce, but in general it is half. The landlord commonly finds half the cattle and half the feed; and the metayer labour, implements, and taxes; but in fome diftricts the landlord bears a fhare of thefe. In Berry fome are at half, fome one-third, fome one-fourth produce. In Rouffillon the landlord pays half the taxes; and in Guienne, from Auch to Fleuran, many landlords pay all. Near Aguilon, on the Garonne, the metayers furnifh half the cattle. Near Falaise, in Normandy, I found metayers, where they fhould leaft of all be looked for, on the farms which gentlemen keep in their own hands; the confequence there is, that every gentleman's farm muft be precifely the worft cultivated of all the neighbourhood:—this difgraceful circumftance needs no comment. At Nangis, in the Ile of France, I met with an agreement for the landlord to furnifh live ftock, implements, harnefs, and taxes; the metayer found labour and his own capitation tax:—the landlord repaired the houfe and gates; the metayer the windows:—the landlord provided feed the firft year; the metayer the laft; in the intervening years they fupply half and half. Produce fold for money divided. Butter and cheefe ufed in the metayer's family, to any amount, compounded for at 5s. a cow. In the Bourbonnois the landlord finds all forts of live ftock, yet the metayer fells, changes, and buys at his will; the fteward keeping an account of thefe mutations, for the landlord has half the product of fale, and pays half the purchafes. The tenant carts the landlord's half of the corn to the barn of the chateau, and comes again to take the ftraw; the confequences of this abfurd fyftem are ftriking; land which in England would let at 10s. pay about 2s. 6d. for both land and live ftock.

At

At the first blush, the great disadvantage of the metaying system is to landlords; but, on a nearer examination, the tenants are found in the lowest state of poverty, and some of them in misery. At Vatan, in Berry, I was assured, that the metayers almost every year borrowed their bread of the landlord before the harvest came round, yet hardly worth borrowing, for it was made of rye and barley mixed; I tasted enough of it to pity sincerely the poor people; but no common person there eats wheaten bread; with all this misery among the farmers, the landlord's situation may be estimated by the rents he receives. At Salbris, in Sologne, for a sheep-walk that feeds 700 sheep, and 200 English acres of other land, paid the landlord, for his half, about 33*l.* sterling; the whole rent, for land and stock too, did not, therefore, amount to 1*s.* per head on the sheep! In Limosin the metayers are considered as little better than menial servants, removeable at pleasure, and obliged to conform in all things to the will of the landlords; it is commonly computed that half the tenantry are deeply in debt to the proprietor, so that he is often obliged to turn them off with the loss of these debts, in order to save his land from running waste.

In all the modes of occupying land, the great evil is the smallness of farms. There are large ones in Picardy, the Isle of France, the Pays de Beauce, Artois, and Normandy; but, in the rest of the kingdom, such are not general. The division of the farms and population is so great, that the misery flowing from it is in many places extreme; the idleness of the people is seen the moment you enter a town on market-day; the swarms of people are incredible. At Lander-visiau, in Bretagne, I saw a man who walked seven miles to bring two chickens, which would not sell for 24*s.* the couple, as he told me himself. At Avranches men attending each a horse, with a pannier load of sea ooze, not more than four bushels. Near Isenheim, in Alsace, a rich country, women, in the midst of harvest, where their labour is nearly as valuable as that of men, reaping grass by the road side to carry home to their cows.

OBSERVATIONS.

Three material questions obviously arise; 1*st*, the inconveniencies of metaying, and the advantages of the tenure at a money rent; 2*d*, the size of farms; 3*d*, how far small properties are beneficial.

I. *Metayers.*

This subject may be easily dispatched; for there is not one word to be said in favour of the practice, and a thousand arguments that might be used against it. The hard plea of necessity can alone be urged in its favour; the poverty of the farmers being so great, that the landlord must stock the farm, or it could not be stocked at all: this is a most cruel burthen to a proprietor, who is thus obliged

to run much of the hazard of farming, in the most dangerous of all methods, that of trusting his property absolutely in the hands of people who are generally ignorant, many careless, and some undoubtedly wicked. Among some gentlemen I personally knew, I was acquainted with one at Bagnere de Luchon, who was obliged to sell his estate, because he was unable to restock it, the sheep having all died of epidemical distempers; proceeding, doubtless, from the execrable methods of the metayers cramming them into stables as hot as stoves, on reeking dunghills; and then, in the common custom of the kingdom, shutting every hole and crack that could let in air.—In this most miserable of all the modes of letting land, after running the hazard of such losses, fatal in many instances, the defrauded landlord receives a contemptible rent;—the farmer is in the lowest state of poverty;—the land is miserably cultivated; and the nation suffers as severely as the parties themselves. It is a curious question how this practice came to be exploded in Picardy, Normandy, and the Isle of France. The wealth of great cities will effect something, but not much; for Bourdeaux, Marseilles, and, above all, Lyons and Nantes, have done nothing in this respect; yet they are to be classed among the richest cities in Europe, and far beyond Rouen, Abbeville, Amiens, &c.—And were we to ascribe it to the nearer vicinity of the capital, why has not the same cause established a good husbandry, as well as rents paid in money?—The fact, however, is certain, that those three provinces, with Artois and Flanders, in which we should not be surprized at any variation, as they were conquered from a free country, comparatively speaking, are the only ones in the kingdom where this beneficial practice *generally* prevails. It is found, indeed, in a scattered and irregular manner elsewhere, but not established as in those provinces. That the poverty of the tenantry, which has given rise to this mischievous practice, has arisen from the principles of an arbitrary government, cannot be doubted. Heavy taxes on the farmers, from which the nobility and clergy are exempt; and those taxes levied arbitrarily, at the will of the Intendant and his sub-delegues, have been sufficient to impoverish the lower classes. One would naturally have supposed, from the gross abuses and cruelty of this method of taxation, that the object in view were as much to keep the people poor, as to make the King rich. As the taille was professedly levied in proportion to every one's substance, it had the mischievous effect of all *equal* land taxes, when levied even with honesty; for a farmer's profit—his success—his merit, was taxed exactly in proportion to the quantum; a sure method of putting a period to the existence of either profit, success, or merit. The farmers are really poor, or apparently poor, since a rich man will affect poverty to escape the arbitrary rise of a tax, which professes to be in proportion to his power of bearing it: hence poor cattle, poor implements, and poor dung-hills, even on the farms of men who could afford the best.

What

What a ruinous and detestable system, and how surely calculated to stop the current of the wealth of the sovereign, as well as of his people!—What man of common sense and feeling, can lament the fall of a government that conducted itself on such principles? And who can justly condemn the people for their violence, in wresting from the nobility and clergy those privileges and distinctions, which they had used so unworthily, to the depression and ruin of all the inferior classes? These taxes, united with the burthensome and odious feudul rights and impositions of the seigneurs, prevented all investment of capital, which could not be removed at pleasure, from the land: the evil was not so much a general want of capital in the kingdom, as an apprehension of fixing it on land, where it would of necessity be exposed to the rapin of regal and noble harpies; that this was the fact, we find from the case of the rich grazing districts of Normandy, where no want of capital was heard of, yet such lands demand a larger sum to stock than any other; a sum equal to the amplest improvement of the poorest and most difficult soils. Why then should not a proper stock be found on arable as well as on pasture lands? For an obvious reason;—the capital invested in fat oxen and sheep is removable at a moment's warning; and, being every year renewed, the grazier has an annual opportunity of withdrawing from business; he has consequently a sort of independence, utterly unknown to an arable farmer, who has the least idea of improving his land, or of keeping a proper stock of implements and manure. The knowledge of this circumstance keeps the tyrants in order, and makes them tender in impositions, which being evaded, would leave the most valuable land in the kingdom without the means of being rendered productive. Warmly as one must congratulate human feelings, upon a nation's throwing off the yoke of such detestable burthens, we cannot but regret and condemn the idea of those visionary, systematic, pseudo politicians, the *economistes*, which has so infected the National Assembly, as to allow the proposal even to be received, of laying a *proportional* land-tax of thirteen million sterling. This the present democratic principles will certainly *keep proportional*, since it is the wealthy who can alone improve; and the poor, with power in their hands, will always take care to tax the improvements of the rich. If this new system be not guarded with clauses, of which no trace appears at present, the agriculture of the kingdom will no more be able to raise its head, than under the old system. But this is not the place to discuss that important question. In regard to the best means of remedying the evils of metaying, they certainly consist in the proprietor's farming his own lands till improved, and then letting them at a money rent, without the stock, if he can find farmers to hire; but if not, lending the stock at interest. Thus favoured, the farmers would, under a good government and eased of tythes, presently grow rich, and, in all probability, would, for the most part, free them-

elves from the debt in twenty-five or thirty years; and, with good husbandry, even in a single lease of twenty-one years; but with their present wretched systems of cropping, and deficiency of cattle and sheep, they would be a century effecting it. If a landlord could not, or would not, farm himself, the next method would be, to let live stock and land at a money rent, for twenty-one years, the tenant, at the expiration, paying him in money the original value of the live stock, and subject to all hazards and losses. There can be no doubt but such a system, with a good mode of taxation and freedom from tythes, would enable the metayer in that term to become at least capable of carrying on his business, without any assistance in future from his landlord.

II. *Size of Farms.*

I have treated at large of this subject in my *Tours through England*, and in the *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. vii. p. 510; at present, therefore, I shall briefly touch upon some circumstances more peculiarly arising from the husbandry of France. I shall begin by asserting, with confidence, that I never saw a single instance of good husbandry on a small farm, except on soils of the greatest fertility. Flanders is always an exception; on that rich, deep, and putrid soil, in the exuberant plain of Alsace, and in the deep and fertile borders of the Garonne, the land is so good, that it must be perversity alone that can contrive very bad husbandry; but on all inferior soils, that is to say, through nine-tenths of the kingdom, and in some instances even on very rich land, as, for instance, in Normandy, the husbandry is execrable. I may farther observe, that whenever bad management is found in those rich and well cultivated districts, it is sure to be found on small farms. When, therefore, I observed in many *cabiers* of the three orders, a demand to limit the size of farms, and great panegyrics on small ones, I could not but conclude, that the townsmen who drew up those instructions knew nothing of the practice of agriculture, except the vulgar errors which float in every country upon that subject*. This inquiry is of so much importance to every nation, that it ought to depend as much as possible on facts, and of course to be handled by those only who practise agriculture as well as understand it. The following questions naturally arise. Is it the gross produce of husbandry that should chiefly be considered? Or the greatest produce that can be carried to market? Or is it the net profit? Should the populousness arising from cultivation be the guide? Or should the ease and happiness of the cultivators be only had in view? These questions might be multiplied, but they are sufficient for unfolding the inquiry. It will probably be found, that no one point is singly to be attended to, but an aggregate of all, in due proportions.

* *Cahier de Dourdon*, p. 17.—*Crepy*, p. 5.—*Estampes*, p. 27.—*Paris*, p. 41.—*Provins and Manteaux*, p. 51.

I. The gross produce cannot be alone considered, for this simple reason, that so many hands may be employed to raise the largest, as to afford none for market; in which case there could be no towns, no manufactures, but merely domestic ones; no army, no navy, no shipping. Such an arrangement, though perfectly consistent with the count de Mirabeau's system, of an equal dispersion of a people over their whole territory, is yet so truly visionary, that it does not demand a moment's attention.

II. The net profit of husbandry cannot possibly be the guide, because the most uncultivated spots may be attended with a greater net profit on the capital employed, than the richest gardens; as a mere warren, sheep-walk, &c.

III. Populousness cannot be a safe guide in the inquiry, because if it be alone attended to, it infallibly destroys itself by excess of misery. There can be no merit in any system that breeds people to starve; food and employment (towns) must, therefore, be in view as well as people.

IV. The ease and happiness of cultivators alone cannot be our guide, because they may be easier and happier in the midst of a howling desert, than in the gardens of Montreuil.

V. I am not absolutely satisfied with the *greatest produce that can be carried to market*, but it comes infinitely nearer to the truth than any of the rest; it includes a considerable gross produce; it implies a great net profit; and indicates, exactly in proportion to its amount, that populousness which is found in towns, and that which ought to depend on manufactures; it secures the ease of the cultivating classes; it enables the farmer to employ much labour, and, what is of more consequence, to pay it well.

This leading proposition, being thus far satisfactorily ascertained, on comparison with the others, we are able to determine that that size of farms is most beneficial, in general, which secures the greatest produce *in the market*; or, in other words, converted into money. Now, in order thus to command a great surplus, above what is consumed by men and their families employed or depending on the cultivation, every species of good husbandry must be exerted. Lands already in culture must be kept improving; great stocks of cattle and sheep supported; every sort of manure that can be procured used plentifully; draining, irrigating, folding, hoeing, marling, claying, liming, inclosing, all must be exerted with activity and vigour:—no scrap of waste land left in a neglected state:—all improved; all pushing forward towards perfection; and the farmer encouraged, by the profit of his undertakings, to invest his savings in fresh exertions, that he may receive that compound interest so practicable for the good farmer. The sized farm that best effects all these works, will certainly carry to market the greatest surplus produce. I have attended, with great care and impartiality, to the result of this inquiry throughout the kingdom; and though in

many provinces the husbandry is so infamously bad, as to yield a choice only of evils, yet I may safely assert, that on farms of 300 to 600 acres it is infinitely better than on little ones, and supplies the market with a produce beyond all comparison superior. But by farms I mean always *occupations*, and by no means such as are hired by middle men to re-let to little metayers. There is nothing strange in the bad husbandry so common on little farms; by which I mean such as are under 100 arpents, and even from 100 to 200; those proportions between the stock and labour, and the land, by which practical men will understand what I mean, are on such farms unfavourable. The man is poor; and no poor farmer can make those exertions that are demanded for good husbandry*; and his poverty is necessarily in proportion to the smallness of his farm. The profit of a large farm supports the farmer and his family, and leaves a surplus which may be laid out in improvements; that of a small tract of land will do no more than support the farmer, and leaves nothing for improvements. With the latter the horses are more numerous than with the former, and in a proportion that abridges much of the profit. The division of labour, which in every pursuit of industry gives skill and dispatch, cannot indeed take place on the greatest farms in the degree in which it is found in manufactures; but upon small farms it does not take place at all:—the same man, by turns, applies to every work of the farm; upon the larger occupation there are ploughmen, threshers, hedgers, shepherds, cow-herds, ox-herds, hog-herds, lime-burners, drainers, and irrigators:—this circumstance is of considerable importance, and decides that every work will be better performed on a large than on a small farm; one of the greatest engines of good husbandry, a sheepfold, is either to be found on a large farm only, or at an expence of labour which *destroys the profit*. It has often been urged, that small farms are greater nurseries of population; in many instances this is the case, and they are often pernicious exactly in that proportion; prolific in misery; and breeding mouths without yielding a produce to feed them. In France, population, outstripping the demand, is a public nuisance, and ought to be carefully discouraged; but of this fact, glaring through the whole kingdom, more in another chapter. The farms I should prefer in France would be 250 to 350 acres upon rich soils; and 400 to 600 upon poorer ones.

England has made, upon the whole, a much greater progress in agriculture than any other country in Europe; and great farms have absolutely done the whole: insomuch, that we have not a capital improvement that is ever found on

* "Wealth," says a French writer, "in the hands of farmers becomes fatal to agriculture." *Essai sur l'état de la culture Belgique*. 8vo. 1784. p. 7. Who can wonder at a kingdom being ill cultivated, that abounds with such politicians?

a small one. Let foreigners—let the count de Hertzberg * come to England and view our husbandry:—let me have the honour of shewing him that of our large farms, and then let Dr. Price conduct him to that of our small ones: when he has viewed both, he will find no difficulty in drawing conclusions very different from those which he has hitherto patronized. We have in England brought to perfection the management of inclosing, marling, claying, and every species of manuring. We have made great advances in irrigation; and should, perhaps, have equalled Lombardy, if the liberty of the people would have allowed as ready a trespass on private property. We have carried the breeding of cattle and sheep to a greater perfection, than any country in the world ever yet experienced. We have, in our best managed districts, banished fallows: and, what is the great glory of our island, the best husbandry is found on our poorest soils. Let me demand, of the advocates for small farms, where the little farmer is to be found who will cover his whole farm with marl, at the rate of 100 to 150 tons per acre? who will drain all his land at the expence of two or three pounds an acre? who will pay a heavy price for the manure of towns, and convey it thirty miles by land carriage? who will float his meadows at the expence of 5l. per acre? who, to improve the breed of his sheep, will give 1000 guineas for the *use* of a single ram for a single season? who will give 25 guineas per cow for being covered by a fine bull? who will send across the kingdom to distant provinces for new implements, and for men to use them? who employ and pay men for residing in provinces, where practices are found which they want to introduce on their farms?—At the very mention of such exertions, common in England, what mind can be so perversely framed as to imagine, for a single moment, that SUCH THINGS are to be effected by *little farmers*?—Deduct from agriculture all the practices that have made it flourishing in this island, and you have precisely the management of small farms.

* That Minister says, in one of his discourses to the Academy of Berlin, “ Ce le principe de que le cultivateur Anglois Young fontient, dans son Arithmetique Politique, sur l'utilité des grandes fermes. M. Young paroît avoir tort à l'égard d'un gouvernement republicain tel que celui de la Grande Bretagne, que a plus besoin qu'un autre d'une grande population.” Here, as in many instances, it is supposed, that large farms are unfavourable to population, because their produce is consumed in towns. Has the count given any reason to make us believe, that the produce of a large farm consumed in a town, does not imply a population proportioned to its quantity, as well as the produce of a small farm, which is consumed by the people that raise it? As population is in proportion to food, those who urge that great farms are injurious, should shew that small ones raise a greater quantity; that is, are better cultivated: surely the assertion implies too gross an absurdity to be ventured. Frederic, who attained the title of Great, on account of his superior skill in the arts of slaughtering men, was, on military principles, a friend to breeding them.—“ considerant que le nombre des habitants fait la richesse des souverains on trouva ——— ” &c. *Oeuvres de Fred. II.* Tom. v. p. 146.

The false ideas, at present so common in France, are the more surprising, as no language abounds with juster sentiments on many of these questions of political œconomy than the French. There cannot be juster, truer, or more apposite remarks on the advantage of great farms and rich farmers, than in the *Encyclopædie* *. Nor can any one write better on the subject than M. Delegorgue †. Artois, he observes, was universally under two crops and a fallow; but changed to a crop every year, by the old customs being abolished. So beneficial an alteration, not common in France, was founded on many and expensive experiments, which could be established only by means of the manures gained from large flocks and herds. By whom was this change effected?—by little farmers, who can hardly effect their own support?—assuredly not. He further observes, that some parts of Artois are divided for the sake of a higher rent, and cattle are there sensibly decreased; also, that a country labourer is much happier than a little farmer. And I give him no slight credit for his observation, that little farmers are not able to keep their corn; and that all monopolies are in consequence of them; implying, that great farmers keeping back their corn is beneficial; but monopolies are equally beneficial; and tend as advantageously to remedy the evils that flow from little farmers being in too great a hurry to sell.

But however clearly I may be convinced of the infinite superiority of large farms, and that no country can ever be highly improved, by means of small ones, yet I am very far from recommending any laws or regulations to enforce the union of several. I contend for nothing but freedom; and for the rejection of those absurd and preposterous demands, in some of the French *cabiers*, for laws *against* such an union. And let me add, that little attention should be paid to those writers and politicians, who, under despotic governments, are so strenuous for a great population, as to be blind to much superior objects; who see nothing in the propagation of mankind but the means of increasing soldiers; who admire small farms as the nurseries of slaves—and think it a worthy object of policy to breed men to misery, that they may be enlisted, or starve. Such sentiments may be congenial with the keen atmosphere of German despotism; but that they should find their way into a nation, whose prospects are cheered by the brighter beams of new-born liberty, is a contradiction to that general felicity which ought to flow from freedom. Much too populous to be happy, France should seek the means of feeding the numbers which she hath, instead of breeding more to share a too scanty pittance.

III. *Small Properties.*

In the preceding observations, I have had rented farms only in view; but there is another sort which abounds in almost every part of France, of which we

* Tom. 7, p. 821. Folio.

† Mem. sur cette question: Est-il utile en Artois de Diviser les Fermes? 1786. p. 7.

cannot form an idea from what we see in England—I mean small properties; that is, little farms, belonging to those who cultivate them. The number is so great, that I am inclined to suppose more than one-third of the kingdom occupied by them. Before I travelled, I conceived, that small farms, in property, were very susceptible of good cultivation; and that the occupier of such, having no rent to pay, might be sufficiently at his ease to work improvements, and carry on a vigorous husbandry; but what I have seen in France, has greatly lessened my good opinion of them. In Flanders, I saw excellent husbandry on properties of 30 to 100 acres; but we seldom find here such small patches of property, as are common in other provinces. In Alsace, and on the Garonne, that is, on soils of such exuberant fertility as to demand no exertions, some small properties also are well cultivated. In Bearn, I passed through a region of little farmers, whose appearance, neatness, ease, and happiness, charmed me; it was what property alone could, on a small scale, effect; but these were by no means contemptibly small; they are, as I judged by the distance from house to house, from 40 to 80 acres. Except these, and a very few other instances, I saw nothing respectable on small properties, except a most unremitting industry. Indeed, it is necessary to impress on the reader's mind, that though the husbandry I met with, in a great variety of instances on little properties, was as bad as can well be conceived, yet the industry of the possessors was so conspicuous, and so meritorious, that no commendations would be too great for it. It was sufficient to prove, that property in land is, of all others, the most active instigator to severe and incessant labour. And this truth is of such force and extent, that I know no way so sure of carrying tillage to a mountain-top, as by permitting the adjoining villagers to acquire it in property; in fact, we see that, in the mountains of Languedoc, &c. they have conveyed earth in baskets, on their backs, to form a soil where nature had denied it. Another circumstance attending small properties, is the increase of population; but what may be advantageous to other countries, may be a misfortune to France.

Having, in this manner, admitted the merit of such small farms in property, I shall, in the next place, state the inconveniencies I have observed to result from them in France.

The first and greatest, is the division which universally takes place after the death of the proprietor, commonly amongst all the children, but in some districts amongst the sons only. Forty or fifty acres in property are not incapable of good husbandry; but when divided, twenty acres *must* be ill cultivated; again divided, they become farms of ten acres, of five, of two, and even one; and I have seen some of half, and even a quarter of a rood, with a family as much attached to it, as if it were an hundred acres. The population flowing from
this

this division, is, in some cases, great, but it is the multiplication of wretchedness. Couples marry and procreate on the *idea*, not the *reality*, of a maintenance; they increase beyond the demand of towns and manufactures; and the consequence is, distress, and numbers dying of diseases, arising from insufficient nourishment. Hence, therefore, small properties, much divided, prove the greatest source of misery that can be conceived; and this has operated to such an extent and degree in France, that a law undoubtedly ought to be passed, to render all division, below a certain number of arpents, illegal. But what are we, in this view of the subject, drawn from actual and multiplied observations, to think of the men who contend, that the property of land cannot be too much divided? That a country is flourishing in proportion to the equal dispersion of the people over their territory, is the opinion of one celebrated leader * in the National Assembly; but his father was of different sentiments; with great good sense and deep reflection he declares, that that culture does not most favour population which employs most hands †; “c'est à bien des égards un préjugé de croire, que plus la culture occupe d'hommes plus elle est favorable à la population;” meaning, that the surplus of product carried to market is as favourable to population, by feeding towns, as if eaten on the fields that produced it, *ainsi plus l'industrie & la richesse des entrepreneurs de la culture épargne de travail d'hommes, plus la culture fournit à la subsistance d'autres hommes.* Another deputy, high in general estimation, and at the head of the committee of finances, asserts, that the greatest possible division of land property is the best. Such gentlemen,

* *De la Monarchie Prussienne*, tom. iv. p. 13. The count de Mirabeau in this passage agrees, that great farms, upon a given space of land, will yield the greatest possible production, at the least possible expence; but contends, that there is a multitude of little objects, which escape the great farmer, of much more consequence than saving expences. It is incredible that a man of such decided talents should so utterly mistake the facts that govern a question, to which he has given much attention, at least if we are to judge by his recurring to it so often. Where does he find the fact upon which he builds all his reasoning, that little farmers make larger investments and expences than great farmers? I will not appeal to England, in which the question is determined as soon as named; but I should wish to be informed, in what provinces of France the little farmers have their lands as well stocked as great ones? or as well cultivated? M. de Mirabeau completely begs the question, in supposing what is directly contrary to fact, since the advances of the great farms are more considerable, perhaps the double of those of the little one; I am sure it is so in every part of the kingdom in which I have been. But the Count goes on to state how superior the little farms are, because so many more families are found on the land, which is precisely the most powerful argument against them, as that merit admitted, implies at once the annihilation of towns and manufactures being beneficial to a modern state, provided the people be found in the country; a position I have sufficiently answered in the text.

† *L'Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760. tom. v. p. 43. See also tom. vi. p. 79. *Tableau Oeconomique*. See the same subject, handled with much ability, by one of the greatest political geniusses of the present age, *De L'Oeconomie Politique*, par Mons. Herrenschiwand. 8vo. 1786. p. 275. And *Discours sur la division des Terres*. 8vo. 1786. Par le meme.

with

with the best intentions, spread opinions, which, if fully embraced, would make all France a scene of beggary and wretchedness. Amidst a mass of most useful knowledge, of deep and just reflections, and true political principles, a tendency to similar ideas is found in the reports of the committee of *Mendicité**, in which the multiplication of little properties is considered as a resource against misery. Nothing more is necessary, than to extend such ideas, by supposition to fact, to shew their real tendency. There are 130 millions of acres, and at least 25 millions of people in France. Assign, therefore, to each person, its share of that extent: call it (allowing for rocks, rivers, roads, &c.) five acres each, or 25 acres per family. When, by the first principles of the idea, which is that of encouraging population, the luxury, celibacy, unhealthy employments, prostitution and sterility of cities, are removed, and the plain manners of the country are universally established, every circumstance in nature carries the people to marriage and procreation: a great increase takes place; and the 25 acres gradually, by division, become 20, 15, 12, 8, and so on, perpetually lessening. What, on such a supposition, is to become of the superfluity of people?—You presently arrive at the limit beyond which the earth, cultivate it as you please, will feed no more mouths; yet those simple manners, which instigate to marriage, still continue:—what then is the consequence, but the most dreadful misery imaginable!—You soon would exceed the populousness of China, where the putrid carcases of dogs, cats, rats, and every species of filth and vermin, are fought with avidity, to sustain the life of wretches who were born only to be starved. Such are the infallible effects of carrying into execution a too minute division of landed property. No country upon earth is cursed with so bad a government as that would be, which aimed seriously at such a division; so ruinous is that population, which arises from principles pure and virtuous in their origin, but leads directly to the extremes of human misery!—Great cities have been called the graves of the human species: if they conduct easily to the grave, they become the best *euthanasia* of too much populousness. They are more apt to prevent increase than to destroy, which is precisely the effect wanted in such a country as France, where the division of property has unhappily nursed up a population, which she cannot feed; what, therefore, would be the misery if cities and towns supported their numbers, and left the whole surplus of the country regorging in the cottages?—This is too much the case for the happiness of the kingdom, as we see in a thousand circumstances, and particularly in the distress arising from the least failure in the crops; such a deficiency, as in England passes almost without notice, in France is attended with dreadful cala-

* *Premier Rapport*. 8vo. 1790. p. 6. *Quatrieme Rapport*, p. 9. These reports were made by the chairman, M. de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, and do very great honour to his abilities and his industry.

mities. There cannot be a more pleasing spectacle, or better framed to call into animation the sympathies of our nature, than that of a family living on a little property, which their industry cultivates, and perhaps created: it is this object, so touching to the best feelings of the human bosom, that has certainly made many writers indiscriminate advocates for small properties. If the industry of towns and manufactures were active enough to demand the surplus of all this population as fast as it arose, the advantages of the system would be clear; but France knows, by sad experience, that such a surplus is not demanded at present; what, therefore, would the consequence be of bringing a fresh one to market, while the old one remains on hand? It is idle to cite the example of America, where an immensity of fertile land lies open to every one who will accept it; and where population is valuable to an unexampled degree, as we see in the price of their labour; but what comparison, between such a country and France, where the competition for employment is so great, arising from too great a populousness, that the price of labour is 76 per cent. below that of its more flourishing neighbour?—But, in considering this interesting subject, I shall recur, as I have done on so many other occasions, to the example of England. In this kingdom, small properties are exceedingly rare; in great numbers of our counties, there is scarcely any such thing to be found: Our labouring poor are justly emulous of being the proprietors of their cottages, and of that scrap of land, a few perches, which form the garden; but they seldom think of buying land enough to employ themselves; and, as in France, of offering prices so much beyond the value, as to ensure the acquisition; a man that has two or three hundred pounds with us, does not buy a little field, but stocks a farm: now, as our labouring poor are incomparably more at their ease, and in every respect happier than those of France, does it not appear to follow, by fair conclusion, that small properties are by no means necessary for the welfare of the lower classes in the country? in every part of England, in which I have been, there is no comparison between the ease of a day-labourer and of a very little farmer; we have no people that work so hard, and fare so ill, as the latter. Why then should this minute division be considered as so advantageous in France, while we in England feel the benefit of a system directly contrary? There are several reasons for this; the manufactures of France, compared with those of England, are not nearly so considerable respectively, in proportion to the population of the two kingdoms. Nor does the agriculture of France, which is carried on either by farmers or metayers, afford any employment comparable to that which English culture yields. Country gentlemen, in France, do not employ probably the hundredth part of the labourers that are employed by country gentlemen in England, who have always some works of ornamental gardening or farming going on, which gives bread to many people. An object, more important,

portant, is, that the prices of provisions are as dear in France as in England, while those of labour are 76 per cent. lower. We have another proof, if any were wanted, how much too great the population of that kingdom is. The English labourer, who commands steadily eight, nine, or ten shillings a week, by working for a farmer, hazards much when he labours land for himself; and this fact is so strong, that the most industrious and hard labouring of our poor peasants, are not those who keep their little gardens in the best order and cultivation; but such, on the contrary, as make inferior earnings, that mark something of debility. By means of these, and various other causes, the poor countrymen in England find a much more regular employment by day labour than those of France, who, having no resource in working for others, are obliged to work for themselves, or starve. And when gentlemen find them in this situation, no wonder they readily expatiate on the advantages of small properties being to such families the only resource that offers. But, in fact, the very height of operose culture upon such, and what appears perfection to a vulgar eye, can arise only from the misery of half employed people. The dearness of labour, very common in such a country, is no proof against this observation. No labour is so wretchedly performed, and so dear, as that of hired hands accustomed much to labour for themselves; there is a disgust, and a listlessness that cannot escape an intelligent observer; and nothing but real distress will drive such little proprietors to work at all for others; so that I have seen, in the operosely cultivated parts of France, labour comparatively dear, and ill performed, amidst swarms of half idle people. And here I should remark, the circumstance seen to so strange a degree in almost all the markets of France, that swarms of people regularly lose one day in a week, for objects that clearly shew of how little value time is of to these small farmers. Can any thing be apparently so absurd, as a strong hearty man walking some miles, and losing a day's work, which ought to be worth 15 or 20*s.* in order to sell a dozen of eggs, or a chicken, the value of which would not equal the labour of conveying it, *were the people usefully employed?* This ought to convince us, that these small occupations are a real loss of labour; and that people are fed upon them, whose time is worth little or nothing.

There are many practices in French husbandry, that are apparently of considerable merit, yet cannot be recommended to other countries. I have seen them, in a part of Flanders, mattocking up every corner of a field where the plough could not come; and in the south of France, the peasant makes a common practice of mattocking up whole fields. In many parts of the kingdom all the land is digged. In the mountains of the Vivarais, terraces are built by walling, and the earth carried to them in baskets. Such practices, and a thousand other similar, spring absolutely from the extreme division of landed property, having

nursed up a population beyond the power of industry to support; and ought to be considered as a proof of a real evil in the vitals of the state. The man who unhappily has existence in a country where there is no employment for him, will, if he has the property of a scrap of land, work for two-pence a day upon it; he will work for half a farthing; and, if he has an ardour of industry, for nothing, as thousands do in France. If he does not perform some business, upon his little farm, he thinks he does nothing; in such a situation, he will pick straws—he will take up a stone here, and lay it there: he will carry earth in a basket to the top of a mountain; he will walk ten miles to sell an egg. Is it not obvious to the reader, that such practices existing, and, if tolerably directed, producing an effect well calculated to command admiration from an extreme of culture, are in reality no more analagous to a well constituted country, if I may venture the expression, than would the most preposterous practices to be fancied. You might as well go a step farther in population, and hold up, with M. de Poivre, the example of the Chinese, as worthy of European imitation.

Upon the whole, one must be inclined to think, that small properties are carried much too far in France; that a most miserable population has been created by them, which ought to have had no existence; that their division should be restrained by express laws, at least till the demand for hands is equal to the production; that the system of great farms regularly employing, and well paying a numerous peasantry by day labour, is infinitely more advantageous to the nation, and to the poor themselves, than the multiplication of small properties; in fine, it is obvious, that all measures which prevent the establishment of large farms, and wealthy farmers, such as restrictions or bars to inclosures, the existence of rights of commonage, and the least favour to little proprietors in levying of the land taxes, are ruinous to agriculture, and ought to be deprecated, as a system destructive of the public welfare.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Sheep of France.

THE establishment of the woollen manufactures in France, in the reign of Lewis XIV.; or, more properly speaking, by that clerk of a counting house, Colbert, rendered government somewhat solicitous to encourage the breed of sheep in the kingdom; but no material steps were taken for that purpose, till the middle of the present century, when the free export was allowed,

very

very wisely to encourage their production. Under the controller general, *Monf. de Bertin*, *Monf. Carlier* was sent through all the provinces, to examine the flocks, the quantity and quality of the wool, &c. ; and some progress was soon after made in importing, both from Spain and England, rams and ewes, in order to improve the breed of the French sheep ; but the people that were employed, understood the business so little, that these efforts were not attended with any effect : they were indeed not respectable ones, and therefore the result was just as might have been expected. France imports of wool to the amount of 27,000,000 *liv.* a year ; an enormous sum for a commodity every pound of which might be produced in the kingdom, if the proper means were used in the employment of people who really understand sheep.

PICARDY—Calais.—Fleece 5 lb. at 26*s.* of a combing fort.

Bonbrie.—Fleece 6 lb. at 24*s.*

Bernay.—Fleece 4½ lb. at 26*s.* ; very coarse ; clip their lambs ; 18*s.* per lb. ; the sheep of the whole province of Picardy, and several of the neighbouring ones, are all without horns ; have white faces ; and hanging silky ears ; all I felt handled badly, and were ill made, but some have rather a better appearance.

PAYS DE BEAUCE—Estampes.—Fleece 3½ lb. at 20*s.* ; price of a sheep 15 *liv.*

Toury.—Fleece 4 lb. at 19*s.* ; coarse ; winter food, pea-straw and second-crop hay ; all are shut up (as in most parts of France) in stables at night, and folded in the fields till November ; some fold also at noon in summer ; flocks from forty to one hundred ; the dogs conduct them with such dexterity, that the narrowest balks are fed without injury to the corn.

Orleans.—Fleece 6 lb. at 20*s.* Price of a sheep 11 *liv.* All are fed in the winter with straw.

SOLOGNE—La Ferté.—Breed of Berry 2½ lb. at 23*s.* *en suint*, and 40*s.* washed ; price of a sheep 12 *liv.* ; have nothing in winter to feed on but heaths and woods ; kept in stables every night, to be secured from wolves, and when the snow is deep they are fed with branches of trees ; a farmer that has 200 arpents under the plough, and 300 of heath, will have from 200 to 250 sheep and lambs.

La Motte Beuvron.—Feed them in stables with rye-straw, but they eat only the ears. I found a farmer's flock in the stable at three o'clock in the afternoon ; it was not at all open, and much too hot. During the summer they are brought home at twelve o'clock, to starve and sweat till four, when they are sent out again, and at night housed regularly. The breed resembles that of Picardy in the face and ears, but are much smaller, not weighing above 9 lb. a quarter.

La Loge.—The rot common ; one farmer lost 199 in 200, one black sheep only escaping ; they are in the common system of selling annually the wether lambs, part of the ewe lambs, and the old ewes, keeping enough of the lambs to reinstate the ewes fold. It is usual to separate the lambs from the ewes, in order to milk the latter for butter and cheese, which the family consumes. The
sheep-

sheep-house is cleaned but twice a year, but clean straw given every third day; all these houses are so close and hot that it is astonishing the sheep are not all destroyed.

BERRY—*Verfon*.—Fleece $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 22*s*. *en suint*; price of sheep 6 liv.; they are very small, not more than 6 lb. a quarter, and a few goats in every flock; three rams they reckon necessary for 100 ewes; a good ram sells for 24 liv.; an old lean ewe 3 to 5 liv. when fat 8 liv.; the wool in the part of the province called Champagne, where flocks are very large, is far better than here, by reason, as they imagine, of the land being stronger, and the pasture more nourishing; the resemblance to the Picardy breed would make one suppose them of the same stock; the food here, as elsewhere, straw in winter, and when the weather is bad 1 lb. of hay per sheep per diem*; fleece $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 27*s*. *en suint*; price $7\frac{1}{2}$ liv.

Vatan to Chateauroux.—Fleece $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 23*s*. *en suint*; last year 27*s*.—Fleece 3 lb. at 25*s*. *en suint*.—Fleece 2 lb. at $23\frac{1}{2}$ *s*. *en suint*; price 9 liv.; wool ten years ago was 15 to 20*s*. Some seigneurs, in order to improve the wool, imported rams and ewes from Spain, which degenerated, and became like the natives in four years; on the other hand, sheep of a worse kind than those of the country, improve in the same proportion by living and pasturing here: I state the information as I received it. In all probability these trials were made in the same careless manner as so many others. They have also another sort of sheep, with horns, which come from the hills, and are called *balloes*; are bought only for fattening, at 8 to 10 liv. and are then sold at 15 liv.; they are larger than the common breed; are spotted black and white; have good carcasses, but coarse wool.

Argentan.—Wool at 25*s*. *en suint* coarse.—Fleece 1 lb. at 24*s*. per lb.—Fleece $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 20*s*. per lb.; price 8 liv.

LA MARCHE—*La Ville au Brun*.—Fleece 1 lb. at 20*s*.

LIMOSIN—*Limoges*.—They are the smallest breed I have ever seen, and poor miserable looking animals; but both mutton and wool good.

QUERCY—*Brive to Souillac*.—Meet some sheep of a larger breed than the Limosin, with very coarse long wool; black sheep are very prevalent here.—Fleece $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 12*s*. *en suint*; sometimes fatten them on turnips.—Fleece $5\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at 12*s*. † *en suint*. Here see, for the first time, small sheep folds made with hurdles; a small hut of straw for the shepherd, on two poles to carry about; and a little one for his dog. They are now folding for turnips, called here *ravules*.

Pont de Rodez.—Wool 13*s*.; several sheep in all the flocks, with tufts of wool left about their necks and shoulders; on inquiry, found that it is left, on account of superior value, to be clipped by itself; selling at 14*s*. the pound, the rest at 12*s*.

* *Monf. de Lamerville* says, that the best sheep of Berry are those called *Brionnes*, from the name of the chief place where they are found; that the Berry sheep give $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of wool, at 20*s*. and that the lambs sell at 7 liv. each. *Observations sur les Bêtes a Laine*. 8vo. 1786. P. 6, 218, 219.

* In these notes, wherever more minutes than one are entered, they are taken at the distance of some miles.

Pellecoy.—No lambs clipped since I left the Limosin. Measured a sheep-fold seven yards by six; there were thirty-six sheep and five lambs in it; they seem, therefore, to allow a square yard per head; the shepherd was absent, but the dog was left in charge of them. Here they say the tufts of wool are not left for the value, but through a kind of fancy; I suspect something of superstition in it. Every farmer has a few sheep, because the smallest parcel will yield wool to cloath the family; an idea which supposes poverty, and a want of national circulation.

Cabors.—See many sheep-folds; the shepherd's house is something like a tall bee-hive on two handles, to move as a sedan, and a little one for his dog. Having many wolves, they arm their dogs with collars, stuck with iron spikes, for the wolf never attacks them in any other place than the neck. The sheep at this time of the year are folded abroad all night, as their enemy is close in his recesses, the forests and rocky steeps, where they live upon hares, rabbits, rats, and even mice.

Perges.—The sheep with and without horns; a small breed and coarse wool; they are not yet sheared (June 12).

LANGUEDOC—*Toulouse*.—See several flocks, all of horned sheep, for the first time from Calais; horned ones with thick fleeces, I guess 5 lb.; see some fine large heavy ones so fat and broad, that when laid down, it was with some difficulty they raised themselves; they are sheared, but some with wool left along the belly, and others with a tuft left on the rump.

St. Gaudents.—Are kept from June till autumn on the hills, the roots of the Pyrenees; and put at night into strong folds, and guarded by many dogs.

Bagnere de Luchon.—Some attempts have been made to improve the breed in this part of the Pyrenees, by the import of Spanish rams; old ewes and wethers here are sold into Spain.

ROUSSILLON—*Bellegarde to Perpignan*.—Large flocks of sheep, both horned and polled, with some black ones.—Ditto polled; white faces, and white legs; about 12lb. a quarter.—They give 6 to 8 lb. of wool unwashed; washing reduces it to 2 lb.—Fleece 2 lb. at 39*s*. washed.—They are kept in the open air the whole year. Are now (July) in stubbles, which will be ploughed up in September, and sown with rye for their winter pasturage.—Meet a flock of near 500, belonging to a man in Perpignan, who has people in the country to take care of his business, especially his sheep. The chief shepherd has four charges of wheat, each ten measures, and each measure gives 60 lb. of bread. Four charges of wine, one measure of salt, one of oil, and 3 liv. a month.—Many large flocks.—Thus far Roussillon is a very great sheep country; infinitely more so than any I have yet seen in France, and not yielding, in this respect, to Dorsetshire itself.

Pia.—Feed them, with their lambs, very early in the spring with clover sown alone in August on stubbles once ploughed; after it is spring fed, it is watered, and yields in many a full crop of hay.

Salsze—Fooet—Two large flocks and folds.—Ditto with goats.

Sijeau—Many flocks, and folded in the summer, but housed in the winter, on account of wolves.

LANGUEDOC—*Narbonne*.—Price 15*f. en suint*; 50*f.* washed.—To Beziers, and further, to Pezenas, small flocks all the way, but none large; see some netted folds in olive-ground fallows.

Nismes to Gange.—Many small flocks of sheep.

St. Maurice to Lodeve.—On these mountains (a waste desolate district) there are very large flocks kept: one man has 3000 in four or five different flocks.—Fleece 3½ lb. at 14*f. en suint*; but it is 50*f.* to 58*f.* washed. During snow, they feed on straw—otherwise pasture all the year. Flocks and folds.

Mirepoix.—Their flocks are now in the mountains—but in the winter they are in the vale.—Fleece 2½ lb. at 11*f. en suint*; washed 22*f.* to 25*f.* Coming out of Mirepoix, meet a flock totally distinct from any sheep I have yet seen in France, they would hardly be distinguished from Norfolks; all with horns, and those of the rams turning forward one curl; many of them with black faces and black legs; others dark speckled; wool and shape also carry the same resemblance.

Lann Maison to Bagnere de Bigore.—They have many sheep on their extensive wastes, and the wool sells at 22*f.* to 25*f. en suint*, and double when washed.—Meet, between Bagnere and Campan, four flocks; the sheep larger than Norfolks; most with horns, curling behind the ears, but some polled; some black ones; combing wool of a middling length.

BEARN—*Lourd to Pau*.—The wool of the sheep of Bearn is nine inches long, and sells *en suint* 15*f.* per lb.: pass many folds.—At Pau many flocks and folds: horns; coarse wool; many black sheep.

Navareen to St. Palais and Anspan.—Sheep not numerous, yet much waste; polled; wool six or eight inches long, and very coarse.—Many sheep with coarse wool, price 20*f.* lb. *en suint*.

GASCOIGN—*Bayonne to St. Vincents*.—These wastes are not without sheep, though there are large tracts under water: meet some small flocks, both polled and horned, with very coarse wool: almost as many goats as sheep.

Granade.—Many small flocks of black sheep; the wool of both white and black coarse and bad; sells at 10*f.* a lb. *en suint*. It is used for the poor people's stuffs.

SAINTONGE—*Montlieu*.—Fleece 1½ lb. at 20*f.* washed.

Angouleme.—Fleece 1½ lb. at 21*f.* washed.

Contre Verac.—Fleece 1½ lb. at 27*f.* washed.

POITOU—*Vivonne*.—Fleece 1 lb. at 31*f.* washed. Live the whole year round on pasture; straw in the house in winter; never folded.

Orleans to Petiviers.—Fleece 3 lb. at 15*f.* Sheep-folds every where, with the shepherd's house on wheels.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*La Chapelle le Reine*.—Fleece 4 lb. at 13*f.*

Liancourt.

Liancourt.—Fleece 5½ lb. at 12*s.* *en suint*. Every farmer has a flock, which is folded in summer on the fallows. The breed neither good nor bad; the duke of Liancourt procured some from Berry, and others from Flanders, for experiment. The former resemble a good deal our South Downs; the wool a fine carding sort. The latter a well formed sheep, with very coarse wool. The wool of the country, of which the price is named above, is very bad.

Beauvais to Izoire.—A better breed than common; polled; large; well made; fleece 5½ lb.: every man has his fold. Flocks this morning (Sept. 10.) in a heavy rain, at ten o'clock, still in the fold.

Dugny.—Monf. Cretté de Palluel's system is, to buy wethers in June for folding till November, when he sells about two-thirds of them half fat to the butcher; the other third he keeps fattening in the winter in the stable entirely on corn, bran, hay, &c. to be ready for the markets, when mutton grows dearer. It is now (October) 6*s.* and 7*s.* per pound; but from Easter, to the end of June, 2*s.* or 3*s.* more. The variation in beef is rather less. It is now 9*s.* or 10*s.* and cow beef 7*s.* but in May 2*s.* more. This inequality in the price of meat, is a certain proof of bad husbandry. I viewed his sheep-house, which is an arched stone building, without any yard for them to be in at pleasure; the windows small, and consequently the animals kept infinitely too hot.—There are men in this country that have large flocks of sheep, without an arpent of land; they let them to farmers, who have no sheep, at from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a head, and food from June to November for folding.

Dammartin.—Many flocks; fleece 5 lb. at 20*s.* *en suint*.

PICARDY—*St. Quintin.*—Every farmer has a flock now folding for the last sown wheat: they are the Picardy breed; 4 or 5 lb. wool at 24*s.* *en suint*: hoggits 2½ lb.

FLANDERS—*Bouchaine.*—Every farmer has a flock; they give 4 to 5 lb. of wool, which sells at Lille for 30*s.* the pound washed.

Valenciennes to Orchees.—Long combing wool 5 lb. at 30*s.* the pound washed. They give them, in the winter, beans in the straw, unthreshed.—I saw some wethers bought at 21 liv. each lean, which was about the price they would have sold for in England.

Lille.—But few in this neighbourhood; 5 lb. at 30*s.* washed*.

ARTOIS—*St. Omers.*—Meet a flock of 200—the Flanders breed; wool seven or eight inches long; 5½ lb. each fleece, at 25*s.* washed. These sheep have the clean silky ears of those of Picardy; but with bodies dirty from the stable.

Betbune.—See a flock of two year old wethers, whose wool this year produced 9 liv. each. The same breed as before. Feed them in winter on beans and straw.—Fleece 5 lb. at 25*s.* washed.

† The Marquis de Guerchy says, there are long wools at Turcoin, Lille, and Varneton, that sell at 50*s.* and 60*s.* the pound. *Mém. pour l'Amélioration des Bêtes à laine.* 8vo. 1788. p. 3.—I did not meet with them.

Arafs.—Sheepfolds thinly scattered thro' all the country.—Fleeces 5 liv. each.

Dourlens.—Fleeces worth 4 liv. each.

Amiens.—I was offered 45*s.* a pound for common Lincoln combing wool, neither long nor short of the kind; this is about 20*d.* the pound English—but trade is very slack at Amiens.

Poix to Aumale.—Flocks large; 200 to 400. Fleeces 4 lb. at 33*s.*

Neufchatel to Rouen.—The same breed as in Picardy; give 4*l.* at 33*s.* washed.

Xvetot.—3 lb. at 32*s.* They are folded for wheat.

Bolbec.—4 lb. at 33*s.* never any other green food in winter than what they can pick up.

Honfleur.—Sheep give fleeces of 6 lb. *en suint*, which are 3 lb. washed, and sell at 30*s.*—Fleece 2 lb. washed; 5 lb. *en suint*, price 30*s.*—Red faces and red legs.

Pays d'Auge.—35 to 36*s.* per lb. ditto.

Valley Corbon.—5 lb. *en suint*, 2½ lb. washed; sells at 20*s.* per lb. *en suint*, or 40*s.* washed—about five inches long. The sheep in Normandy seem very generally to be the red faced and red legged breed.

Falaise.—Fleeces 3½ lb. at 24*s.* washed.

Duc de Harcourt.—Fleeces 4 lb. at 40*s.* washed, or 20 lb. *en suint*. There is some Spanish blood in a few, but so crossed and neglected as to be hardly perceivable. Here, as in most other parts of France, when you would have a sheep caught that it may be examined, the shepherd orders his dog to drive the flock around his master, which he does by going round them in a circle gradually decreasing, till the shepherd takes any one he wants. How infinitely superior to our barbarous methods?

Carentan.—Sheep, in the rich marshes, the same as on the hills; the red face and red leg breed; these marshes are as capable of carrying to perfection the longest wool, as any land in Lincolnshire. Wool 4 inches; 40*s.* per lb. washed, and 20 or 22*s.* *en suint*.

Piere Butte.—Mons. Doumerc buys sheep at two years old, and sells them at three, to those who fatten them. They are small, and pretty well made, without horns; face and leg white—somewhat inclining to reddish, as if a mixed Norman bred. The wool sold this year at 45*s.* per lb. washed; but at 18*s.* only if *en suint*.

BRETAGNE—*Broons.*—Poor little sheep, not more than 10 lb. a quarter when quite fat. Very few sheep, after entering this province.

Landeruisia.—At a fair here no sheep at all; and all the way from Rennes to Brest, there are scarcely any to be seen—yet a waste country, and very well adapted to them.

La Roche Bernard to Guerande.—I have now passed through almost all Bretagne, and seen scarcely one sheep, where there ought to be an hundred; but here

here are some flocks of poor black things, which shew the carelessness and savage ignorance of the inhabitants.

Savanal to Nantes.—Rich salt marshes fed by little miserable black sheep, with wretched coarse wool, where the longest woolled sheep of Lincolnshire would thrive and fatten. Miserable black sheep on all the wastes.

Varades.—Very poor sheep; many black, and some with red faces, but they are better than those on the *landes*.

ANJOU—*Angers to La Fleche.*—The number of sheep in this ride of thirty miles quite insignificant; now and then four or six, and once about twenty; but they are superior to the wretched animals of Bretagne; are worth about 12 liv. each, and yield 4 lb. of wool, at 36*s.* the lb. washed; yet there is not a country in Europe better calculated for them, as it is all a dry sound sand and gravel, and not too poor.

Turbilly.—Wool 36*s.*

NORMANDY—*Alençon.*—The Norman breed here, of red faces and legs, and no horns; they are worth 12 or 14 liv. each; 3 lb. of wool, at 12*s.* *en suint*, or 30*s.* washed.

Nonant.—Many flocks; wool 12 to 18*s.* *en suint*, and 35*s.* washed; 1½ to 2½ lb. each fleece; the sheep sell at 15 liv.; they are never folded; the breed the red face and leg.

Gacé to Bernay.—Red face and leg; 2½ lb. of wool, at 36*s.* to 40*s.* washed.

Lesfiniole.—Many flocks.

Brionne.—Many flocks; wool this year (1788) 32*s.* last year 36*s.*; fleece 2½ lb.

Rouen.—Waited on Messrs. Midy, Roffec, and Co. the greatest wool-staplers in France, and to whom I had letters of recommendation; they were so obliging; as to shew me the wools in their magazines, explain the prices, and allow me to take specimens: those I particularly noted were:

Tyow and Nkmark.—Combing; the price 36*s.*; three years ago 26*s.*

Mecklenburgb.—Combing 32*s.*; three years past 24*s.*

Griesclaire.—Combing 26*s.*; three years ago 20*s.*

Cawnteblanche.—Carding 26*s.*; was 20*s.*—*Damtban.*—26*s.*; was 20*s.*

Mittelband.—22*s.*; was 12*s.*—*Gustrow.*—Brebis 20*s.*; was 16 to 18*s.*

Loquets.—(Locks) carding 12*s.*; was 6 to 8*s.*

Eyderstadt.—Combing 38 to 40*s.*; was 28 to 30*s.*

Pologne.—Combing 28*s.*; was 18 to 20*s.*

FRENCH—*Berry.*—Carding 3 liv. to 3 liv. 4*s.*; tare 8 lb. per sack.

Sologne.—Carding 2 liv. 10*s.*—*Roussillon.*—Carding 3 liv. to 3 liv. 10*s.*

Pays de Caux.—Combing 36 to 38*s.*—*Poitou.*—Carding 48 to 50*s.*

SPAIN—*Segovie.*—Carding 6 liv.—*Segovaine.*—Carding 4 liv. 10*s.* to 5 liv.

—Conditions of sale, tare 10 lb. and 3 lb. allowed.

R.	-	-	-	180
Tare	-	-	-	13
				<hr/>
				167
Tare again,	-	-	-	15 or 9 per cent.
				<hr/>
Net	-	-	-	142 at 120 <i>s</i> .
				<hr/>

And seventeen and eighteen months credit, and bills taken at two, three, and four months to run. This for three sorts Spanish, 120*s*. 105*s*. and 95*s*. The German wools, 110 given for 100, tare 6 per cent. for long credit. The rise in the price of the German wools proceeds entirely from a great mortality, which has for two or three years lessened the quantity considerably; the fall in the Spanish may be ascribed to a decline, either real or apprehended, in the French fabrics; the manufacturers affirming they have great stocks of cloths unfold. No English; but they would give 38 to 40*s*. per lb. for the combing sort, at the present prices; that is, the price of Eyderstadt.

Totte.—Many sheep folds, and, like most others in the kingdom, double, that the shepherd may change them in the night; see a flock of hoggits now worth 12 liv. each; no horns; fleece 2½ to 3 lb. at 34*s*.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Nangis*.—Price of wool 30*s*. washed, or 15*s*. *en suint*; they never sell lambs, but old ewes and wethers at five years old, lean in November 9 to 10 liv. each, fat 12 to 15 liv.; give them nothing in winter but straw. See *Monf. du Prayé's* sheep in fold on the fallows at noon; wethers bought in merely for folding, at 14 to 15 liv. which will be sold in November, at a loss; and this pretty system merely to get five or six septiers of wheat! the septier half an English quarter (6½ coomb per acre); sheep (called) fat from *Sologne* 13 to 15 liv. each. Faggots here are made in summer, while the wood is in leaf, and laid up for feeding sheep in the winter.

Neuf Moutier.—Fleece 6 lb. to 8 lb. at 12*s*. *en suint*.

CHAMPAGNE—*Mareuil*.—The King of France having imported some Spanish sheep, gave the provincial assembly of Champagne a lot of a ram and fourteen ewes, which were committed to the care of *Monf. Le Blanc* of this place. I viewed them with attention, and found the carcass of many of them as ill made as the wool was excellent. The ram clips 6½ lb. of wool; the sheep 3, 4, and 5 lb.; and the price of some of it has risen as high as 4 liv. and 4 liv. 10*s*. per lb.; 4 lb. at that price is 14*s*. 10½*d*. for the fleece: I saw the wool in the fleece, but it did not appear to me equal to such a price.

Rheims.—Wool of Champagne this year 30*s*. per lb. In 1788, 30*s*. In 1787, 26*s*. In 1786, 25*s*. Such an increase of the price of wool is a very strong presumption that the sheep have experienced no epidemical distemper; and that the manufacture is flourishing; and it is not improbable that the deduction

duction of half from the earnings of the poor spinners is very much *à l'Anglois*; that is to say, an injustice.

Chalons to Ove.—A flock of sheep belonging to every community, 2, 3, or 400 in each; 380 in one, the shepherd of which I conversed with; there are twelve or fourteen owners. The sheep give each 3 or 4 lb. of wool, which this year fold from 26*s.* to 30*s.* washed. They are never folded, on account of the smallness of the properties.

LORRAINE—*Braban.*—Sheep sell at 9 liv. Wool 1½ lb. each fleece, at 32*s.* per lb. washed.

Luneville.—The wool is washed on the sheep's back before clipping, which is uncommon in France; the fleece 2 to 3 lb. price last year 29*s.* this year 30*s.*

Blamont to Haming.—See one sheepfold, the first in the province; and I saw but this.

ALSACE—*Straßbourg.*—The sheep are washed before clipping; wool 24*s.* fleece 2 to 3 lb. twice a year, 1 lb. each, at Easter and Michaelmas.

Isle.—Small sheep, that give from ½ to 1½ lb. of wool, that sells at 36*s.* to 40*s.* washed. There are some wethers that do not weigh more than 4 lb. a quarter.

FRANCHE COMPTE—*Besançon.*—Clip their sheep always twice a year, in May and in autumn; and to the second they give the same name, as to the second hay crop, *regain*; the first yields 1½ lb. the second ½ lb.; some assert the first to be the finest wool, others the second, but they go together in price, this year and last 36 to 40*s.* washed, some years past 20 to 24*s.* only. Near Lyons the sheep go cloathed into the vineyards during winter, to preserve their wool; I enter this where I have the intelligence, but I know not how to credit it. What cloathing would not be torn to tatters among the vines?

BOURGOGNE—*Dijon.*—Sheep clipped twice a year; the first the best; washed on the back before clipping; price 40*s.*

Couch to Mont Genis.—Poor little miserable sheep on the high grounds.

Maison de Bourgogne to Luzy.—Clip but once a-year; wool 30*s.* per lb. washed; was two years ago but 24*s.*

BOURBONNOIS—*Chavanne.*—Twenty miles, one little flock only of poor miserable sheep of about 10 lb. a quarter, yet the country is adapted to nothing so much as to sheep.

Moulins.—Fleece 2 to 3 lb. at 26*s.*; washed coarsely; lambs at four or five months old sell at 3 liv.; sheep 15 liv. the pair.

AUVERGNE—*Aigue Presse.*—A sheepfold, and shepherd's house on wheels; the first I have seen for some hundreds of miles.

Riom.—Many sheep and folds all the way.

Clermont.—Salt given every eight or ten days to sheep; price 10 to 18 liv. the pair; wethers 24 to 40 liv. the pair; a lamb of four or five months 4 liv.; fleece
of

of a wether *en suint* 3 lb.; washed 1½ lb.; of an ewe 2 lb. *en suint*; 1 lb. washed; price *en suint* 16 to 18*f.*; washed 30 to 32*f.* In the mountains, price of coarse wool *en suint* 10 to 18*f.*; and washed 28 to 30*f.* per lb.; spinning a pound of coarse 10*f.*; fine ditto 12 to 16*f.*

Izoire.—Price of lean wethers 12 liv.; a fleece 2½ lb. at 15*f.* *en suint*.

Briude.—Wool 80 liv. the quintal; per lb. *en suint* 16*f.* and so dirty that it loses half; fleece of a wether 3 to 4 lb.; of a sheep, 1 to 2 lb.

Fix to Le Puy.—Price of sheep 20 to 24 liv. the pair; the fleece 3 liv. at 14 or 15*f.* *en suint*.—Folds.

VIVARAIS—*Pradelles*.—Wethers 10 or 12 liv.; fleece of ditto 3 or 3½ lb.; of sheep 2 lb.; price 14 or 15*f.* *en suint*.

DAUPHINE—*Montelimart*.—A great change on crossing the Rhone.—In the Vivarais the sheep are poor little things, but on the other side of the river good and large. The price of wool was last year 60 liv. for 93 lb. *en suint*; this year 40 liv.—It loses half in washing. The fall is attributed to the want of oil in Provence for combing it; it is all combing wool though short, and olive oil only is used in the operation. A flock of one-third ewes, one-third wethers, and one-third lambs, will give all round 5 lb. of wool each—all sold at an average price, but that of lambs the most valuable! hats are made of it.—The sheep in this country feed readily on the *trifolium bituminosum*, the scent of which is very strong. A gentleman, near this place, has a flock partly Spanish and partly cross-bred sheep, which succeed well; and the wool sells at 3 liv. per lb. All the farmers here, just as in the Vivarais, have long small troughs on legs, in which they give salt regularly to their sheep mixed with bran every fifteen days. Feeding in the dew is found to rot them more than any thing; on which account, they do not let them out of fold till the sun has exhated it; salt is the preservative against that distemper. The quantity they give is 3 lb. to forty sheep. It is remarkable that they fatten the faster for feeding in the dew, but must be killed within a few months, or they die rotten. *Monf. Faujas de St. Fond* has found it very useful to give them oak bark pounded, and a little moistened with bran; it is good in the manner of salt as a preservative against the rot, and has its effect also against the *enflé*.

PROVENCE—*Avignon*.—Very few kept; price of the wool 10*f.* the pound *en suint*; 4 lb. per fleece.

Tour d'Aigues.—There is, in Provence, as regular an emigration of sheep as in Spain; the march is across the province, from the Crau to the mountains of Gap and Barcelonetta; not regulated by any other written laws than some arrets of the parliament to limit their roads to five toises of breadth; if they do any damage beyond that, it is paid for. The Barcelonetta mountains are the best; they are covered with fine turf, *gazoné superbement*; the sheep belong to persons

sons about the Crau, at Arles, Salon, &c. The President de la Tour d'Aigues calculates them at a million. They come from the mountains in autumn fat. The Crau shepherds hire the feed in the mountains, at 20*s.* each sheep for six months; and the Crau price for winter is the same. They give 8 or 9 lb. of wool *en suint*; this year they sold at 45*s.* the fleece; last year 56*s.* Mons. Darluc *, who gives a detail of these sheep, asserts also, that their number is a million; and that they travel in flocks of 10,000 to 40,000, and are 20 to 30 days on the journey; but he says, the fleece is 5 or 5½ lb. only. They fold neither the Crau sheep, nor those at Tour d'Aigues. But in the Cammargue, where are no stones, and where the sheep do not travel, they fold them. It is remarkable, that the Crau sheep are never in stables either in winter or in summer. Sheep in general 5 lb. each fleece, at 8*s.* *en suint*. The common calculation 40*s.* It is most miserable hairy stuff. Wethers 12 to 14 liv. each. The lamb of an ewe pays 3 liv. and the wool 2 liv. which makes her produce 5 liv. I viewed the flock of the Spanish breed, of which the president has given a very interesting account in the memoirs of the Society of Agriculture at Paris; and of which I inserted a translation in the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xii. p. 430. They have been introduced some years ago, and, from the president's absence, much neglected; some of the ewes I found very old and lean; in general, the form was not so bad as I expected, particularly the back-bone, which, in many Spanish ones I have seen, is quite ridged. The wool is close, and tolerably curdled, but not so hard coated to the feel as some I have seen. Their wool was sold this year at 75 liv. the quintal, *en suint*. I heard of some who had tried the Spanish breed, but had left them off, because they did not answer, eating much more than their own breed; I place no confidence, however, in the accuracy of these experiments. The president is now making elm faggots to lay up for the winter food of his flock. It is the common practice of the country; elm best; then poplar; oak good.

Esvelles.—Price of wool 36 to 50 liv. the 100 lb. *en suint*. Fleece 4 to 4½ lb.

Lyons.—Inquired for the clothed sheep, but found nobody that had seen them.

St. Martin.—From Lyons hither, 67 miles, in a country adapted to sheep, yet I have not seen fifty.

Roanne.—Fleece washed 22*s.* the pound.

Neuvy to Croisiers.—A few flocks of forty or fifty, poor, small, and ill looking.

Recapitulation.

Average weight of all the fleeces minuted,	-	3½ lb.
————— fleeces sold <i>en suint</i> ,	-	4
————— washed,	-	3
Average price per lb. <i>en suint</i> ,	-	18 <i>s.</i>
————— washed,	-	30

* *Hist. Nat. de la Provence*. 8vo. 1782. tom. i. p. 303, 324, 329, &c.

The reader should be particularly cautioned against drawing conclusions from the rates and weights of the wool here minuted clean and dirty; for, being taken from notes made at distant and distinct places, it does not follow, that the proportion between washed and unwashed is, in weight, as 3 to 4 lb. or in price, as 18 to 30*f.* to discover the latter proportion we must have recourse to those minutes only, which, *at the same place*, give the price both washed and unwashed. The average prices of these are—

<i>En suint</i> ,	-	-	-	16 <i>f.</i>
Washed,	-	-	-	37

And I am therefore inclined to fix on the following, as the data to be drawn from the preceding minutes.

Average fleece <i>en suint</i> ,	-	-	4 lb.
Average price per lb.	-	-	18 <i>f.</i>
Which would be, washed,	-	-	41

The average of very numerous minutes, is 18*f.* per lb. *en suint*; and then, to find the proportion washed, I take that between 16 and 37*f.* which gives 41*f.* for the general price washed. That the difference between washed and unwashed is moderate in these notes, will appear from those of *Monf. Carlier*, viz.

Rouffillon,	-	11 <i>f. en suint.</i>	—	38 <i>f.</i> washed.
Cammargue,	-	12	—	24
Provence,	-	10	—	20
Saintonge,	-	10	—	20
Berry,	-	16	—	38
Beauce,	-	8	—	16
Average,		11	—	26

Now, it is worth noting, that 16 and 37, or 18 and 41, bear the same proportion as 11 and 26, which is the result of this gentleman's enquiries in those six provinces*. In my farming travels, twenty years ago, through England, I found the average fleece 5½ lb. at 5½*d.* per lb. But the average price, in 11 counties in 1788, was 9½*d.* per lb.—The average fleece of washed wool in France being, according to these notes, 3 lb. at the places where the price is settled washed, and 4 lb. *en suint*, the mean of the whole kingdom cannot be more than 2½ lb. washed. The fleeces of England are therefore doubly more heavy. But the price in France at 41*f.* and, deducting for the difference of French and English weight, is something more than 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. for (on an average) worse wool. But the trade in wool is free in France. As the French price is the fair one of Europe, that of England being artificially depressed, we are not to judge of the quality of the wools of France, relatively to our own by the price; for they

* *Traité des Bêtes à laine.* 4to. 1770.

have in fact (those of Rouffillon, Narbonne, and Berry for carding sorts, and of Flanders for combing, alone excepted) very few that are so good as ours.— We have a great deal of bad wool in England, but the French have much more; and indeed seem to have managed this branch of their agricultural œconomy as they have done almost every other. Rouffillon is a part of Spain rather than of France, and therefore it is the Spanish blood that has given good wool there; and Flanders is an Austrian province; thus France, properly so called, had nothing but the Berry wool to pride herself upon; and that only in a small district of a small province. But the management of sheep, throughout the kingdom, is the most abominable that can be conceived. It appears, by the notes, that in winter they are, according to our ideas, universally starved; that is, fed upon straw; for as to a provision of green winter food, cultivated purposely for them, of which no good farmer in England is ever destitute, there is not such a practice in France, from one end of the kingdom to the other. The consequence of this, are these poor fleeces, a bad quality of wool, and one sheep kept where there might be an hundred. Hence also the necessity of an immense import of every kind of wool; and, what is still much worse, such a deficiency of sheep in eighteen-twentieths of the kingdom, that every article of husbandry suffers; and meat is so much dearer than bread, that it cannot be purchased by the poor. All these are great evils, and deserve a deep consideration from every friend of his country, to take the proper means of remedying them; which, however, is not likely ever to be done effectually, till a large farm, on a poor soil, be fully stocked with a well fed flock as in England. But the deficiency of food is not the only point that wants to be remedied—the management of their stables is an enormous evil. To reap the benefit of manure, at a season that prevents the shepherd from resting abroad with his flock, out of an apprehension of the wolves, the sheep are almost universally housed at night throughout the winter: there is nothing objectionable in this, for much dung may be, and is certainly made by it; but the close suffocating heat of the stables is such, that the health of these animals suffers dreadfully; and epidemical disorders often break out, arising principally from this cause. Notice is taken, in the minutes, of the sheep being also thus confined in the middle of the day in summer. The stables are cleaned but once a-year, or, at the most, but twice. Thus the flock lies on a dung-hill, and breathes the effluvia of it, instead of air. Before clipping, it is kept for some time, without fresh straw, that the wool may be rendered dirty, and therefore heavy; and some men throw water on the dung, to excite a fermentation, that the fleeces may be so impregnated with moisture, as to weigh to the satisfaction of the owner. This management is now and then rewarded, as it ought to be, with the loss of whole flocks in a single night; such barbarous practices will easily lead the reader to judge of the profound ignorance of the French

with respect to sheep. *. There is no doubt, that they ought never to be housed by force; but to have the choice in a yard, securely walled in, to be under cover, or exposed to the weather at their pleasure. I have myself a farm too wet for folding abroad in winter; and therefore use a well littered yard and barn, in which the sheep are dry and clean, and not hotter than they please to be. I find the practice very beneficial; but mention it here only cursorily, as I have in another work † expatiated largely upon it.

One of the most singular practices in the eyes of an Englishman, that is to be met with abroad, in the management of sheep, is the regularity with which salt is every where given to their flocks, and also to cattle: The practice is of great antiquity. The antients were in a regular practice of giving salt to sheep. Columella tells us, that if the pasture for this animal were ever so sweet, yet it would grow stale to them if they have not salt given in wooden troughs ‡. It appears, from an imposition established so long ago as 1462, in the Milanese, that the consumption of salt is reckoned at 28 lb. for each head of cattle §. In France it is conjectured to amount to 50 lb. ||, and for sheep to 15 lb. where the sale of it is free. The same author mentions it as a known fact, that cows give the more milk for it; sheep finer wool; and that all animals are kept by it in good health. In some of the *cabiers* of instruction to the deputies in the National Assembly, salt is considered as essential to the well-being of cattle, *indispensable aux bestiaux* ¶. Mons. d'Aubenton directs 1 lb. every eight days to twenty sheep **. In Spain it is as common as it is in Italy and France; a *fanega* of salt, or 100 lb. is allowed for one hundred sheep, by law; but they use fifteen and twenty *fanegas* for 1000 sheep ††. In a memoir on the Spanish flocks, by

* A French writer very erroneously says, that the English lose prodigious quantities of sheep by folding. *Mem. sur l'Agriculture, par M. Lormoy.* 8vo. 1789. p. 47. No such thing.---One would think that the management of English sheep were as well known in France as other parts of English agriculture. Another writer says, that short woolled rams sell in England much dearer than long woolled ones. *Mem. pour l'Amelioration des Bêtes a laine dans l'Isle de France.* 1788. p. 8. Just the contrary.---Ten guineas is a high price for a ram in Suffex, the finest breed of the short woolled kind; whereas a long woolled ram in Leicestershire has been let at one thousand guineas for a single season.

† *Annals of Agriculture.* Vol. xv. No. 87.

‡ Nec tamen ulla sunt tam blanda pabula, aut etiam pascua, quorum gratia non exolescat usu continuo, nisi pecudum fastidio pastor occurrerit prebito sale quod velut ad pabuli condimentum per æstatem canalibus ligneis impositum cum e pastu redierint oves, lambunt, atque eo sapore cupidinem bibendi pascendique concipiunt. Lib. vii.

§ *De l'Administration Provinciale, par M. le Trone.* 8vo. 1788. tom. i. p. 237.

|| Ibid.

¶ *Cahier du Tiers Etat de Toul.* p. 17. Also, *De la Noblesse de Clermont Ferand.* p. 22.

** *Instruction pour les Bergers.* 8vo. 1782. p. 105. See also, *Traité d'Economie Politique.* 8vo. 1783. p. 545.

†† *Essai Hist. & Pol. sur la race des Brebis, trad. d'Alstrom.* 12mo. 1784. p. 47.

the late Mr. Collinson, the account is more particular and curious. "The first thing the shepherd does when the flock returns from the S. to its summer downs, is to give the sheep as much salt as they will eat. Every owner allows his flock, of a thousand sheep, twenty-five *quintals* of salt, which the flock eat in about five months; they eat none in their journey, nor in their winter-walk. It is believed, that if they stinted their sheep of this quantity, it would weaken their constitutions and degrade their wool; the shepherd places fifty or sixty flat stones, at about five steps distance from each other; he strews salt upon each stone; he leads the flocks slowly through the stones, and every sheep eats to his liking. What is very remarkable is, that the sheep never eat a grain of salt, nor wish for it, when they are feeding on land which lies on lime-stone; and as the shepherd must not suffer them to be too long without salt, he leads them to a spot of clayey soil, and, after a quarter of an hour's feeding them, they march back to the stones and devour the salt. So sensible are they of the difference, that if they meet with a spot of mixed soil, which often happens, they eat salt in proportion." The practice is found equally in Germany; the late King of Prussia, by ordonance, expected his peasants to take two *mebzen* (9 lb.) for each milch-cow, and one *metze* for every five milch-sheep, and half as much for such as do not give milk*; and in Bohemia the price of salt is found very prejudicial to the flocks†. The Hungarian peasants lay pieces of rock-salt at the doors of their stables, cow-houses, &c. for cattle and horses to lick‡. It is known also in Poland§. Throughout all North America salt is given to cattle and horses once or twice a week||. Paoletti, a practical Italian writer, orders 1 lb. to each sheep in autumn, and another in spring¶. Monf. Carlier decides against it, but on very insufficient authority**.

Monf. Tessier unites with the common practice, by recommending it††. This practice, which is unknown in England only, merits I believe much more attention than the English farmers are willing to give it, at least those with whom I have conversed upon this subject. I have tried it for two years past in my own flock; and though it is very difficult to pronounce the effect of such additions to their food, except after long

* *Mirabeau de la Monarchie Prussienne*. Tom. iv. p. 102.

† *Ibid.* Tom. vi. p. 236.

‡ Keyser's Travels. 12mo. 1758. Vol. iv. p. 242.

§ Sir Thomas Pope Blount's Nat. Hist. 12mo. 1693. p. 220.

|| Smyth's Tour in the United States. 8vo. 1784. Vol. i. p. 143.

¶ *Pensieri sopra l'Agricoltura*. 8vo. 1789. p. 209.

** *Traité des Bêtes a laine*. 4to. Tom. i. p. 296.

†† *Observ. sur Plusieurs Maladies de Best.* p. 67. See also, on this subject, *Markham's cheap and good Husbandry*, p. 111. 120. *Parkinson's Theatrum Botanicum*, p. 552. *Maison Rustique*, p. 107. *Hartlib's Legacy*, p. 199. *Mills' new and complete System of Practical Husbandry*, vol. iii. p. 416. *Memoirs of the Bath Society*, vol. i. p. 180. And a curious passage in *Birch's Edition of Boyle*, vol. v. p. 521. *Dr. Blower to Mr. Boyle*.

and repeated experiments, I have, I think, reason to be satisfied, my sheep having been very healthy, and once or twice so, when my neighbours suffered losses.

The breeds which I have noted in France are, 1, The Picardy; hornless; white faces; and filky hanging ears. This I take to be a bastard breed of Flanders; the wool coarse; of middling length. 2, Normandy; red legs and red faces; coarse wool. 3, Berry; resembling somewhat the South Downs of England; fine wool. 4, Spanish in Roussillon, and in part of Languedoc. 5, Near Mirepoix, a sort that resembles Norfolk sheep; with horns; black faces and legs. The rest, I apprehend, are all mongrels, without any strong features to discriminate them. The badness of the breeds, and the ill management of sheep in France, is the more surprising, as I conceive there is no country in Europe better adapted to this animal. The soil is, in general, dry, and the climate much less humid than that of England, which circumstances are of essential consequence for commanding great success with sheep: wet land and a wet climate are, next to French management, by far their greatest enemies. The old government often expressed a great inclination to take whatever steps might be deemed necessary to improve their sheep; I have noted the controleur general Bertin employing Monsr. Carlier to travel through France, from 1762 to 1766, for examining the flocks; and Monsr. d'Aubenton acknowledges, that whatever he executed in regard to importing the Spanish breed, was done at the instigation of another controleur general. "Monsr. Trudaine ne m'a rien laissé à désirer de tout ce qui pouvoit m'être utile pour remplir mon objet." Much encouragement has since been given to Monsr. Delporte, of Boulogne, for importing a flock of English sheep; and the late Marquis of Conflans bought, for the provincial assembly of Normandy, one hundred English rams, which were to be landed at nine guineas a-piece. The government was always inclined to be liberal upon this business, but never took the right steps. I viewed several parcels of sheep that were said to be Spanish, but never saw a single one that gave wool comparable to Spanish; and I was assured, by very respectable manufacturers, at Louviers and Elbœuf, that not one fleece of such has ever been produced in France, and that the Roussillon wool is the best in the kingdom. The Spanish sheep I examined in France were such ill made animals, that as much would be lost in the carcass, and in the want of disposition to thrive, as could be gained in wool, supposing it as fine as possible. The English sheep which I saw were chosen pretty much in the same manner; and no wonder, as smugglers had been the agents, who would of course procure such as were to be had cheapest. Where the Marquis de Conflans bought his English sheep, I never heard; by his death France lost them, and, if I may judge from the others I have seen, the loss is not great. All these exertions have been made by people whose professions, habits of life, employments, and pursuits have been
far

far removed from agriculture; usually by inhabitants of the capital, or other great cities.—In a word, these have been made by men, in whose hands success was impossible. If the government had, for the introduction of Spanish wool, fixed a Spanish farmer, with Spanish shepherds, and a Spanish flock, in such a district as the Crau, in Provence, to enjoy their annual emigration, it would have been known what could really be done in carding wool. And if an Englishman, with a flock of well-chosen Lincolnshire, or Leceisterhire, long woolled sheep, had been fixed in the Pays d'Aux, with a salary of five hundred louis a-year for himself, and with every other expence amply provided, it would at once have been found, that as long and as fine combing wool may be produced in France as in England. But such establishments would depend absolutely on the choice of the men; in some hands the whole expence would be thrown away; in others not a penny of it would be lost.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Capital employed in Husbandry.

THERE is no light, in which the agriculture of France can appear to less advantage than upon this head. It is scarcely credible how the metayers are able to support themselves with a stock so much inferior to what would be necessary to a good cultivation. In all the provinces which are backward in point of agriculture, as Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Sologne, Berry, La Marche, Limosin, Angoumois, Poitou, part of Guienne, and Languedoc; in Champagne, Loraine, Franche Compté, Bourbonnois, Nevernois, Lyonois, and part of Auvergne, Dauphiné, and Provence; the stock of every sort upon the farms, whether belonging to the landlord or the tenant, would not rise to 20s. per English acre, and in many districts not to 15s. The pastures of Normandy, and the arable lands of Flanders, and part of Artois, are well stocked; but there is a great deficiency in every other part of the kingdom, even in the best provinces. The quantity of sheep and cattle is every where trifling in comparison of what it ought to be. The implements of husbandry are contrived for cheapness, not for duration and effect; and such stacks of hay in store, as are found all over England, are rarely seen in France. Improvements invested in the land, by marling, draining, &c. which, on farms in England, amount to large sums of money, are inconsiderable even in the best parts of France. And beside the stock, transferable from tenant to tenant, the investments, which in England fall upon the landlord, such as all sorts of conveniencies.

niencies in building, fencing, gates, stiles, posts, rails, &c. which he must provide or repair for a new tenant, are done in England at an expence unknown in the greatest part of France; not but that in some provinces, especially in the northern ones, the buildings are substantial, and erected on a large scale. I shall, however, have no doubt in calculating the inferiority of France in its present state to that of England, in the circumstances of building, inclosing, marling, claying, draining, laying to meadow, and other *permanent* improvements, at 30s. an acre over the whole territory. It is 40s. or 50s. inferior to all our well improved counties; but as we have some backward in agriculture, as well as France, I calculate the whole at 30s.

I have calculated the capital of the farmers in all the provinces of the kingdom, and the medium of my notes is 40s. an acre. A similar calculation of the capital employed in the husbandry of England gives 4l. per acre*; in other words, 40s. more than is found in France: add 30s. for the less quantity of permanent improvements; and we have the total of 3l. 10s. per acre for the inferiority of French to English capital employed in agriculture, which, upon 131,000,000 of acres, forms a deficiency of 458,500,000l. sterling, or 10,480,000,000 of liv.—above ten milliards. Hence it is, that it would demand this vast sum to be expended and invested in the agriculture of France, to bring the whole of that kingdom to an acreable equality with England; and I am confident, that I have not been guilty of the least exaggeration. The capital of farmers in England being 4l. per acre, let us calculate that of Scotland at 30s. and that of Ireland at 40s.

England,	-	46,000,000 acres,	at 4l.	£. 184,000,000
Scotland,	-	26,000,000	at 30s.	39,000,000
Ireland,	-	26,000,000	at 40s.	52,000,000
		<u>98,000,000</u>		<u>275,000,000</u>
France,	-	131,000,000	at 40s.	262,000,000

The capital employed, therefore, in husbandry in the British isles, is considerably greater than is employed in France. It surely is not necessary to observe, in this age, that the productive state of agriculture in a country depends much more

* It will be proper here to explain what I mean by *capital*. A farmer, in England, who stocks a farm, finds it necessary, on entering, to have a given sum of money for engaging in, and carrying on the business through the first year, in which is reckoned a year's labour, rent, tythe, seed, &c.; and this sum varies generally from 3l. to 5l. an acre: if the accounts of the same farmer be examined some years after, he will be found to have stock to a greater value, having increased it in cattle, sheep, manuring, and other improvements, for which he would be paid if he suddenly left his farm. Now, take the average of all farms, of all stocks, and of all periods of leases, and I value the capital employed at 4l. an acre, which I have reason to believe, from circumstances too numerous to detail here, to be a very moderate estimate.

on the capital employed, than on any other circumstance whatever; and that since ours is larger than that of France, though in the possession of 15 millions of people only (for that of France is to be connected with 25 or 26 millions), the British dominions ought to be essentially richer, and more powerful, than France; and while the two countries continue in their present situation, nothing can reverse this conclusion, but egregiously ill management in our own government. It is upon the firm basis of this momentous fact, that politicians ought to seek the solution of that apparent phenomenon, which the two last wars exhibited; the spectacle of England resisting, successfully, the whole power of France and Spain: and I will venture farther to assert, that those who seek the explanation in American colonies, or Indian conquests, seek it in causes of weakness, much more than of strength; and that the possession of near 300 millions sterling of active capital employed upon our lands, is of quite another importance than that of such distant and brittle dependencies, or than any advantage that our boasted foreign commerce ever gave us. When Mr. Paine * calculates, with pleasure, the superiority of France to England in *specie*, at seventy millions, upon data which, I shall shew in another place, have nothing more to do with the prosperity of the French than of the Hurons; he adverts to a policy which will be found a rotten one, by every nation that relies on it; I mean, that of estimating gold and silver as national wealth: their rapid currency, indeed, implies prosperity—but that of paper does the same; and if paper has given to England a superiority of FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS STERLING in the solid and real wealth of stock in husbandry, she has not much reason to envy France a superiority of seventy millions in *specie*.

One great deviation of French capital has been in the sugar islands, which, according to the produce, cannot have a less capital employed in them than fifty millions sterling. The royal navy of France has been, and is now, a favourite object, chiefly for the sake of defending and securing these colonies; let us take but twenty-five years expence of the navy, at two millions sterling, and here are fifty other millions; in these two alone, without extending the supposition to many others that might be equally included, there are one hundred millions sterling, or two and a-half *milliards* of livres, which, under a different policy, might have been invested in agriculture; and had this taken place, the nation would have been in the receipt (counting only at 50 per cent. *produce* for the capital invested) of fifty millions sterling per annum more than she receives from her agriculture at present; or considerably more than 1,000,000,000 liv. Now what comparison can there be in the wealth, prosperity, power, or resources, between the import of five or six millions sterling in West Indian commodities, and the production of ten times that amount in the native soil of France? Yet this

* *Rights of Man*, p. 155.

wretched.

wretched commercial policy is now continuing ; investments are still made in the West Indies, because the nation expends two millions a-year on a navy to protect them ; and it expends the two millions because the investments are thus made in the Indies ; going eternally in this vicious circle ; planting American wastes on account of the navy, and keeping up the navy because those wastes are planted ; while her own agriculture wants 450 millions sterling in capital to be placed on an equality with England, which, from a similar policy, is not half improved to the perfection of which it is capable. What utter infatuation and blindness does such a conduct prove ! And may we not fairly conclude, that the greatest favour which an enemy, or a friend, could do to France, would be the seizing of those colonies, and thereby stopping this miserable deviation of capital. Perhaps this remark may, with equal justice, be applied to England. Tippo Saib was mentioned to me in France as an object of serious alarm to our kingdom ; much the contrary ; if he drove us out of the Eastern Indies, and the negroes were to drive us out of the Western, they would be our best friends ; for the capitals of the nation would then find the employment which they ought long ago to have found.

But I shall venture to carry this idea yet farther ; it is not only the French capital employed in the sugar islands, and in the royal navy, that is a direct deviation from agriculture, for whatever is used in foreign commerce falls under the same predicament. The value of all the navigation of France, ships, stores, furniture, seamen, seamen's-wages, and all the exertions within land, in consequence of them, so much commended by numerous writers, must equally be considered as an employment of capital, much less profitable than that of agriculture. I do not contend that a state should neglect the proper means of its defence, and the advantages of a maritime situation ; I maintain only, that the true progress of national industry is to stock fully the lands of a country, before any capitals are invested in other pursuits. It will be said (for the observation is common), that the investment of capitals in a nation must be left to the option of the individuals who possess them ; but this objection is removed in a moment : the fact is granted ; but the policy contended for is, that the state ought not, by laws and regulations, to tempt and bribe men to an investment of capital, contrary to the interests of agriculture ; which Colbert did in so flagrant a manner, and which is yet done in every country of Europe with which I am acquainted, either by direct encouragements to the commercial system, or by laying burthens and taxes on land. The sole policy here insisted upon is that of freedom ; let the state take no party, and agriculture, from its superior profit, will attract capitals, as long as an acre wants them ; but when the state lays taxes upon the land, in any other way whatever than the consumption of its products, or carries proper taxes to an undue extent, or permits the cultivators to
become

become the prey of a tythe-gatherer, or loads them with the support of the poor, or, in fine, cramps the free sale of products, by prohibitions and monopolies; in all these cases, capital is as much driven from land as if an express law forbade the investment. It is not difficult to conjecture what turn this policy will take in France, when we see the preposterous and pernicious doctrines of the *œconomistes* triumphant; when the false and absurd doctrine, that all taxes ultimately fall on lands, is recognized and admitted; and when we know that a proposition for a direct land-tax of twelve millions sterling was received without abhorrence; such spectacles are not those of the *regeneration* of agriculture.

Upon the whole, the following conclusion may fairly be drawn:—as the old government of France, by all sorts of burthens and oppressions, kept down the agriculture of the kingdom, and as it were prohibited improvements, treading in the false and fallacious steps of Colbert, and encouraging exclusively manufactures and foreign commerce, it necessarily follows, that little credit can be given to the wisdom of the new legislature, which has arisen in that kingdom, unless different plans be adopted. To foster and promote agriculture in such a manner as to enable her to attract the capitals she has hitherto wanted, is an object not to be effected by sugar-islands, and is easily to be destroyed by such land-taxes as have lately been established by the National Assembly. It is not the division of farms, and holding commons sacred, that will enrich the stock of husbandry. The government of the kingdom, it is true, is regenerated; but the ideas of the people must also be regenerated upon these questions, before a system can be embraced, which, by giving capital to agriculture, shall carry France to such a prosperity as England has attained.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Price of Provisions, Labour, &c.

WITHOUT knowing the price of these articles in different countries, the political arithmetician would want one of the principal bases to build and support many of his most useful calculations. The connection between the price of labour and of provisions; the effects of high or low prices on agriculture, and the re-action of culture on price; the manner by which high and low prices affect population, manufactures, and national prosperity,—these, and a thousand other inquiries in political œconomy, which so many writers have treated on the grounds of mere theory and reasoning, should be suspended till a sufficient mass of facts be collected, the examination and comparison of

which can alone elucidate such intricate subjects. When the rates of labour, provisions, &c. are correctly known in countries governed upon different principles, and possessing very different quantities of the precious metals, and degrees of industry, the politician will have valuable data on which he may reason: to collect such ought to be one great object of those who travel with philosophical views, and who direct their attention to subjects of useful knowledge, instead of the common frivolous pursuits that waste the time and fortunes of so many. Without inserting the minutes themselves, which, but for brevity, I should have done, I shall insert the averages of the whole.

	French money.	English money.		French money.	English money.
Beef, per lb. aver. of 76 minutes,	7s.	3½d.	Butter, average of 38 minutes,	16½s.	8½d.
Mutton, average of ditto,	7	3½	Cheese, average of 10 ditto,	9	4½
Veal, average of 72 ditto,	7½	3½	Eggs, average of 19 ditto,	9	4½
Meat average of the three,	7s.		Bread, average of 67 ditto,	3	1½
Pork, average of 28 minutes,	9	4½	Wine, per bottle, aver. of 32 do.	4½	2½

Twenty-three minutes concerning bread, having been made in 1789, when the price of wheat was extravagant, we certainly must not reckon the average price of such bread, as the bulk of people eat in France, at more than 2s. the pound, or 1d. English.—It is to be remembered, that the pound, *poid de marc* of France, is to the English pound *avoir-du-poids*, as 1,0000 is to 0,9264; it is therefore about $\frac{1}{11}$ heavier, a difference which must be kept in mind. In order to compare the prices of these commodities in the two kingdoms, some previous observations are necessary. Beef is, in many parts of France, exceedingly good and well fattened; better is not to be found any where than at Paris; and I have remarked, elsewhere, the great numbers of fine oxen fattened in Limosin in winter, and in Normandy in summer, for the Paris market. I think, therefore, that the beef of England, and of great cities in France, may very fairly be compared. It is not so generally good, perhaps, in the latter kingdom, but the difference does not demand attention.—It is, however, very discernible in little country towns, where nothing is killed but old cows—and good beef is as rare as good mutton; whereas there is not a spot in England, in which a private gentleman's family, that lives in the country, is not supplied with good ox beef. Veal, notwithstanding that at Paris from Pontoise, is much inferior; but the great inferiority of French meat to English is in mutton, which is universally so bad in France, that I may assert, very correctly, that from one end of the kingdom to the other, I never saw a live or dead sheep that would in England be esteemed a fat one. In general, mutton is so lean, that, to an English palate, it is barely eatable. The French do not like very fat mutton,—that is to say, they do not like much fat; but they must like the lean of fat meat, as being more juicy, and better flavoured, than that of lean. It is however to be remembered, that at common tables (I do not speak of those of great lords, for they do not

not form a nation) meat is usually so much roasted, that it is not an equal object to have it so fat as in England. But though the niceness of the palate is a matter of no importance, yet whether the mutton in general be lean or fat, is of very great consequence in these inquiries; for this circumstance may make that meat much dearer in France than it is in England. Upon an average in the latter kingdom, the price of meat, in 1795, as I found by numerous returns from many counties, was,—Beef, 4d. per lb.—Mutton, 4½d.—Veal, 4½d.—Average of the three 4½d.—Pork, 4d.

I am of opinion, that the beef and veal are as cheap at these prices, if we consider the quality, as in France, for these minutes respect the best joints only. As to mutton, it is at least 20 per cent. cheaper; by which I wish to have it understood, that I allude to the superior expence which must be incurred by the grazier, in order to bring his mutton so fat to market, as is universal in England; or, in other words, that he would make a greater profit, by selling it at the French price, than at the English one, provided he were to make it no fatter than is usual in France. Whoever attentively considers the French husbandry, will not be surprized at the leanness of their mutton. The want of artificial grasses is so great, that sheep, though few in number, are miserably fed in summer; but as to winter, they are in most of the provinces fed upon straw, and what they can pick up on wastes and stubbles. There are few districts where you see any thing like a regular provision for them; in consequence of which, the markets are supplied in a very imperfect manner, and farms suffer dreadfully from want of the manuring, which a flock of hearty well fed sheep are sure to deposit. Bread in England may be reckoned at 1½d. a pound; but we must not, therefore, conclude, that it is near double the French price; for the materials are not the same. In England, it is very generally made of wheat; and the poor, in many parts of the kingdom, eat the whitest and best; but in France, the bread mentioned in the preceding notes, is often of rye and other grain; so that the price is not double for the *same* bread; though there is cent. per cent. variation in the price of the bread consumed by the poor of the two countries. Bread being so much cheaper in France, in comparison of meat, than it is in England, occasions that great consumption of bread in France in preference to meat, which the French poor rarely eat. In England, the consumption of meat, by the labouring poor, is pretty considerable; for as bread approaches so much nearer to the price of meat in this kingdom, it necessarily occasions this difference between the two countries, which has been already remarked by Mons. Herrenschwandt with his usual acuteness. The consumption of cheese in England, by the poor, is immense. In France they eat none at all. The English consumption of meat is infinitely more beneficial to agriculture than the French consumption of bread: it is by means of great

stocks of cattle and sheep, that lands are improved and rendered productive; the crops which support cattle and sheep are of an ameliorating nature; but those that yield bread are, on the contrary, exhausting. It must be therefore evident, that agriculture will be advanced in proportion to the quantity of meat, butter, and cheese consumed by any nation.

Average.—Fowl 22*s.* (11*d.*); turkey 68*s.* (2*s.* 10*d.*); duck 22*s.* (11*d.*); goose 50*s.* (2*s.* 1*d.*); pigeon 7*s.* (3½*d.*)

Observations.

It appears from these averages, that poultry is not generally so cheap in France as it has been represented; it is, however, cheaper than in England; for I cannot estimate the prices with us lower than, a fowl 1*s.* 6*d.*; a turkey 5*s.*; a duck 1*s.* 6*d.*; a goose 4*s.*; a pigeon 4*d.*

Labour.

The minutes I took are too numerous to insert, constrained as I am to brevity. Average earnings of men throughout the kingdom 19*s.*; mason and carpenter 30*s.* There are but few minutes concerning the rise of the price of labour; in Normandy it has been doubled in twelve years; in Provence it has risen from sixteen to twenty-four; but in Anjou it remains as it was fifty years ago. The idea I had of the general price of labour in France, taken about twenty or twenty-five years ago, which I acquired from reading and from information, was the average of 16*s.* a day. If that idea were at all correct, labour has risen about 20 per cent. But though the price is now satisfactorily ascertained, I do not know that it was ever so before, and the general ideas to which I allude might be very erroneous. I take the fact not to be far from the rise of 20 per cent on the average, but to have been much more so in the provinces where there is some activity of commerce and manufactures; and no increase at all, or at least very little, in those which do not enjoy these advantages.

The average price of labour in England twenty years ago, when I made my tours, was 7*s.* 6*d.* a week, or 1*s.* 3*d.* a day; the price at present I should state at 8*s.* 5*d.* * a week, or 1*s.* 4½*d.* a day; but this idea is not founded on an actual survey. Indeed it is much to be wished that England were again travelled through, with the views that I examined it twenty years ago, that its progression might be well ascertained; such a knowledge is useful to every man who would really understand the state of his country; so useful, that it ought to be done at the expence, not of government, but of parliament, independently of ministers,

* Calculated thus, five weeks at 12*s.* a week; four at 9*s.*; and forty-three at 8*s.*; in all 22*l.*; but no estimate *by the week* will shew the real earnings of our labourers, who perform so much work by the piece, that they earn much more than any weekly rate can point out.

if possible, whose interest it is always to represent the country as flourishing; for most of them assume a merit from the prosperous condition of the kingdom, though perhaps not indebted to them for one atom of its amount: whatever evils befall a nation, are, for the most part, to be charged to the account of government alone.

Labour in France,	-	19s.	{	Meat,	-	7s.
				Bread,	-	2
Labour in England,	-	33s.	{	Meat,	-	8s.
				Bread,	-	3s.

If meat and bread be combined into one price, it follows, that labour in England, when proportioned to labour in France, should be at 25s. a day, instead of 33s. If bread alone be taken, there is almost the same proportion; that is, 19 at 2 are the same as 33s. at 3s.; but this coincidence, perhaps, is accidental; because in England the rate of labour, supposing it to depend on provisions, would certainly depend, not on bread only, but on an aggregate of bread, cheese, and meat; however, one would wish to see these naked facts ascertained, whatever conclusions may be drawn from them. The consumption* of bread, and the price of labour being about 76 per cent. cheaper in France than in England, is an enormous deduction from what may, with propriety, be called the mass of national prosperity in the former kingdom. This opinion, however, I venture to maintain against a cloud of writers and politicians, who strenuously contend for cheap provisions and cheap labour, in order to have cheap, and consequently flourishing, manufactures; but the example of England, which has outstripped the whole world in this circumstance, ought long ago to have driven such sentiments from every mind. Country-labour being 76 per cent. cheaper in France than in England, it may be inferred, that all those classes which depend on labour, and are the most numerous in society, are 76 per cent. less at their ease (if I may use these expressions), and worse fed, worse clothed, and worse supported, both in sickness and in health, than the same classes in England, notwithstanding the immense quantity of precious metals, and the imposing appearance of wealth in France. And if the labouring poor consume 76 per cent. less than the poor in our kingdom, they consequently afford, in the same ratio, a worse market to the farmer; whence agriculture suffers in the same proportion, and ought to be found, by this combination, at least 76 per cent. worse than the agriculture of England. Every country contains a certain portion of the precious metals, or of some other currency that answers the same purpose; and the difference between a high and a low price of labour and provisions is, that in one country a large proportion of those metals is in the hands of

† I say the *consumption*, and not the *price*, because the kinds of bread in the two kingdoms are not the same: there is no such difference as this in the price of wheat; I apprehend no difference at all.

farmers and labourers ; and in the other a small one only. In one case great activity and vigour will be found in husbandry ; in the other very little. But this argument may be extended yet farther ; for if there be 76 per cent. difference in the consumption of the French and English labourers, there ought to be 76 per cent. difference in the strength of body between the two nations. Strength depends on nourishment ; and if this difference be admitted, an English workman ought to be able to do half as much work again as a Frenchman,—this also will I believe be found to be correctly the case ; and if the great superiority, not only of the English husbandry, but also of those manufactures into which machines do not enter any more than in France, be well considered, this extension of these proportions will not be thought at all extravagant. To what is all this to be ascribed ? Most clearly to the pernicious influence of a government, rotten in its principles ; that struck a palsy into all the lower and productive classes to favour those whose only merit is consumption. If some future traveller should examine France with the same attention I have done, he will probably find, under a free government, all these proportions greatly changed ; and, unless the English government be more vigilant and intelligent than it hath hitherto been, France will be able to boast as great a superiority as England does at present.

Of the Public Support of the Poor.

It was not long after the seizure of the ecclesiastical estates, that the National Assembly publicly declared, they would consider the care of the poor as one of their primary duties. They appointed also a committee of *mendicité*, whose business was to inquire into, and report to the Assembly, the state of the poor, and their opinion of the best means of extinguishing indigence in France. Of this committee, the duke of Liancourt was chairman. In their third report, they state to the Assembly the heads of those propositions which they thought necessary to form the base of a decree for that purpose. The committee examine, in this report, the idea of establishing a poor's rate, and with great wisdom absolutely reject it. In their fourth report, they state the mischiefs of the English system—and add, “ Mais cet exemple est un grand & important leçon pour nous : car, independamment des vices qu'elle nous presente, & d'une dépense monstrueuse, & d'un encouragement necessaire à la fainéantise, elle nous decouvre la plaie politique de l'Angleterre la plus dévorante, qu'il est également dangereux pour sa tranquillité & son bonheur de détruire ou de laisser subsister *.—I am rather surpris'd, that while they seem perfectly well informed of the evils attending the mischievous system of England, they should adopt the principle of our poor's laws, by declaring, that the poor have a right to pecuniary assistance from the state ; that

* *Quatrième Rapport du Comité de Mendicité.* 8vo. 1790. p. 7.

the National Assembly ought to consider such provision as one of its first and most sacred duties; and that an expence, with this view, ought to be incurred to the amount of 50 millions a year. I do not comprehend how it is possible to regard the expenditure of 50 millions as a sacred duty, and not extend that 50 to 100, if necessity should demand it—the 100 to 200—the 200 to 300—and so on in the same miserable progression, that has taken place in England. We have found, by long experience in England, that the more money is expended—even well and humanely expended, the more poor are created: and that the degree of indigence and misery is exactly in proportion to the assistance given to them by rates. The same effect would certainly take place in France; the expenditure of 50 millions would inevitably make 100 necessary. It is in vain to say, that of that 50 there are 30 already expended by hospitals, and six * by the clergy; for the committee themselves give such a detail of the horrors of the hospitals, that a dependence on such charity will not be among the regular resources of the poor; and as to the ecclesiastical assistance, no families could rely on it as a matter of appropriated right. The case would be very different, if the National Assembly were solemnly to declare it their duty to provide for the poor, and assign 50 millions for that purpose; there would then be an universal reliance on that duty, and that humanity, of the legislature; and the consequence we know by fatal experience. I cannot but be persuaded, that the poor ought to be left to private charity, as they are in Scotland and in Ireland, to an infinitely better effect than results from the rates in England. In proportion as the public interferes, private charity is wounded, till the maintenance of the poor comes to be considered as one of the most grievous evils to which property is exposed.

If fifty millions could be expended in France without creating a dependence, the burthen would be very moderate; but we are convinced of the utter impossibility of such a case; we know that the wisest dispensation of money amongst the poor, not earned by industry, always creates a dependence, and consequently becomes, in such a proportion, the origin of the evil that is cured. For the like reason, hospitals, *if well administered*, are equal nuisances; they are attended by a similar effect, and the more that effect is lessened by a vicious and cruel management, so much, perhaps, the better for the benefit of the great mass of poor, who will not be tempted into a reliance on an abode of misery, despair, and death. The expenditure of the poor's rates of England is certainly not free from abuses, but they are, all things considered, less than might reasonably be expected. They amount to above two millions sterling, and I am confident, from a long and attentive observation of their effects upon the poor, that the mass of human wretchedness is quadrupled by their influence; or, in other words, that

* *Cinquieme Rapport*, p. 21.

for one person made easy, at the expence of the public, four are rendered poor or miserable, by depending on that expence, instead of the exertions of private industry; and when it is considered, that on a moderate average the amount of our poor's rates increases in the proportion of near 100,000l. a year, of course approaching rapidly towards three millions, and at the same time curing no evils that they have not created, what ought to be thought of the political œconomy of our government, which, intent upon trifles, neglects this growing and alarming evil? Had an act passed ten years ago, limiting these assessments to the average of the last seven years (a measure I urged in print for more than ten years past), it would have saved half a million a year in expenditure, and four times that amount in the prevention of poverty and distress. What has fatally obtained in England will take place in France, if the English *principle* be adopted, namely, that the state is compelled in duty to support the poor; fifty millions will be the forerunner of one hundred, and both of them the parent of increasing misery. It is not the state, but individuals that are bound; and private charity is indisputably the proper method. Foundling hospitals may be classed among the most mischievous institutions that can be established; for they must certainly encourage that vicious procreation, which, from its misery, does not deserve the name of population. From the almost indiscriminate distinction of the children they receive, which in France is so enormous, that of 101,000 in sixteen years, 15,000 only were in existence*, it might by some be thought, that they do not tend to increase the people; but the preservation of the children, supposing them to effect it, would not be the principal operation. Such hospitals encourage marriage, from the certainty that the children need not to remain a burthen upon the parents; but when the conflict comes in the mother's bosom, the feelings of nature will oftener triumph than the dictates of so infamous a crime as that of abandoning her offspring; and thus more children will be preserved than exposed. A government cannot, by any methods, encourage marriage without increasing the people; for whatever tends to facilitate the maintenance of children, whether by an increase of industry, that shall enable children to support themselves, or by foundling hospitals, that remove the burthen altogether, the effect in the end will be inevitable. And this effect in France is of a most pernicious nature; for the competition for employment being already too great to permit the people to live with comfort, no institutions to encourage population can take place there at present without entailing misery upon the bulk of the nation. It may also be added, that the encouragement afforded by foundling hospitals, is an encouragement also of vice and inhumanity; and a public premium given to the banishment of the best feelings of the human bosom.

* *Rapport fait au nous du Comité de Mendicité des visites faites dans divers Hôpitaux.* 8vo. 1790. p.27.

Rise of Prices.

SOLOGNE—*La Ferté*.—Cattle of all kinds increased in price more than a third in one year. A cow from 48 liv. to 90 liv.; a horse 7 or 8 louis to 12½; a hog 15 liv. to 30 liv. It has been owing to a want of forage.

BERRY—*Vatan*.—See two good cart-horses, which were sold this year for 20 louis each; and several farmers asserted, that a horse which three years ago was worth 5 louis, would now bring 12.

LIMOSIN—*Limoges*.—The same quantity of cord wood, which was sold 15 years ago at 50 liv. now sells at 150 liv. Land greatly raised in its value, and husbandry doubly more productive than 20 years ago.

LANGUEDOC—*Bagnere de Luchon*.—The measure of land, called the coperade, which some years since sold at 12 liv. is now at 24 liv. and even 30 liv.

Bayonne.—Within ten years, prices of every thing, including house-rent, very much increased.

Bourdeaux.—Very great increase in the price of every thing in ten years.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Liancourt*.—Within ten years, the general expences of living, bread alone excepted, have risen 50 per cent. and labour nearly in the same proportion.

NORMANDY—*Havre*.—A house, in 1779, let, without any fine, on a lease of six years, for 240 liv. per annum, was let this year again for three years, with a fine of 25 louis for 600 liv. per ann. A cellar, which is now 60 liv. was only 24 liv. 12 years past.

BRETAGNE—*Rennes*.—Cord of wood 16 liv. In 1740, it was 9½ liv.

CHAMPAGNE—*St. Meneboud*.—Cord of wood 18 liv. 10s.—but 25 years ago 7 liv. 10s.

LORRAINE—*Pont au Mousson*.—The prices of all the necessaries of life risen one-third in twenty years.

Luneville.—Cord of wood now 26 liv. was, fifty-two years ago, 9 liv.

Straßbourg.—Cord of wood 27 liv. which, twenty years ago, was 12 to 15 liv.

FRANCHE COMPTE.—Those estates, which twenty years ago sold at 300 liv. now are at 800 liv.

Besançon—*Dole*.—Meat now 7s. the pound—some years ago 4s.—A couple of fowls 24s. which were 12s.—In general every thing is doubled in price in ten years. *To what is this to be ascribed?*—To the great increase of population. Such was the answer I received; there is, however, no manufacture in the country, iron forges excepted.

BOURGOGNE—*Dijon*.—Every thing raised in 20 years cent. per cent. partly on account of the improvement of roads.

Observations.

There is scarcely any circumstance in the political œconomy of France which makes so respectable a figure as that of the general rise of prices, which has taken place in the last twenty years. This is a sure sign that the mass of currency has considerably increased, which, in the case of that kingdom, must necessarily have arisen from an increase of industry. We know that taxes cannot have been the cause, as they have not in the same period been increased; or, at least, to so small an amount as to be irrelative to the question. The most remarkable circumstance attending this *apparent* prosperity (for this circumstance is usually concomitant with prosperity, though not of necessity flowing from it) is the still miserable state of the labouring poor; it is rather a matter of surprize, that the price of labour has not risen equally, or in some degree of proportion, with other things; this must probably be attributed to the too great populousness of the kingdom, of which I shall speak more particularly in another chapter. Certain it is, that the misery which we see amongst the lower classes in France seems quite inconsistent with a great rise in the price of commodities, occasioned by an increase of industry and wealth; and as the price of labour continues so low as not to enable the people to support themselves tolerably, notwithstanding the rise of other prices, it affords a clear proof, as it has been just observed, that there is too great a competition for employment, arising from the excess of population in the kingdom.

 C H A P. XVI.
Of the Produce of France.

THIS may properly be considered as the great question of political œconomy, in relation to the present state of kingdoms; there being no circumstance in the situation of any people, whether it concerns their wealth, prosperity, power, or resources, but what must depend, in a high degree, on the produce of their lands. As it is a subject which becomes every day more interesting, on account of the abuses generated by the complex system of modern taxation, it has naturally put politicians upon comparing the productions of a kingdom, and the contributions of the people, with the necessities, or rather vices, of their government. It is well known, that this proportion was sought for with the most anxious solicitude by the *œconomistes*. They conceived, that *produce* ought alone to bear all the impositions which the government of any kingdom should lay upon its subjects; a doctrine equally ill-founded and dangerous, but which has been dressed and decorated with so much ability as to have found advocates in every part of Europe. The conjectures which have been made of the gross
produce

produce of all the lands in France, are innumerable. There has been scarcely a political writer on the affairs of that kingdom, for the last twenty years, who has not taken an opportunity, perhaps ill-afforded by his subject, to calculate the amount; but all the accounts that I have seen have been made on such insufficient data, that it is uninteresting whether the imagined result happens to be near to, or far from, the fact; since of so many random guesses it is hardly possible that all should be remote from truth. Of the methods used in calculating the national produce by various French writers, two have been principally relied upon; the produce of certain taxes, particularly the *vingtiemes*, and the quantity of food eaten by the people. More vague foundations could hardly have been sought or devised; the taxes were laid with so little regard to a fair proportion, the exemptions were so numerous, and abuses so universal, that the position of the stars might almost as well be resorted to as a political guide. The consumption of bread is almost equally unsatisfactory in a kingdom, where wheaten bread is not probably eaten by half the people; and where chestnuts, maiz, harricots, and other legumes, form principal objects of consumption. But if this difficulty were gotten over, in which there are no data that deserve a moment's attention, we must also take into the account the consumption of the earth's products, in meat, butter, cheese, liquors, fuel, timber, and all the variety of objects that administer to, or are consumed by manufactures, commerce, and shipping. However, though we have every reason imaginable to believe, that such data are absolutely insufficient for calculating the produce of a kingdom like France, yet justice ought to be done to the authors who have given attention to a subject of so much utility. Accuracy was not to be attained by pursuing any methods; but it must be confessed, that those which they adopted, though not applicable to the ends they had in view, gave rise to important discoveries; and we owe to their labours some facts truly useful, and many observations deserving attention. The extreme difficulty of forming the calculation in a satisfactory manner, appears clearly from the attempts that have been made by ministers at the head of the national finances, and consequently possessed of every opportunity which power could confer, to acquire whatever knowledge they sought; yet the ideas have been as vague and unsatisfactory as those of speculatists, who have been devoid of such advantages. It should seem, that it is not in the bureau or the closet that data for this calculation are to be sought, but that he who would know what the lands of a kingdom produce, should view and examine them. It would be madness in a traveller like myself to pretend that it is possible to give a true estimate of the productions of a kingdom from viewing but a part of it: I know the difficulties and hazard of the undertaking too well to have any such pretensions; and all I would assume, is nothing more than the probability that my estimate of the part I saw is not greatly removed from fact. Thirty years experience, I hope, have contributed to enable me to form

more than a vague conjecture of the products of any country that I view with attention; and when it is considered, that my journies, in almost every direction, amount to several thousands of miles, there will not appear to be any great hazard in supposing, that the average of such a portion, corrected on reflection and from information relative to the parts not seen, cannot be very far distant from the real one of the whole kingdom.

To pursue this inquiry, I shall divide France not into generalities, which have no longer any existence, nor into departments, which are yet hardly in existence, but into districts relatively to their soil, according to the map which is annexed to the chapter of soils.—The method by which I made the estimate is this: in viewing the country, I combined those circumstances which strike the eye in regard to soil, crops, proportion of those crops, of vines, of wood, and waste, with the courses and the products of all sorts by information; and from the whole deduced the conclusion of what I conceived was the annual produce; and at each stage, or resting-place, struck the average of the preceding ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, which were afterwards, in some instances, thrown into divisions, by calculating the average of larger districts of country. I give, in another chapter, the produce of corn, and price per acre at which the cultivated parts of the districts I travelled through are let and sold; but the reader will carry in his mind, that the present view of the produce of the kingdom has nothing in common with what is just mentioned; for the object here in contemplation is, the average product of all sorts of land, heath, rock, marsh, and mountain, as well as cultivated fields; tracks of which it is in vain to demand the produce, since not one inhabitant in a thousand ever thought of them with any such view: in countries where agriculture is so ill understood, and where the peasants are so little enlightened, a traveller will come out of a province as ignorant as he entered it, if he has no other means of information.

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF RICH LOAM,

Contains the Provinces of Flanders, Artois, Picardy, Normandy, and the Isle of France.

Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.
To Amiens,	95	39s.	Pontoise,	30	39s.	Dunkirk,	18	70s.
Clermont,	40	43	Dammartin,	22	60	Calais,	25	22
To Orleans,	70	46	Villescoterets,	26	55	St. Omers,	25	45
Petiviers,	25	49	Coucy,	24	54	Bethune,	25	80
Malherbs,	11	52	St. Quintin,	30	43	Arafs,	17	45
Fontainbleau,	17	47	Cambray,	22	43	Dourlens,	20	45
The Forest,	7	0	Valenciennes,	18	43	Amiens,	17	45
Yersaint,	10	43	Orchies,	16	120	Poix,	15	36
Paris,	20	52	Lille,	16	100	Aumale,	10	45
Liancourt,	38	52	Mont-Cassel,	30	90	Neufchatel,	15	45

Rouen,

P R O D U C E.

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Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce.
Rouen,	25	60s.	Carentan,	22	80s.	Magny,	15	50s.
Barentin,	10	50	Vologne,	17	70	Eccouis,	15	60
Yvetot,	11	60	Gacé,	10	60	Rouen,	20	60
Havre,	30	60	Bernay,	25	32	Tote,	17	50
Pont au de Mer,	20	60	Bonterode,	17	80	Dieppe,	17	53
Pont l'Eveque,	20	70	Elbœuf,	7	60	Nangis,	45	53
Lisieux,	6	80	Rouen,	10	16	Meaux,	23	40
Caen,	27	75	Louviers,	17	30	Ditto,	10	80
Bayeux,	15	50	Vernon,	15	55			

Miles, 1220.—Average produce, 2l. 13s. 9½d.

There is not the same difficulty in calculating the produce of this track of rich land, as in some other provinces, where the soil is much more various.—Bad husbandry and fallows occasion a much greater deduction here, than inferiority of soil. No particular reasons induce me at present to lower this estimate, except, perhaps, the forests of Chantilly and Villefcoterets, may not have been crossed in such directions as to allow sufficient deductions; but of this I am in doubt. Considering, however, the number of forests which are within these limits, which I did not pass, I am inclined to make the further allowance of 3s. 9½d. and set down this average product at 2l. 10s.

Plain of Alsace.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Straßbourg,	22	70s.	Colmar,	12	50s.
Schelestadt,	25	60	Isenheim,	25	45

Miles, 84.—Average produce, 2l. 16s. 8½d.

Much of this district is not so rich as a great part of the former; but the soil within these limits more equal—and of course not such deductions on account of forest.

The Limagne.

Riom to Izoire. Miles, 20.—Average produce, 5l.

This celebrated volcanic vale is very narrow; and in this estimate nothing is included but the mere vale: if the slopes were to be included, the produce would not be more than 45s.

Plain of the Garonne.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
In Quercy,	90	60s.	Leitour,	5	60s.	Tonneins,	8	120s.
To Pyrenees,	103	50	Leyrac,	17	80	Reolle,	22	100
Fleuran,	14	50	Aguillon,	17	85	Bourdeaux,	15	60

Miles, 291.—Average produce, 3l. 3s. 3½d.

As this route carried us very much on the banks of the Garonne, one of the richest vales in the world, though not wide, I am not inclined to raise this estimate on account of the immense vineyards of the Pays de Medoc, &c. which should

P R O D U C E.

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Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.
Vannes	10 14s.	Savanel,	15 28s.	Duretal,	30 40s.
Musillac,	15 24	Nantes,	20 15	Guercelaud,	17 26
La Roche Ber-		Ancenis,	22 7s	Le Mans,	10 8
nard,	10 13	St. George,	17 80	Allençon,	30 40
Auvergnac,	20 28	Ditto,	5 50	Nonant,	16 36
St. Nazaire,	18 40	Angers,	10 38		

Miles, 608.—Average produce, 1l. 14s. 9½d.

Guienne and Gascoign.

Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.
Bagnere de Lu-		Navarens,	22 45s.	St. Severe,	15 40s.
chon to Mon-		St. Palais,	15 40	Plaisance,	35 45
rejeau,	18 20s.	Anspan,	14 18	Beek,	17 45
Bagnere Bigore,	25 30	Bayonne,	12 20	Auch,	14 45
Pau,	32 40	Tartafs,	40 16		

Miles, 259.—Average produce, 1l. 13s. 9d.

I have not much apprehension that my estimate, of the lands in these provinces through which my route led me, is materially erroneous; but there is great reason to doubt, whether the tracks I travelled through be similar to the provinces at large. I have very little doubt, on the contrary, that the road conducted me, both in Bretagne and Guienne, through a track superior to the average of those countries. I was informed of some immense heaths in Bretagne, which had scarcely a house in ten leagues; and from the communication of a nobleman, perfectly well acquainted with the province, I have traced in the map a large track, in which the cultivation is quite inconsiderable—of such districts I saw little. And in Guienne, the *landes* of Bourdeaux have been notorious, and almost proverbial, for some centuries. I have been assured, that they do not contain less than 300 square leagues, or 1,468,181 English acres. It must not, however, be imagined, that all these, or nearly all, are waste; for the greater part is covered with pines that yield from 15s. to 20s. an acre. Much, however, is really waste and deserves the French appellation, *lande*. This immense district probably occupies about one-sixth part of all I have marked of Gascoign; five-sixths at the average noted, of 1l. 13s. 9d. and one-sixth, three-fourths at 15s. and one-fourth at 2s. 6d. being mere waste;—the medium of this sixth, therefore, is 11s. 10d.; or, for the whole, 1l. 10s. 1d.—The proportion of wastes, in Bretagne, is not well ascertained; I was assured, on no mean authority, that two-fifths of the whole province are uncultivated; and by a very intelligent nobleman, that even of 39 parts, 24 are *lande*, which amounts to three-fifths. And the author of the *Considerations sur le Commerce de Bretagne*, who knew it well, says, p. 30, that one-third of it is in that state. The part I visited, is not the worst; yet, from what

what I saw, I can easily credit there are three-fifths in that state. Anjou and Maine are equally noted for the immensity of their heaths (*bruyeres*), which are reported to extend 60 leagues at one place. In going from La Flèche to Tourbilly, I saw more than in any other quarter, but heard so much of them from persons I could depend upon, that I am clear my own notes of the country I passed through go a good deal beyond the fair average of the whole: a consideration which will induce me to calculate the three provinces of Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, with that part of Normandy not included in the rich loam division, at 28s. It would swell these papers too much, to specify all my reasons for this estimation, which I have not made without duly adverting to various circumstances that affect the produce in different quarters of these provinces.

Observations.

One pound eight shillings average produce of all the lands of Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and a considerable part of Normandy, some of which territories possess singular advantages, evidently marks the miserable state of agriculture. I am within bounds, when I offer the opinion, that the whole of this district, containing above fifteen millions of acres, and, with great probability, twelve millions capable of improvement, might be made to produce, on an average, 2l. 5s. per acre, without any extraordinary efforts, were the farmers induced to change their methods, and adopt new rotations of crops. Thus 17s. an acre would be gained to the community, which, on twelve millions, amounts to 10,200,000l. a year. Improvements, on the heaths of Bourdeaux, that is, in the Gascoign division, are not equally obvious, because on immense tracks the *proprietor* receives as much perhaps at present from pines, as he would receive were the whole in cultivation. But the difference to the nation is prodigious; it is not the net income of the landlord which makes a kingdom prosperous; it is the gross produce of the lands; this, on the heaths above-mentioned, would be trebled, though the landlords gained nothing. But there are on these heaths very considerable tracks not occupied by pines, but, on the contrary, left absolutely waste; I passed many of them which were noticed in other parts of this work; these are capable of as great an improvement as the heaths of Bretagne: at present, they produce nothing, but are all capable of yielding from 40s. to 50s. an acre. If, however, they were converted into *good* sheep-walk only, the advantage would be very considerable.

DISTRICT

DISTRICT OF CHALK.

Containing the Provinces of Champagne, Sologne, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois.

Acrofs Sologne. Miles, 50.—Average produce, 5s.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
ANGOUMOIS.—Cavignac to Monlieu,	15	4s. 6d.	Angoulême,	25	24s.
Barbefieux,	-	22	Verteuil,	-	27

Miles, 89.—Average produce, 1l. os. 8½d.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
POITOU.—Vivonne,	35	35s.	Poitiers,	12	25s.	Chateaurault,	25	25s.

Miles, 72.—Average produce, 1l. 9s. 10¼d.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
TOURAINÉ.—To Tours,	25	40s.	Amboise,	-	17
Saumur,	10	60	Blois,	-	25

Miles, 77.—Average produce, 2l. 9s. 1d.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
CHAMPAGNE.—Near Meaux to Cha-			La Loge,	-	12
teau Thiery,	30	40s.	Chalons,	-	12
Epernay,	-	25	Ove,	-	15
Rheims,	-	15	St. Menchoud,	15	27

Miles, 124.—Average produce, 1l. 13s. 5d.

I received no information relating to the parts of Poitou, Touraine, and Sologne, which I had not examined, that gives me reason to doubt of the general resemblance between the different districts of those provinces. I was, however, assured, that if I saw more of Angoumois, I should form a better opinion of it than from the part I had viewed: such hints, from persons of observation, ought not to be disregarded; and will induce me to suppose the average value something higher, *viz.* 1l. 4s.—This province is said, by an author who has written upon it, to contain—arable, 437,000 journals;—vines, 290,000;—grafs, 145,000;—woods, 107,400;—*chaumes*, 88,000;—total, 1,067,400. Beside forests and wastes.—What *chaumes* means, distinct from arable land, I know not; unless it be arable left to weeds for some years, after being exhausted by crops*. The case with Champagne is exceedingly different:—a very considerable portion of that province, which I did not view, is called *Pouilleux*, or lousy, from its poverty of soil—a poor hungry chalk. But my route, except from Rheims to Chalons, was in the vale of the Marne, and through the finest vineyards of the province. The provincial assembly of Chalons sent to the ministry a representation of the condition of the whole province, in which they gave a detail of its products as follows:

* *Essai d'une methode a etendre les Connoissances des Voyageurs*, par M. Meunier. 8vo. 1779. tom. ii. p. 176.

P R O D U C E.

Extent, in arpents, - 4,000,000	Of which wood, - 850,000
	meadow, - 150,000
	vines, - 100,000
	commons, - 97,000
	vague, - 160,000
	arable, - 2,643,000
	<hr/>
	4,000,000

Total gross produce, - 60,000,000 liv. — Or per arpent, - 15 liv.

Representations of this kind, however, are rarely deserving of much attention, in those circumstances that concern the value or income of land, for it is always the interest of such bodies to sink the value; and no doubt can be entertained in the present case; as it is impossible, that the valuation of 15 liv. can be just, if there be the quantity of vines, meadow, and arable lands here specified; since these alone must, in the nature of things, produce much more than 60,000,000 liv. For the vines at 150 liv.—the meadows at 80 liv.—and the arable at no more than 20 liv. amount to 79,860,000 liv.—If the wood were to yield no more than 10 liv. it adds 8,500,000 liv. making 88,360,000 liv. without reckoning a livre for the rest. Instead of 15 liv. per arpent on the whole, I have no hesitation at all in calculating at 25 liv. which makes 1l. 6s. 3d. per acre.

Recapitulation.

Sologne, 50 miles, at 5s.	-	£. 12 10 0
Angoumois, 89 at 1l. 4s.	-	106 16 0
Poitou, 72 at 1l. 9s. 10d.	-	107 9 6
Touaine, 77 at 2l. 9s. 1d.	-	188 19 5
Champagne, 124 at 1l. 6s. 3d.	-	162 15 0
<hr/>		<hr/>
412		578 9 11
		Average, 1l. 8s.

Observations.

The produce of these wretched provinces, rising so high as 28s. is, in a great measure to be ascribed to vines, which, it is always to be noted, is a branch of cultivation better understood than any other in France, if we may judge from the general success that attends it. Without the aid of the vineyards, the average produce of the chalk districts would be low indeed. Nothing can be worse cultivated, or rather more neglected. Sainfoin is known, and yet no use is made of it, comparatively speaking; so little understood, that I have seen the farmers sedulously summer-fallowing a field at no slight expence, in order to get some miserable rye and oats, while his adjoining field was abandoned to nature, as not worth cultivating. The chalk provinces contain 16 millions of acres: and the whole are susceptible of a very easy and obvious improvement, to the amount of 15s. an acre, which, on 12 millions only, would add nine millions sterling

sterling per annum to the wealth and prosperity of the nation; and would still be capable of much greater improvement, and yet would be far behind what we are well acquainted with in some parts of England:-

DISTRICT OF GRAVEL,

Contains Bourbonnois and Nevernois.

Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.
Autun to Luzy, 22	15s.	St. Poncrin, 30	26s.	Pogues, 8	30s.
Chavanne, 27	15	Roanne to Moulins, 45	15	La Charité, 8	25
Moulins, 10	15	St P. le Mont, 18	12	Pouilly, 9	50
Riaux, 10	12	Magny, - 7	30	Croiffiere, 47	25

Miles, 241.—Average produce, 1l. 0s. 6½d.

I saw too little of the Nevernois to judge of its equalizing what I remarked in other similar tracks, and therefore have given these products from information, on comparing them with other districts I knew much better. There are no particular circumstances that make the attainment of something approaching accuracy difficult. My information at Moulins was, that three-fourths of the Bourbonnois are heath, broom, or wood; if any thing like this be true, I certainly am not too low in the estimation, but probably above it.

Observations.

These must be ranked among the most improveable of the French provinces. The agriculture that is carried on here (1 fallow, 2 rye), is hardly better than that of Sologne, though the crops are superior. The whole country being inclosed, there is little wanted but to change the course of husbandry, and to multiply and improve the breed of sheep. A farmer, with a little money, and much skill, would no where make a fortune sooner than in the Bourbonnois.— These provinces, instead of 20s. an acre, ought to produce 33s. which, over more than three millions of acres, would be an improvement of some consequence to the nation.

DISTRICT OF STONY SOILS,

Contains Loraine, Bourgogne, Franche Compté, &c.

Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.	Miles.	Produce.
St. Menchoud to Metz, 62	27s.	Savern, 49	33s.	Dole, 10	30s.
Pont a Mousson, 17	36	Befort, 28	30	Dijon, 28	45
Nancy, 17	35	Beaume, 35	25	Beaune, 22	85
Luneville, 17	40	Belançon, 17	30	Mont Cenis, 28	40
		Orechamps, 22	30	Autun, 20	18

Miles, 362.—Average produce, 1l. 15s.

From information, on which I have reason to depend, I am inclined to believe, that the line traversed, in these provinces, is a good deal richer, and more cultivated than the average of them; which is a natural supposition, from the road

leading very much in vales by rivers, and by many considerable towns: on this account, it will be proper to make a deduction of 6s. an acre, and to calculate the average produce at 11. 9s.—Commons are of immense extent in Loraine, and yield scarcely any thing; for the cattle that are starved, rather than kept on them, are attended with the same loss, want, and even misery, which we see so often in England.—50s. an acre ought, moderately speaking, to be the produce of these provinces, in which I saw no bad land; or so little, as not to prevent any general conclusions. Here is, therefore, a deficiency of a guinea an acre over 15 or 16 millions of acres.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS,

Contains Limosin, Berry, and La Marche.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.	
Acrofs Berry,	60	30s.		La Marche and Limosin,	130	32s.
Miles, 190.—Average produce, 11. 11s. 4½d.						

These provinces are disgraced by miserable husbandry, though possessing the advantage of a good climate, and a soil almost every where good. Even the sands are of a quality which well adapts them to very profitable courses of husbandry, that are here utterly unknown. The produce, instead of 31s. ought to be 50s.—for the whole country that I saw is inclosed, and wants little more than a skilful variation in the courses of crops. Here is a loss of 19s. an acre over six or seven millions.

DISTRICT OF MOUNTAIN,

Contains Auvergn, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, &c.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		
Rouffillon,	56	30s.		Lodeve,	36	5s.		Le Puy,	15	25s.
LANGUEDOC.				Beziers,	40	15		Pradelles,	20	20
Narbonneto Nimes,	94	50		Carcassonne,	40	40		Thuytz,	20	2s. 6d.
Pont du Gard,	12	38		Fanjour,	16	30		Villeneuve,	22	10
Gange,	30	30		St. Martory,	86	27		Montelimart,	20	25
Miles, 507.—Average produce, 11. 8s. 6½d.										

DAUPHINE.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		
L'Oriol,	15	60s.		PROVENCE.			Tour d'Aigues,	20	30s.	
Pierelatte,	15	6		Avignon,	19	26s.		Marfeilles,	20	38
Orange,	20	28		Lisle,	16	60		Cuges,	21	25
Pont Beauvoisin to				Vaucluse,	20	45		Toulon,	20	10
Lyons,	46	35		Organ,	12	60		Hyères,	10	60
LYONNOIS.				Salon,	15	15		Frejus,	30	5
Les Arnas,	17	30		St. Canat,	20	28		Cano,	22	5
Roanne,	28	25		Aix,	12	60		Nice,	25	10
Miles, 423.—Average produce, 11. 8s. 8½d.										

AUVERGN.—Riom, 20 30s. | Briudé, 17 40s. | Fix, 20 15s.
Miles, 57.—Average produce, 11. 7s. 8d.

The

The author of the *Histoire des Plantes de Dauphiné*, says, in his preface, that if that province were divided into three parts, three-fourths of one would be cultivated; more than three-fourths of another mountains, and uncultivated; half the third mountain, and one-half in culture. I am inclined to think, that these notes do not materially vary from truth, except in the case of Languedoc, which here appears inferior in produce to what I conceive to be the fact, for reasons too complex to detail at present. I have reflected on various circumstances connected with this question, and believe I shall be well founded in estimating that province at 1l. 11s. instead of 1l. 8s. 6d.

507 miles, at 1l. 11s. per mile.—423 at 1l. 8s. 8½d.—57 at 1l. 7s. 8d.
Average, 1l. 9s. 9d.

Those of my readers, who have travelled only through the vale, so rich in various productions, that reaches from Narbonne to Nîmes; who have viewed the exuberant fertility of the watered grounds of Avignon to Vaucluse, or the rich borders of the Rhone at Montelimart, or the vale washed by the Isere, will find it difficult to believe, that provinces which can present such pictures of fertility should, on an average, produce no more than what has been stated; but they should have in their recollection the proportion of the whole district that is mountainous. None of the vales, through which I travelled, are of any considerable breadth, except the vicinity of Toulouze. That from Narbonne to Nîmes, which is the most celebrated for its productions, is no where more than a few leagues across: mountains are every where contiguous; and I crossed very extensive tracks of these that appeared to be the least productive of any land I saw in France. The Vivarais has been extolled for its cultivation; some vales and slopes undoubtedly evince much industry: but they are usually accompanied by tracks of ten and twenty times the extent that yield little. I must make the same remark on this district of mountain that I have done on so many other occasions; every part, except the rich vales, is capable of great and palpable improvement. I examined the mountains between Gange and Lodeve with attention, because they appeared to be in a state of the most miserable neglect, and the least productive of any I saw in Languedoc; and I am confident they might with great ease be made to produce four times as much as they yield at present, were they improved for sheep only. A system of tillage is too much introduced, by small proprietors, on all the mountains of France; they should be tilled with no other view than of being prepared for grasses, and for profit derived by means of sheep and cattle, especially the former. This vast portion of the kingdom, containing 28 millions of acres, might, with very moderate exertions be brought to produce 15 millions sterling more than at present; and still be far from that pitch of improvement of which it is really capable.

GENERAL

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

In order to ascertain the proportional areas of the several divisions into which I have thrown the kingdom, according to the soil of it, I procured a copy of the map to be made on a sheet of paper of equal and similar thickness, as exactly as could be chosen; and then cut out, with a fine pair of scissars, the several divisions, which were first weighed separately, and afterwards the whole together. All France weighed 413 weights, equal to one-fourth of a grain. The several divisions as follow:

The rich district of the N. E. 57 parts of 413.—The plain of the Garonne 24.—	
The plain of Alsace 2.—The Bas Poitou, &c. 6.	
RICH LOAM, - - - - -	89
Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and part of Normandy 48.—Part of Guienne and Gascon 32.	
HEATH, - - - - -	80
MOUNTAIN;—containing Auvergn, Languedoc, Rouffillon, Rouerge, Provence, and Dauphiné. (Of these Dauphiné by itself 14.)	90
CHALK,—containing Champagne, and parts of Angoumois, Poitou, Touraine, Isle of France, Sologne, &c.	52
GRAVEL,—containing the Bourbonnois, and Nevernois,	12
STONE,—containing Loraine, Franche Compté, Bourgogne, and part of Alsace,	64
SAND, granite, gravel, stone, &c. containing the Limosin, La Marche, Berry, &c.	26
	<u>413</u>

The question arising from these proportions, is the following:—If 413 give 131,722,295 acres, what will be the proportional quantities of these divisions respectively? The answers are these:

	Acres.	Acres.
Rich district of the N. E.	18,179,590	
Plain of the Garonne,	7,654,564	
Plain of Alsace,	637,880	
Bas Poitou, &c.	1,913,641	
Rich Loam,	<u> </u>	28,385,675
Bretagne, Anjou, &c.	15,307,128	
Guienne, &c.	10,206,085	
Heath,	<u> </u>	25,513,213
Mountain,	-	28,707,037
Chalk,	-	16,584,889
Gravel,	-	3,827,282
Stone,	-	20,412,171
Sand, &c.	-	8,292,444
		<u>131,722,711</u>
Error in weighing,		416

And

And the products of these divisions, according to the preceding minutes, are,

	Acres.	—	£. s. d.	—	£. s. d.
Rich Loam,	28,385,675	—	2 13 9½	—	76,345,638 7 9½
Heath, -	25,513,213	—	1 8 9½	—	36,754,972 9 6½
Mountain, -	28,707,037	—	1 9 9	—	42,701,717 10 9
Chalk, -	16,584,889	—	1 8 0	—	23,218,844 12 0
Gravel, -	3,827,282	—	1 0 6½	—	3,930,937 11 1
Stone, -	20,412,171	—	1 15 0	—	35,721,299 5 0
Sand, -	8,292,444	—	1 11 4½	—	12,950,133 11 3
	<u>131,722,711</u>		<u>1 15 1½</u>		<u>231,623,543 7 5½</u>

The measurement of the kingdom here given, includes its whole surface; roads, rivers, canals, towns, &c.; wherefore a deduction must be made from the total area, and also from the total produce, calculated at the above mentioned average per acre. Mr. Necker tells us, there are 9000 leagues of roads in France. Let us allow 10 toises of breadth, which is not too much, considering not only the great width of the roads themselves, but the waste of ground they occasion on each side; this will give for the whole 228,200 arpents of Paris, or 193,207 English acres. Rivers probably occupy a much larger space. If the number of acres be supposed 131,000,000, and the 722,711 be given up for all these deductions, we possibly may not be far from the truth; as it is to be remembered, that forests, woods, heaths, wastes, and commons, are included in the calculation.

	Acres.	—	£. s. d.	—	£.
Totals, -	131,722,711	—	1 15 1½	—	231,623,543
Deduct,	<u>722,711</u>	—		—	<u>1,268,506</u>
	<u>131,000,000</u>	—		—	<u>230,355,037</u>
	In livres tour.		40		5,240,000,000

The next inquiry, which is not unimportant, is concerning the division of this total produce into the most material articles that compose it, such as wheat and rye; vines; wood; arable land in general; meadow and pasture:—this is a much more difficult inquiry; for the data on which the calculation is to be made are uncertain, and disputed. By one writer *, the lands *in culture* are asserted to be 112,760,000 arpents. By another 70,470,000 †. By a third, 65,000,000 ‡. By a fourth, the arable is calculated at 40,000,000 §. Another makes 60,000,000 of winter and spring corn and fallow ||. Another, 18,000,000 of wheat and rye, as much of spring corn, and as much of fallow ¶. The authors of the Encyclopædia estimate the corn, cultivation, and fallow,

* The Maréchal de Vauban. † *Apol. sur l'Edict de Nantes.* ‡ Voltaire. § Du Pont; *de l'Exp. & Imp. des Grains Soissons.* 1764. p. 150. || *De l'Administ. des Finances,* par M. Málpart. 8vo. 1787. p. 31. ¶ *Recherches sur la Houille d'Engrais.* tom. ii. p. 3.

at 50,000,000 *. The marquis de Mirabeau makes the same 60,000,000 †; in which a later author ‡ agrees with him, calculating by the consumption of the people. Mons. Dellay d'Agier, in the National Assembly, calculated the arable at 70,000,000 §.—It is sufficiently evident, from the variety of these accounts, that their authors did not calculate on the same data. The common consumption of bread corn, by the people of France, is known, from many observations and experiments, to be 3 septiers a head for both sexes and all ages, on an average. Now, if we compute the people at 25,000,000 (and we cannot at a less number), this makes 75,000,000 of septiers, each of 240 lb. French weight, or 342,105,263 English bushels, at 57 lb. If, therefore, the average product be 18 bushels per acre, there are consequently 19,005,847 acres employed in raising that quantity of bread corn. Reckoning the seed at 2½ bushels an acre, there must be allowed farther 3,006,325 acres; in all 22,012,172 acres. But here it is necessary to remark, that many of the people in France eat but little rye, and no wheat: in part of Normandy and Bretagne, they live very much, though not entirely, upon buck-wheat. In Limosin, La Marche, and in part of Languedoc, they eat chesnuts abundantly; and through the southern parts of the kingdom, they are nourished principally by maiz. To suppose, therefore, that the quantity of land here noted is all under wheat or rye, would be a gross error. It is, however, very probable, that those two products, with maiz, do not occupy a less extent; which calculation would set the buck-wheat, millet, potatoes, chesnuts, &c. against that portion of wheat, rye, and maiz consumed by cattle and manufactures; but this supposition has no data for its foundation. There is a considerable export of wheat flour to the West-Indies, but no notice can be taken of it here, as the kingdom, on the other hand, imports largely.—About two-thirds of the arable lands in France, as I conjecture from reviewing the article of courses of crops, are under the rotation of three years, *viz.* 1, fallow; 2, wheat or rye; 3, spring corn, or some other course similar in its result. The other third is made up of a great variety of courses, that cannot be brought to a standard for drawing any conclusions. In some districts, the course is for two years; but in the greater part it is for more than three. Hence we may safely conclude, that the arable lands of the kingdom exceed rather than fall short of thrice 22 millions of acres, or in the whole 66 millions. I should conceive, that they cannot be less than 70. The fallows amount to 15 or 16 millions.

Vines.

Notwithstanding the aides and customs afford some assistance towards calculating the consumption and export of wine, yet it is very difficult to estimate

* Tom. vi. p. 533. Folio edit. † *Theorie de l'Impôt.* p. 142. ‡ *Credit National.* 1789. p. 102.
§ *Balancé du Commerce.* 1791. tom. 2. p. 220.

with

with any degree of certainty, the quantity of vineyards in the kingdom. Of this difficulty, we may judge, by observing the amazing difference in the reports of French writers. *Monf. le Trône* *, who appears generally very well informed, gives 1,600,000 arpents for their extent; this the same as the calculation of *M. de Mirabeau* †; but another writer, who published one year after only, calculates the quantity (however from very vague ideas) at 18,000,000 ‡. —*Monf. Lavoisier* supposes the produce 80,000,000 liv. §—The *œconomistes*, of the *Encyclopædie*, make the annual produce 500,000,000 liv. ||. This, at the average produce of 175 liv. per acre (see the chapter on vines) makes 2,857,142 acres. If we deduct from this sum of 500,000,000 liv. that of 40,000,000, which is nearly the export of wine and brandy, there will remain 460,000,000 liv. for the home consumption of France.—1*l.* per diem for 25,000,000 of people, amounts to 456,250,000 liv.; but I cannot conceive that this is an adequate allowance, poor as the lower classes are in France. Yet that the author of *Credit National* has committed a gross error, will appear from considering, that 18,000,000 of arpents de Paris, which is his calculation, producing in the proportion of 175 liv. per English acre, amount to about 3000 millions of livres; that is to say, nearly as much as many writers make the whole land produce of France. I cannot, however, agree, as I have just observed, to the calculation of 1*l.* per diem for the home consumption; the number of people in the kingdom, who either drink their own wine, or are provided with it by their masters, in both which cases the consumption is void of that œconomy which always takes place in a greater degree when the commodity is *bought*, must render such a calculation below the truth: for it is to be remembered, that the 1*l.* per diem is a mark only of that quantity of wine which 1*l.* represents in the market; but which, in so many instances, is neither bought nor sold. I met with labourers in Languedoc, who drank each three bottles of strong wine a day; and I saw, amongst the poor, in every part of the kingdom, an appearance of a pretty regular consumption, either of wine or cyder; and recourse was not had to water, but in case of failing crops. If, by calculating the consumption at 2*l.* a-day, I meant that so much *money* was thus *expended*, the idea would be absurd and extravagant; but in this case, through all the wine provinces, no *expenditure* takes place; an immense quantity is consumed which is neither bought nor sold—and which, in plentiful years, has no value: money is here merely a measure of quantity. *Price* considered, the consumption per head of 4½*l.* at Paris, is twenty times greater than 2*l.* for the whole kingdom. If the reader be not very careful in this combination, he must of necessity think the estimate high; but, taken as a calculation of the real money-payment, pro-

* *De l'Administration Provinciale de l'Impôt.* 8vo. 2 tom. 1788. tom. i. p. 293.

† *Theorie de l'Impôt.* p. 126.

‡ *Credit National.* 8vo. 1789. p. 106.

§ *Résultats d'un Ouvrage remis au Comité de l'Imposition.* 8vo. 1791. p. 35.

| Art. Grains.

bably would not be near 1*f*. But the soil as much produces wine that is given away, as wine that is bought. It is like that consumption of wood which the poor make in all countries by theft. When the space of land occupied by vines is the question, of what consequence is it whether the wine be bought, given, or stolen?—Upon the whole, I am inclined to calculate the vineyards of France at five millions of acres; in which case, their produce will amount to 875,000,000 liv. and the consumption of the people will be under 2*f*. a-head.—The consumption of Paris, according to the *entrees*, amounted to 36,000,000 liv. (See *M. Lavoisier Resultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, p. 43.) or near 4*f*. per head per diem; but this, as every one well knows, was not the whole; for it supposes nothing for contraband, which probably was not less than one-eighth, and which would make it nearly 4½*f*. a head.

Woods.

There is as great a difference in the calculation of the extent of woods, as of that of vines. The marquis de Mirabeau represents them as 30,000,000 of arpents *, in which another writer agrees †. But another allows only 6,000,000 ‡. And a third, 8,000,000 §.—Neither of the three gives any reasons whatever for his opinions; consequently they may be mere conjectures. There are two methods, by which some approximation to the truth may be gained; 1, by the maps of Cassini; 2, by the consumption of the people.—In examining the maps, I measured, as accurately as possible, the proportion of the space covered by wood in each map; and, from many experiments on 140 of them, I found the following result:—but, it is necessary to premise, that I suppose each map to contain one million of arpents, or acres; not because they are the real contents, but merely to be enabled from the total to calculate the proportion of the whole. The first of the following columns contains the number of maps, the second the proportion of the surface covered by wood; and the third the number of acres of wood, supposing each map to represent one million of arpents of country. Example of the first line; there are three maps, in which half of the contents is wood; and consequently, if those maps contain each one million of arpents, there are 1,500,000 arpents of wood.

		Arpents.			Arpents.			Arpents.
3	½	1,500,000	6	¼	750,000	12	⅓	800,000
16	⅓	5,333,000	10	⅕	1,111,000	6	⅙	375,000
3	⅙	750,000	14	⅒	1,400,000	2	⅙	110,000
13	⅙	2,600,000	9	⅙	750,000	16	⅙	800,000
16	⅙	2,666,000	2	⅙	154,000	1	⅙	33,000
9	⅙	1,285,000	2	⅙	140,000	—	—	—
60		14,134,000	103		18,439,000	140		20,557,000

* *Theorie de l'Impot.* p. 124.

† *Credit National.* p. 110.

‡ *Plan d'Administ. des Finances*, par M. Malpart. 8vo. 1787. p. 36.

§ M. Dellay d'Agier in the National Assembly.

Hence

Hence it appears, that the quantity of wood may (rejecting the fraction) be called one-seventh of the kingdom; and as there are 131,722,295 acres in it, the woods amount to 18,817,470 acres. Upon this result, it is to be observed, that none but woods of considerable extent are marked in the maps; or at least if marked, have not an extent sufficient to come into such an estimation: hence this method, of ascertaining the quantity, is confessedly imperfect: if the maps be tolerably accurate, we are certain, that this calculation is below the truth.— The next method of inquiry is by the consumption of the people; I took some notes concerning it, in different parts of the kingdom, which will assist the calculation.

Consumption.

Quantity per ann.	Value.	Paris cords.	Quantity per ann.	Value.	Paris cords.
Liancourt, the poorest family, 60 liv.			Dijon, 24,000 souls, 40,000		
Orechamps, a little auberge,			moedul, which is per family		
25 loads, -	200	7½	of 6 souls 10 moedul, 130		4½*
Auxonne, ditto, one fire, 200		7½	Riom, a poor family, 80		3
———— a poor family, 80		3	Clermont, ditto, 10 cord, 60		2½
Dijon, a poor family, 5½ mo-			Tour d'Aigues, the poorest		
edul at 4 cubical feet, 71		2½	family, 60 quintals, 60		2
			Average of the poor families, 70		2½

It is here proper to examine the consumption of Paris.

From 1731 to 1740, the quantity for which duty was paid at the gates was, on an average †, cords, 192,362
 In 1748, voyes, 350,000—In 1770, 550,000—In 1778, 630,000 †.

I have procured the following from the bureau.

In 1784, voyes, 669,017	In 1786, voyes, 602,314	In 1788, voyes, 608,403
1785, 592,311	1787, 584,602	1789, 619,900
Average of the six last years, 612,091.		

Charcoal.

In 1784, voyes, each of 16 boifeau, or 5 bushels English,	790,100
1785, - - - - -	783,319
1786, - - - - -	767,900
1787, - - - - -	795,001
1788, - - - - -	749,167
1789, - - - - -	687,429
Average, - - - - -	762,152
Equal to cords of wood to form it, -	38,107
Average of both wood and charcoal, - -	650,198

Monf. Neckér informs us, that the inhabitants are 660,000; if we call them 66,000 families, the consumption will be about 10 cords per family. The Dijon

* Exclusive of charcoal.

† *De la Lande des Canaux de Navigation.* p. 373.

‡ *Recherches sur la Houille d'Engrais,* par M. de Laille vault. 12mo. 1783. tom. ii. p. 21.

consumption of wood only per family, of ten moeul, at 64 cub. feet, is 640 feet, or 4½ Paris cords. The Paris consumption of both wood and charcoal, at 140 cub. feet is 1400 feet. The difference between these is not greater than would be reasonably expected, if we consider the manufactures of Paris, the vast number of great hotels, and its being the centre of all wealth and all luxury. We are farther to suppose the 5,709,270 souls, inhabitants of all the towns of France (which is the result of the late enumeration) to be, exclusively of Paris, 1,000,000 of families, and we may allow them by the Dijon register, charcoal included, five cords each. To the remainder of French population, viz. 4,000,000 of families, we will suppose 300,000, each at four cords; and 3,700,000 at 2½.

			Cords.
Paris at ten cords,	-	-	687,121
Other towns at five,	-	-	5,000,000
300,000 country families, at four,	-	-	1,200,000
1,700,000 ditto at 2½,	-	-	4,250,000
			<hr/>
			11,137,121

Which, at the average price of 30 liv. * is 334,113,630 †, or sterling £. 14,618,493.

We are, in the next place, to enquire into the produce of the woods of the kingdom. The following are the minutes:

Places.	Yrs. growth.	Produce per ann.	Produce per Eng. acre.	Places.	Yrs. growth.	Produce per ann.	Produce per Eng. acre.
Senar,	20	— 24 liv.	£.0 16 8	Metz,	20	— 10 liv.	£.0 15 0
Liancourt,	12	— 12	— 0 8 4	Luneville,	25	— 3	— 0 8 9
Falaife,	12	— 22	— 0 11 0	Besançon,	25	— 8	— 0 8 9
Normandy,	—	— 20	— 0 10 6	Do. near Forges,	—	— 12	— 0 12 9
Columiers,	9	— 20	— 1 0 0	Moulins,	15	— 3½	— 0 2 6
Mareuil,	20	— 15	— 0 10 6				
Braban,	20	— 12	— 0 18 4	Average,	17	— 13	— 0 12 0

It is on this to be observed, that the sums here noted are to be considered as net produce, or rent; and that consequently the gross produce is more considerable, as there are many expences to be deducted; these cannot make it less than 14s. an acre, or 16 liv. And in the calculations to be founded on this produce, no difference arises from the age at which the wood is cut: if at 20 years, it is 320 liv. per acre, that is, twenty times sixteen: if at 100 years, it is 1600 liv. &c.

Hence 14s. an acre being the annual produce, it will give 20,883,561 acres for the total of France.—Upon this, however, some observations are

* This the average of the notes.

† Monf. Lavoisier calculates the produce of all the woods of France at 120,000,000 liv. *Résultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, p. 35. I should probably be nearer the truth in asserting, that the consumption of manufactures alone amounts to this sum, than he is in calculating *the total* at no more. The utter impossibility of the truth of his estimate, will appear by the consumption of Paris only, being by his own account 27,500,000 liv.

necessarily,

necessary, or erroneous conclusions must be the consequence.—If it is objected, that there are many families so poor as to be utterly unable to afford 60 or 70 liv. for fuel; I grant it readily, but immense numbers burn, though they buy perhaps none; they steal it as in England, as I was very generally informed; but this mode of acquiring it does not affect the calculation, since the wood is as clearly produced by the soil as if all was bought: I am, however, of opinion, that there are many families too poor, and too badly situated, to be able by any means to command such a consumption. But, on the other hand, if we take into the account, as we ought to do, the vast iron forges which are so numerous in Franche Comté, the Limosin, Loraine, and other provinces; and the very considerable founderies, glass-houses, salt pans *, and other manufactures, which consume astonishing quantities of wood, we shall be inclined to think, that many such deficiencies are amply counterbalanced; not forgetting the consumption by house and ship-building.

Acres, by the maps of Caffini, 18,817,470.—By the consumption, 20,883,561.

Average of the two, 19,850,515.

Which, at 16 liv. per acre, is - 317,608,240 liv.—Or sterling, - £. 13,895,360.

The marquis of Mirabeau does not acquaint us with the data by which he calculated the quantity at 30,000,000; but as it is probable he went upon different grounds from those by which I have calculated, the two results may possibly be a confirmation of each other.

<i>Recapitulation.</i> —Arable lands,	-	-	-	70,000,000 acres.
Vines,	-	-	-	5,000,000
Woods,	-	-	-	19,850,000
				<hr/>
				94,850,000
Remains for meadows, permanent pastures, such wastes as do not produce wood; roads, rivers, ponds, &c.			-	36,872,711
				<hr/>
Total,	-	-	-	131,722,711

A modern author † has calculated the meadows at 15,000,000 of arpents, that is, at one-fourth of what he makes the arable land; I do not conceive, from the notes I took throughout the kingdom, that they amount to one-third of that quantity. The cattle of great tracks of arable are supported without any meadows, upon clover, lucerne, &c.; in whole provinces there are none, except on the banks of rivers—and of these the breadth is not considerable. The plough moves to the water's edge of the Marne; and wherever I saw the Loire, the meadows were very inconsiderable, and often none at all. Chalk hills

* The salins of Franche Comté and Loraine make 750,000 quintals, which costs 2 liv. per quintal in wood only; this is a consumption to the value of 2,500,000 liv. *Recherches & Consid. sur les Finances.* 8vo. 1789, tom.ii. p. 163, † *Credit National.* p. 105.

covered with wood, or gravelly plains under the plough are found on the Seine; much tillage on the Garonne; and vines and rocks on the Rhone. On the Soanne there are large tracks of meadow; but these are found more generally on the smaller than on the largest rivers, and, relatively to the quantity of arable land, are very insignificant. The same author remarks, that the vineyards appear to every one more extensive than meadows; consequently these do not amount to 5,000,000 of acres, the space covered by vines. We have found the gross produce of the kingdom, by another mode of calculation, to be 5,240,000,000 liv. or 230,516,263l. The details now explained, give the following result:

	Acres.	French money.	English money.
Arable land, - -	70,000,000	at 40 liv. 2,800,000,000 liv.	£. 122,860,583
Vines, - - -	5,000,000	175 875,000,000	38,225,250
Woods, - - -	19,850,000	16 317,608,240	13,895,360
Meadow and rich pasturage,	4,000,000	100 400,000,000	17,500,000
Lucerne, &c. - -	5,000,000	100 500,000,000	21,875,000
Pastures and wastes,	27,150,000	* 10 271,500,000	11,878,125
	<u>131,000,000</u>	<u>40</u> 5,164,108,240	<u>226,238,318</u>

Hence it is clear, that the latter calculation, which is made on different data from the other, is probably a moderate one. At the same time, it comes as near to it as can be expected, from such distinct variations in the mode of estimation. Vines, meadows, and lucerne, are the only objects here that admit of little improvement; and it would be well for France, if their extent were proportioned to their merit. The product of the arable land is doubtless very much beneath what it might be. The product of arable, in England, may be estimated, perhaps not remotely from truth, at 50s. an acre, or 15s. more than France; which makes, in 70 millions of acres, a difference of 52,500,000l. or, in French money, 1,200,000,000 liv.: and no one should consider this as the utmost term of improvement, since it includes all arable in England, great tracks of which are very ill cultivated. By an estimate, drawn up with much attention, the arable land in that kingdom, at the rent of 15s. *well managed*, yields an average produce of 3l. 14s. 7d. per acre, which is considerably more than double of the French produce. Twenty-seven millions of acres of pastures and wastes, one with another, at 10 liv. (more likely to be too high than too low an estimate), are a field for ample improvement. There are very few of these not susceptible of culture; but if ten millions of these acres were made, as they might be, to produce 40s. only an acre, the amount 20 millions sterling, would be a vast resource to the kingdom. Upon the question of the value of the gross produce of

* Monsr. Roland de la Platerie informed me, at Lyons, that in general waste lands are sold for one-third of the price of woods; if the produce be proportioned, this would make that of wastes 5 or 6 liv. per acre; but in the present case all *pastures* come into the calculation.

France, the French writers vary much. The marquis de Cassaux makes it 2,000,400,000 liv. or 87,517,500l. * Another late writer † 5,015,500,000 liv. or 219,428,125l. Another ‡ makes it 1,780,330,000 liv. which is 77,889,437l.— Monf. de Tolozan makes it 1,826,000,000 liv. or 79,887,500l. §. And Monf. Dellay d'Agier, of the National Assembly, 1,449,200 liv. ||.—These calculations being founded on no data that confer any authority, admit of no other merit than that of one conjecture being nearer the truth than another; but all are little more than guesses.—It is easier to calculate the produce of France than the rent of it, by reason of the various modes of letting or administering land. It will not, however, be far from the fact, to calculate the rent of the arable and lucerne at 15s. 7d. which is the average of my notes on that subject; the woods at 12s.—; the vines at their profit of 8½ per cent. on the purchase 45l.; the meadow at half produce, or 50 liv. that is 2l. 3s. 9d.; and the pastures and wastes at 2 liv. which is probably not too low, as they are, in so many districts, thrown into the bargain with the adjoining lands, in which case, though they are of essential consequence to the tenant in the produce, yet are they of none to the landlord.

Recapitulation.

	Acres.	Rent per acre.	Total.
Arable & lucerne,	75,000,000	at £. 0 15 7	£. 57,437,500
Woods, -	19,850,000	0 12 0	11,910,000
Vines, -	5,000,000	3 16 6	19,125,000
Meadow, -	4,000,000	2 3 9	8,750,000
Wastes, -	27,150,000	0 1 9	2,375,625
	131,000,000	0 15 10	99,898,125

While the produce of land in England is so much higher than in France, the landlord's rent is lower upon the whole; this is on account of the vines, which yield near one-fifth of all the rent of France. If, by net produce, we are to understand rent, and if it does not mean that, I know not what it can mean, the rent has been calculated by several writers. By M. de Forbonais ¶, at 800,000,000 liv.; this is 35,000,000l. which is not within two-thirds of the probable truth. Another **, at 1,794,000,000 liv. or 78,487,500l. A third makes so gross a blunder as to estimate it at only 23,000,000l. †† A fourth ††, that it is supposed to

* *Questions a examiner avant l'Assemblée des Etats Generaux.* p. 36. 1788. † *Apologie sur l'Edit de Nantes.* ‡ *La Subvention territoriale en nature, par M. Garnier de St. Julien.* 1789. 8vo. p. 24. § *Memoire sur la Commerce de la France.* 4to. 1789. p. 20. ¶ *Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. ii. p. 220. ¶ *Prospectus sur les Finances.* 1789. p. 11. ** *Credit National.* 1789. p. 136.

†† *Patullo's Essay on the cultivation of Bengal.* p. 5. Another work of this author, *Essai sur l'Amelioration de Terre.* 12mo. 1758, is much quoted by French writers.

‡‡ *Reflexions sur un question d'economie Pol.* par M. Varenne de Fenille. 8vo. 1790. p. 24.

exceed.

exceed 1,000,000 liv. or 43,750,000l. Monf. de Calonne *, from many comparisons, states it at 1,500,000,000 liv. or 65,620,000l. But what are we to think of the political information of the parliaments of the kingdom, which declared, that the taxes at 600 millions exceeded two-thirds, and even reached three-fourths of *l'entier revenu territorial de la France* ! †—By these expressions, they ought to mean the gross produce of the soil, and therefore were not near the truth by five-sixths.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Population of France.

AS the subject of population is best treated by an inquiry into the industry, agriculture, division of landed property, &c. I shall at present merely lay before the reader some facts collected with care in France, that afford useful data for political arithmeticians. Monf. L'Abbé Expilly, in his *Dictionnaire de la France*, makes the number 21,000,000. And the marquis de Mirabeau ‡ mentions an enumeration of the kingdom in 1755; total 18,107,000. In Normandy 1,665,200, and in Bretagne 847,500. Monf. de Buffon, in his *Histoire Naturelle*, assigns for the population of the kingdom 22,672,077. Monf. Mel-sance, in his *Recherches sur la Population*, 4to. 1766, gives the details from which he draws the conclusion, that in many towns in Auvergne the births are to the number of inhabitants as 1 to $24 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$; the marriages per annum 1 to 114 inhabitants; and families, one with another, composed of $5 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$, or 24 families contain 124 inhabitants. In various towns in the Lyonnais, births are to the inhabitants as 1 to $23 \frac{1}{2}$; the marriages per annum 1 to 111 persons; and families composed of $4 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$ ||; 80 families contain 381 inhabitants. In various towns in Normandy the births to the inhabitants as 1 to $27 \frac{1}{10}$; marriages per annum 1 to 114 persons; families are composed of $3 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$; 20 represent 76 inhabitants. In the city of Lyons families are composed of $5 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$; 60 represent 316 inhabitants; and there are a few above 24 persons per house in that city. In the city of Rouen families are composed of $6 \frac{1}{10}$ persons; and there are $6 \frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{10}$ persons per house. At Lyons 1 in $35 \frac{1}{2}$ dies annually; at Rouen 1 in $27 \frac{1}{2}$. Mean life in some parishes in the generality of Lyons 25 years; ditto in the generality

* *Requêt au Roi*. 8vo. 1787. p. 155. † *Arrêtés du Parlement de Grenoble* du 21, Aout 1787, du *Parlement de Toulouse* du 27, & du *Parlement de Besançon*, du 30.

‡ *L'Ami des Hommes*. 1760. 5th edit. tom. iv. p. 184. || The committee of mendicité asserts, that each family in France consists of five, as each has three children. *Cinquieme Rapport*, p. 34.

of Rouen 25 years 10 months. At Paris 1 in 30 dies annually; a family consists of 8, and each house contains 24½ persons. By comparing the number of births in every month at Paris, for forty years, he found that those in which conception flourished most were May, June, July, and August, and that the mortality for forty years was as follows :

Months.	Deaths.	Months.	Deaths.	Months.	Deaths.
March, -	77,803	February,	66,789	October,	54,897
April, -	76,815	December,	60,926	September,	54,339
May, -	72,198	June, -	58,272	November,	54,029
January,	69,166	July, -	57,339	August, -	52,479

It should appear from this table, that the influence of the sun is as important to human health as it is to vegetation. What pity that we have not similar tables of cities in all the different latitudes and circumstances of the globe.

At Clermont Terrand 1 in 38 dies annually.—At Carcassonne 1 in 22½.—At Valence 1 in 24½.—At Vitry le François 1 in 23½.—At Elbœuf 1 in 29½.—At Louviers 1 in 31½.—At Honfleur 1 in 24.—At Vernon 1 in 25.—At Gisors 1 in 29.—At Pont-au-de-Mer 1 in 33.—At Neufchatel 1 in 24½.—At Pont-l’Eveque 1 in 26.—At le Havre 1 in 35. Upon a comparison in seven principal provinces of the kingdom, population in 60 years has augmented in the proportion of 211 to 196, or a thirteenth. General deduction;—that the number of people in France in 1764 was 22,909,400. Mons. Moheau * gives to the best peopled provinces 1700 inhabitants per square league; and to the worst 500; the medium 872, at which rate he makes the total 23,500,000, and an increase of a ninth since 1688. The isle of Oleron is peopled at the rate of 2886 per league, and that of Ré 4205. He also calculates that 1 in 36 dies, and 1 in 26 is born every year. Mons. Necker, in his work *de l’Administration des Finances de la France*, has the following particulars, which it is also necessary to have in our attention:—Births in the whole kingdom per annum, on an average, of 1776, 77, 78, 79, and 80, were 963,207:—which, multiplied by 25½, the proportion he fixes on, gives 24,802,580 inhabitants in France. He notices the gross error of the *économistes*, in estimating the population of the kingdom at 15 or 16 millions.—A later authority, but given in whole numbers, and therefore not accurate, states the population of the kingdom at 25,500,000, of which the clergy are supposed to be 80,000, the nobility 110,000, protestants 3,000,000, and Jews 30,000 †: The committee of imposts assert, that to multiply the births in the cities of France by 30, will give their population with sufficient truth; but for the country not so high †. The rule of 30 would make the population 28,896,210. But much later than all these authorities, the National Assembly has ordered such inquiries to be made into the population of the kingdom, as have produced a

* *Recher. sur la Population de la France.* 8vo. 1778. de Condorcet, Peyssonnel, & le Chapelier. tom. iii.

† *Bibliothèque de l’Homme publique*, par Mess. *Rapport de Comité d’Impos. sur les Taxes.* p. 27.

much greater degree of accuracy than was ever approached before : this has been done by the returns of taxes, in which all persons, not liable to be charged, are entered in what we should call the duplicates ; and as the directions for making these lists are positive and explicit, and no advantage whatever results to the people by concealing their numbers, but, on the contrary, in many instances, they are favoured in taxation, by reason of the number of their children, we may surely conclude, that these returns are the safest guides to direct our calculations. Here follows the detail :

Etat général de la Population du Royaume de France.

No.	Noms des Départemens.	Population des villes & bourgs.	Pop. des vil- lages & des Campagnes.	Total de la population.	No.	Noms des Départemens.	Population des villes & bourgs.	Pop. des vil- lages & des Campagnes.	Total de la population.
1.	L'Ain, - - -	42,300	251,566	293,866		Brought forward,	2,447,880	10,019,531	12,599,677
2.	L'Aine, - - -	86,800	305,253	392,053	43.	Du l'Oriet, -	84,600	185,266	269,866
3.	L'Allier, - - -	42,800	203,180	246,080	44.	Du Lot - - -	55,100	212,900	268,000
4.	Les Hautes Alpes,	29,500	151,833	181,333	45.	Du Lot & Garonne,	39,200	262,666	308,666
5.	Des Basses Alpes,	18,060	180,606	198,666	46.	La Lozère, - -	19,400	176,226	195,626
6.	L'Ardeche, - - -	24,600	185,533	210,133	47.	De Maine & Loire,	94,000	200,666	294,666
7.	Les Ardennes, -	62,100	113,260	175,360	48.	La Manche, - -	88,100	242,566	330,666
8.	L'Arrièges, - - -	31,400	139,866	170,666	49.	La Marne, - - -	76,200	206,466	282,666
9.	L'Aube, - - - -	40,100	157,255	197,355	50.	La Haute Marne,	36,100	177,293	213,393
10.	L'Aude, - - - -	48,400	203,120	251,520	51.	La Mayenne, -	73,600	248,533	322,133
11.	L'Aveyron, - - -	46,500	250,235	296,635	52.	La Meurte, - -	65,900	314,366	380,266
12.	Les bouches du Rhône	163,200	158,933	322,133	53.	La Meuse, - - -	58,100	194,166	252,266
13.	Le Calvados, - -	105,350	329,850	435,200	54.	Le Morbihan, -	42,400	448,166	490,666
14.	Le Cantal, - - -	39,950	237,385	277,335	55.	La Moselle, - -	67,000	223,133	290,133
15.	La Charente, - -	44,700	224,060	268,160	56.	La Nyèvre, - -	34,500	218,100	252,600
16.	La Charente Infé- rieure, - - - -	89,120	279,306	368,426	57.	Le Nord, - - -	168,800	399,733	568,533
17.	Le Cher, - - - -	47,900	228,366	276,266	58.	L'Oise, - - - -	53,900	266,100	320,000
18.	La Corrèze, - - -	32,750	221,692	254,442	59.	L'Orne, - - - -	57,800	328,333	386,133
19.	La Corré, - - - -	-	-	132,266	60.	Du Paris, - - -	556,800	168,533	725,333
20.	La Côte d'Or, - -	59,350	367,983	427,333	61.	Le Pas de Calais,	79,600	507,066	586,666
21.	Les Côtes du Nord,	27,500	441,166	468,666	62.	Le Puy de Dome,	82,550	322,783	405,333
22.	La Creuse, - - -	22,800	244,293	267,093	63.	Les Hautes Pyrénées,	35,000	122,866	157,866
23.	La Dordogne, - -	51,900	353,433	405,333	64.	Les Basses Pyrénées,	55,490	232,465	286,955
24.	Le Doubs, - - - -	36,500	187,500	224,000		Des Pyrénées Orien- tales, - - - -	31,200	232,033	263,233
25.	La Drome, - - - -	29,900	194,100	224,000	65.	Le Haut Rhin, -	29,500	276,633	306,133
26.	L'Eure, - - - - -	76,600	323,400	400,000	67.	Le Bas Rhin, - -	90,500	272,366	362,666
27.	L'Eure et Loire, -	44,350	186,050	230,400	68.	Le Rhone & Loire,	215,400	460,440	675,840
28.	Le Finistère, - -	63,000	417,000	480,000	69.	La Haute Szone,	18,700	231,966	250,666
29.	Du Gard, - - - -	100,700	124,900	225,600	70.	Saone & Loire, -	60,100	342,033	402,133
30.	De la Haute Garonne,	71,600	182,053	253,653	71.	La Sarthe, - - -	66,500	296,166	362,666
31.	Du Gers, - - - - -	54,600	214,200	268,800	72.	Seine & Oise, -	105,900	214,100	320,000
32.	La Gironde, - - -	200,000	408,000	608,000	73.	Le Seine Inférieure,	184,550	261,316	445,866
33.	D'Hérault, - - - -	108,700	155,833	264,533	74.	La Seine & Marne,	52,300	293,300	345,600
34.	L'Ille et Villaine,	50,800	439,866	490,666	75.	Des deux Sevres,	56,300	187,033	243,333
35.	L'Indre, - - - - -	50,550	219,750	270,400	76.	La Somme, - - -	91,600	294,533	386,133
36.	L'Indre et Loire,	82,500	267,366	349,866	77.	Le Tarn, - - - -	51,900	171,500	223,400
37.	L'Isère, - - - - -	33,700	269,873	303,573	78.	Le Var, - - - -	49,900	213,566	263,466
38.	Du Jura, - - - - -	30,900	212,700	249,600	79.	La Vendée, - - -	34,900	191,233	226,133
39.	Des Landes, - - -	36,500	109,700	146,200	80.	La Vienne, - - -	48,700	232,900	281,600
40.	Loire et Cher, - -	51,400	207,800	259,200	81.	La Haute Vienne,	41,300	140,033	181,333
41.	La Haute Loire,	41,100	172,233	213,333	82.	Les Vosges, - -	22,200	291,800	320,000
42.	La Loire Inférieure,	108,100	399,633	507,733	83.	L'Yonne, - - - -	72,900	366,666	439,466
	Carry forward,	2,447,880	10,019,531	12,599,677		Total, - - - -	5,709,270	20,521,538	26,363,074

Estimating the acres at 131,722,295, and the people as here detailed, we find that it makes, within a small fraction, five acres a head. That proportion would

would be 131,815,270 acres. If England were equally well peopled, there should be upon 46,915,933 acres rather more than 9,000,000 souls. And for our two islands, to equal France in this respect, there should be in them 19,867,117 souls; instead of which there are not more than 15,000,000.

An observation, rather curious, may be made on this detail; it appears, that less than one-fourth of the people inhabit towns; a very remarkable circumstance, because it is commonly observed, and doubtless founded on certain facts, that in flourishing countries the half of a nation is found in towns. Many writers, I believe, have looked upon this as the proportion in England: in Holland, and in Lombardy, the richest countries in Europe, the same probably obtains. I am much inclined to connect this singular fact, relating to France, with that want of effect and success in its agriculture, which I have remarked in almost every part of the kingdom; resulting also from the extreme division of the soil into little properties. It appears likewise, from this detail, that their towns are not considerable enough to give that animation and vigour to the industry of the country, which is best encouraged by the activity of the demand which cities afford for the products of agriculture. A more certain and unequivocal proof of the justice of my remarks, on the too great and mischievous division of landed property and farms in that kingdom could hardly have arisen: and it yields the clearest conviction, that the progress of national improvement has been upon the whole but small in France. The manufactures and commerce of the kingdom must have made a less advance than one would have conceived possible, not to have effected a proportion far different from this of a fifth. A really active industry, proportioned to the natural resources of the kingdom, should long ago have *purged the country* (to use an expression of Sir James Stuart's), of those superfluous mouths,—I do not say hands; for they eat more than they work; and it is their want of employment that ought to drive them into towns.—Another observation is suggested by this curious table of population: I have repeatedly, in the diary of my journey, remarked, that the near approach to Paris is a desert compared with that to London; that the difference is infinitely greater than the difference of their population; and that the want of traffic, on the high roads, is found every where in the kingdom as well as at Paris. Now it deserves notice, that the great resort, which is every where observable on the high ways of England, flows from the number, size, and wealth of our towns, much more than from any other circumstance. It is not the country, but towns that give the rapid circulation from one part of a kingdom to the other; and though, at first sight, France may be thought to have the advantage in this respect, yet a nearer view of the subject will allow of no such conclusion. In the following list, the English column has surely the advantage:

English.	French.	English.	French.
London,	Paris,	Manchester,	Rouen,
Dublin,	Lyons,	Birmingham,	Lille,
Edinburgh,	Bourdeaux,	Norwich,	Nismes,
Liverpool,	Marfeilles,	Corke,	St. Malo,
Bristol,	Nantes,	Glasgow,	Bayonne,
Newcastle,	Havre,	Bath.	Verfailles.
Hull,	Rochelle,		

The vast superiority of London and Dublin, to Paris and Lyons, renders the whole comparison ridiculous. I believe London, without exaggeration, to be alone equal to Paris, Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Marfeilles, as appears by the lists of population, and by the wealth and trade of all. But if we reflect, that the towns of England, &c. are portions of a population of 15 millions only, and those of France parts of 26 millions, the comparison shews at once the vastly greater activity there must be in one country than in the other *.

Of all the subjects of political œconomy, I know not one that has given rise to such a cloud of errors as this of population. It seems, for some centuries, to have been considered as the only sure test of national prosperity. The politicians of those times, and the majority of them in the present, have been of opinion, that, to enumerate the people, was the only step necessary to be taken, in order to ascertain the degree in which a country was flourishing. Two-and-twenty years ago, in my *Tour through the North of England*, 1769, I entered my caveat against such a doctrine, and presumed to assert, *that no nation is rich or powerful by means of mere numbers of people; it is the industrious alone that constitute a kingdom's strength*; that assertion I repeated in my *Political Arithmetic* 1774; and in the second part, 1779, under other combinations. About the same time a genius of a superior cast (Sir James Stuart), very much exceeded my weak efforts, and, with a masterly hand, explained the principles of population. Long since that period, other writers have arisen who have viewed the subject in its right light; and of these none have equalled Mons. Herenschwandt, who, in his *Economie Politique Moderne*, 1786; and his *Discours sur la Division des Terres* *, 1788, has almost exhausted the subject. I shall not, however, omit to name the report of the committee of *mendicité* in the National Assembly. The following passage does the highest honour to their political discernment:—"C'est ainsi que malgré les assertions, sans cesse répétées depuis vingtans, de tous les écrivains

* What can be thought of those marvellous politicians, the nobility of Dourdon, who call for entrées at the gates of the cities, not as a good mode of taxation, but to restrain the too great populousness of cities, "which never takes place but by the depopulation of the country." *Cabier*, p. 20. The count de Mirabeau, in his *Monarchie Prussienne*, recurs often to the same idea.---He was grossly erroneous, when he stated the subjects of the King of France as thrice more numerous than those of England, if he meant by England, as we are to suppose, Scotland and Ireland also. tom. i. p. 402.

* See particularly p. 48, 51, &c.

politiques qui placent la prospérité d'un empire dans sa plus grande population, une population excessive sans un grand travail & sans des productions abondantes, seroit au contraire une dévorante surcharge pour un état ; car, il faudroit alors que cette excessive population partageât les bénéfices de celle qui, sans elle, eût trouvé une subsistance suffisante ; il faudroit que la même somme de travail fut abandonnée à une plus grande quantité de bras ; il faudroit enfin nécessairement que le prix de ce travail baissât par la plus grande concurrence des travailleurs, d'on resulteroit une indigence complète pour ceux qui ne trouveroient pas de travail, & une subsistance incomplète pour ceux-mêmes aux quels il ne seroit pas refusé *."—France itself affords an irrefragable proof of the truth of these sentiments ; for I am clearly of opinion, from the observations I made in every province of the kingdom, that her population is so much beyond the proportion of her industry and labour, that she would be much more powerful, and infinitely more flourishing, if she had five or six millions less of inhabitants. From her too great population, she presents, in every quarter, such spectacles of wretchedness, as are absolutely inconsistent with that degree of national felicity, which she was capable of attaining even under her old government. A traveller, much less attentive than I was to objects of this kind, must see at every turn most unequivocal signs of distress. That these should exist, no one can wonder who considers the price of labour, and of provisions, and the misery into which a small rise in the price of wheat throws the lower classes ; a misery, that is sure to increase itself by the alarm it excites, lest subsistence should be wanted. The causes of this great population were certainly not to be found in the benignity of the old government yielding a due protection to the lower classes, for, on the contrary, it abandoned them to the mercy of the privileged orders. It is fair, however, to observe, that there was nothing in the principles of the old government, so directly inimical to population, as to prevent its increase. Many croaking writers in France have repeatedly announced the depopulation of that kingdom, with pretty much the same truth and ingenuity that have been exercised on the same subject in England. Mons. Necker, in a very sensible passage, gives a decisive answer to them, which is at the same time thoroughly applicable to the state of England, as well as to that of France †. Nor can the great population of France be attributed to the climate, for the tables of births and burials offer nothing more favourable in that kingdom, than in our own. And a much worse climate in Holland and Flanders, and in some parts of Germany and Italy, is attended with a still greater populousness ‡. Nor is it to be

* *Plan de Travail du Comité pour l'extinction de la Mendicité présenté par M. de Liancourt.* 8vo. 1790. p. 6.

† *De l'Administ. des Finances. Oeuvres.* 4to. Londres. p. 320.

‡ A very ingenious Italian writer states the people of France at 1290 souls per league ; and in Italy at 1335. *Fabbroni Reflexions sur l'Agric.* p. 243.

imputed to an extraordinary prosperity of manufactures, for our own are much more considerable, in proportion to the number of people in the two countries.

This great populousness of France I attribute very much to the division of the lands into small properties, which takes place in that country to a degree of which we have in England but little conception. Whatever promises the appearance even of subsistence, induces men to marry. The inheritance of ten or twelve acres to be divided amongst the children of the proprietor, will be looked to with the views of a permanent settlement, and either occasions a marriage, the infants of which die young for want of sufficient nourishment * ; or keeps children at home, distressing their relations, long after the time that they should have emigrated to towns. In districts that contain immense quantities of waste land of a certain degree of fertility, as in the roots of the Pyrenees, belonging to communities ready to sell them, œconomy and industry, animated with the views of settling and marrying, flourish greatly : in such neighbourhoods something like an American increase takes place ; and, if the land be cheap, little distress is found. But as procreation goes on rapidly, under such circumstances, the least check to subsistence is attended with great misery ; as wastes becoming dearer, or the best portions being sold, or difficulties arising in the acquisition ; all which cases I met with in those mountains. The moment any impediment happens, the distress of such people will be proportioned to the activity and vigour which had animated population. It is obvious, that in the cases here referred to, no distress occurs, if the manufactures and commerce of the district are so flourishing as to demand all this superfluity of rural population as fast as it arises ; for that is precisely the balance of employments which prevails in a well regulated society ; the country breeding people to supply the demand and consumption of towns and manufactures. Population will, in every state, increase perhaps too fast for this demand. England is in this respect, from the unrivalled prosperity of her manufactures, in a better situation than any other country in Europe ; but even in England population is sometimes too active, as we see clearly by the dangerous increase of poor's rates in country villages ; and her manufactures being employed very much for supplying foreign consumption, they are often exposed to *bad times* ; to a slack demand, which turns thousands out of employment, and sends them to their parishes for support. Since the conclusion of the American war, however, nothing of this kind has happened ; and the seven years which have elapsed since that period, may be named as the most decisively prosperous which England ever knew. It has been

* Mons. Necker, in the same section as that quoted above, remarks this to be the case in France ; and justly observes, that the population of such a country being composed of too great a proportion of infants, a million of people implies neither the force nor labour of a million in countries otherwise constituted.

said to me in France, Would you leave uncultivated lands waste, rather than let them be cultivated in small portions, through a fear of population?—I certainly would not: I would, on the contrary, encourage their culture; but I would prohibit the division of small farms, which is as mischievous to cultivation, as it is sure to be distressing to the people. The indiscriminate praise of a great sub-division, which has found its way unhappily into the National Assembly, must have arisen from a want of examination into facts: go to districts where the properties are minutely divided, and you will find (at least I have done it universally), great distress, and even misery, and probably very bad agriculture. Go to others, where such sub-division has not taken place, and you will find a better cultivation, and infinitely less misery; and if you would see a district, with as little distress in it as is consistent with the political system of the old government of France, you must assuredly go where there are no little properties at all. You must visit the great farms in Beauce, Picardy, part of Normandy, and Artois, and there you will find no more population than what is regularly employed and regularly paid; and if in such districts you should, contrary to this rule, meet with much distress, it is twenty to one but that it is in a parish which has some commons that tempt the poor to have cattle—to have property—and, in consequence, misery. When you are engaged in this political tour, finish it by seeing England, and I will shew you a set of peasants well clothed, well nourished, tolerably drunken from superfluity, well lodged, and at their ease; and yet amongst them, not one in a thousand has either land or cattle. When you have viewed all this, go back to your tribune, and preach, if you please, in favour of a minute division of landed property. There are two other gross errors, in relation to this subject, that should be mentioned; these are, the encouragements that are sometimes given to marriage, and the idea of the importance of attracting foreigners. Neither of these is at all admissible on just principles, in such a country as France. The predominant evil of the kingdom, is the having so great a population, that she can neither employ, nor feed it: why then encourage marriage? would you breed more people, because you have more already than you know what to do with? You have so great a competition for food, that your people are starving or in misery; and you would encourage the production of more to increase that competition. It may almost be questioned, whether the contrary policy ought not to be embraced? whether difficulties should not be laid on the marriage of those who cannot make it appear that they have a prospect of maintaining the children that shall be the fruit of it? But why encourage marriages which are sure to take place in all situations in which they ought to take place?—There is no instance to be found of plenty of regular employment being first established, where marriages have not followed in a proportionate degree. The policy, therefore, at best,

is useless, and may be pernicious. Nor is the attraction of foreigners desirable in such a kingdom as France. It does not seem reasonable to have a peasantry half-starved for want of employment, arising from a too great populousness; and yet, at the same time, to import foreigners, to increase the competition for employment and bread, which are insufficient for the present population of the kingdom. This must be the effect, if the new comers be industrious; if they belong to the higher classes, their emigration from home must be very insignificant, and by no means an object of true policy; they must leave their own country, not in consequence of encouragement given in another, but from some strokes of ill policy at home. Such instances are indeed out of the common course of events, like the persecutions of a duke d'Alva, or the revocation of the edict of Nantes. It is the duty of every country, to open its arms, through mere humanity, to receive such fugitives; and the advantages derived from receiving them may be very considerable, as was the case with England. But this is not the kind of emigrations to which I would allude, but rather to the establishment of such colonies as the King of Spain's, in the Sierra Morena. German beggars were imported, at an immense expence; and supplied with every thing necessary to establish little farms in those deserts; whilst at the same time, every town in Spain swarmed with multitudes of idle and poor vagrants, who owed their support to bishops and convents. Suppress gradually this blind and indiscriminate charity, the parent of infinite abuse and misery, and at the same time give similar employments to your own poor; by means of this policy, you will want no foreigners; and you may settle ten Spanish families for the expence of one German. It is very common to hear of the want of population in Spain, and some other countries; but such ideas are usually the result of ignorance, since all ill governed countries are commonly too populous. Spain, from the happiness of its climate, is greatly so, notwithstanding the apparent scarcity of inhabitants; for, as it has been shewn above, that country which has more people than it can maintain by industry, who must either starve, or remain a dead weight on the charity of others, is manifestly too populous*; and Spain is perhaps the best peopled country in Europe, in proportion to its industry. When the great evil is having more people than there is wisdom, in the political institutes of a country to govern, the remedy is not by attracting foreigners—*it lies much nearer home.*

* An Italian author, with whom I had the pleasure of conversing at Turin, justly observes, "Quante la popolazione proporzionata ai prodotti della natura e dell' arte è vantaggiosa ad una nazione, altrettanto è nociva una popolazione soverchia." *L'Abbate Vasco, Risposta al quesito proposto dalla Reale Accad. delle Scienze, &c.* 8vo. 1788. p. 85.

CONSUMPTION.

Twenty Years Consumption at Paris, of Oxen, Calves, Sheep, and Hogs, as entered in the Books of the Entrées.

Years.	Oxen.	Calves.	Sheep.	Hogs.	Years.	Oxen.	Calves.	Sheep.	Hogs.
1767,	68,763	106,579	358,577	37,899	1777,	71,755	104,600	343,300	35,823
68,	69,985	112,949	344,320	32,299	78,	73,606	107,292	328,868	36,204
69,	66,586	111,608	333,916	36,186	79,	73,468	99,952	324,028	38,211
70,	66,818	110,578	335,013	36,712	80,	71,488	104,825	308,043	41,419
71,	65,360	107,598	314,124	30,753	81,	70,484	99,533	317,681	41,205
72,	63,390	101,791	293,946	28,610	82,	72,107	100,706	316,563	44,772
73,	65,324	99,749	309,137	29,391	83,	71,042	98,478	321,627	39,177
74,	68,025	103,247	309,573	30,032	84,	72,984	100,112	327,034	39,621
75,	68,306	109,235	309,662	32,722	85,	73,846	94,727	332,628	28,697
76,	71,208	102,291	328,505	37,740	86,	73,088	89,575	328,699	39,572

Average.—Oxen, 69,883. Calves, 103,271. Sheep, 323,762. Hogs, 36,332.

These are the quantities for which duties are paid; but it is calculated by the officers of the customs, that what enters contraband, and for which nothing is paid, amounts to one-sixth of the whole*.

The consumption of flour is 1500 sacks per diem, each weighing 320 lb. requiring nine septiers of corn to yield four of those sacks, or 3375 septiers per diem. This is, per annum, 1,231,875 septiers; the French political arithmeticians agree in calculating the consumption of their people per head, at three septiers for the whole kingdom on an average; but this will not lead us to the population of the capital, as the immense consumption of meat in it must evidently reduce considerably that proportion. It may probably be estimated at two septiers, which will make the population 615,937 souls. *Monf. Necker's* account of the population was 660,000. The enumeration in 1790 made the numbers no more than 550,800; and there are abundant reasons for believing the assertion, that this capital was diminished by the revolution in that proportion at least. This point is, however, ascertained by the consumption, which is now 1350 sacks a day, or reduced one-tenth, which, at two septiers of corn, implies a population of 554,344; and as this comes within 2000 of the actual enumeration, it proves that two septiers a head is an accurate estimate; and though it does not perfectly agree with *Monf. Necker's* account of the former population

* To some it may appear strange, how such a commodity, as live oxen, can be smuggled in great quantities; but the means of doing it are numerous; one was discovered, and many more of the same sort are supposed to exist undiscovered: a subterraneous passage was pierced under the wall, going from a court-yard without the wall, to a butcher's yard within; and whole droves of oxen, &c. entered by it in the night for a long time, before it was known. The officers of the barriers are convinced, that, on an average of commodities, one-sixth is smuggled.

of Paris, yet it is much nearer to it than the calculations made to correct that account, by Dr. Price, and by the very able and ingenious political arithmetician, Mr. Howlet. As the late enumeration shews the population of Paris to have been (proportionably to the consumption of corn) 615,937 souls, when its births amounted to 20,550, this fact confirms the general calculation in France, that the births in a great city are to be multiplied by 30; for the above-mentioned number, so multiplied, gives 616,500, which comes so near the truth, that the difference is not worth correcting. M. Necker's multiplier is confirmed clearly; and the event, which gives to France a population of 26,000,000, has proved, that Dr. Price, who calculated them at above 30,000,000, was as grossly mistaken in his exaggeration of French populousness, as Mr. Howlet has shewn him to be in his diminution of that of England. It seems indeed to have been the fate of that calculator to have been equally refuted upon almost every political subject he handled; the mischief of inclosures—the depopulation of England—the populousness of France—and the denunciation of ruin he pronounced so authoritatively against a variety of annuitant societies, that have flourished almost in proportion to the distresses he assigned them. The consumption of wine at Paris, on an average of the last twenty years, has been from 230,000 to 260,000 muids per annum; average, 245,000. In 1789 it sunk rather more than 50,000 muids, by smuggling, during the confusions of that period. In 245,000 muids there are 70,560,000 Paris pints, or English quarts, which makes the daily consumption 193,315 quarts; and if to this, according to the computation of the *commis* of the barriers, one-sixth is to be added for smuggling, it makes 225,534, which is one-third of a quart, and one-tenth of that third per head per diem. The consumption of meat is very difficult to be calculated, because the weight of the beasts is not noted; I can guess at it only, and therefore the reader will pay no other attention to what follows than to a mere conjecture. I viewed many hundreds of the oxen, at different times, and estimate the average of those I saw at sixty stone; but as there are doubtless many others smaller, let us calculate at 50 or 700 lb. and let us drop smuggling in these cases, since though it may, on the whole, be one-sixth yet it cannot be any thing like that in these commodities; the calves at 120lb. the sheep at 60lb. and the hogs at 100lb.

Oxen,	-	-	69,883, at 700 lb.	48,918,100 lb.
Calves,	-	-	103,271, at 120	12,392,520
Sheep,	-	-	323,762, at 60	19,425,720
Hogs,	-	-	36,332, at 100	3,633,200
Total *,	-	-	-	84,369,540.

* Long since this was written, I received Monk Lavoisier's *Resultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, in which he gives a table of the Paris consumption; but I do not know on what authority, for the weight per head he makes the total of all meats 82,300,000 lb.

This quantity divided amongst a population of 615,937, gives to each person 136 lb. of meat for his annual consumption, or above one-third of a pound per diem. During the same twenty years, the consumption of London was, on an average, per annum, 92,539 oxen, and 649,369 sheep *. These oxen probably weighed 840 lb. each, and the sheep 100 lb.; which two articles only, without calves or hogs, make 142,669,660; yet these quantities do not nearly contain the whole number brought to London, which, for want of such taxes as at Paris, can be discovered with no certainty. The consumption of Brest is registered for the year 1778, when 22,000 people, in 1900 houses, consumed 82,000 boifeau, each 150 lb. of corn of all sorts; 16,000 bariques of wine and brandy, and 1000 of cyder and beer †. This consumption amounted to per head—corn 2½ septiers, of 240 lb. per annum;—wine, brandy, beer, and cyder, one-third of a quart per head per diem. Nancy, in 1733, when it contained 19,645 souls, consumed,

Oxen, 2402.—Calves, 9073.—Sheep, 11,863.—Total, 23,338.

It consumed, therefore, more than one of these pieces per head of its population. In 1738, when it contained 19,831 souls, it consumed,

Oxen, 2309.—Calves, 5038.—Sheep, 9549.—Total, 16,896 ‡.

Above three-fourths each. The consumption of Paris is three-fourths of one of these beasts per head of population. As the finest cattle in the kingdom are sent to the capital, the proportions in number ought to be less; but the wealth of that capital would have justified the supposition of a still greater comparative consumption.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Police of Corn in France.

OF all subjects, there is none comparable to the police of corn, for displaying the folly to which men can arrive, who do not betray a want of common sense in reasoning on other topics. One tells us (I confine myself chiefly to French authorities, engaged as I am at present in researches in that kingdom), that the price is in exact proportion to the quantity of corn, and to the quantity of money at the same time in the kingdom ||; and that when wheat sells at 36 liv. the septier, it is a proof there is not half enough to last till harvest §.—

* *Report of the Com. of the Court of Common Council.* 1786. Folio. p. 75. † *Encyclop. Methodique Marine*, t. i. part 1. p. 198. ‡ *Descrip. de la Lorraine*, par M. Durival. 3 tom. 4to. 1778. t. ii. p. 5.

§ *Confid. sur la Liberté des Grains*, par M. Vaudrey. 1789. 8vo. p. 5. § lb. p. 7, 8, 19.

He proposes to have magazines in every market, and to prohibit, under severe penalties, a higher price than 24 liv. This would be the infallible method to have it very soon at 50, and perhaps 100 liv. That the price of corn does not depend on the quantity of money, is proved by the sudden rise proceeding from alarms, of which this author might have known an instance in the year he printed; for Mons. Necker's memoir to the National Assembly was no sooner dispersed, than the price rose in one week 30 per cent.; yet the quantity in the kingdom, both of money and corn, remained just as before that memoir was published. But it has already been sufficiently proved, that a very small deficiency of the crop will make an enormous difference in the price. I may add, that the mere apprehension of a deficiency, whether ill or well founded, will have the same effect. From this circumstance, I draw a conclusion of no trifling import to all governments; and that is, never to express publicly any apprehension of a want of corn; and the only method by which governments can express their fears, is by proclamations against export; prohibitions; ordonances of regulation of sale; arrets, or laws against monopolizers; or vain and frivolous boasts, like those of Mons. Necker, of making great imports from abroad—all these measures have the same tendency; they confirm amongst the people the apprehension of want; for when it is found, amongst the lowest orders, that government is alarmed as well as they themselves, their own fears augment; they rise in a rage against monopolizers, or speculators, as they ought rather to be called, and then every step they take has the never-failing effect of increasing the evil; the price rises still higher, as it must do inevitably, when such furious obstructions are thrown on the interior trade in corn, as to make it a matter of great and serious danger to have any thing to do with it. In such a situation of madness and folly in the people, the plenty of one district cannot supply the want of another, without such a monstrous premium, as shall not only pay the expence of transport, but insure the corn, when lodged in granaries, against the blind and violent suspicions of the people. To raise this spirit, nothing more is necessary than for government to issue any decree whatever that discovers an alarm; the people immediately are apprehensive of famine; and this can never take place without creating it in a great measure. It is therefore the duty of a wise and enlightened government, if at any time they should fear a short provision of corn, to take the most private and cautious measures possible, either to prevent export, or to encourage import, and to avoid making any public decree or declaration. The history of corn, in France, during the year 1789, was a most extraordinary proof of the justness of these principles. Wherever I passed, and it was through many provinces, I made inquiries into the causes of the scarcity; and was every where assured, that the dearness was the most extraordinary circumstance in the world; for, though the crop had not been great, yet
it

it was about an average one; and consequently, that the deficiency must certainly have been occasioned by exportation. I demanded, if they were sure that an exportation had taken place?—They replied, no; but that it might have been done privately: this answer sufficiently shewed, that these exports were purely ideal. The dearth, however, prevailed to such a degree, in May and June particularly (not without being fomented by men who sought to blow the discontents of the people into absolute outrage), that *Monf. Necker* thought it right not only to order immense cargoes of wheat, and every other sort of corn, to be bought up all over Europe, but likewise, in June, to announce to the public, with great parade, the steps that he had taken, in a paper called *Mémoire instructif*, in which he stated, that he had bought, and ordered to be bought, 1,404,463 quintaux of different sorts of grain, of which more than 800,000 were arrived. I was a personal witness, in many markets, of the effect of this publication; instead of sinking the price, it raised it directly, and enormously. Upon one market-day, at Nangis, from 38 liv. to 43 liv. the septier of 240 lb.; and upon the following one to 49 liv. which was July 1st; and on the next day, at Columiers, it was taxed by the police at 4 liv. 5s. and 4 liv. 6s. the 25 lb.; but as the farmers would not bring it to market at that price, they sold it at their farms at 5½ liv. and even 6 liv. or 57 liv. the septier. At Nangis it advanced, in 14 days, 11 liv. a septier; and at Columiers a great deal more. Now, it is to be observed, that these markets are in the vicinity of the capital, for which *Monf. Necker's* great foreign provision was chiefly designed; and consequently, if his measures would have had any where a good effect, it might have been expected here; but since the contrary happened, and the price, in two markets, was raised 25 per cent. we may reasonably conclude, that it did good no where; yet, as appeared to the *Comptes Rendus*, this fine measure cost 40 millions of livres. But to what was this apparent scarcity imputable? Absolutely to *Monf. Necker's* having said, in his memoir, “à mon arrivée dans la ministère je me bêtai de prendre des informations sur le produit de la récolte & sur les besoins des pays étrangers*.” It was from these unseasonable inquiries, in
September

* He has introduced a tissue of the same stuff in his *Memoir sur L'Administration de M. Necker, par lui même*, p. 367, where he says, with the true ignorance of the prohibitory system, “Mon système sur l'exportation des grains est infiniment simple, ainsi que j'ai en souvent l'occasion de le développer; il se borne à n'en avoir aucun d'immuable, mais à défendre ou permettre cette exportation selon le temps & selon les circonstances.” When a man starts upon a rotten foundation, he is sure to flounder in this manner; the simplicity of a system to be new-moulded every moment, “selon le temps & selon les circonstances!” And who is to judge of these seasons and circumstances? A minister? A government? These, it seems, are to promulgate laws, in consequence of their having made inquiries into the state of crops and stocks on hand. What presumption; what an excess of vanity must it be, which impels a man to suppose, that the truth is within the verge of such inquiries; or, that

September 1788, that all the mischief was derived. They pervaded the whole kingdom, and spread an universal alarm; the price in consequence arose; and when once it rises in France, mischief immediately follows, because the populace, by their violence, render the internal trade insecure and dangerous. The business of the minister was done in a moment; his consummate vanity, which, from having been confined to his character as an author, now became the scourge of the kingdom, prohibited the export for no other reason, than because the archbishop of Sens had the year before allowed it, in contradiction to that mass of errors and prejudices which M. Necker's book upon the corn trade had disseminated. It is curious to see him, in his *Memoire instructif*, asserting, that France, in 1787, *etait livrée au commerce des grains dans tout le royaume, avec plus d'activité, que jamais & l'on avoit envoye dans l'étranger une quantité considerable de grains*. Now, to see the invidious manner in which this is put, let us turn to the register of the *Bureau General de la balance du Commerce*, where we shall find the following statement of the corn-trade for 1787:

that he is one line, one point nearer to it, after he has made them than before he began. Go to the Intendant in France, or to the Lord Lieutenant in England, and suppose him to receive a letter from government directing such inquiries;---pursue the intelligence,---follow him to his table for conversation on crops,---or in his rides among the farmers (an idea that may obtain in England, but never was such a ride taken by an Intendant in France) in order to make inquiries; mark the desultory, broken, and false specimens of the intelligence he receives,---and then recur to the *simplicity* of the system that is to be founded on such inquiries. Monf. Necker writes as if we were ignorant of the sources of his information. He ought to have known, that ministers can never procure it; and that they cannot be so good an authority for a whole kingdom, as a country gentleman, skilled in agriculture, is for his own parish; yet what gentleman would presume to pronounce upon a crop to the 360th part of its amount, or even to the 20th? But it must be observed, that all Monf. Necker's *simple* operations, which caused an unlimited import, at an unlimited expence, affected not one 200th part of a year's consumption by the people, whose welfare he took upon him to superintend. If this plain fact---the undoubted ignorance of every man what the crop is, or has been, in such fractions as $\frac{1}{360}$, $\frac{1}{180}$, $\frac{1}{90}$, and much more $\frac{1}{2000}$, be well considered, it will surely follow, that an absolute and unbounded liberty in the corn trade is infinitely more likely to have effect, than such paltry, deceitful, and false inquiries as this minister, with his system of complex *simplicity*, was forced, according to his own account, to rely upon. Let the reader pursue the passage, p. 369, the *prévoyance* of government---*application*---*hâter le mouvement du commerce*---*attire prochain*---*calculs*. A pretty support for a great nation! Their subsistence is to depend on the combination of a visionary declaimer, rather than on the industry and energy of THEIR OWN exertions. Monf. Necker's performance deserves an attentive perusal, especially when he paints so pathetically the anxieties he suffered on account of the want of corn. I wish that those who read it would only carry in their minds this undoubted fact, that the scarcity which occasioned those inquietudes was absolutely and solely of his own creating; and that if he had not been minister in France, and that government had taken no step whatever in this affair, there would not have been such a word as scarcity heard in the kingdom. He converted, by his management, an ordinarily short crop into a scarcity; and he made that scarcity a famine; to remedy which, he assumes so much merit, as to nauseate a common reader.

Imports.

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>	
Wheat,	- - 8,116,000 liv.	Corn,	- - 3,165,600 liv.
Rice,	- - 2,040,000	Wheat,	- - 6,559,900
Barley,	- - 375,000	Legumes,	- - 949,200
Legumes,	- - 945,000		<hr/>
	<hr/>		10,674,700.
	11,476,000		

This account shews pretty clearly how well founded the minister was, when he attempted to throw on the wise measures of his predecessor the mischiefs which arose from his own pernicious prejudices alone; and how the liberty of commerce, which had taken place most advantageously in consequence of the free trade in 1787, had been more an import trade than an export one; and, of course, it shews, that when he advised his sovereign to prohibit that trade, he acted directly contrary even to his own principles; and he did this at the hazard of raising a general alarm in the kingdom, which is always of worse consequence than any possible export. His whole conduct, therefore, was one continued series of such errors, as can, in a sensible man, be attributed only to the predominant vanity that instigated him to hazard the welfare of a great nation to defend a treatise of his own composition. But as this minister thought proper to change the system of a natural export and import; and to spread, by his measures, an alarm amongst the people, that seemed to confirm their own apprehensions, let us next examine what he did to cure the evils he had thus created. He imported, at the enormous expence of 45,543,697 liv. (about 2,000,000 sterling) the quantity of 1,404,463 quintaux of corn of all sorts, which, at 240 lb. make 585,192 septiers, sufficient to feed no more than 195,064 people a year. At three septiers per head, for the population of 26 millions of mouths, this supply, thus egregiously boasted of, would not, by 55,908 septiers, feed France even for three days; for her daily consumption is 213,700 septiers: nor have I the least doubt of more persons dying of famine, in consequence of his measures, than all the corn he procured would feed for a year*. So absolutely contemptible is all importation as a remedy for famine! and so utterly ridiculous is the idea of preventing your own people from being starved, by allowing an import, which, in its greatest and most forced quantities, bears so trifling a proportion to the consumption of a whole people, even when bribed, rather than bought from every country in Europe! But a conclusion of much greater importance is to be deduced from these curious facts, in the most explicit confirmation of the preceding principles, that all *great* variations in the price of corn are engendered by apprehension, and do not depend on the quantity in the markets. The report

* At a moment when there was a great stagnation in every sort of employment, a high price of bread, instead of a moderate one, must have destroyed many; there was no doubt of great numbers dying for want in every part of the kingdom.

of Mons. Necker's measures, we have found, did not sink, but raised the price: providing France with less than three days bread, when blazed forth with all the apparatus of government, actually RAISED the price in the markets, where I was a witness, 25 per cent. Of what possible consequence was three days provision added to the national stock, when compared with the misery and famine implied—and which actually took place in consequence of pushing the price up so enormously, by Mons. Necker's measures? Would it not have been infinitely wiser never to have stopped the trade, which I have proved to have been a trade of import?—Never to have expressed any solicitude?—Never to have taken any public steps, but to have let the demand and supply quietly meet, without noise and without parade? The consequence would have been, saving 45 millions of the public money, and the lives of some hundred thousands, starved by the high price that was created, even without a scarcity; for I am firmly persuaded, that if no public step whatever had been taken, and the archbishop of Sens' edict never repealed, the price of wheat in no part of France would have seen, in 1789, so high a rate as 30 liv. instead of rising to 50 and 57 liv. If there is any truth in these principles, what are we to think of the first minister hunting after a little popularity, and boasting, in his *Memoire*, that the King allowed only bread of wheat and rye mixed to be served at his own table? What were the conclusions to be looked for in the people, but that if such were the extremities to which France was reduced, all were in danger of death for want of bread. The consequence is palpable:—a blind rage against monopolizers, hanging bakers, seizing barges, and setting fire to magazines; and the inevitable effect of a sudden and enormous rise in the price, wherever such measures are precipitated by the populace, who never are truly active but in their own destruction. It was the same spirit that dictated the following passage, in that *Memoire instructif*, “ Les accaparemens sont la premiere cause à la quelle la multitude attribue la cherté des grains, & en effet on a souvent eu lieu de se plaindre de la cupidité des speculateurs*.” I cannot read these lines, which are as untrue in fact as erroneous in argument, without indignation. The multitude NEVER have to complain of speculators; they are ALWAYS greatly indebted to them. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS MONOPOLIZING CORN BUT TO THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE †. And all the evils of the
year

* This is pretty much like his sending a memoir to the National Assembly, which was read October 24, in which the ministers say, “ Il est donc urgent de défendre de plus en plus l'exportation en France; mais il est difficile de veiller à cette prohibition. On a fait placer des cordons de troupes sur les frontieres à cette effet.” *Journal des Etats Généraux*, tom. v. p. 194. Every expression of this nature becoming public, tended to inflame the people, and consequently to raise the price.

† I am much inclined to believe, that no sort of monopoly ever was, or ever can be injurious, without the assistance of government; and that government never tends in the least to favour a monopoly

year 1789 would have been prevented, if monopolizers, by raising the price in the preceding autumn, and by lessening the consumption, had divided the supply more equally through the year. In a country like France, sub-divided mischievously into little farms, the quantity of corn in the markets in autumn is always beyond the proportion reserved for supplying the rest of the year: of this evil, the best remedy is, enlarging the size of farms; but when this does

nopoly without doing infinite mischief. We have heard in England of attempts to monopolize hemp, allum, cotton, and many other articles; ill-conceived speculations, that always ended in the ruin of the schemers, and eventually did good, as I could shew, if this were the proper place. But to monopolize any article of common and daily supply and consumption to a mischievous degree, is absolutely impossible: to buy large quantities, at the cheapest season of the year, in order to hoard and bring them out at the very dearest moment, is the idea of a monopolizer or *accapareur*: this is, of all other transactions, the most beneficial towards an equal supply. The wheat which such a man buys is cheap, or he would not buy it with a view to profit: What does he then? He takes *from* the market a portion, when the supply is large; and he brings that portion *to* the market when the supply is small; and for doing this you hang him as an enemy. Why? Because he has made a private profit, perhaps a very great one, by coming in between the farmer and the consumer. What should induce him to carry on his business, except the desire of profit? But the benefit of the people is exactly in proportion to the greatness of that profit, since it arises directly from the low price of corn at one season, and the dearness of it at another. Most clearly any trade which tends to level this inequality is advantageous in proportion as it effects it. By buying great quantities when cheap, the price is raised, and the *consumption forced to be more sparing*: this circumstance can alone save the people from famine; if, when the crop is scanty, the people consume plentifully in autumn, they must inevitably starve in summer; and they certainly will consume plentifully if corn is cheap. Government cannot step in and say, you shall now eat half a pound of bread only, that you may not by-and-by be put to half an ounce. Government cannot do this without erecting granaries, which we know, by the experience of all Europe, is a most pernicious system, and done at an expence which, if laid out in premiums, encouraging cultivation, would convert deserts into fruitful corn-fields. But private monopolizers can and do effect it; for by their purchases in cheap months they raise the price, and exactly in that proportion lessen the consumption; this is the great object, for nothing else can make a short crop hold out through the year; when once this is effected, the people are safe; they may pay very dear afterwards, but the corn will be forth coming, and they will have it though at a high price. But reverse the medal, and suppose no monopolizers; in such a case, the cheapness in autumn continuing, the free consumption would continue with it; and an undue portion being eaten in winter, the summer would come without its supply: this was manifestly the history of 1789; the people enraged at the idea of monopolizers, not at their real existence (for the nation was starving for want of them), hung the miserable dealers, on the idea of their having done what they were utterly unable to do. Thus, with such a system of small farms as empty the whole crop into the markets in autumn, and make no reserve for summer, there is no possible remedy, but many and great monopolizers, who are beneficial to the public exactly in proportion to their profits. But in a country like England, divided into large farms, such corn dealers are not equally wanted; the farmers are rich enough to wait for their returns, and keep a due reserve in stacks to be threshed in summer; the best of all methods of keeping corn, and the only one in which it receives *no* damage.

not take place, the dealings of monopolizers are the only resource. They buy when corn is cheap, in order to board it till it is dear; this is their speculation, and it is precisely the conduct that keeps the people from starving; all imaginable encouragement should be given to such merchants, whose business answers every purpose of public granaries, without any of the evils that are sure to flow from them *. It may easily be conceived, that in a country where the people live almost entirely on bread, and the blind proceedings of mobs are encouraged by arrets of parliaments, seconded by such blunders of government as I have described, and unaided by the beneficial existence of real monopolizers; it may easily be conceived, I say, that the supply must be irregular, and in many instances insufficient: it must be insufficient, exactly in proportion to the violence of the populace; and a very high price will be the unavoidable consequence, whatever may be the quantity in the kingdom. In June and July 1789, the markets were not opened, before troops arrived to protect the farmers from having their corn seized; and the magistrates, to avoid insurrections among the people, set the affize too low upon corn, bread, and butcher's meat; that is, they fixed the prices at which they were to be sold, which is a most pernicious regulation. The farmers, in consequence, refrained from going to market, in order to sell their wheat at home at the best price they could get, which was of course much higher than the affize of the markets. How well these principles, which such ample experience proves to be just, are understood in France, may be collected from the *cabiers*, many of which demand measures which, if really pursued, would spread absolute famine through every province in the kingdom. It is demanded at one place, "that as France is exposed to the rigours of famine, every farmer should be obliged to register his crop of every kind, gerbs, bottes, muids, &c.; and also every month the quantity sold †." Another requires, "that export be severely prohibited, as well as the circulation from province to province; and that importation be always allowed ‡." A third §, "that the severest laws be passed against monopolizers; a circumstance, which at present desolates the kingdom." A system of prohibition of export is demanded by no less than twelve *cabiers* §. And fifteen demand the erection of public maga-

* Well has it been observed by a modern writer, "Lorsque les récoltes manquent en quelque lieu d'un grand empire, les travaux du reste de ses provinces étant payés d'une heureuse fécondité suffisent à la consommation de la totalité. Sans sollicitude de la part du gouvernement, sans magasins publics, par le seul effet d'une communication libre & facile on n'y connoit ni disette in grande cherté. *Theorie du Luxe*, tom. i. p. 5.

† *Tier Etat de Meudon*, p. 36. ‡ *Tier Etat de Paris*, p. 43. | *Tier Etat de Reims*, art. 110.

§ *Nob. de Quenoy*, p. 24. *Nob. de St. Quentin*, p. 9. *Nob. de Lille*, p. 20. *T. Etat de Reims*, p. 20. *T. Etat de Rouen*, p. 43. *T. Etat de Dunkerque*, p. 15. *T. Etat de Metz*, p. 46. *Clergé de Rouen*, p. 24. *T. Etat de Rennes*, p. 65. *T. Etat de Valenciennes*, p. 12. *T. Etat de Troyes*, art. 96. *T. Etat de Dourdon*, art. 3.

zines.

zines *. Of all solecisms, none ever equalled Paris demanding that the transport of corn from province to province should be prohibited. Such a request is really edifying, by offering to the attention of the philosophical observer, mankind under a new feature, worthy of the knowledge and intelligence that ought to reign in the capital of a great empire; and Monf. Necker was exactly suited to be minister in the corn department of such a city!—The conclusions to be drawn from the whole business, are evident enough. There is but one policy which can secure a supply with entire safety to a kingdom so populous and so ill † cultivated as France, with so large a portion of its territory under wood and vines; the policy I mean is an entire and absolute liberty of export and import at all times, and at all prices, to be persisted in with the same unremitted firmness, that has not only rescued Tuscany from the jaws of periodical famines, but has given her eighteen years of plenty, without the intervention of a moment's want. A great and important experiment! and if it has answered in such a mountainous, and, on comparison with France, a barren territory, though full of people, assuredly it would fulfil every hope, in so noble and fertile a kingdom as France. But to secure a regular and certain supply, it is necessary that the farmer be equally secure of a steady and good price. The average price in France vibrates between 18 and 22 liv. a septier of 240 lb. ‡ I made inquiries

* I have lately seen (January, 1792), in public print, the mention of a proposal of one of the ministers to erect public magazines; there wants nothing else to complete the system of absurdity in relation to corn which has infested that fine kingdom. Magazines can do nothing more than private *accapareurs*; they can only buy when corn is cheap, and sell when it is dear; but they do this at such a vast expence, and with so little economy, that if they do not take an equal advantage and profit with private speculators, they must demand an enormous tax to enable them to carry on their business; and if they do take such profit, the people are never the better for them. Mr. Symonds, in his paper on the public magazines of Italy, has proved them to be every where nuisances. See *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xiii. p. 299, &c.

† The assertion of the marquis de Cassaux, "that the free corn trade established by Monf. Turgot, increased the productions of the agriculture of France as 150 to 100" (*Seconde Suite de Consid. sur les Mech. des Soc.* p. 119.), must be received with great caution. That of Monf. Millot, "that the lands of the same kingdom produced five times as much in Henry IV.'s reign as they do at present," is a very gross error, irreconcilable with the least degree of probability. *Elem. de l'Hist. Gen.* p. ii. p. 488.

‡ Price of Wheat at Paris, or at Rojou, for 146 Years.

Price of 73 Years, the Reign of Louis XIV.

	Liv.	Sol.	Den.
From 1643 to 1652	35	14	1
1653 to 1662	32	12	2
1663 to 1672	23	6	11
1673 to 1682	25	13	8
1683 to 1692	22	0	4
1693 to 1702	31	16	1
1703 to 1712	23	17	1
1713 to 1715	33	1	6
General Average,	28	1	5

Price of 73 Years, the Reigns of Louis XV. and XVI.

	Liv.	Sol.	Den.
From 1716 to 1725	17	10	9
1726 to 1735	16	9	4
1736 to 1745	18	15	7
1746 to 1755	18	10	11
1756 to 1765	17	9	1
1766 to 1775	28	7	9
1776 to 1785	22	4	7
1786	20	12	6
1787	22	2	6
1788	24	0	0
General average,	20	1	4

De la Balance du Commerce, tom. 3.

General average, -

through many provinces in 1789, into the common price, as well as that of the moment, and found (reducing their measures to the septier of 240lb.), that the mean price in Champagne is 18 liv.; in Lorraine 17½; in Alsace 22 liv.; in Franche Comté 20 liv.; in Bourgogne 18 liv.; at Avignon, &c. 24 liv.; at Paris, I believe, it may be calculated at 19 liv.—Perhaps the price, through the whole kingdom, would be found to be about 20 liv. Now, without entering into any analysis of the subject, or forming any comparison with other countries, France ought to know, at least she has dearly learned from experience, that this is not a price sufficient to give such encouragement to the farmers as to secure her a certainty of supply: no nation can have enough without a surplus; and no surplus will ever be raised, where there is not a free corn trade.—The object, therefore, of an absolutely free export, is to secure the home supply. The mere profit of selling corn is no object: it is less than none; for the right use thereof is to feed your own people. But they cannot be fed, if the farmers have not encouragement to improve their agriculture; and this encouragement must be the certainty of a good price. Experience has proved sufficiently, that 20 liv. will not do. An absolute freedom of interior circulation is so obviously necessary, that to name it is sufficient*.

A great and decided encouragement to monopolizers † is as necessary to the regular surplus, as that seed should be sown to procure a crop; but reaping, in order to load the markets in winter, and to starve the people in summer, can be remedied by no other person but an *accapareur*. While such men are therefore objects of public hatred; while even laws are in force against them (the most preposterous that can disgrace a people, since they are made by the mouth, against the hand for lifting food to it), no regular supply can be looked for.—We may expect to see famine periodical, in a kingdom governed by the principles which must take place, where the populace rule not by enlightened representatives, but by the violence of their ignorant and unmanageable wills. Paris governs the National Assembly; and the mass of the people, in great cities, are all alike, absolutely ignorant how they are fed; and whether the bread they eat be gathered like acorns from a tree, or rained from the clouds, they are well

* The internal shackles on the corn trade of France, are such as will greatly impede the establishment of that perfect freedom which alone forms the proper regulation for such a country. M. Turgot, in his *Lettres sur les Grains*, p. 126, notices a most absurd duty at Bourdeaux, of 20*f.* per septier on all wheat consumed there, or even deposited for foreign commerce; a duty which ought to have prevented the remark of the author of *Credit National*, p. 222, who mentions, as an extraordinary fact, “that at Toulouze there is a duty of 12*f.* per septier on grinding, yet bread is cheaper there than at Bourdeaux.” Surely it should be so; it ought to be 8*f.* the septier cheaper.

† The word *speculator*, in various passages of this chapter, would be as proper as *monopolizer*, they mean the same thing as *accapareur*; a man who buys corn with a view to selling it at a higher price; whatever term is used, the thing meant is every where understood.

convinced,

convinced, that God Almighty sends the bread, and that they have the best possible right to eat it. The courts of London Aldermen and common councilmen have, in every period, reasoned just like the populace of Paris *. The present system of France, relative to agriculture, is curious,

To encourage investments in land,

I. TAX IT THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS.

To enable the land to pay it,

II. PROHIBIT THE EXPORT OF CORN.

That cultivation may be rich and spirited,

III. ENCOURAGE SMALL FARMS.

That cattle may be plentiful,

IV. FORBID THE INCLOSURE OF COMMONS.

And that the supply of the markets may be equal in summer as in winter,

V. HANG ALL MONOPOLIZERS.

Such may be called the agricultural code of the new government of France †. But there is reasonable ground to imagine, as well as to hope, that such a system will not be persevered in.

CHAP.

* Aldermen, common councilmen, and mobs, are consistent when they talk nonsense; but philosophers are not so easily to be pardoned; when M. l'Abbè Rozier declares, "que la France recolte année ordinaire près du double plus de bled qu'elle n'en consomme," (*Recueil de Mémoires sur la Culture & le Rouissage du chawvre*, 8vo. 1787. p. 5.) he wrote what has a direct tendency to inflame the people; for the conclusion they must draw is, that an immense and incredible export is always going on. If France produces in a common year double her consumption, what becomes of the surplus? Where are the other 26 millions of people that are fed with French corn? Where do the 78,000,000 of septiers go that France has to spare; a quantity that would load all the ships possessed by that kingdom above thirty times to carry it. Instead of the common crop equalling two years consumption, it certainly does not equal thirteen months common consumption; that is, such a consumption as takes place at an average price. And all the difference of crops is, that consumption is moderate with a bad product, and plentiful with a good one. The failure of a crop in one province in a very small degree, which, under a good government, and entire liberty of trade, would not even be felt, will, under a system of restrictions and prohibitions, raise the price through the whole kingdom enormously; and if measures are taken to correct it by government, they will convert the high price into a famine. The author of *Traité d'économie Politique*. 8vo. 1783, p. 592, does not talk quite so greatly, when he says a good crop will feed France a year and half; but pretty near it. The absurdities that daily appear on this subject are astonishing. In a work now publishing, it is said, that a moderate crop furnishes England for three years, and a good one for five. *Encyclopædie Methodique Economie Pol.* pt. i. tom. 1. p. 75. This assertion is copied from an Italian, viz. Zanoni dell' *Agricoltura*, 1763. 8vo. tom. i. p. 109, who took it verbatim from *Essais sur divers sujets intéressans de politique et de morale*, 8vo. 1760. p. 216. It is thus that such nonsense becomes propagated, when authors are content to copy one another, without knowledge or consideration.

† The errors of such a system are unquestionable; but it deserves notice, as I have in various passages in other chapters declared, that the profit of agriculture in France might be very great, and much

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Commerce of France.

AGRICULTURE, manufactures, and commerce, uniting to form what may be properly termed the mass of national industry, are so intimately connected in point of interest, under the dispensations of a wise political system, that it is impossible to treat amply of one of them, without perpetually recurring to the others. I feel, in the progress of my undertaking, the impossibility of giving the reader a clear idea of all the interests of French agriculture, without inserting, at the same time, some details of manufactures and commerce. The opportunities I possessed of gaining some valuable intelligence, enable me to insert several accounts hitherto unpublished which I believe my commercial readers (should I have any such), will not be displeas'd to examine.

Imports into France in 1784.

	liv.		liv.		liv.
Woods, - - -	216,200	Kelp, - - -	50,700	Hemp, - - -	4,585,300
Timber, - - -	1,866,800	Peat ashes for manure, - - -	665,100	Hemp and flax thread, - - -	2,091,100
Hoops, &c. - - -	92,100	Grain, - - -	141,500	Thread of refuse silk, - - -	55,800
Staves, - - -	628,500	Millet and Canary, - - -	51,400	Various wools, - - -	25,925,000
Planks, - - -	2,412,000	Flax seed, - - -	612,600	Spun ditto, - - -	119,400
Pitch and tar, - - -	825,200	Hops, - - -	272,400	Vigonia ditto, - - -	859,800
Ashes, - - -	1,372,600	Tallow loaves, - - -	1,133,400	Flax, - - -	1,109,500
Soda and pot ash, - - -	3,873,900	Refuse of silk, - - -	94,900	Silk raw, - - -	29,582,700

Manufactured Goods.

Mercery, thread, & boneterie, 335,500	Table linen, - - -	99,200	Dresses, - - -	93,200
Woollen stuffs, - - -	Linen called <i>platile</i> , - - -	602,100	Oil of grain, - - -	248,300
Ditto silk, - - -	----- <i>treilis</i> , - - -	892,700	Corks, - - -	219,300
Bours d'œst, - - -	----- <i>coutis</i> hemp, - - -	432,000	--- in plank, - - -	97,100
Silk gauzes, - - -	Sail cloth, - - -	157,700	Skins, - - -	873,400
Silk handkerchiefs, - - -	Candles, - - -	50,300	--- goats and kids, - - -	143,400
Silk ribbons - - -	Yellow wax, - - -	1,317,900	--- calves, - - -	115,200
Ribbons of wool, - - -	Cordage, - - -	99,000	--- hares and rabbit, - - -	78,600
Thread ribbons, - - -	Horse hair, - - -	59,000	Quills, - - -	143,900
Ribbons of thread and wool, 92,700	Raw hides, - - -	2,805,400	Bed feathers, - - -	81,700
Linen, flax, & hemp, mixed, 1,918,600	Distilled waters and oils, - - -	87,500	Hog and wild boar hair, - - -	148,400
Linen of flax, - - -	Essences, - - -	126,500	Coaches, - - -	783,900

much beyond any thing we commonly know in England, that these five capital errors do not invalidate that opinion. The tax of 300,000,000 amounts to 3s. in the pound; a very heavy and impolitic burthen, but light on comparison of our taxes. The prohibition of export, and operations against monopolizers, are hurtful only to the public as consumers, and to little farmers who are forced to sell in autumn; but beneficial to all who can keep their corn to sell in spring and summer. Encouraging small farms is absurd, but it does not prohibit large ones. Forbidding the inclosure of commons makes it essentially necessary for such as settle in France to fix where there are none; the kingdom suffers greatly, but not the individual who chuses his spot well. The policy, as a system, is too absurd to be maintained, and will have effects very contrary to those expected.

Edibles.

Edibles.

	liv.
Almonds, -	140,600
Butter, -	880,100
Salt beef, -	1,716,400
Salt pork, -	181,600
Cheese, -	3,352,700
Fruits, -	238,100
Lemons and oranges, &c. (in No. 17,543,000),	731,000
Sweetmeats, -	58,600
Dried fruits and figs	254,600
Dried grapes, -	248,300
Wheat, -	5,347,900
Rye, -	139,800
Barley, -	263,800

	liv.
Oil of Olives, -	25,615,700
Legumes, -	550,900
Vermicelli, -	287,200
Salt, -	113,800
Various edibles, -	90,800
Beer, -	383,500
Brandy of wine, -	1,151,900
----- corn, -	1,086,900
Liqueurs and lemon juice, -	62,900
Various wines, -	684,900
Desert wines, -	362,200
Cattle of all sorts, -	31,800
Oxen, -	1,355,200
Sheep, -	1,087,000

	liv.
Hogs, -	276,100
Cows and bulls, -	1,264,800
Calves, -	89,300
Horses, -	2,052,900
Mules, -	148,400
Liquorice juice, -	67,300
Gaul nuts, -	313,000
Madder, -	476,600
Roots of Alliary, -	226,300
Saffranam, -	578,700
Shumac, -	71,200
Turnsole, -	87,600
Tobacco leaf, -	5,993,100

Exports the same Year.

Various woods, -	89,600
Plank, -	66,300
Pitch and tar, -	255,700
Common ashes, -	152,000
Charcoal, -	70,600
Coals, -	419,000
Grains, -	148,900
Coleseed, -	144,900
Garden-seeds, -	75,700
Flax seed, -	248,900
Bours of silk, -	94,700
Hemp, -	47,200
Thread of flax and hemp, -	143,400
Wool, -	1,576,300
Silk, -	2,657,600
Boneterie of thread, &c. filofel, -	175,100
----- filofel, -	83,400
Woollen stockings, -	365,500
Woollen caps, -	413,100
Boneterie of silk, -	3,375,100
Hats, -	86,200
Boneterie of hair and wool, -	910,300
Silk laces, -	2,589,200
Laces of thread and silk, -	445,300
Woollen cloth, -	15,530,900
Various stuffs, -	122,300
Woollen stuffs, -	7,491,300
Stuffs of thread and wool, -	109,300
----- hair, -	3,655,700
----- hair and wool, -	633,600
----- rich in gold, -	1,538,500
Silk stuffs, -	14,834,100
Stuffs mixed with silk, -	649,600
Silk gauzes, -	5,452,000
Thread and silk gauzes, -	209,000
Thread and cotton handkerchiefs, -	405,800
Silk handkerchiefs, -	118,000
Silk ribbons, -	1,231,900

Linen of flax and hemp mixed, -	18,473,200
----- flax, -	1,727,800
----- fine, -	346,300
Cambric and linen, -	6,173,200
Linen of thread and cotton, -	292,400
----- flamoifes, -	1,047,600
----- hemp, -	344,300
Candles, -	78,700
Wax, -	449,800
Wax candles, -	90,400
Woollen blankets, -	129,800
Raw leathers, -	96,300
Prepared leathers, -	304,500
Leather curried, -	137,700
----- tanned, -	698,100
Distilled water and oils, -	167,500
Gloves of skins, -	63,900
----- Grenoble, -	491,700
Dresses, -	131,100
Oil of grains, -	358,100
Corks, -	65,500
----- in plank, -	110,600
Cabinet ware, -	65,700
Willow ware, -	54,800
Cole seed cakes, -	547,600
Parchment, -	76,100
Perfumery, -	196,100
Various skins, -	123,500
Skins of goats and kids, -	156,800
----- calves prepared, -	448,600
----- sheep ditto, -	312,600
----- calves curried, -	1,571,100
----- sheep and calves tanned, -	256,000
Feathers prepared, -	54,600
Soap, -	1,376,700
Various edibles, -	49,100
Almonds, -	450,800

Butter, -	118,400
Salt meat, -	121,400
Flour, -	3,271,500
Cheese, -	144,100
Various fruits, -	279,000
Raw ditto, -	131,500
Dried ditto, -	69,600
Prunes dried, -	791,700
Grapes, -	324,200
Wheat, -	2,608,300
Rye, -	239,400
Meflin and maiz, -	52,700
India corn, -	633,200
Barley, -	321,100
Legumes, -	558,600
Oil of olives, -	1,346,100
Honey, -	361,800
Eggs, -	75,200
Salt, -	2,189,800
Wine brandy, -	11,035,200
Corn ditto, -	1,045,500
Liqueurs, -	205,300
Wines, -	6,807,900
Wines of Bourdeaux, -	16,150,900
Vinegar, -	124,400
Cattle, -	108,600
Oxen (No. 7659), -	1,088,200
Sheep (No. 104,990), -	1,017,800
Hogs, -	965,800
Cows and bulls, -	227,000
Horses, -	456,700
Mules, -	1,509,000
Saffron, -	239,200
Oil of terebinth, -	46,000
Terebinth, -	128,400
Verdigrife, -	266,300
Tobacco leaf, -	418,400
----- rappé, -	653,100

N. B. The provinces of Loraine, Alsace, and the three bishoprics, are not included in this account, nor any export or import to or from the West Indies.

Total export, -	-	307,151,700 liv.	
----- import, -	-	271,365,000	
Balance, -	-	35,786,700	£. 1,565,668 sterling.

Imports.

Imports into France in 1787.

liv.		liv.		liv.	
Steel from Holland, Switzerland, and Germany,	862,000	Garden seeds, flax, and millet,	3,115,000	Skins not prepared,	1,180,000
Copper,	7,217,000	Madder and roots of Allifary,	962,000	Goat's hair from Levant,	1,137,000
Tin from England,	885,000	Wheat,	8,116,000	Bristles of hogs and wild boars,	275,000
Iron from Sweden and Germany,	8,469,000	Rice,	2,040,000	Tallow,	3,111,000
Brass from ditto,	1,175,000	Barley,	375,000	Raw wool,	20,884,000
Lead from England and the Hanfiatic towns,	8,242,000	Legumes,	945,000	Woollen stuffs,	4,325,000
Steel manufactures from Germany and England,	4,927,000	Fruits,	3,060,000	Raw silk,	28,266,000
Coals from England, Flanders, and Tuscany,	5,674,000	Butter,	2,507,000	Silk manufactures,	4,154,000
Woods from the Baltic,	5,408,000	Salt beef and pork,	2,960,000	Flax,	6,056,000
Woods <i>saillard & mercia</i> ,	1,593,000	Cheese,	4,522,000	Linen of flax,	11,955,000
Cork from Spain,	262,000	Oil of olives,	16,645,000	Hemp,	5,040,000
Pitch and tar,	1,557,000	Brandy of corn,	1,874,000	Linen of hemp,	6,542,000
Ashes, soda, and pot ash,	3,762,000	— of wine,	3,715,000	Cotton from the Brazils, the Levant, and Naples,	16,494,000
Yellow wax,	2,160,000	Wines,	1,489,000	Cotton manufactures,	13,448,000
		Beer,	469,000	Tobacco,	14,148,000
		Oxen, sheep, and hogs,	6,646,000	Drugs, spices, glass, pottery, books, feathers, &c. &c.	61,820,000
		Horses and mules,	2,911,000		
		Raw hides,	2,707,000		

Exports in the same Year,

Timber and wood of all sorts,	166,300	Spirit of wine,	144,700	Brandy of wine (114,044 muids),	14,455,600
Pitch and tar,	317,100	Essences,	10,000	Liqueurs,	234,000
Ashes for manure,	59,400	Staves,	22,800	Wines in general (159,222 muids),	8,558,200
Charcoal,	31,300	Gloves,	428,900	— Bourdeaux (201,246 muids),	17,718,100
Veich hay,	12,000	Linseed oil,	174,800	— Vin de liqueurs,	10,000
Garden seeds, flax seed, &c.	988,500	Corks,	139,000	Vinegar,	130,900
Grease,	17,300	Coleseed oil cakes,	449,500	Oxen hogs, sheep, &c.	5,074,200
Hops,	105,600	Sheep, roebuck, and calveskins tanned,	2,705,200	Mules, horses, asses,	1,453,700
Tallow loaves,	145,600	Feathers for beds,	51,100	Juice of lemons,	60,000
Cocoon silk refuse,	41,500	Soap,	1,752,800	— liquorice,	35,300
Threads of all sorts,	241,800	Almonds,	850,500	Liquorice,	24,600
Hemp,	117,100	Butter,	88,600	Saffron,	214,900
Wool, raw and spun,	4,378,905	Salted meat,	487,700	Roots of Allifary,	1,500
Flax,	22,800	Preserved fruits,	1,518,600	Salt of Tartar,	14,900
Rabbits wool,	10,400	Corn of all sorts, except hereafter named,	3,165,600	Shumac,	10,200
Silk,	628,000	Wheat,	6,559,900	Terebinth,	33,100
Starch,	32,200	Legumes,	949,200	Turnsole,	12,200
Candles,	131,900	Olive oil,	1,732,400	Verdigrife,	512,400
Horses,	42,100	Honey,	644,600	Cloth,	14,242,400
Wax,	307,800	Eggs,	99,800	Woollen stuffs,	5,615,800
Cordage,	268,000	Salt,	2,322,500	Cotton, linen, Cambric, &c.	19,692,000
Tanned leather,	1,280,300	Poultry,	35,700	Of this cambric, 5,230,000 liv.	
Raw leather,	116,000	Cyder,	17,500		
Distilled waters and oils,	142,500				
Pigeon's dung,	37,000				

Total exports, including the articles not here minuted, 349,725,400 liv.
 ----- imports, - - - - - 310,184,000

Balance, - - - - - 39,541,400 £. 1,729,936 sterling.

Explanation.---The contraband trade of export and import has been calculated, and the true balance found to be about 25,000,000 liv. (1,093,750l.), the provinces of Lorraine, Alsace, the three bishoprics, and the West Indies, not included.

Observations.

Observations.

The preceding accounts of the trade of France, for these two years, are correct in all probability in the articles noted; but that they are imperfect there is great reason to believe. In 1787 there is an import of raw metals to the amount of above 20 millions: but in the account of 1784 there is no such article in the list, which is plainly an omission. And though coals are among the exports in 1784, there are none in the imports, which is another omission. In the manufactured articles also are various omissions, not easily to be accounted for, though the treaty of commerce explains some articles, as that of cotton manufactures, &c.: the idea to be formed of the exports and imports of France should be gathered from an union of the two, rather than from either of them separate. No idea, thus to be gained or acquired by any other combinations, will allow for one moment the possibility of a balance of commerce of 70,000,000 liv. (3,062,500l.) in favour of France, which Monf. Necker has calculated it to be, in his book, *De l'Administration des Finances*, and which calculation the marquis de Caffaux, in his *Mechanism des Sociétés*, has refuted in an unanswerable manner. It will be curious to examine what is the amount of the imports of the produce of land, minerals excluded.

In 1784 the imports of the net produce of land amounted to,

	liv.
Wool, - - -	25,925,000
Silk, - - -	29,582,700
Hemp and flax, - -	5,494,800
Oil, - - -	25,615,700
Live stock and its produce,	18,398,400
Corn, - - -	5,651,500
Sundries, - - -	24,890,700
	<hr/>
	135,558,800

In 1787 the same articles are,

	liv.
Wool, - - -	20,884,000
Silk, - - -	28,266,000
Hemp and flax, - -	11,096,000
Oil, - - -	16,645,000
Live stock, - - -	29,079,000
Corn, - - -	11,476,000
Tobacco, - - -	14,142,000
Sundries, - - -	24,206,000
	<hr/>
	155,794,000

She may be said, therefore, to import in a common year about 145,000,000 liv. (6,343,750l.) of agricultural products: and these imports are a striking proof, that I was not wide of the truth when I condemned so severely the rural œconomy of France in almost every particular, the culture of vines alone excepted. For the country, of all Europe the best adapted by nature to the production of wool, to import so immensely, shews how wretchedly they are understocked with sheep; and how much their agriculture suffers for want of the fold of these five or six millions, in which they are deficient even for their own demand. The import of such great quantities of other sorts of live stock also speaks the same language. Their husbandry is weak and languishing in every part of the kingdom, for want of larger stocks of cattle, and the national demands

mands cannot be supplied. In this trade of live stock there is, however, one circumstance which does the highest honour to the good sense and policy of the old French government; for though wool was so much wanted for their fabrics, and many measures were taken for increasing sheep and improving the breed, yet was there no prohibition on the export either of live sheep or wool, nor any duty farther than for ascertaining the amount. It appears that they exported above 100,000 sheep annually; and this policy they embraced, not for want of experience of any other (for the export was prohibited for many years), but finding it a discouragement to the breed, they laid the trade open, and the same plan has been continued ever since; by this system they are sure that the price is as high in France as amongst her neighbours, and consequently that there is all the encouragement to breed which such equality of price can give. The export of woollen manufactures in 1784, amounts to 24,795,800 liv. or not equal to the import of raw wool. On the general account, therefore, France does not supply herself; and the treaty of commerce having introduced many English woollen stuffs, she is at present farther removed from that supply. Considering the climate, soil, and population of the kingdom, this state of her woollen trade certainly indicates a most gross neglect. For want of having improved the breed of her sheep, her wools are very bad, and she is obliged to import, at a heavy expence, other wools, some of which are by no means good; and thus her manufacturers are under a heavy disadvantage, on account of the low state of agriculture. The steps she has taken to improve her wools, by giving pensions to academicians, and ordering experiments of inquiry upon obvious points, are not the means of improvement. An English cultivator, at the head of a sheep farm of three or four thousand acres, as I observed above, would, in a few years, do more for their wools than all the academicians and philosophers will effect in ten centuries.

West Indian Trade.

In 1786, the imports from these colonies into France were,

St. Domingo,	-	-	131,481,000 liv.
Martinique,	-	-	23,958,000
Guadaloupe,	-	-	14,360,000
Cayenne,	-	-	919,000
Tobago,	-	-	4,113,000
St. Lucie, nothing directly.			<hr/>
			* 174,831,000

Of these,—Sugar, 174,222,000 lb.—Coffee, 66,231,000 lb.—Cotton, 7,595,000 lb.

The

* Total in 1784 was 139,000,000 liv. What can Monf. Begoueu, of Havre, mean by raising this to 230,000,000?—800 ships?—1200 ships?—25,000 seamen? and I know not what other extravagances?

The navigation in 569 ships, of 162,311 tons, of which Bourdeaux * employs 246 ships, of 75,285 tons.

Exports from France to these Isles in 1786.

To St. Domingo,	-	44,722,000 liv.	Imports from the isles,	liv.	174,831,000
Martinique,	-	12,109,000	Exports to them,		64,341,000
Guadaloupe,	-	6,274,000			
Cayenne,	-	578,000	Balance against France,		110,490,000
Tobago,	-	658,000			
St. Lucie, nothing directly.					
		<u>64,341,000</u>			

August 30, 1784, in the ministry of the Maréchal de Castries, foreigners were permitted, under certain regulations, to trade to the French sugar islands, after a spirited controversy in print for and against the measure. The trade of 1786, in consequence of this arret, was as follows:

<i>Imports in the Isles.</i>		<i>Exports from Ditto.</i>	
	liv.		liv.
From the United States,	13,065,000	To the Americans,	7,263,000
English,	4,550,000	English,	1,259,000
Spaniards,	2,201,000	Spaniards,	3,189,000
Dutch,	801,000	Dutch,	2,030,000
Portuguese,	152,000	Swedes and Danes,	391,000
Danes,	68,000		
Swedes,	41,000		
	<u>20,880,000</u>		<u>14,133,000</u>

Navigation of this Trade.

<i>Imports.</i>			<i>Exports.</i>		
	Ships.	Tons.		Ships.	Tons.
American vessels,	1,392	105,095	American,	1,127	85,403
French,	313	9,122	French,	534	13,941
English,	189	10,192	English,	153	10,778
Spanish,	245	6,471	Spanish,	249	5,856
Dutch, Portuguese,			Dutch, &c.	32	1,821
Swedes & Danes,	34	2,229			
	<u>2,102</u>	<u>133,109</u>		<u>2,095</u>	<u>117,799</u>

travagances? *Precis sur l'Importance des Colonies.* 8vo. 1790. p. 3. 5. &c. Another writer states, 800 large ships, 500 small ones, and value 240 millions! *Opinion de Monf. Blin,* p. 7. How these calculations are made, I do not conceive.

* Bourdeaux I take to be a place of greater and richer trade than any provincial town in the British dominions. Our greatest are,

Newcastle, which in 1787 possessed of shipping,	Tons.	Seamen.	Whitehaven,	Tons.	Seamen.	Bristol,	Tons.	Seamen.
Liverpool,	105,000	5,390	Sunderland,	53,000	3,300	Yarmouth,	32,000	
	72,000	10,000	Whitby,	46,000	4,200	Lynn,	16,000	
			Hull,	46,000		Dublin,	14,000	

As the cultivation and exports from the isles in 1786, were greater than in 1784, the demand for French manufactures ought to have been greater also; but this was not the case;

Export of French linens to the isles in 1784, 17,796,000 liv.
1786, 13,363,000

It would have been found so, if the arret of August 30th had not opened the colonies to foreigners, who introduced manufactures as well as lumber and provisions. It is a great question, whether this was right policy: the argument evidently turns on one great hinge; the peculiar benefit to the mother country, from possessing colonies, is their *supply*; to sell them whatever they demand, and to secure the navigation dependent. It is not, to be sure, of sugar and coffee that nations plant colonies; they are sure of those, and of any other commodities, if they be rich enough to pay for them; a Russian, or Pole, is as certain of commanding sugar as a Frenchman, or an Englishman; and the governments of those countries may raise as great a revenue on the import, as the governments that possess the islands. The *peculiar* benefit, therefore, of colonies, is the *monopoly of their supply*. It is in vain to say, that permitting the colonists to buy what they want at the cheapest and the best hand, will enable them to raise so much more sugar, and tend ultimately to the benefit of the mother country; since, let them grow as rich as possible, and increase their culture to any degree whatever, still the advantage of the mother country arises from the supply; and if she loses that to gain more sugar, she loses all for which the possession is desirable. It would be right for every country to open her colonies to all the world on principles of liberality and freedom; and still it would be better to go one step farther, and have no colonies at all. The sugar islands of all nations, in the West-Indies, including the great island of Cuba, are considerable enough to form an independent free nation; and it wants not many arguments to shew, that the existence of such an one would be far more beneficial to the English, French, and Spaniards, than the possession of those islands as colonies. To return, however, to the arret of August 30, we may safely affirm, that the policy which induced the Maréchal de Castries to open the colonies to foreigners was erroneous, and attended with mischief, in proportion to the extent of the trade that took place in consequence.

The result of the French sugar trade, resembles nearly that which England carries on with her sugar colonies, namely, an immense balance against her.— We have writers who tell us, that this trade ought to be judged by a method the reverse of every other, the merit of it depending not on the exports, but on the imports: I have met with the same idea in France; and as it is an object of very great consequence in the national œconomy, it may be worth remarking, 1, that the advantages resulting from commerce, are the encouragement of the national industry, whether in agriculture or manufactures; and
it

it is unquestionably the exports which give this encouragement, and not the imports of a trade, unless they are the raw materials of future labour. 2, The real wealth of all trade consists in the consumption of the commodities that are the object of such trade; and if a nation be rich enough to consume great quantities of sugar and coffee, she has undoubtedly the power of giving activity to a certain quantum of her own industry, in consequence of the commerce which such consumption occasions, whether the sugar be the product of her own colonies, or those of any other power. 3, The taxes levied on West-Indian commodities are no motive whatever for esteeming the possession of such colonies beneficial, since it is the *consumption* that pays the tax, and not the *possession* of the land that produces the commodity. 4, The monopoly of navigation is valuable no farther than as it implies the manufacture of ship-building and fitting out; the possession of many sailors, as instruments of future wars, ought to be esteemed in the same light as great Russian or Prussian armies; that is to say, as the pests of human societies; as the tools of ambition; and as the instruments of wide-extended misery*. 5, The possession of sugar-islands is the investment of immense capitals in the agriculture of America, instead of the agriculture of France: the people of that kingdom starve periodically for want of bread, because the capitals which should raise wheat in France are employed on sugar in St. Domingo. Whatever advantage the advocates for colonies may be supposed to see in such possessions, they are bound to shew, that the investment of equal capitals in the agriculture of France would not be productive of equal and even of infinitely superior benefits. 6, It is shewn, in another place, that the agriculture of France is, in the capital employed, 450,000,000*l.* inferior to that of England; can any madness, therefore, be greater than the investment of capitals in American agriculture for the sake of a trade, the balance of which is above 100,000,000*liv.* against the mother country, while nothing but poverty is found in the fields that *ought* to feed Frenchmen? 7, If it be said, that the re-exportation of West-Indian commodities is immense, and greater even than the balance, I reply, in the first place, that *Monf. Necker* gives us reason to believe, that this re-exportation is greatly exaggerated; but granting it to rise to any amount, France bought those commodities before she sold them, and bought them with hard cash to the sum of the balance against her; first losing by her transactions with America the sums she afterwards gains

* Prejudices of the deepest root are to be eradicated in England before men will be brought to admit this obvious truth. Those prejudices took their rise from a dastardly fear of being conquered by France, which government has taken every art to propagate ever since the revolution, the better to promote its own plans of expence, profusion, and public debts. Portugal, Sardinia, the little Italian and German States, Sweden, and Denmark, &c. have been able, deficient as they are in government and in people, to defend themselves; but the British isles, with fifteen millions of people, are to be conquered!!

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by exporting to the north. The benefit of such a trade is nothing more than the *profit* on the exchange and transport. But in the employment of capital, the loss is great. In all common trades, such as those she carries on with the Levant, or with Spain, she has the common profit of the commerce, without investing any capitals in producing the commodities she buys; but in the West Indian commerce she invests double capitals, to produce the goods she sells, and equally to produce the goods she buys. 8, If it should be said that St. Domingo is not to be considered as a foreign country, with which France trades, nor a colony, but as a part of itself; and that the balance between them is like the balance between Paris and the provinces, then I reply, that it is so ill situated a province, that to encourage a deviation of capitals from all other provinces to be invested in this, is little short of madness; *first*, from distance and cultivation by slaves, it is insecure. If it escapes the attacks of European foes, the natural progress of events will throw it into the hands of the United States. *Secondly*, it demands a great navy to defend it; and consequently taxes on all the other provinces, to the amount of two millions sterling per annum. Of what expence to Languedoc, is the possession of Bretagne? Its proportion of the common defence. Is this so with St. Domingo? France pays a marine of two millions, but St. Domingo does not pay one shilling to defend France, or even to defend itself. In common sense, the possession of such a province ought to be deemed a principle of poverty and weakness, rather than of riches and of strength. 9. I have conversed upon this subject at Havre, Nantes, Bourdeaux, and Marseilles; and I have not yet met with a man able to give me one other solid reason for such a system than the fact that agriculture in the West-Indies is profitable, and not so in France. The same argument is used, and with equal truth, in England. I admit the fact; and it recurs at once to the pernicious doctrine of laying such taxes, restrictions, prohibitions, and monopolies on land at home, that men inclined to pursue agriculture as a trade must go with their capitals into another hemisphere, in order to reap an adequate profit. But change this wretched and abominable policy; remove every tax, even to the shadow of one on land; throw all on consumption; proclaim a FREE CORN TRADE; give every man a power of inclosure.—In other words, give in the Bourbonnois what you have given in Domingo, and then see if French corn and wool will not return greater profits than American sugar and coffee. The possession of sugar islands, so rich and prosperous as those of France and England, dazzles the understandings of mankind, who are apt to look only on one side, where they see navigation, re-export, commercial profit, and a great circulation: they do not reverse the medal, and see, in the mischievous deviation of capitals from home, agriculture languishing, canals standing still, and roads impassable. They do not balance the culture of Martinique by the *landes* of Bourdeaux; the tillage of St. Domingo by the

the deserts of Bretagne; or the wealth of Guadaloupe by the misery of Sologne. If you purchase the riches that flow from America by the poverty and wretchedness of whole provinces, are you blind enough to think the account a beneficial one? I have used no arguments against the French sugar islands that are not applicable likewise to the English: I hold them to be equal obstacles to the prosperity of both kingdoms; and, as far as the experiment of the loss of North America goes, I am justified by that vast and important fact—that a country may lose the monopoly of a distant empire, and rise from the imaginary loss more rich, more powerful, and more prosperous!

If these principles be just, and that they are so is confirmed by an immense range of facts, what are we to think of a politician who declares, that the loss of Bengal, or the Dutch withdrawing their money from our funds, would ruin England*?

Exports of the Products of French Agriculture to the West Indies, in 1787.

Wine, brandy, &c.	-	-	-	-	liv.	6,332,000
Edibles,	-	-	-	-		769,000
Salted meats,	-	-	-	-		971,000
Flour,	-	-	-	-		6,944,000
Legumes,	-	-	-	-		300,000
Candles,	-	-	-	-		500,000
Woods, cordage, &c.	-	-	-	-		2,869,000
Raw materials of manufactures,	-	-	-	-		4,000,000
Furniture, cloaths, &c. the raw materials of,	-	-	-	-		2,000,000
Raw materials of the exports to Africa,	-	-	-	-		2,000,000
						<hr/>
Exports of the soil,	-	-	-	-		26,685,000
					liv.	
Manufactured goods of national workmanship,	20,549,000					
Materials, as above,	-	-	-	4,000,000		
				<hr/>		16,549,000
Furniture, cloaths, &c.	-	-	-	10,136,000		
Materials, as above,	-	-	-	2,000,000		
				<hr/>		8,136,000
Exports to Africa,	-	-	-	17,000,000		
Materials, as above,	-	-	-	2,000,000		
				<hr/>		15,000,000
Sundry articles,	-	-	-	-		7,341,000
						<hr/>
						73,711,000

Of which 49,947,000 liv. were French products and manufactures.

* *Consid. sur les Richesses et le Luxe.* 8vo. 1787. p. 492. In the same spirit is the opinion, that England, before the last war, had attained the maximum of her prosperity, p. 483.

Fisheries.

No trade is so beneficial as that of fishing; none in which a given capital makes such large returns; nor any so favourable to those ideal advantages, which are supposed to flow from a great navigation. The French were always very assiduous in pushing the progress of their fisheries. Supposing them right in the principles of those efforts they have made to become powerful at sea, which, however, is exceedingly questionable, they have certainly acted wisely in endeavouring to extend these nurseries of maritime power.

		Ships.		Tons.
Newfoundland and Island fisheries,	1784,	328	—	36,342
	1785,	450	—	48,631
	1786,	453	—	51,143

Most of the national fisheries are flourishing; they employed in 1786,

	Ships.	Tons.		Ships.	Tons.
Herrings, &c.	928	—		Irish from Dunkerque,	62
Newfoundland,	391	47,399		Whale,	4

Dieppe does most in the fishing trade, possessing 556 ships, of 21,531 tons.

Trade with the United States.

The commerce which France carries on with the North Americans, is all the reward she reaps from having expended probably 50 millions sterling to secure their freedom. Visions of the depression of the British power, played indeed in the imaginations of the cabinet of Versailles; but peace was scarcely returned, before those airy hopes entirely vanished; every hour proved, that England, by the emancipation of her colonies, was so far from losing any thing, that she had gained immensely: the detail of this trade will prove, that France was as much deceived in one expectation as in the other.

			liv.
On an average of three years preceding the French revolution, the imports			
from America were	-	-	9,600,000
Ditto into the French sugar islands,	-	-	11,100,000
			<hr/> 20,700,000
Exports of France to North America,	-	-	1,800,000
Ditto from the Isles,	-	-	6,400,000
			<hr/> 8,200,000
Balance,	-	-	<hr/> 12,500,000

“ Ces républicains,” says Monf. Arnould*, “ se procurent maintenant sur nous, une balance en argent de 7 à 8 millions, avec laquelle ils foudoyent l’industrie Angloise. Voila donc pour la France le *nec plus ultra* d’un commerce, dont l’espoir au pû contribuer à faire sacrifier quelques centaines de millions et plusieurs générations d’hommes !”

* *De la Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. i. p. 234.

Trade to Russia.

It is commonly supposed in England that the trade which France carries on with Russia is very beneficial, in the amount of the balance; and there are French writers also who give the same representation; the part in French navigation will appear in the following statement:

Imports from Russia to France in 1788,	-	-	-	liv.	6,871,900
From France to Russia,	-	-	-		6,108,500
Balance against France,	-	-	-		<u>763,400</u>

This, it is to be noted, concerns French bottoms only; the greatest part of the commerce being carried on in English and Dutch bottoms.

Navigation.

There is not much reason for modern readers to be solicitous concerning the commerce or navigation of any country; we may rest assured, that the trading spirit which has seized all nations, will make the governments anxious to promote, as much as possible, whatever interests their commerce, though their agriculture is, at the same moment, in the lowest state of poverty and neglect. All the English authorities I have met with, respecting the navigation of France, are of a very old date; persons who are curious in these speculations, will probably be pleased with the following account:

Ships in France cleared outwards in 1788.

			Ships:		Tons.
For the Levant and coast of Barbary,	-	-	366	—	45,285
Whale fishery,	-	-	14	—	3,232
Herring fishery,	-	-	330	—	9,804
Mackarel fishery,	-	-	437	—	4,754
Sardinia,	-	-	1,441	—	4,289
Fresh both in the ocean and Mediterranean,	-	-	2,668	—	11,596
Cod,	-	-	432	—	45,446
All parts of Europe and the American States,	-	-	2,038	—	128,736
West Indies,	-	-	677	—	190,753
Senegal and Guinea,	-	-	105	—	35,227
East Indies, China, Isles of France and Bourbon, both by company and otherways,	-	-	86	—	37,157
			<u>8,588</u>	—	<u>516,279</u>

N. B. The total navigation in Europe and America, either by French or foreign ships, amounts to 9,445 ships and 556,152 tons.

Cabotage (coasting Trade) the same Year.

		Ships.		Tons.
French ships,	-	22,360	—	997,666
Foreign ditto,	-	60	—	2,742
		<u>22,420</u>	—	<u>1,000,408</u>

N. B. There is no distinction between ship and voyage; if a ship clears out five times a-year, she is registered every voyage. The article *Sardinia*, which appears so large in ships, and so small in tonnage, must, I should suppose, be for a fishery on the coasts of that island.

From the tonnage of the ships, as they are called, in the fisheries, it appears, that they are little more than boats: those in the herring fishery, are about 30 tons each—and in the mackarel, little more than 10 tons.

The navigation of England for a year, ending the 30th September, 1787, was,

	Ships.		Tonnage.		Men.
English,	8,711	—	954,729	—	84,532
Scotch,	1,700	—	133,034	—	13,443
East Indiamen,	54	—	43,629	—	5,400
Ireland,		—	60,000	—	
	<u>10,465</u>	—	<u>1,191,392</u>	—	<u>103,375</u>

Without including the West-Indian trade, or that of the North American colonies, or the African or Asian, the Indiamen excepted.

Progress of the French Commerce.*

	Imports liv.		Exports. liv.
1716 to 1720, peace, average per annum,	65,079,000	—	106,216,000
1721 to 1732, peace,	80,198,000	—	116,765,000
1733 to 1735, war,	76,600,000	—	124,465,000
1736 to 1739, peace,	102,035,000	—	143,441,000
1740 to 1748, war,	112,805,000	—	192,334,000
1749 to 1755, peace,	155,555,000	—	257,205,000
1756 to 1763, war,	133,778,000	—	210,899,000
1764 to 1776, peace,	165,164,000	—	309,245,000
1777 to 1783, war,	207,536,000	—	259,782,000
1784 to 1788, peace,	301,727,000	—	354,423,000

* *Monf. Arnould*, of the *Bureau de la Balance du Commerce* at Paris, asserts, I know not on what authority, that the English navigation in 1789 amounted to 2,000,000 tons.

It will not be useless to contrast this with the trade of England:

Imports.			Exports.			Imports.			Exports.		
L.			L.			L.			L.		
1717,	6,346,768	—	9,147,700	1771,	12,821,995	—	17,161,146				
1725,	7,094,708	—	11,352,480	1783,	13,122,235	—	15,450,778				
1735,	8,160,184	—	13,544,144	1785,	16,279,419	—	16,770,228				
1738,	7,438,960	—	12,289,495	1787,	17,804,000	—	16,869,000				
1743,	7,802,353	—	14,623,653	1788,	18,027,000	—	17,471,000				
1753,	8,625,029	—	14,264,614	1789,	17,821,000	—	19,340,000				
1763,	11,665,036	—	16,160,181	1790,	19,130,000	—	20,120,000				

As the *balance*, or ideas of a balance, are a good deal visionary, we shall find, by adding the two columns together, that the trade of England has suffered no decline, but, on the contrary, is greater than ever; it deserves attention, however, that the progress of it has not been nearly so rapid as that of France, whose commerce, in the last period, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as it was in the first; whereas ours has in the same period not much more than doubled. The French trade has almost doubled since the peace of 1763, but ours has increased not near so much. Now it is observable, that the improvements, which in their aggregate mark national prosperity, have, in this period of twenty-nine years, been abundantly more active in England than in France, which affords a pretty strong proof that those improvements, and that prosperity, depend on something else than foreign commerce; and as the force of this argument is drawn directly from facts, and not at all from theory or opinion, it ought to check that blind rage for commerce, which has done more mischief to Europe, perhaps, than all other evils taken together. We find, that trade has made an immense progress in France; and it is elsewhere shewn, that agriculture has made little or none; on the contrary, agriculture has experienced a great increase in England, though very seldom favoured by government, but commerce an inferior one; unite this with the vast superiority of the latter in national prosperity, and surely the lesson afforded by such facts needs no comment.

Of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

I shall lay before the reader, the result of the treaty, both according to the English custom-house, and also by the registers of the *Bureau de la Balance du Commerce* at Paris; which, I should however remark, is beyond all comparison more accurate in its estimations; and whenever it is a question between the authority of the two in opposition to each other, I should not hesitate a moment in preferring the French authority; indeed it is certain, that in many articles the valuation attached to some denominations is as old as the reign of Charles II. though the real value is known to have quintupled.

*English Account.**Export of British Manufactures to France.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1769, -	83,213	18	4	1784, -	93,763	7	1
1770, -	93,231	7	5	1785, -	244,807	19	5
1771, -	85,951	2	6	1786, -	343,707	11	10
1772, -	79,534	13	7	1787, -	713,446	14	11
1773, -	95,370	13	8	1788, -	884,100	7	1
1774, -	85,685	13	2	1789, -	830,377	17	0

The rise in the years 1785 and 1786, may be attributed to the rage for every thing English, which, I believe, was then pretty much at its height; the moment the honour of the nation was secured by wiping off the disgraces of the war of 1756, by the success of the American one, the predilection for every thing English spread rapidly. In order to shew the proportion which our export of manufactures to France bears to our exports to all the world, I shall insert the total account by the same authority.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1786, -	11,830,194	19	7	1789, -	13,779,740	18	9
1787, -	12,053,900	3	5	1790, -	14,921,000	0	0
1788, -	12,724,719	16	9				

We know that all these sums are incorrect; but we may suppose the incorrectness as great one year as another, and that therefore the comparison of one year with another may be tolerable exact. The following French accounts have been taken with singular attention; and as duties have been levied on every article, the amount may be more, but cannot be less.

*French Account.**Imports from England into France, in 1788.*

Woods, coal, and raw materials, of which coal near 6,000,000 liv.	liv.	16,553,400
Other raw materials, not the direct product of the earth, -		2,246,500
Manufactured goods, - - - - -		19,101,900
Manufactured goods from foreign industry, - - - - -		7,700,900
Liquors (<i>boissons</i>), - - - - -		271,000
Eatables (<i>comestibles</i>), such as salt meat, butter, cheese, corn, &c. -		9,992,300
Drugs, - - - - -		1,995,900
Groceries, - - - - -		1,026,900
Cattle and horses, - - - - -		702,800
Tobacco, - - - - -		843,100
Various articles, - - - - -		187,200
West India cotton, and West India goods, none.		
		<hr/> 60,621,900

Exports

Exports from France to England, in 1788.

		liv.
Woods, coal, and raw materials,	-	534,100
Other raw materials, not the direct product of the earth,	-	635,200
Manufactured French goods,	-	4,786,200
Manufactured goods from foreign industry,	-	2,015,100
Liquors,	-	13,492,200
Eatables,	-	2,215,400
Drugs,	-	759,100
Groceries, none.		
Cattle and horses,	-	181,700
Tobacco,	-	733,900
Various articles,	-	167,400
West India cotton,	-	4,297,300
West India goods,	-	641,100
		31,154,500

Explanation.—All manufactured goods, both English and foreign, imported by the English merchants, have been under-rated about one-twelfth, which will add 3,238,800 liv. The French exports must also be increased for smuggling, &c. &c.; so that there is great reason to think the real account between the two nations may be thus stated:

Exports from England to France,	-	liv. 63,327,600
<u>France to England,</u>	-	<u>33,847,470</u>
Balance against France,	-	<u>29,480,130</u>

Total exports of England to France in 1789,	-	liv. <u>58,000,000</u>
Ditto of English manufactures in	1787,	33,000,000
	1788,	27,000,000
	1789,	23,000,000

Hence it appears, that the two custom-houses do not differ essentially in their accounts,

I am better satisfied with this account than if it were, as the Chamber of Commerce of Normandie imagined, much more in favour of England; for as the benefit is more likely to last, so the treaty is more likely to be renewed; and consequently peace between the two kingdoms to be more durable. The balance of the manufacturing account does not exceed 14 millions, which is very far short of the French ideas, and must, in the nature of things, lessen. The 18 millions of raw materials and coals, instead of being an import hurtful to the interests of French industry, is beneficial to it; and they themselves wisely consider it as such, and lamented the old duties on the import of English coal, asserting,

asserting, that there ought to be none at all. Here are 10 millions of imports, and a balance of eight indirect objects of agriculture, as corn and meat. If a people will manage their agriculture in such a preposterous manner, as not to be able to feed themselves, they should esteem themselves highly obliged to any neighbour that will do it for them. Raw materials, including drugs, with cattle, corn, and horses, very nearly accounts for the whole balance, great as it is, that is paid on the total to England; and as such objects are as much for the advantage of France to import, as for the benefit of England to export, the whole trade must, both in extent and balance, be deemed equally reciprocal, and of course equally tending to advance the prosperity of each kingdom. There is, however, a circumstance in which matters are very far from being reciprocal, and that is, in payments. The French are paid for their goods, whatever these may be, according to agreement; but that is very far from being the case with the English. The manufacturers of Manchester have been known to make heavy complaints against the mode of dealing in France, not only in respect of payment, but also of want of confidence, since their goods, fairly executed, according to patterns agreed on, are seldom received without dispute or deduction: and while they cheerfully do justice to the punctuality of the Americans, Germans, &c. they put very little value on the French trade, speaking in general. It is the same with Birmingham, whose merchants and manufacturers assert strenuously, that the commercial treaty has been of *no* service to their town; the French having taken as largely their goods, by-contraband, before the treaty, as at present, through a different channel; with this change, that the Dutch, Germans, and Flemings, with whom they dealt before, paid better than the French. These circumstances are great deductions from the apparent merit of the treaty, which cannot be fairly estimated, unless we could know the amount of our exports sent out clandestinely before it was concluded. The manufacturers are certainly the best judges; and they unite, with one voice, throughout the kingdom, either to condemn it, or at least to assert its having been a mere *transfer* from one channel to another, and not an *increase*. The benefit of it, however, as a political measure, which tends to establish a friendship and connection between the two countries, cannot be called in question, with any propriety; for the mere chance of its being productive of peace, is of more consequence than ten such balances, as appears on the foot of the above-mentioned account.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Manufactures of France.

THE notes I took, in all the considerable manufacturing towns of France, are too numerous to insert. I shall touch, therefore, only upon one or two points, the most important.

Earnings.

Average earnings in all the fabrics, of the men, 26*s.*—Of the women, 15*s.*—Of spinners, 9*s.*—These earnings are, without any doubt, much under those of similar manufactures in England; where I should apprehend the men earn, upon an average 20*s.* a-day or 40*s.*; the women 9*s.* or 18*s.* and spinners I have shewn (Annals of Agriculture, vol. ix.), to earn 6*d.* or 12½*s.*—The vast superiority of English manufactures, taken in the gross to those of France, united with this higher price of labour, is a subject of great political curiosity and importance; for it shews clearly, that it is not the nominal cheapness of labour that favours manufactures, which flourish most where labour is nominally the dearest—perhaps they flourish on this account, since labour is generally *in reality* the cheapest, where it is *nominally* the dearest; the quality of the work, the skill and dexterity of performance come largely into the account; and these must, on an average, depend very much on the state of ease in which the workman lives. If he be well nourished and clothed, and his constitution kept in a state of vigour and activity, he will perform his work incomparably better than a man whose poverty allows but a scanty nourishment. There is doubtless great luxury amongst the manufacturing poor in England; there is little amongst those of France; this apparent evil has grown so regularly with the prosperity of English fabrics, that I am not too ready to consider it so great an evil, as to demand any laws or regulations to repress it, which have been injudiciously called for by some writers; inconveniencies, indeed, may flow from it, but they are so intimately connected with the sources of prosperity, that to touch them might be dangerous: the hidden benefit is concealed sometimes beneath the apparent evil; and by remedying the inconvenience, the advantage might be lost. It is thus sometimes in the natural body, and I believe often in the political.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the agriculture, or rather in the domestic œconomy of France, that the culture of hemp or flax, for home uses, pervades every part of the kingdom. It is a curious question how far this is beneficial or not to the general interests of the national prosperity. On the one hand, in favour of this system it may be urged, that national prosperity being nothing more than the united prosperity of single families, if any such article of œconomy be advantageous to individuals, it must be so to the nation at large: that it cannot

not fail of being beneficial to a poor man's family, to have the women and children industriously employed on cloathing the whole, rather than forced to buy such articles at an expence of money, which they may not be able to procure.— By means of industry, thus exerted, a poor family is rendered as independent as its situation admits. All of them are likewise warmer, and more comfortably cloathed, as far as linen is concerned, than if it were bought; for whatever demands, money will be consumed with much more caution than if the result merely of labour. These arguments are unanswerable; yet there are others, on the contrary, that also deserve attention. If it be true, that national prosperity depends on individuals, and that whatever carries comfort into the cottage of the poor man, adds proportionably to the mass of national enjoyment, it must also be equally admitted, that whatever renders a people nationally flourishing and rich, reflects back on the lowest classes a large share of, and intimate connection in such wealth and prosperity; consequently, if domestic manufactures of this sort be injurious to the great mass of national interests in a state of combination, they must, in some measure, be individually so in a state of separation. A modern society flourishes, by the mutual exchange of the products of land for the manufactures of towns; a natural connection of one with the other; and it may be remarked, that in proportion as this exchange is rapid from a great consumption, in such proportion will a people generally flourish. If every family in the country have a patch of flax or hemp for its own supply of all the manufactures founded on those materials, this beneficial intercourse of the country with the town is so far cut off, and no circulation takes place. If the practice be good in flax, it is good in wool; and every family should have a sufficient number of sheep to cloath themselves in woollens; and if every little village have its little tanner, the same supposition may be extended to leather. A patch of vines furnishes the beverage of the family; and thus, by simple domestic industry, all wants are supplied; and a poor family, as it would be improperly called, would have no occasion to resort to market for any thing *to buy*. But if it go thither for nothing to buy, it ought to go thither with nothing *to sell*; this part of the theory is absolutely necessary, for the town has the power of buying only in consequence of having that of selling; if the country buy nothing of the town, assuredly the town can buy nothing of the country. Thus it is, that in every combination on these subjects, a minute division of the soil into small properties always attacks the existence of towns, that is to say, of what Sir James Stewart calls the *free bands* of a society. A countryman living on his own little property, with his family, industriously employed in manufacturing for all their own wants, without exchange, connection, or dependence on any one, offers, indeed, a spectacle of rural comfort; but of a species absolutely inconsistent with the prosperity of a modern society: and were France to consist of nothing else, the whole kingdom

kingdom would become the prey of the first invader. Upon such a system, all taxes must cease, and consequently all public force be annihilated. The whole routine of life would be as well carried on without, as with money; and he who has of necessity land and commodities only, could pay no taxes but in kind; in other words, could pay none at all. However plausible, therefore, the arguments may be in favour of these domestic manufactures, there are not wanted reasons that militate powerfully against them.

In a case of this kind, a reference to fact is more valuable than reasoning. The poor in France abound very much with these fabrics, and are very miserable. The poor in England hardly know such a thing, and are very much at their ease; but in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and some of our counties most backward in point of agriculture, the system is found; and precisely in the poorest districts of the three kingdoms. It is with regret that I feel myself obliged to differ in opinion so often on political subjects, from a man of such distinguished abilities as the count de Mirabeau; but upon this subject he gives an opinion decisively in favour of these scattered domestic manufactures, advancing the following strange assertion; “*Les manufactures réunies, les enterprizes de quelques particuliers qui soldent des ouvriers au jour la journée pour travailler à leur compte ne feront jamais un objet digne de l'attention des gouvernemens.**” If there be truth in this idea, the fabrics established in towns, in which a master manufacturer employs the poor, are good for nothing. Those of Lyons, Rouen, Louviers, Elbœuf, Carcassone; Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. are of no account, and do not confer national prosperity. It would be wasting the reader's time to refute formally such opinions. The facts are too notorious, and the arguments too obvious to dwell upon.

Of the Influence of Manufactures on Agriculture.

NORMANDY—Rouen to Barentin.—A noble soil and full of manufactures, but the most execrable husbandry I have yet seen; every field a bed of weeds and couch.

Yvetot.—A noble track of land; richer or deeper loams hardly to be seen, but all miserably cultivated; an exception to the common case in France, where fine soils are usually well cultivated: the crops in this country are a perfect contrast to the soil.

Havre.—This whole country, from Rouen, the Pays de Caux, is a region more of manufactures than agriculture. The fabric is what the great population of this district depends on, their farms being but a secondary object. The number of small properties, and consequently population is very great, which is the

* *De la Monarchie Prussienne*, tom. iii. p. 109.

reason for the price and rental of land through this country being vastly out of proportion to the products. Landlords also divide their farms according to the demand, as the rise of rent tempts it; but he often finds himself depending for the rent of his land on the prosperity of a fabric. The whole country forms a curious spectacle; a vast fabric, and an immense employment, and population having been absolutely mischievous to agriculture. This has been the result throughout the Pays de Caux, the soil of which may be ranked among the finest in France. Had it been a miserably poor, rocky, or barren territory, the result would have been beneficial, for the fabric would have covered such a district with cultivation. But the farmers of the Pays de Caux are not only manufacturers, but have an inclination also for trade; the large ones engage in commercial speculations at Havre, particularly in the cotton trade, and some even in that of the West Indies. This is a most pernicious and mischievous circumstance; the improvement of their cultivation being never the object or result of their growing rich, but merely the engaging more largely in trade or manufacture. If they get a share in an American adventure, no matter whether thistles and docks cover their fields.

BRETAGNE—St. Brieux.—Meeting here with a linen merchant, and some other well-instructed persons, I demanded information concerning the state of husbandry in the central parts of the province, and particularly the districts in which the great linen manufacture (one of the most considerable in Europe) is carried on. All I had seen of the province was such a wretched and almost deserted waste, that I supposed the other parts much better. I was informed, that the whole province was alike, except the bishoprick of St. Pol. de Leon; that where the linen fabric was chiefly established, there husbandry was most neglected, from the people depending on their linen alone; that this state of things could not be helped, as it was impossible to attend both to their fabric and their land; and the former being found of the most importance, the latter was left quite neglected; and that the *landes* in the linen parts of the province were enormous.

L'Orient.—Here, in conversation concerning the wastes of Bretagne, I was again assured, that the *landes* were of very great extent in the linen country of Pontivy, Loudeac, Moncontour, and St. Quintin; and that what is cultivated is as rough as any I have seen; for the weavers are amongst the very worst farmers in the province.

Auvergnac.—A person, intimately acquainted with every part of the province, informed me, that the linen fabric in Bretagne is almost always found amidst bad agriculture, which he attributed to their always sowing hemp or flax on their best lands, and neglecting corn; but where corn is found, as about this place, they depend on it, and are not equally solicitous for hemp and flax.

Elbauf to Rouen.—A desert.

M. l'Abbé

M. l'Abbé Raynal remitted 1200 liv. to the Royal Society of Agriculture, at Paris, to be given as a prize on the subject of the following question, *Une agriculture florissante influe-telle plus sur la prospérité des manufactures, que l'accroissement des manufactures sur la prospérité, de l'agriculture?* How the writers, who contend for the prize, will decide the question, I shall not inquire; but the facts, which I have here noted, seem to weigh materially towards enabling us to examine it. I take France to have possessed, from 1650 to 1750, the most flourishing manufactures in Europe: they were so considerable, and some of them remain yet so important, as to enable us to appeal merely to facts for an answer to such a question, so far as the example of that kingdom is concerned. That century of prosperous fabrics, what did it effect for agriculture? I may very securely reply, nothing. Whatever accounts I received of the comparison between the former and the present state of their cultivation, were in favour of the latter; yet, supposing it as good in 1750 as at present, I hesitate not to assert, that if such immense fabrics, encouraged almost exclusively for a century, could create no better husbandry than I met with in France, we may very safely conclude, that manufactures may flourish greatly, without shedding much influence in favour of agriculture. Such is the conclusion which forces itself upon one from the general view of the kingdom; but let us examine it more in detail.—The greatest fabrics of France are the cottons and woollens of Normandy, the woollens of Picardy and Champagne, the linens of Bretagne, and the silks and hardware of the Lyonois. Now, if manufactures be the true encouragement of agriculture, the vicinity of those great fabrics ought to be the best cultivated districts in the kingdom. I have visited all those manufactures, and remarked the attendant culture, which is unexceptionably so execrable, that one would be much more inclined to think there was something pestiferous to agriculture in the neighbourhood of a manufacture, than to look up to it as a mean of encouragement. Considering the fertility of the soil, which is great, Picardy and Normandy are among the worst cultivated countries I have seen. The immense fabrics of Abbeville and Amiens have not caused the inclosure of a single field, or the banishment of fallows from a single acre. Go from Elbœuf to Rouen, if you would view a desert: and the Pays de Caux, possessing one of the richest soils in the world, with manufactures in every hut and cottage, presents one continued scene of weeds, filth, and beggary; a soil so villainously managed, that if it were not naturally of an inexhaustible fertility, it would long ago have been utterly ruined. The agriculture of Champagne is miserable, even to a proverb; I saw there great and flourishing manufactures, and cultivation in ruins around them. Let us pass into Bretagne, which affords but one spectacle, that of a dreary, desolate waste; dark as ling—*sombre* as broom can make it.—You find yourself in the midst of one of the greatest linen manufactures in

Europe, and, throwing your eye around the country, can scarcely believe the inhabitants are fed by agriculture; if they subsisted by the chase of wild animals, their country might be as well cultivated. From hence cross the kingdom to Lyons; all the world knows the immense fabrics found there; and those of St. Etienne among the most flourishing in the kingdom: *De toutes les provinces de France*, says M. Roland de la Platière, *le Lyonois est le plus miserable**.—What I saw of it gave me little reason to question the assertion. The remark of another French writer makes the experiment double: *L'Artois est un de Provinces les plus riches du royaume. C'est un verité incontestable*——*elle ne possède point de manufactures* †. I will not presume to assert, that the agriculture of these districts is bad, *because* they abound with manufactures, though I believe it to be very much the case in the Pays de Caux; I merely state the facts, which I clearly know, because they came within my own eye; the fabrics are the greatest in the kingdom, and certainly the agriculture is amongst the worst. In my tour through Ireland, the journal of which is before the public, I examined, with attention, the vast linen manufacture which spreads all over the north of that kingdom. I there found the same spectacle that Bretagne offers; husbandry so miserably, so contemptibly bad, that I have shewn, by calculation, the whole province converted into a sheep-walk, and feeding but two sheep per acre, would yield, in wool only, a greater value than the whole amount of the linen fabric ‡; a circumstance I attribute entirely to the manufacture spreading into the country, instead of being confined to towns. *Wherever the linen manufacture spreads, there tillage is very bad*, said that attentive observer the Lord Chief Baron Forster §.—The Earl of Tyrone has an estate, in the county of Derry, amidst manufactures, and another in that of Waterford, where there are none; and he assured me, that if the Derry land were in Waterford, or absolutely freed from fabrics, he should clear full one-third more money from it ||.—If we pass into England, we shall find something similar, though not in an equal degree; the manufacturing parts of the kingdom being among the worst cultivated. You must not go for agriculture to Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, or Gloucestershire, which are full of fabrics, but to Kent, where there is not the trace of a fabric; to Berkshire, Hertfordshire, and Suffolk, where there are scarcely any: Norwich is an exception, being the only great manufacture in the kingdom in a thoroughly well cultivated district, which must very much be attributed to the fabric being kept remarkably within the city and spreading (spinning excepted), not much into the country; a circumstance that deserves attention, as it confirms strongly

* *Journal Physique*. tom. xxxvi. p. 342.

† *Memoire sur cette question, Est-il utile en Artois de diviser les fermes*, par M. Delegorgue. 1786. p. 23.

‡ *A Tour in Ireland*. 2d edit. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 304. § *Ib.* vol. i. p. 123. || *Ib.* vol. i. p. 515.

the preceding observations. But the two counties of Kent and Lancaster are expressly to the purpose, because they form a double experiment ; Lancaster is the most manufacturing province in England, and amongst the worst cultivated : Kent has not the shadow of a manufacture, and is perhaps the best cultivated. Italy will furnish instances, yet more to the purpose, than any yet cited. The richest, and most flourishing countries in Europe, in proportion to their extent, are probably Piedmont, and the Milanese. All the signs of prosperity are there met with ; populousness well employed and well supported ; a great export without ; a thriving consumption within ; magnificent roads ; numerous and wealthy towns ; circulation active ; interest of money low ; and the price of labour high. In a word, you can name no circumstance that shall prove Manchester, Birmingham, Rouen, and Lyons to be in a prosperous state, that is not found diffused throughout the whole of these countries ; to what is all this prosperity to be ascribed ? certainly not to manufactures, because they possess hardly the trace of a fabric : there are a few, of no consideration, at Milan ; and there are in Piedmont the silk mills, to give the first hand to that product ; but on the whole to an amount so very trifling, that both countries must be considered as *without* fabrics. They are equally without commerce, being excluded from the sea ; and though there is a navigable river that passes through both these territories, yet no use is made of it, for there are five sovereigns between Piedmont and its mouth, all of whom lay duties on the transit of every sort of merchandize. As these two countries do not owe their riches to manufactures or commerce, so undoubtedly they are not indebted for them to any peculiar felicity in their governments ; both are despotisms ; and the despot * of Milan makes that country a beast of burthen to Germany ; the revenues are remitted to Vienna ; and the cloaths, even for the troops paid by Milan, come from Germany. The origin and the support of all the wealth of these countries, are to be found in AGRICULTURE ALONE, which is carried to such perfection as to prove, that it is equal to the sole support of a modern and most flourishing society ; to keep that society in a state of great wealth ; and to enable the governments to be, in proportion to their extent, doubly more powerful than either France or England. Piedmont supports a regal court, and pays 30,000 men. The same extent of country, or number of people, does not effect the half of this in any other dominion of Europe. But are these territories really without manufactures ? no : nor is any country in the world ; it is not possible to find a people totally exempt from them. The present inquiry demands no such exemption : it is only necessary to shew, that

* The expression has nothing too harsh, when applied to the late emperor, in whose reign I viewed the Milanese : it is not applicable to the wise and benignant Leopold, who has given ample grounds to induce a belief, that he will prove a blessing to every country that is happy enough to be governed by him.

the manufactures found in the Milanese and in Piedmont, are such as arise absolutely in consequence of agriculture; that it is agriculture which supports and nourishes them; and that, on the contrary, these manufactures are so far from doing any thing politically for agriculture, that they occasion the exposing of it to restrictions and monopolies; for the government in these countries have been bitten by the same madness of commerce that has infested other kingdoms; and have attempted, by such means, to raise these trifling fabrics into foreign export. Happily they have never been able to do it; for there is reason to imagine, that success would have suggested other restrictions unfavourable to the great foundation of all their prosperity. Thus the instances produced are express to the purpose, as they exhibit two opulent states, supported by agriculture alone, and possessing no other manufactures or commerce, than what every country must possess that enjoys a flourishing cultivation; for it is not to be expected, that such great results are to be found attending common exertions only. On the contrary, those that have converted part of these noble territories into a garden, have been great and exemplary. The canals, for mere irrigation, are greater works than many in England, for the purposes of navigation; and the infinite attention that is given to the perpetual deviation of the waters, is a spectacle of equal merit and curiosity. Hence the following facts cannot be controverted:

I. That the agriculture of France, after a century of exclusive and successful attention to manufactures, was in a wretched state.

II. That the manufacturing districts in France and England are the worst cultivated.

III. That the best cultivation in England, and some of the best in France, must be looked for where no manufactures are to be found.

IV. That when the fabrics spread into all the cottages of a country, as in France and Ireland, such a circumstance is absolutely destructive of agriculture: spinning only excepted, which is almost universal in every country.

V. That agriculture alone, when thoroughly improved, is equal to the establishment and support of great national wealth, power, and felicity.

And from these facts, the following corollaries are clearly deducible:

I. That the best method of improving agriculture, is not by establishing manufactures and commerce, because they may be established in great extent and perfection, and yet agriculture may remain in a miserable state.

II. That the establishment of a flourishing agriculture, inevitably occasions the possession of such manufactures and commerce, as are equal to the support of numerous and flourishing towns; and to whatever is necessary to form a great and potent society. The lesson to governments is deducible in few words: first,
secure

secure prosperity to agriculture, by equal taxation *, and by absolute liberty † of cultivation and sale ‡. Secondly ; do no more to encourage manufactures and commerce, than by letting them alone, a policy exclusive of every idea of monopoly. We may safely affirm, and our assertions are founded on unquestionable facts, that any country will attain the utmost prosperity of which its government is capable, that steadily pursue this conduct.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Taxation of France.

THE difficulty of understanding the details of the finances of France, induced me to attempt disentangling their confusion, by reducing them to such heads as are common in our own revenue. The particulars indeed are too long to insert, but the subject of taxation is of too much importance to be passed over absolutely in silence.

Taxes on Land under the old Government.

	French Money.	English Money.
Vingtiemes, - - -	55,565,264 liv.	£. 2,430,980
Taille, - - -	81,000,000	3,543,750
Local impositions, - - -	1,800,000	78,750
Capitation - - -	22,000,000	962,500
Décimes, - - -	10,600,000	463,750
Sundries, - - -	600,000	26,250
	<u>171,565,264</u>	<u>7,505,980</u>

The calculation of the committee of imposition ||, in the National Assembly, is this,

Vingtiemes, - - -	55,565,264 liv.
Décimes, - - -	10,000,000
Other impositions, - - -	23,844,016
Taille, - - -	73,816,179
Capitation, - - -	6,133,274
Tythes, - - -	110,000,000
Half the <i>gabelle</i> , - - -	30,000,000
Half the excise on leather, - - -	4,500,000

314,059,724 Or, £. 13,740,112 sterling.

* There is no equality but in those on consumption, and tythes absolutely incompatible.

† Liberty of cultivation, implies an unlimited power of inclosure: the privilege of cultivating any plant the farmer pleases, without shackle or restraint.

‡ An unbounded freedom of export.

* *Rapport du Comité de l'Imposition. Pièces Just. No. 1.*

It

It is sufficiently evident, that this is an inflated account in several articles, as the committee had some design in view. Upon the principles of the economists, they proposed a land-tax of three hundred millions for the service of the year 1791; and that proposition was made under the assertion that the nation paid a greater land-tax under the old government. The reasoning, however, is erroneous; and to direct 110,000,000, the amount of tythes (which the Assembly had expressly abolished without condition), to be made good by a land-tax, is an oppression for no better reason than its having existed before: to bring salt and leather into the account is another exaggeration; why not include the duties on wine, by parity of reasoning? A farmer who has no vineyard of his own must buy it, and he cannot buy without paying *aides*; but are those taxes therefore to be reckoned? Certainly not; nor any others on consumption, which are clearly in a different class, and not to be included in such a detail.

Taxes on Consumption.

	French Money.	English Money.
Salt, - - -	58,560,000 liv.	£. 2,562,000
Wine and brandy, &c.	56,250,181	2,460,444
Tobacco, - - -	27,000,000	1,181,205
Leather, - - -	5,850,008	255,937
Paper and cards, - - -	1,081,509	47,315
Starch and powder, - - -	758,049	33,164
Iron, - - - -	980,000	42,875
Oil, - - - -	763,000	33,381
Glass, - - - -	150,000	6,562
Soap, - - - -	838,971	36,704
Linen and stuffs, - - -	150,000	6,562
Octrois, Entrées, &c, - - -	57,561,552	2,518,317
Cattle, - - - -	630,000	27,562
Customs, - - - -	23,440,000	1,025,500
Tolls, - - - -	5,000,000	218,750
Stamps, - - - -	20,244,473	885,695
Local duties, - - - -	1,133,162	49,575
	260,390,905	11,391,548

It merits the reader's attention, that of this long list nothing is retained under the new government but the customs and stamps.

General Revenue.

	French Money.	English Money.
Taxes on land, - - -	171,565,264 liv.	£. 2,430,980
Domaines, - - - -	9,900,000	433,125
Consumption, - - - -	260,390,905	11,391,548
Personal, - - - -	44,240,000	1,935,500
Monopolies, - - - -	28,513,774	1,247,496
Sundries, including the Pays d'Etat,	12,580,000	550,375
	527,099,943	17,989,024

	French Money.	English Money.
Brought forward, -	527,099,943 liv.	£.17,989,024
Taxes not received on account of government, - -	95,900,000	4,195,625
	<u>622,999,943</u>	<u>22,184,649</u>
Collection, - - -	57,665,000	2,522,843
Total, - - -	<u>680,664,943</u>	<u>24,707,492</u>

Such was the revenue, at the entire command of Louis XVI. And such were the consequences of the funding system, that it had power to strike a palsy into the receipt of so enormous an income, even in the hands of the master of 250,000 bayonets, and twenty-five millions of subjects. Sovereigns ought to contemplate these effects of that PUBLIC CREDIT, upon which the banking, money-changing, and stock-broking writers, with Necker at their head, have delivered such panegyrics! A system that never entered a country, but to destroy or to annihilate prosperity: it has spread ruin or debility in Spain, Holland, Genoa, Venice, and France: it threatens speedily the extinction of the power, and the overthrow of the constitution of England: it has weakened, and almost destroyed Europe, except one country, saved by the splendid talents of a single sovereign. It is impossible to contemplate such a revenue and population, united with variety of natural advantages possessed by France, without blessing the goodness of providence, that a prince like Frederic II. did not fill the throne of Louis XV. Such a penetrating mind would have seen, in perspective, the mischiefs of public credit in France, as clearly as he did in Prussia; he would have strangled the monster for ever, and would have thereby established a power irresistible by all his neighbours; and the nations of Europe would have lain in ruins around him.

Changes in the Revenue, occasioned by the Revolution.

The general statement, by the first minister of the finances, from the first May 1789 to April 30, 1790, compared with the receipt for 1788, will give the defalcation that has taken place, and the additions that are carried to account.

	1789.	1790.
1, Fermes générales, - -	150,107,000 liv.	126,895,086 liv.
2, Régie générale des aides, -	50,220,000	31,501,988
3, Régie des domaines, -	50,000,000	49,644,573
4, Ferme des postes, - -	12,000,000	10,958,754
5, Ferme des messageries, -	1,100,000	661,162
6, Ferme de Sceau & Poissy, -	630,000	780,000
7, Ferme des affinages, - -	120,000	—
Carry forward, -	<u>264,177,000</u>	<u>220,441,563</u>

	1789.	1790.
Brought forward,	264,177,000 liv.	220,441,563 liv.
8, Abonnement de la Flandre,	823,000	822,219
9, Loterie,	14,000,000	12,710,855
10, Revenus casuels,	3,000,000	1,157,447
11, Marc d'or,	1,500,000	760,889
12, Salt pêtre,	800,000	303,184
13, Recette général,	157,035,890	27,238,524
14, Pays d'États,	24,556,000	23,848,261
15, Capitations & vingtièmes abonnées,	575,000	1,213,505
16, Impositions aux fortifications,	575,000	676,399
17, Benefice des monnoies,	500,000	824,301
18, Droits attribués à la caisse du commerce,	636,355	305,418
19, Forges royales,	80,000	401,702
20, Interets, l'Amérique,	1,600,000	—
21, Debets des comptables,	—	2,291,860
22, Parties non réclamées à l'hôtel de Ville,	—	240,262
23, Petits recouvrements,	—	—
24, Quinze vingt,	180,000	257,000
	<hr/> 470,038,245	<hr/> 293,493,389
25, Platè carried to the mint,	—	14,256,040
26, Dons patriotiques,	—	361,587
27, Contribution patriotique *,	—	9,721,085
		<hr/> 317,832,101

The vast defalcation is, therefore, 176,544,856 liv. (7,723,837l.), the sum which 1790 falls short of 1789.

1791.—The Committee of Imposts have calculated the sums wanted for the year 1791, and they proposed to raise them in the following manner † :

Land-tax (<i>contribution foncière</i>),	287,000,000 liv.
Tax on personal property (<i>contribution mobilière</i>),	60,000,000
Stamps (<i>droit d'enregistrement</i>),	50,246,478
Other stamps,	20,764,800
Patents (stamps),	20,182,000
Lotteries,	10,000,000
Customs,	20,700,000
Powder, salt petre, marc d'or, and affinages,	1,000,000
Mortgages,	5,375,000
Posts and stage coaches,	12,000,000
Contribution patriotique,	34,562,000
	<hr/> 521,830,278
Carry forward,	—

* It deserves attention, that this *contribution patriotique* is mentioned as a resource of 35,000,000 liv. for the year 1791, by the committee of imposition. *Rapport 6 Decembre, 1790, sur les moyens de pourvoir aux dépenses pour 1791, p. 5.*

† *Rapport fait le 6 Decembre, 1790. 8vo. p. 6. Rapport fait le 19 February, 1791. 8vo. p. 7.*

T A X A T I O N .

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Brought forward,	-	-	521,830,278 liv.
Domaines,	-	-	15,000,000
Salt works,	-	-	3,000,000
Interest from Americans, &c.	-	-	4,000,000
Sale of salt and tobacco in the warehouses of the farmers general,	-	-	29,169,462
			573,000,000

Or, £. 25,068,750

It appears, by the *Memoires présentés a l'Assemblée Nationale au nom du Com. des Finances, par M. de Montesquieu*, September 9, 1791 4to. that the revenue in 1790 produced only 253,091,000 liv. which was made up by anticipations and assignats.

Interest of Debts.

Amount of the debt, according to the latest statements. The following is the account of the committee of finances :

	Capitals.	Interest.
<i>Rentes viagères</i> (life annuities),	1,018,233,460 liv.	101,823,846 liv.
<i>Rentes perpétuelles</i> — <i>Rentes constituées</i> ,	94,912,340	4,745,617
<i>Rentes payées a l'hôtel de ville</i> ,	2,422,987,301	52,735,856
<i>Dettes liquidées</i> ,	12,351,643	544,114
<i>Gages & traitemens</i> ,	2,603,210	93,645
<i>Communautes</i> ,	3,066,240	153,312
<i>Indemnités</i> ,	27,306,840	1,365,342
<i>Emprunts, Pays d'Etats</i> ,	126,964,734	6,276,087
	* 3,708,430,768	167,737,819
<i>Dette exigible †</i> ,	1,878,816,534	92,133,239
	‡ 5,587,247,302	259,871,058
Or sterling,	£. 244,442,099	£. 11,369,357

Assignats to the amount of 400,000,000 had then been issued; but the committee does not include them in the preceding account.

* The committee state, that this debt, by leaving the annuities to extinguish themselves, and by buying in the perpetual funds, at twenty years purchase, the whole would be extinguished with the sum of 1,321,191,817 liv. *Etat de la dette Publique*. 4to. 1790. p. 8.

† *Monf. de Montesquieu*, in the memoir presented September 9, 1791, makes the *dette exigible* amount to 2,300,000,000 liv. p. 58. He makes the whole debt 3,400,000,000 liv. to which add 1,800,000,000 of assignats, and this is 5,200,000,000 liv.; but 215,000,000 liv. of assignats have been burnt. p. 46.

‡ I have read *Monf. Arnould* (*De la balance du Commerce*, 1791), who makes the debt 4,152,000,000 liv.; but not giving his authorities satisfactorily, I must adhere to the above-mentioned statement.

The *Apperçu des Recettes & Dépenses de l'Année, 1791*, by the finance minister, M. Dufresne, gives the account of the expences necessary to be incurred in 1791, according to the decrees of the assembly, and they are as follows :

To the ecclesiastics, for the expence of public worship,	-	-	70,000,000 liv.
Pensions to the religious of the convents and monasteries suppressed,	-	-	70,000,000
Justice,	-	-	12,000,000
Directories of departments and districts,	-	-	9,360,000
Civil list, pensions, salaries, bureaux, academies, &c.	-	-	67,041,363
All other payments, of which interest of debts,	-	-	192,265,000
Paris,	-	-	9,323,800
War department and marine,	-	-	134,432
			<hr/>
			360,770,500
			<hr/>
			589,172,000
			Or, £. 25,776,274

By the *Memoires sur les Finances présentés*, 9th September, 1791, 4to, some points receive more light than in any preceding account. It appears, that the national estates sold have produced 964,733,114 liv. ; this is a curious fact ; but the *idea*, that the remainder will produce enough to make this sum up 3,500,090,000 liv. is by no means certain ; indeed, it is of a complexion too dubious to be admitted ; and of those actually sold, the receipt only to the amount of 735,054,754 liv. is positively ascertained : and this vast sum, in the whole probably not less than 40 millions sterling, must, without doubt, contribute very greatly, even beyond all calculation, to give security to the new government, as it interests the most closely an immense number of persons, with all their connections and dependencies, to support that system, by which alone this great property can be rendered safe. If to this be added the whole *tiers etat* of the kingdom, that is 90 in 100 of the total, it must be apparent, that the hopes of a counter-revolution must rest on external force, inadequate to the conquest of such a kingdom as France, unless all possible advantages towards favouring the attempt be united and aided by a well connected insurrection of those who are discontented.

Of the Funding System.

It appears, from the preceding accounts, that France, under the old government, pursued the ruinous system of mortgaging its revenues, as regularly as any other country, whose greater freedom might be supposed to offer more temptations to the practice. This system, however, almost unaided by any other cause, has overturned that government, by means of the most extraordinary revolution upon record. If Lewis XIV. amidst the splendour of his reign and career

reer of his conquests, could possibly have foreseen, that the second sovereign in descent from him would be led captive by his subjects, on account of the debts he was then contracting, he would either have rejected with horror the system he adopted, or have manifested the most entire want of those feelings which ought to dwell in the breast of a great and ambitious monarch. But, after this memorable example to other countries, it remains a subject of infinite curiosity, to see how far the infatuated and blind spirit of funding will now be pursued. Every hour, after the great event in France, will make it more and more critical, and will inevitably involve in its train new revolutions, perhaps of a complexion more dangerous to established families, than any thing we have seen in France.— If peace is preserved in that kingdom, the debt will extinguish itself, being in a great proportion annuities for lives; but were not this the case, and should new wars add to the national burthens, the people, almost emancipated as they have been from taxation, will be brought back to it with great difficulty; and other assemblies, feeling their power better established, will not pay the same attention to the public creditors which the present has done; and the event might be similar to what will inevitably happen in England. No government will ever think of committing a deliberate act of bankruptcy; but when taxes are pushed to such a height that the people will no longer pay them, they are ripe for sedition; presently feel their own power;—and the event which follows, may be easily conjectured. What is the conclusion that follows?—That the funding system, or rather the wars which occasion it, are so fatal and pestilential, that, at all events, they ought to be avoided; but that, if unhappily they cannot, they should be supported by annual taxes (never by loans), which implies a war of defence *at home*; a renunciation of all exterior dominion; and the absolute annihilation of that commercial system of policy on which conquests, colonies, and debts have been so fatally erected.

Of the Amount of Specie in France.

The writings of Mons. Necker will assist us in the register of the French mint, which proves satisfactorily the quantity of money coined in France; it must, however, be sufficiently obvious, that from this quantity it is mere conjecture to attempt to ascertain, at any period, the actual quantity of specie remaining in the kingdom.

Coined in France from 1726 to 1780:—	Gold,	-	957,200,000 liv.
	Silver,	-	1,489,500,000
			<hr/>
			2,446,700,000
In 1781, 82, and 83,	-	-	52,300,000
			<hr/>
			2,500,000,000
			<hr/>
And existing in 1784,	-	-	2,200,000,000

And

And he makes the increase of specie, in 15 years, from 1763 to 1777, in France, equal to the increase in all the rest of Europe. From the inquiries of M. Clavière * and M. Arnould †, it appears, that the gold and silver currency of France, at the assembly of the States, was two milliards (87,500,000l.) Whatever authority Mons. Necker placed in the supposed balance of the French trade, of above three millions sterling per annum, was assumed on very insufficient grounds. The marquis de Caffaux has proved the facts, which Mons. Necker deduced from that balance, to have never existed but in his own imagination ‡. The importance also, which, in the 10th chapter of the same book, that writer assigns to the possession of great quantities of gold and silver; the political conduct he expressly recommends to procure those metals, as selling much merchandize to other nations, and buying little; studying to effect this by shackling trade with duties upon export and import; and by the acquisition of colonies: the whole of this system betrays no inconsiderable degree of littleness; it is worthy of the counting-house alone; and manifests none of the views of a great statesman, nor even the abilities of an able politician: one is sure to meet, in Mons. Necker's productions, with an eloquent display of narrow ideas, and never the great reach of real talents, nor the masterly views of decisive genius. His ministry, and his publications, shew the equable orderly arrangement of a mind well regulated for little pursuits; but lost, amidst the great events of a new system, bursting into efficiency amidst the whirlwind of a revolution.

The total currency, of both gold and silver, in Great Britain, may probably not be less than 40 millions sterling. But no comparison can be made between the two kingdoms, because the great mass of England's circulating currency is in paper; whereas, in France, all, or nearly all, was in coin, till assignats were issued. It is probably a just observation of Mr. Hume, that the circulation of paper tends strongly to banish coin. Every kingdom must have, proportioned to its industry, a circulation of something; and if it have no paper, that circulation, so proportioned to its industry, will be in coin; the creation of so much paper supplies the place of it; and consequently keeps it from flowing into any country, where it is demanded by the offer of valuable equivalents. But, on the other hand, it has been urged, that paper, supplying the circulation as well and more conveniently than the metals, allows the latter to be sent profitably

* *Opinion d'un créancier de l'Etat.*

† *De la Bal. de Com. tom. ii. p. 206.*

‡ Mons. de Calonne's recoinage, of 1785, has proved, that Mons. Necker, even upon a subject more peculiarly his own, as a banker, is not so correct as one would imagine, when he ventures either to calculate or to conjecture. It is with difficulty he allows 300 millions for the export and melting of louis', which appear to have been 650,000,000 liv. He states the gold coinage (including the silver of the years 1781, '82, and '83), at 1,009,500,000 liv. instead of which, it was, by Mons. de Calonne's account, 1,230,000,000 liv.

out of the kingdom, not to be lost, but beneficially as merchandize, and that an annual benefit is made by this, as well as by all other trades. If this argument be good, and in all probability there is some truth in it, France, by keeping so enormous a capital at home as 90 millions sterling, to answer purposes which, in England, are fulfilled with less than half, by means of paper, loses the profit which might be made on 45 millions, were that sum employed as it is employed in England. There is yet another explanation of the great paper currency of England, which has also much truth in it, and especially in the present moment. It may be said, that paper has been so largely coined in England, because the balance of its transactions with foreigners has not brought in the metals as fast as its industry, has demanded a circulating representative; its industry has increased faster than its money; and I believe this to have been very much the case since the American war, in which period the progress of prosperity, in this kingdom, has been of an unexampled rapidity. In such a circumstance, the circulation of paper, instead of lessening the quantity of specie, will increase it, by facilitating the operations of commerce. Another evil, of a worse tendency, perhaps, is the disposition to hoard, when the currency is all in the precious metals. *Monf. Necker* states, as an undoubted fact, that vast sums of gold are hoarded in France; and circumstances came to light on *Monf. de Calonne's* recoinage, which proved the same fact. The ordinary circulation of Paris, does not exceed from 80 to 100,000,000 *liv.* as we learn from the same minister*; a fact which also unites with the immensity of the total specie of France, to shew that perhaps the great mass of it is hoarded. It must be sufficiently obvious, that this practice depends much on a want of confidence in the government, and on the erroneous conduct of not encouraging investments in the national industry: but it tends strongly to give France a greater mass of the precious metals than is demanded by her industry.

Two considerable proofs exist in Europe, that a country will always attract such a share of the precious metals as is proportioned to its industry, if not prevented by circulating paper. These are Prussia and Modena. The King of Prussia's treasure, calculated as it is at 15 millions sterling, is thrice as much as the whole circulating specie of his dominions. In all probability, had that treasure not been withdrawn from circulation, the specie would not at this moment have been one dollar greater than it is at present; and for this plain reason, that there appears no want of currency in those dominions; the degree of industry there demanding specie from all its neighbours, has acquired it as fast as the King has accumulated his treasure, but had no treasure been formed, the same demand would not have taken place, and consequently no such influx of money. Modena, as I once before observed, in proportion to its extent and riches, affords

* *De l'Etat de la France*, p. 80.

a similar instance; yet the duke's hoard is supposed, on pretty good grounds, to exceed very much all the circulating specie of his dutchy; and I made particular inquiries at Modena, whether a want of it were perceptible? I was assured of the contrary, and that their currency was fully equal to the demands of their industry and money-exchanges. From these instances, we may, without hesitation, pronounce, that the specie of England is kept vastly below its natural measure, by the immensity of our paper circulation. There is little importance in possessing great quantities of specie, if not in a national hoard: the case of England nearly permits us to question it altogether. For neither in the domestic circulation, nor in foreign transactions, has France been able to effect any thing by means of her money, which we have not been able to command equally well, perhaps better, with our paper. A wise government should therefore be solicitous for the industrious and productive employment of her people; if she secure that essential point, she may safely leave the metals to find their own level, without paying any regard whether her circulation be in paper or in gold. Nor is there danger of paper being too much multiplied, as long as the acceptance of it is voluntary; for it would not be multiplied, if it were not demanded; and if it be demanded, it ought to be multiplied. With paper, forced by government on the people, the case is far different: from the circumstance of its being *forced*, there is the clearest proof that it is not *demande*d, and consequently ought not to be issued: force, in such a case, is fraud; and a public fraud ought never to be practised, but in the last extremity of distress. The assignats issued by the National Assembly, are of this complexion; the step, however dangerous, might possibly be necessary to secure the new constitution; but I shall not hesitate a moment in declaring, that an avowed bankruptcy would, in other respects, have been a much wiser measure, and attended probably with fewer and less evils.—Of thirty-four commercial cities, that presented addresses upon the project of assignats, seven only were for them*. The scheme met with equal opposition from rank †, literature ‡, and commerce §. The prognostics, however, of an enormous discount, were not verified so much as might have been expected.—M. Decretot, in September 1790, mentions them with 400 millions only in circulation, being at 10 per cent. discount at Bourdeaux; and M. de Condorcet 6 per cent. at Paris; thence they both concluded, that the discount would be enormous, if a greater issue of them took place; yet, in May 1791, after many hundred millions more had been issued, they were only at from 7 to 10 per cent. discount §. And another circumstance, equally mistaken, was the expectation

* *De l'Etat de la France*, par M. de Calonne. 8vo. 1790. p. 82. † *Opinion de M. de la Rochefoucauld, sur l'Assignats monnoie*. 8vo. ‡ *Sur la Proposition d'acquitter les dettes en Assignats*, par M. Condorcet. 8vo. p. 14. § *Opinion de M. Decretot sur l'Assignats*. 8vo. p. 8.

§ It became greater since; but owing to foreign causes.

of an enormous rise of all common prices—which did not happen, for corn rather fell in its value; a remarkable experiment, that deserves to be remembered. The Marquis de Condorcet supposed, that wheat would rise from 24 to 36 liv. the septier, perhaps in one day*. The assignats amounted, on the dissolution of the first assembly, to 1800,000,000 liv.

What constitutes the Merit of a Tax.

Many writings have appeared of late in France, on the subject of taxation, and many speeches have been delivered in the National Assembly concerning the principles that ought to govern the statesmen, who possess the power of deciding in questions of such importance. It is much to be regretted, that the members, who have made the greatest figure in that assembly, have, in these inquiries, rather adopted the opinions of a certain class of philosophers, who made a considerable noise in France 20 or 30 years ago, than taken the pains seriously to inform themselves well of the facts that ought to be examined upon the subject. It is not for a traveller to go to the bottom of such intricate inquiries, which would demand long details, and a very minute examination; but the question is, in the present moment, of such importance to France, that a rapid *soup d'œil*, cannot but have its use. The following circumstances, are those which I conceive form all the merit of taxation:

1. Equality.
2. Facility of payment.
3. Encouragement of industry.
4. Ease of collection.
5. Difficulty of two great extension.

The first essential point is equality. It is absolutely necessary, that every individual in the society contribute to the wants of the state, in proportion to his ability, provided such contribution does not impede the progress of his industry †.

Every

* *Sur la Proposition d'acquitter les dettes en Assignats*, par M. Condorcet, p. 21.

† Some little obscurity, that hangs over this definition, should be removed; by *ability*, must not be understood either capital or income but that superlucration, as Davenant called it, which melts in consumption: suppose a manufacturer makes a profit of 2000l. a-year, *living* upon 500l. and annually investing 2500l. in his business, it is sufficiently obvious, upon just principles, that the state cannot lay the 1500l. under contribution by taxes. The 500l. is the only income exposed; but when the manufacturer dies, and his son turns gentleman, the whole income is made to contribute. It must be obvious, however, that excises on a manufacturer's fabric are not taxes *on him*, but on the idle consumer, for he draws them completely back. In like manner, if a landlord farm his own estate, and expend the income in improvements, living on but a small portion of the profit, it is sufficiently clear,

Every writer, and every opinion upon the subject agree in this ; but the difficulty is, how to ascertain the ability. Taxes on property, and taxes on consumption, seem to have this merit ; they will, however, be found to vary prodigiously ; for long experience, in all countries, has proved the infinite difficulty of ascertaining property, and the tyranny that is necessary to be practised, in order to be tolerably exact. For this reason, all land-taxes, under an appearance of equality, are cruelly unequal : if levied on the gross produce *in kind*, they are ten times heavier on poor land than on rich ; and the value taken by the state, bears no proportion to the expence which effected the production. If levied on the rent, the ease of frauds makes them universal and perpetual ; and if, to avoid these, the leases are registered and taxed, this prevents leases, and destroys agriculture. If lands are valued by a *cadastre*, the expence is enormous *, and the merit is gone in a few years, by variations impossible to correct ; till at last the only merit of the tax is its *inequality*, which is now the case in the Milanese, Piedmont, Savoy, and England ; where an attempt to make the land-taxes equal would ruin the husbandry, and produce infinite oppression. Land taxes, so far from being equal, are so much the reverse, that it is the *nominal*, and not the *real* property, that bears the tax ; for mortgages escape though amounting to three-fourths of the property ; and if, to avoid this cruelty, the proprietor be allowed, as in the case of the *vingtiemes* in France, to tax the mortgagee, either the regulation is evaded by private agreements, or money is no longer lent for the most useful of all purposes. Lastly, land is visible, and cannot be concealed ; whereas fortunes in money are invisible, and will ever slip away from taxation of every kind, except from those on consumption. Thus land taxes, viewed in what light soever, are totally unequal, oppressive, and ruinous. On the contrary, taxes

that taxes ought not to affect one shilling of his expenditure on his land ; they can reach, with propriety, the expences of his living only ; if they touch any other part of his expenditure, they deprive him of those tools that are working the business of the state. A man paying, therefore, *according to his ability*, must be understood in a restrained sense. The preposterous nature of land-taxes is seen in this distinction, that an idle worthless dissipator is taxed exactly in the same degree as his industrious neighbour, who is converting a desert into a garden.

* Yet the nobility of Lyons and Artois, and the tiers of Troyes, demand a general *cadastre* of all France, *Cabier*. p. 17.---*Artois*, p. 18.---*Troyes*, p. 7.---The committee of imposition recommends one also, *Rapport*, p. 8.---To make the *cadastre* of Limosin cost 2,592,000 liv. (113,355l. 15s.) and the whole kingdom would cost, at the same rate, 82,944,000 liv. (3,628,800l.) requiring the employment of 3072 engineers during 18 years, *Essai d'un Methode générale a étendre les connoissances des Voyageurs*, par *Monf. Meunier*. 1779. 8vo. tom. i. p. 199.---The King of Sardinia's *cadastre* is said to have cost 8*fr.* the arpent, *Administration Prov. Le Trône*. tom. ii. p. 236. The *cabiers* demand a *cadastre* in the language of the *économistes*, as if it were to be done as soon as imagined, and to cost only a trifle : and this operation, which would take eighteen years to execute, is advised by M. le Trône to be repeated every nine !

upon

upon consumption are, of all others, the most equal, and the most fair; for they are studiously and correctly proportioned to the quantity of every man's consumption*, which may with truth generally be supposed to be commensurate to his income; at least it may be asserted safely, that there is no other method, equally sure of estimating income, as by that of consumption. There are, it is true, misers who possess much, and consume little; but it is utterly impossible to reach such men in taxation, without tyranny: nor is it of much consequence; for a succession of misers is not to be expected,—and the more the father saved, the more the son consumes; so that upon the revolution of a given period, the thing balances itself, and the state loses nothing. But there is also the greatest justice in the equality of these taxes; for they measure themselves by a man's voluntary expences; if he spend his income advantageously to the national industry and improvement, he pays very light, or no taxes; but if he consume largely and luxuriously, his contribution to the state rises with his expences; advantages possessed by no other species of tax. Equality reigns so completely in these taxes, that from the poor man, who, consuming nothing, pays nothing; to the next class, which, consuming little, pays little; and to the most wealthy, which, consuming much, pays much, all is regulated on the most perfect scale of contribution. It is needless to observe, that excises and customs equally possess this advantage; that stamps have the same, and even greater; and that *entrées* and *octrois* have a like merit, so far as cities are concerned, but are inferior in not being equally laid on all persons, wherever they may reside: a benefit in the eyes of those who think towns an evil. It must be sufficiently obvious, that all personal taxes are, to the highest degree unequal, from the impossibility of varying them properly with the conditions of life: monopolies are equal or not, in proportion to the whole society being equally subjected to them; the post-office is one of the best of taxes, and the most equal.

2. *Ease of payment.*—In this great point, there is only one sort of tax which has real merit, namely, that on consumption. Here the tax is blended with the

* The objection of the committee of imposts, that the product of such taxes is uncertain, is one of the surest proofs of their merit. Would you have a certain tax from an uncertain income? To demand it is tyranny, *Rapport du Comité de l'Imposition concernant les Loix Constitutionnelles des Finances*, 20th December, 1790. 8vo. p. 19. I know of no objections to taxes on consumption, that do not bear in a greater degree on those upon property. It is said, that excises raise the prices of manufactures, and impede foreign trade and domestic consumption, which has certainly truth in it; but it is also true, that England is, in spite of them, the most manufacturing and commercial nation upon earth, even with many very bad excises, and which ought to be changed; they are said to affect the consumption of the poor particularly, which is merely objecting to the *abuse*, and not to the nature of the tax; certainly the *height* to which taxation of every kind is carried in England, is cruel, shameful, and tyrannical. Moderate excises, properly laid, would have no other ill effects than such as flow of necessity from the nature of all taxation; as to *immoderate taxes*, and *improperly* laid, they must be mischievous, whether on property or on consumption.

price of the commodity, and the consumer pays without knowing it. He knows the price of a bottle of wine or brandy, a pack of cards, a coach-wheel, a pound of candles, tea, snuff, or salt—and he buys as he can afford; it is the same to him, whether the sum he pays be the original expence of production, the dealer's profit, or the national tax; he has nothing to do with calculating them separately, and pays them blended in the price. His ease of paying the tax is great also, by the time of demanding it, which is just at the moment when he may be thought disposed to consume, because he can afford it, which is certainly the case *with the great mass* of mankind. Taxes on property, and especially on land, are much inferior in this respect. So far as they are advanced by the tenant, and drawn back when he reckons with the landlord, they are easy to the latter: but they are exactly, in the same proportion, burthensome to the tenant, who has to advance, out of his own pocket, another man's tax, which is palpably unjust. We do not feel this much in England, because the tenantry are commonly rich enough not to regard it; but in other countries, where they are poor, it is a great oppression. At the time also of demanding the tax from the landlord, who farms his own estate, his ease is never consulted; he has to pay the tax, not because he has sold his produce, for he must pay, though his land should not produce a single farthing; not because he buys, and thereby shews that he can afford it, but merely because he possesses, which by no means proves an ability to pay at all: nay, he pays without possessing more than the name, while another receives the profit; all which shews, that land-taxes are grossly deficient in this essential requisite. It is fair, however, to admit, that a land-tax, paid in kind, like tythes gathered, are easy of payment; enormous as other objections are to them, in this respect they have merit. But no state, in modern ages, can take taxes in kind; and if let, and consequently made an engine of private and personal pique or resentment, they become one of the most horrible and detestable oppressions, fit to be endured by slaves only. Personal taxes are as bad; a man's having a head, or being born to a title, is no proof that he is able to pay a tax, which is demanded of him, at a time that marks neither receipt nor payment.

3. *Encouragement of industry.*—Taxes may be laid in such a manner as to discourage and oppress industry, or, on the contrary, to be in this respect harmless; and under this head, is to be included the investment of capital. If any branch of national industry be overloaded with duties, the profits arising from it will be so much lessened, that men will not invest their capitals in employments thus injuriously treated. The first object to be considered is, what branch of human exertions and industry is nationally most beneficial? The writers and statesmen * of all nations (how much soever they blunder practically), are theoretically agreed upon this point. There is no question, that agriculture is, of all other employments, the most important; and a country will be prosperous,

* Except Colbert, Monf. Neckey, and Mr. Pitt.

In proportion to the capitals invested in that pursuit. This decides the merit of land-taxes; in the degree they take place, the profit of possessing land is diminished, and consequently capitals are banished. If a land-tax be equally assessed, a man's improvements are taxed, which he will calculate before he lays out his money, and never invest it in a manner that lays him directly open to the operation of such duties. Thus the lands of such a country will be in the hands of men who have no other capital; and experience uniformly tells us, how important it is to the welfare of agriculture, to have land in rich hands. Taxes upon consumption, may be made utterly destructive of any branch of industry by injudicious methods of laying them; or by carrying them to too great a height; but in this case, the duty falls so much in its produce, that the government suffers as much as the employment. The tax upon leather, in France, was ruinous; the same tax in England is levied without difficulty. The inconvenience of excises chiefly flows from the necessity of larger capitals being in the hands of manufacturers, to enable them, not to *pay*, but to *advance* the tax, which they draw back in the price of the commodity; the real payment being thus thrown, as it always ought to be, on the consumer. This circumstance gives a vast superiority to taxes on consumption, over those on land. The industrious man, who invests his capital in land, cannot draw back his taxes by raising the price of his cattle and corn, and thus make the consumers pay them; it is sufficiently evident, that this is impossible, whereas all taxes on consumption are completely drawn back in the price of the goods; unless the merchant or manufacturer consumes himself, in which case he pays, as he ought to do, the tax. Personal taxes, with respect to the not discouraging of industry, and the investment of capital, are very imperfect; and monopolies (except the post-office), absolutely ruinous, for they are prohibitions on every sort of industry which the state chuses to reserve to itself. The coinage is mischievous or not, in proportion to its fidelity.

4. *Ease of collection.*—In this respect, land and house-taxes have a manifest and clear superiority; for the property is impossible to be concealed,—and the collection is as cheap as it is easy; and this small merit (of most trifling import compared with the magnitude of the evils that attend them), has been the motive for recurring to them so much in every country. Excises and customs are difficult and expensive to levy. Stamps, however, have great merit; in the British revenue, 1,329,905*l.* is raised at the expence of 51,691*l.* Personal taxes are cheaply collected, which is their only merit: monopolies are every where expensive—a fresh reason for rejecting them.

5. *Difficulty of too great extension.*—There is some merit in a tax rectifying its own excess, which is the case with those on consumption; for if they be carried to an extreme, they fall off in their produce, by encouraging smuggling and fraud.

frand. But those on property cannot be evaded, and therefore may be extended to a most oppressive and ruinous excess. The general corollary to be drawn on this subject is this—that the best taxes are those on consumption ; and the worst those on property.

On the Proposition of the Œconomistes for an Union of all Taxes on Land.

If the preceding ideas have any thing of truth in them, this system must be grossly false and mischievous. I know not whether Mr. Locke were the original father of the doctrine, that all taxes, laid in any manner whatsoever, fall ultimately on land ; but whoever started or supported it, contributed towards the establishment of one of the most dangerous absurdities that ever disgraced common sense. To enter largely into a refutation of the maxim would be useless, as Sir James Stuart, in his *Principles of Political Œconomy*, has, with great force of reasoning, laid it in the dust. It was upon this false and vicious theory that the œconomistes proposed to absorb all the imposts of France in a single land-tax. Grant the erroneous datum, that every tax whatever, on consumption or otherwise, is really borne by the land, and their conclusion is just, that it would be better and cheaper to lay on the imposition directly, in the first instance, than indirectly and circuitously : but the original idea being absolutely mistaken, the conclusion falls of course. “Mais que prétendez vous donc obtenir par cette régie si menaçante & si dispendieuse ? *De l'argent*. Et surquoi prenez-vous cet argent ? *Sur des productions*. Et d'où viennent ces productions ? *De la terre*. Allez donc plutôt puiser à la source, & demandez un partage régulier, fixe & proportionnel du produit net du territoire*.” What a series of gross errors is found in this short passage ; almost as many as there are words. The contrary is the fact ; for these taxes are *not* raised on productions ; and these objects do *not* arise from the land ; and by laying land taxes you do *not* dig at the source, unless you could impose land-taxes in foreign countries as well as your own. What trifling is it to repeat, again and again, the same jargon of ideas, without saying one word of the powerful refutation which the above-noted British writer has poured on the whole system ? Let the National Assembly lay twenty-seven *vingtièmes* in a varying land-tax, and then let the ruined kingdom come to these visionaries for the balm of their *nouvelle science*, their *physiocratie*, and their *tableau œconomique* ! The noblesse of Guienne give it as their opinion, that an impost *en nature sur les fruits*, that is to say, a tythe, is the best tax †. The clergy of Chalons ask the same thing, and that it may absorb all others ‡ ; but the nobility of the same place declare expressly against

* *Le Trône*, tom. i. p. 323.
 † *Cahier de la Noblesse de Guienne*, p. 20.
 ‡ *Cahier du Clergé de Chalons sur Marne*. p. 11.

it*. The Abbé Raynal, with all his ingenuity, falls into the common error †, and calls a cadastre *une belle institution*. Monf. de Mirabeau ‡ has entered at large into a defence of this system, by shewing that there are great inconveniencies in taxes on consumption; this every one must grant: I know of but two taxes that are free from inconveniencies, the post-office and turnpikes; all others abound with them; but to dwell on the inconveniencies of excises, without shewing that they exceed those of land-taxes, is absurd: you had in France taxes on consumption to the amount of 260,000,000; we have them in England to a greater amount; the only question really to the purpose is this, can you bear an additional land-tax to that amount, in consequence of the benefit that would result from taking off the taxes on consumption? Monf. Necker has answered this question, with relation to France, in a manner that ought to shut the mouths of the œconomistes for ever; and in England there can be but one opinion: we are able to bear the taxes as they are laid at present; but if they were all absorbed on land, agriculture would receive at one stroke its mortal wound, and the nation would sink into utter ruin. We know, from experience, that the landed interest cannot possibly draw back their taxes; this truth, founded on incontrovertible facts, is decisive; and if they cannot draw them back, how is the rental of twenty millions to bear land-taxes to the amount of seventeen millions? And of what account is the mystical jargon of a new dialect §, relying on theory alone, when opposed to the innumerable facts which the present state of every country in Europe exhibits? This circumstance of drawing back a tax, which, with all well imagined duties on consumption, is universally effected, but is absolutely impracticable with land-taxes, is the great hinge on which this inquiry really turns. When Monf. Necker shews, that if the œconomical ideas were realized, there must be TWENTY-EIGHT VINGTIEMES raised in France; and when it is considered, that in England the rental of the kingdom is but a fifth ¶ more than the taxes of it, we possess in both cases the clearest and most explicit proofs that there would be an utter impossibility to commute the present taxes in either country, unless it were at the same time proved, that landlords could, in the price of their products, draw back such enormous taxes, the mere *advance* of which would be an intolerable burthen. But as it is manifest, from facts equally explicit, that no land-tax can be drawn back; that the product of land taxed at 4s. in the pound sells precisely at the same price as that of land taxed at no more than 4d.; and that prices never vary in the least in England from the land-tax being at 1s. or at 4s. in the pound; nor in France when land pays one or three vingtiemes; when we are

* *Cabier*, p. 11. † *Etab. des Europ.* 4to. tom. iv. p. 640. ‡ *De la Mon. Pruss.* tom. iv. p. 53.

§ The writings of the œconomistes *scritti in un certo dialetto mistico. Impost secondo l'ordine della natura.* 12mo. 1771. p. 15. ¶ Including poor-rates and tythes, taxes exceed the rental.

in possession, I say, of facts so decisive, there is the clearest ground to conclude, that the idea is visionary; that such an extension of land-taxes is utterly impracticable; and that every attempt towards the execution of these plans must be immediately pernicious to agriculture, and ultimately ruinous to every interest in the state.

Relative to the utter impossibility of extending land-taxes in England to such a degree as to include all others, I have it in my power to refer to an instance of our taxation most correctly given. I have inserted in the *Annals of Agriculture*, No. 86, an account of all the taxes I pay for my estate in Suffolk; and in that account it appears, that the track of land which pays me net 229l. 12s. 7d. pays to the burthens of the public 219l. 18s. 5d! Deducting from fifteen millions and a half (the net revenue of Great Britain) those taxes which enter into that sum of 219l. 18s. 5d. there remains ten millions and a half; and as the present land-tax, at two millions, burthens me 40l. a year, an additional one of ten millions and a half would consequently lay the further burthen of five and a half times as much, or 220l.; that is to say, it would leave me the net receipt of 9l. for the whole clear income of my estate! Perhaps the œconomistes never received, directly from facts, so convincing a proof as this instance offers, of the utter impracticability of their preposterous schemes. Yet these are the principles, sorry I am to remark, that seem at present to govern the National Assembly in matters of finance. To their honour, however,—greatly to their honour—they do not seem inclined to go all the lengths which some of their members wish for: “*puisque l'intérêt bien entendu decet trois grandes sources de la prospérité des nations, appuyé des noms imposans de Quesnay, de Turgot, de Gournay, de Mirabeau le père, de la Riviere, de Condorcet, de Schmidt, & de Leopold, & développé de nouveau dans ces derniers momens avec une logique si vigoureuse par M. Farcet n'a pas encore persuadé cette arbitraire inconsequente & despotique reine du monde qu'on appelle l'opinion**.” One cannot but smile at the figure the great Leopold makes; he is put in the rear, I suppose, because he never realized, in any one instance, the land-tax of the œconomistes, much to his credit.

The mischievous, and indeed infamous abuses in the collection of the *gabelles*, *droits d'aides*, and *droits de traites*, &c. have certainly been in a great measure the origin of that prejudice, so general in France against taxes on consumption: the cruelties practised in the collection, have been falsely supposed to flow, of necessity, from the nature of the taxes; but we know, from long experience, the contrary in England; and that excises, to a vast amount, may be raised without any such cruelties, as have been commonly practised by the old government in France. I am very far from contending that these taxes in England are free

* *De quelques améliorations dans la perception de l'impôt*, par M. Dupont, p. 7.

from abuses; and I am sensible, that there are cases in which the dealers in excised commodities feel themselves hardly dealt by; and that liberty is attacked in their operation: but every one must also be sensible, that land-taxes are not free from objections equally strong. When the collector demands sums that are out of the power of the individual to pay, and seizes, by distress, the goods and chattels, to sell them, perhaps, for half their value;—when we see the people stopping up their windows, denying themselves the enjoyment even of light itself, and submitting to live in dampness and in darkness, rather than pay a cruel tax on the property of houses; when such hardships occur, it surely will not be thought, that it is duties on consumption only, that open to such abuses; every sort of tax, except the post-office and turnpikes, is a heavy evil, and the only inquiry is, of so many ills, which is least?

The smallness of the properties in land, is another insuperable objection to land-taxes in France: if fairly laid to the real value, on the possession of a few acres, they become the source of great misery: the man whose land gives him barely the necessaries of life, has nothing to spare for direct taxes; he must depend for paying them on some other employment at best precarious, in a kingdom where population goes so much beyond employment, and where numbers starve from inability of maintenance. If, to avoid these evils, exemptions from the tax are given them, these small properties, the parent and origin, at best, of such multiplied distresses, receive a direct encouragement, than which a more cruel policy could not be embraced. The only measure that would remedy both evils, is to prohibit the division of landed property into portions, below the ability of paying duties; or else, to reject land-taxes altogether. A gross evil of these direct imposts is, that of moneyed men, or *capitalists*, escaping all taxation: none but duties on consumption affect them. In countries where land-taxes abound, these men will never become proprietors, for the simplest reason, because these taxes reduce the profit of possessing land below the profit of other investments. They live upon the interest of money in the public funds; and the clearest principles of justice, call for a system of taxation that shall bring these men within its sphere; this is only to be done by taxes on consumption; by excises, customs, stamps, *entrets*, &c.; and is a powerful reason for multiplying such taxes, instead of those on land. Under the regimen of land-taxes, all foreigners residing in a kingdom absolutely escape taxation; but with duties on consumption they are made to contribute equally with the natives; in such a kingdom as France, which always did, and ever will, attract many strangers, this is an object of some consequence. But, perhaps, the greatest objection to taxes upon land is, their preventing all improvements in agriculture, if they are equal; and, if unequal, carrying with them the greatest principle of injustice, by being defective in the first requisite of all taxation. The greatest friends to this species

of imposition, acknowledge the necessity of being equal. It is this that induces the Abbé Raynal to call a *cadastre* *une belle institution*; and a late writer declares, "Il n'est point de Pays ou il ne soit nécessaire d'inventorier tout le terroire dans le plus grand détail d'enregistrer chaque portion, d'en connoître les mutations d'en évaluer le revenu & ou si l'on desire de perpétuer l'imposition égale & proportionnelle il ne soit indispensable de suivre la progression du revenue *:"—and this method he explains afterwards, by asserting the absolute necessity of having a new valuation every nine years; and he finds fault † with the King of Sardinia's *cadastre*, because the valuation has never been renewed. Another of these politicians observes, that the excellency of a tythe, as a mode of taxation, is, that if improvements are extended, or lands cultivated with more care, the revenue of the state increases with it ‡. In the same spirit, many of the *cabiers* demanded the suppression of all duties on consumption §.—I could multiply such sentiments almost to fill a volume, if I were to go back to consult the deluge of writings which invested France five-and-twenty years ago, but I quote only some living authors, who hold these pernicious doctrines at present. If the National Assembly adopts the tax recommended by their committee, of 300 millions, and should, upon these principles, make it a variable one, though never rising in its amount above that sum, the mere mutation of easing a wretched, poor, slovenly farmer, and loading proportionally an improving one, will absolutely prohibit all ameliorations of the national agriculture: and if they drew these variations to the profit of the state, by increasing the total sum proportionably to such improvements, they will still prevent them, as no man will invest his capital in any industrious employment in which the state taxes his profits.

As I have mentioned several writers in favour of land-taxes, in terms of that condemnation; absolutely necessary by a friend of agriculture, it is no more than justice to observe, that France contains some others, whose writings are free from this great objection. Mons. Necker, in his treatise on the administration of the finances, gives the preference to taxes on consumption, and shews the utter impossibility of a land-tax absorbing all others. The marquis de Cassaux § also has attempted, with much force of reason, to prove, that the land-taxes of France and England ought to be converted into duties on consumption. And some of the best writers of that vast collection, in which the physiocratical science originated, are of the same opinion. Proportional imposts, on the consumption of commodities, are *the most just, the most productive, and the least burthensome to a*

* *Le Trône Ad. Prov.* tom. i. pref. xiv.

† *Ibid.* p. 235.

‡ *Plan d'Admin. des Finances*, par M. Malport. 1787. p. 34.

§ *Noblesse de Lyon*, p. 16. *Bugy*, p. 28. *Troyes Tiers Etat*, art. 13. *Etampes*, art. 33. *Nîmes*, p. 44. There is not a tax existing in France, which is not demanded in some *cabiers* to be suppressed.

§ *Mechanismes des Sociétés*. Bro. 1785. p. 222.

*people, because paid daily and imperceptibly**. And the nobility of Quercy have, in their *cabier*, a passage, which does honour to their good sense: " Considérant que l'impôt indirect a l'inappréciable avantage d'une perception imperceptible & spontanée: que le contribuable ne le paye qu' au moment ou il en a les moyens: qu'il frappe sur les capitalistes dont le genre de fortune échappe à toute autre impôt: que la mesure des consommations étant en général celle des richesses il atteint par sa nature à une justesse de repartition d'ont l'impôt direct n'est pas susceptible †.—These are sterling and wise principles; in few words, are developed in their most striking features.

Of Simplicity in Taxation.

So many of the *cabiers* of France unite with the *œconomistes*, in calling for the utmost simplicity in taxation, by means of one only and uniform proportional impost on land, that it merits a short inquiry, how far this theory of simplicity is, in itself, deserving of the ideas entertained of it. There can be no doubt of the advantage of a cheap collection attending this or any plan of simplicity; but there are reasons for thinking that this benefit would be purchased at an expence a thousand times greater than it is worth. I do not love recurring to, or depending altogether on reasoning, when facts are at hand, on which we can build our conclusions: the taxes of England are infinitely various; much more so than those of France, especially in the articles of excises and stamps; our taxes are also very great; in proportion to the population of the kingdom, much more than double those of France; yet, with this vast burthen, they are borne by the people with much more ease than the French nation bears less than the half. This is to be attributed not to one cause only, but to many; but amongst those causes, I believe, will be found this great variety of points on which they bear. The mere circumstance of taxes being very numerous, in order to raise a given sum, is a considerable step towards equality in the burthen falling on the people; if I was to define a good system of taxation, it should be that of *bearing lightly on an infinite number of points, heavily on none*. In other words, that simplicity in taxation is the greatest additional weight that can be given to taxes, and ought, in every country, to be most sedulously avoided.—By a system of simplicity in taxation, let it be exerted in whatever method, whether on land, on persons, or on consumption, there will always be classes of the people much lighter taxed than other classes; and this inequality will throw an oppressive burthen on those who are most exposed to the operation of whatever tax is chosen. No one is a greater enemy than I am to land-taxes; but such is the advantage of an extremely various system, that I would not con-

* *Encyclopedie*. Folio, tom. viii. p. 602.

† Page 6.

tend for taking them entirely off in any country. A land-tax of 6d. 9d. or perhaps 1s. in the pound, but permanent, would be so light a burthen, that it might be borne, without the mischief of impeding agriculture. Taxes on windows are amongst the very worst that can be laid; but, as far as 3d. each, might not be liable to much objection. Unfortunately for France, the favourite idea there is the very contrary one—that of simplicity. It would have been wise not absolutely to suppress any one of their taxes, not even the *gabelle* itself: removing the abuses that flow from farming a *révenue*, introducing into the receipt the mildness of a free government, and changing entirely the mode of collection, would have removed the chief objections to those taxes which have been abolished, and have saved the enormous evil, now necessary, of loading land. This subject is a fruitful one, worthy the attention of able pens expressly employed on it, the rapid sketches which can alone be given by a traveller will allow of mere hints.

C H A P. XXII.

On the Revolution of France.

THE gross infamy which attended *lettres de cachet* and the Bastile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them esteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the most prominent features of the despotism of France. They were certainly carried to an excess hardly credible; to the length of being sold, with blanks, to be filled up with names at the pleasure of the purchaser; who was thus able, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the bosom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where he would exist forgotten, and die unknown *!—But such excesses could not be common in any country;

* An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will explain the profligacy of government, in respect to these arbitrary imprisonments. Lord Albemarle, when ambassador in France, about the year 1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American colonies, which, three years after, produced the war, calling one day on the minister for foreign affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while he finished a short conversation in the apartment in which he usually received those who conferred with him. As his lordship walked backwards and forwards, in a very small room (a French cabinet is never a large one), he could not help seeing a paper lying on the table, written in a large legible hand, and containing a list of the prisoners in the Bastile, in which the first name was Gordon. When the minister entered, lord Albemarle apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper; the other replied, that it was not of the least consequence, for they made no secret of the names. Lord A. then said, that he had seen the name of Gordon first in the list, and he begged to know, as in all probability the person of this name was a British subject, on what account he

try ; and they were reduced almost to nothing, from the accession of the present King. The great mass of the people, by which I mean the lower and middle ranks, could suffer very little from such engines, and as few of them are objects of jealousy, had there been nothing else to complain of, it is not probable they would ever have been brought to take arms. The abuses attending the levy of taxes were heavy and universal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities, with an intendant at the head of each, into whose hands the whole power of the crown was delegated for every thing except the military authority ; but particularly for all affairs of finance. The generalities were subdivided into elections, at the head of which was a *sub-delegué*, appointed by the intendant. The rolls of the *taille*, *capitation*, *vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were distributed among districts, parishes, and individuals, at the pleasure of the intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminish, at pleasure. Such an enormous power, constantly acting, and from which no man was free, must, in the nature of things, degenerate in many cases into absolute tyranny. It must be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents of the intendant, and of all his *sub-delegués*, and the friends of these friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be favoured in taxation at the expence of their miserable neighbours ; and that noblemen, in favour at court, to whose protection the intendant himself would naturally look up, could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight of their taxes on others, without a similar support. Instances, and even gross ones, have been reported to me in many parts of the kingdom, that made me shudder at the oppression to which numbers must have been condemned, by the undue favours granted to such crooked influence. But, without recurring to such cases, what must have been the state of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted ? A cruel aggravation of their misery, to see those who could best afford to pay, exempted because able !—The enrolments for the militia, which the *cabiers* call *an injustice without example* *, were another dreadful scourge on the peasantry ; and, as married men were exempted from it, occasioned in some degree that mischievous population, which brought beings into the world, in order for little else than to be starved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually the ruin of many hundreds of farmers ; more than 300 were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Loraine : all

he had been put into the Bastile. The minister told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make the proper inquiries. The next time he saw lord Albemarle, he informed him, that, on inquiring into the case of Gordon, he could find no person who could give him the least information ; on which he had had Gordon himself interrogated, who solemnly affirmed, that he had not the smallest knowledge, or even suspicion, of the cause of his imprisonment, but that he had been confined 30 years ; however, added the minister, I ordered him to be immediately released, and he is now at large. Such a case wants no comment.

* *Nob. Briey*, p. 6. &c. &c

these oppressions fell on the *tiers etat* only; the nobility and clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, militia, and *corvées*. The penal code of finance makes one shudder at the horrors of punishment inadequate to the crime*. A few features will sufficiently characterize the old government of France:

1. Smugglers of salt, armed and assembled to the number of five, in Provence, *a fine of 500 liv. and nine years gallies*;—in all the rest of the kingdom, *death*.

2. Smugglers armed, assembled, but in number under five, *a fine of 300 liv. and three years gallies*. Second offence, *death*.

3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horses, carts, or boats; *a fine of 300 liv. if not paid, three years gallies*. Second offence, *400 liv. and nine years gallies*.—In Dauphiné, second offence, *gallies for life*. In Provence, *five years gallies*.

4. Smugglers, who carry the salt on their backs, and without arms, *a fine of 200 liv. and, if not paid, are flogged and branded*. Second offence, *a fine of 300 liv. and six years gallies*.

5. Women, married and single, smugglers, first offence, *a fine of 100 liv*. Second, *300 liv*. Third, *flogged, and banished the kingdom for life*. Husbands *responsible both in fine and body*.

6. Children smugglers, the same as women.—*Fathers and mothers responsible, and for defect of payment flogged*.

7. Nobles, if smugglers, *deprived of their nobility; and their houses razed to the ground*.

8. Any persons in employments (I suppose employed in the salt-works or the revenue), if smugglers, *death*. And such as assist in the theft of salt in the transport, *hanged*.

9. Soldiers smuggling, with arms, are *hanged*; without arms, *gallies for life*.

10. Buying smuggled salt to resell it, *the same punishments as for smuggling*.

11. Persons in the salt employments, *empowered if two, or one with two witnesses, to enter and examine houses even of the privileged orders*.

12. All families, and persons liable to the *taille*, in the provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their consumption of salt for the *pot and salière*

* It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Consid. par M. le Baron de Cormeré*, tom. ii. p. 187.) very well informed on every subject of finance, that, upon an average, there were annually taken up and sent to prison or the gallies, Men, 2340. Women, 896. Children, 201. Total, 3437. 300 of these to the gallies (tom. i. p. 112.) The salt confiscated from these miserables amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of 8 liv. are

	-	-	101,064 liv.
2772 lb. of salted flesh, at 10 <i>s</i> .	-	-	1,386
1086 horses, at 50 liv.	-	-	54,300
52 carts, at 150 liv.	-	-	7,800
Fines,	-	-	53,207
Seized in houses,	-	-	105,530
			<hr/>
			323,287

(that

(that is the daily consumption, exclusive of salting meat, &c. &c.) estimated at 7lb. a head per annum, which quantity they are forced to buy whether they want it or not, under the pain of various fines according to the case.

The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term, is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the king, to princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie*, was an annihilation of all manerial rights to game, within it. This was a trifling business, in comparison of other circumstances; for, in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries*, it must be observed, that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering, at pleasure, over the whole country, to the destruction of crops; and to the peopling of the gallies by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children. The game in the *capitainerie* of Montceau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 liv. per annum*. No wonder then that we should find the people asking, “*Nous demandons à grand cris la destruction des capitaineries & celle de toute sorte de gibier †.*” And what are we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permission—“*De nettoyer ses grains de faucher les prés artificiels, & d'enlever ses chaumes sans égard pour la perdrix ou tout autre gibier ‡.*” Now, an English reader will scarcely understand it without being told, that there were numerous edicts for preserving the game which prohibited weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; steeping seed, lest it should injure the game; manuring with night soil, lest the flavour of the partridges should be injured by feeding on the corn so produced; mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, so late as to spoil many crops; and taking away the stubble, which would deprive the birds of shelter. The tyranny exercised in these *capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of country, was so great, that many *cabiers* demanded the utter suppression of them||. Such were the exertions of arbitrary power which the lower orders felt directly from the royal authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a question whether the others, suffered circuitously through the nobility and the clergy, were not yet more oppressive? Nothing can exceed the complaints made in the *cabiers* under this head. They speak of the dispensation of justice in the

* *Cabier du tiers état de Meaux*, p. 49.

† *De Mantes and Meulan*, p. 38.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 40.—*Alfo, Nob. & Tier Etat de Peronne*, p. 42. *De Trois ordres de Montfort*, p. 28.

|| *Clergé de Provins & Montceau*, p. 35.—*Clergé de Paris*, p. 25.—*Clergé de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 45, 46.—*Clergé de Laon*, p. 11.—*Nob. de Nemours*, p. 17.—*Nob. de Paris*, p. 22.—*Nob. d'Arras*, p. 29.

manerial courts, as comprizing every species of despotism: the districts indeterminate—appeals endless—irreconcilable to liberty and prosperity—and irrevocably proscribed in the opinion of the public*—augmenting litigations—favouring every species of chicanery—ruining the parties—not only by enormous expences on the most petty objects, but by a dreadful loss of time. The judges commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in *cabarets*, and are absolutely dependent on the seigneurs †. Nothing can exceed the force of expression used in painting the oppressions of the seigneurs, in consequence of their feudal powers. They are “*vexations qui sont le plus grand fléau des peuples ‡.—Esclavage affligeant ¶.—Ce reginne defastreuse §.—*That the *feodalité* be for ever abolished. The countryman is tyrannically enslaved by it. Fixed and heavy rents; vexatious processes to secure them; appreciated unjustly to augment them: rents, *solidaires*, and *reventables*; rents, *chéantes*, and *levantes*; *fumages*. Fines at every change of the property, in the direct as well as collateral line; feudal redemption (*retraite*); fines on sale, to the 8th and even the 6th penny; redemptions (*rachats*) injurious in their origin, and still more so in their extension: *banalité* of the mill ¶¶, of the oven, and of the wine and cyder-presses; *corvées* by custom; *corvées* by usage of the fief; *corvées* established by unjust decrees; *corvées* arbitrary, and even phantastical; servitudes; *prestations*, extravagant and burthensome; collections by assessments incollectible; *aveux, minus, impunissements*; litigations ruinous and without end: the rod of seigneurial finance for ever shaken over our heads; vexation, ruin, outrage, violence, and destructive servitude, under which the peasants, almost on a level with Polish slaves, can never but be miserable, vile, and oppressed**. They demand also, that the use of hand-mills be free; and hope that posterity if possible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bretagne, armed with the judicial power, has not blushed even in these times at breaking hand-mills, and at selling annually to the miserable, the faculty of bruising between two stones a measure of buck-wheat or barley ††. The very terms of these complaints are unknown in England, and consequently untranslatable: they have probably arisen long since the feudal system ceased in this kingdom. What are these tortures of the peasantry in Bretagne, which they call *chevanchés, quintaines, soule, saut de poison, baiser de mariées; chansons; trans-*

* Rennes, art. 12.

† Nevernois, art. 43.

‡ Tier Etat de Vannes, p. 24.

¶ T. Etat Clermont Ferrand. p. 52.

§ T. Etat Auxerre, art. 6.

¶¶ By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the mill of the seigneur only; to press their grapes at his presses only; and to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often spoiled, and more especially wine, since in Champagne those grapes which, pressed immediately, would make white wine, will, by waiting for the presses, which often happens, make red wine only.

** Tiers Etat Rennes, p. 159.

†† Rennes, p. 57.

porte d'œuf sur un charette; silence des grenouilles *; *corvée à miséricorde; milods; leide; couponage; cartelage; barage; fouage; marechaussée; ban vin; ban d'about; trouffes; gelinage; civerage; taillabilité; vingtain; sterlage; bordelage; minage; ban de vendanges; droit d'accapte* †. In passing through many of the French provinces, I was struck with the various and heavy complaints of the farmers and little proprietors of the feudal grievances, with the weight of which their industry was burthened; but I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the shackles which kept them poor and depressed. I understood it better afterwards, from the conversation and complaints of some grand seigneurs, as the revolution advanced; and I then learned, that the principal rental of many estates consisted in services and feudal tenures; by the baneful influence of which, the industry of the people was almost exterminated. In regard to the oppressions of the clergy, as to tythes, I must do that body a justice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England. Though the ecclesiastical tenth was levied in France more severely than usual in Italy, yet was it never exacted with such horrid greediness as is at present the disgrace of England. When taken in kind, no such thing was known in any part of France, where I made inquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture pay any thing: thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chicorée, potatoés, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts, meadows were exempted. Silk worms nothing. Olives in some places paid—in more they did not. Cows nothing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21st. Wool nothing.—Such mildness, in the levy of this odious tax, is absolutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the burthen to people groaning under so many other oppressions, united to render their situation so bad that no change could be for the worse. But these were not all the evils with which the people struggled. The administration of justice was partial, venal, infamous. I have, in conversation with many very sensible men, in different parts of the kingdom, met with something of content with their government, in all other respects than this; but upon the question of expecting justice to be really and fairly administered, every one confessed there was no such thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almost every cause that came before them, interest was openly made with the judges: and we betided the man who, with a cause to support, had no means of conciliating favour, either by the beauty of a handsome wife, or by other methods. It has been said, by many writers, that property was as secure under the old government of France

* This is a curious article: when the lady of the seigneur lies in, the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marshy districts, to keep the frogs silent, that she may not be disturbed; this duty, a very oppressive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

† *Resumé des cahiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

as it is in England; and the assertion might possibly be true, as far as any violence from the King, his ministers, or the great was concerned: but for all that mass of property, which comes in every country to be litigated in courts of justice, there was not even the shadow of security, unless the parties were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally honest; in every other case, he who had the best interest with the judges, was sure to be the winner. To reflecting minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending such courts are sufficiently apparent. There was also a circumstance in the constitution of these parliaments, but little known in England, and which, under such a government as that of France, must be considered as very singular. They had the power, and were in the constant practice of issuing decrees, without the consent of the crown, and which had the force of laws through the whole of their jurisdiction; and of all other laws, these were sure to be the best obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought before sovereign courts, composed of the same persons who had enacted these laws (a horrible system of tyranny!) they were certain of being punished with the last severity. It must appear strange, in a government so despotic in some respects as that of France, to see the parliaments in every part of the kingdom making laws without the King's consent, and even in defiance of his authority. The English, whom I met in France in 1789, were surprized to see some of these bodies issuing arrets against the export of corn out of the provinces subject to their jurisdiction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the same time that the King, through the organ of so popular a minister as Mons. Necker, was decreeing an absolutely free transport of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the requisition of the National Assembly itself. But this was nothing new; it was their common practice. The parliament of Rouen passed an arret against killing of calves; it was a preposterous one, and opposed by administration; but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend against it, he would have found, by the rigour of his punishment, who was his master. Inoculation was favoured by the court in Louis XV.'s time; but the parliament of Paris passed an arret against it, much more effective in prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging that practice. Instances are innumerable, and I may remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, false principles, and tyranny of these bodies were generally conspicuous; and that the court (taxation excepted), never had a dispute with a parliament, but the parliament was sure to be wrong. Their constitution, in respect to the administration of justice, was so truly rotten, that the members sat as judges, even in causes of private property, in which they were themselves the parties, and have, in this capacity, been guilty of oppressions and cruelties, which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

It is impossible to justify the excesses of the people on their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruelties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved

proved too clearly to admit of a doubt. But is it really the people to whom we are to impute the whole?—Or to their oppressors, who had kept them so long in a state of bondage? He who chooses to be served by slaves, and by ill-treated slaves, must know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure far different from those who prefer the service of well treated freemen; and he who dines to the music of groaning sufferers, must not, in the moment of insurrection, complain that his daughters are ravished, and then destroyed; and that his sons throats are cut. When such evils happen, they surely are more imputable to the tyranny of the master, than to the cruelty of the servant. The analogy holds with the French peasants—the murder of a seigneur, or a chateau in flames, is recorded in every newspaper; the rank of the person who suffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the register of that seigneur's oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions of feudal services, from those whose children were dying around them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that assigned these starving wretches to some vile petty-fogger, to be fleeced by impositions, and a mockery of justice, in the seigneurial courts? Who gives us the awards of the intendant and his *sub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of fashion, and laid them with accumulated weight, on the poor, who were so unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has dwelt sufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of despotism, regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical, pervading the whole mass of the people; reaching, like a circulating fluid, the most distant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedness? In these cases, the sufferers are too ignoble to be known; and the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied. But should a philosopher feel and reason thus? should he mistake the cause for the effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compassion for the many, because they suffer in his eyes not individually, but by millions? The excesses of the people cannot, I repeat, be justified; it would undoubtedly have done them credit, both as men and christians, if they had possessed their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be remembered, that the populace in no country ever use power with moderation; excess is inherent in their aggregate constitution: and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in such hands, it is doubly bound in common sense, and for common safety, so to conduct itself, that the people may not find an interest in public confusions. They will always suffer much and long, before they are effectually roused; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but such oppressions of some classes or order in the society, as give able men the opportunity of seconding the general mass; discontent will soon diffuse itself around; and if the government take not warning in time, it is alone answerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and devastation, and blood that follow. The true judgment to be formed of the French revolution, must surely be gained, from an attentive consideration of the evils of the old government: when these are well understood—and when the extent and universality

lity of the oppression under which the people groaned—oppression which bore upon them from every quarter, it will scarcely be attempted, to be urged, that a revolution was not absolutely necessary to the welfare of the kingdom. Not one opposing voice * can, with reason, be raised against this assertion: abuses ought certainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could not be done without the establishment of a new form of government; whether the form that has been adopted were the best, is another question absolutely distinct. But that the above-mentioned detail of enormities practised on the people required some great change is sufficiently apparent; and I cannot better conclude such a list of detestable oppressions, than in the words of the *Tiers Etat* of Nivernois, who hailed the approaching day of liberty, with an eloquence worthy of the subject.

“ Les plaintes du peuple se sont long-temps perdues dans l’espace immense qui le sépare du trône: cette classe la plus nombreuse & la plus intéressante de la société; cette classe qui mérite les premiers soins du gouvernement, puisqu’elle alimente toutes les autres; cette classe à laquelle on doit & les arts nécessaires à la vie, & ceux qui en embellissent le cours; cette classe enfin qui en recueillent moins a toujours payé davantage, peut-elle après tant de siècles d’oppression & de misère compter aujourd’hui sur un sort plus heureux? Ce seroit pour ainsi dire blasphémer l’autorité tutélaire sous laquelle nous vivons que d’en douter un seul moment. Un respect aveugle pour les abus établis ou par la violence ou par la superstition, une ignorance profonde des conditions du pacte social voila ce qui a perpétué jusq’ à nous la servitude dans laquelle out gemi nos pères. Un jour plus pure est près d’éclorre: le roi a manifesté le desir de trouver des sujets capables de lui dire la vérité; une de ses loix l’edit de création des assemblées provinciales du moi de Juin 1787, annonce que le vœu le plus pressant de son cœur sera toujours celui qui tendra au soulagement & au bonheur de ses peuples: une autre loi qui a retenti du centre du Royaume à ses dernières extrémités nous a promis la restitution de tous nos droits, dont nous n’avions perdu,

* Many opposing voices have been raised; but so little to their credit, that I leave the passage as it was written long ago. The abuses that are rooted in all the old governments of Europe, give such numbers of men a direct interest in supporting, cherishing, and defending abuses, that no wonder advocates for tyranny, of every species, are found in every country, and almost in every company. What a mass of people, in every part of England, are some way or other interested in the present representation of the people, tythes, charters, corporations, monopolies, and taxation! and not merely to the things themselves; but to all the abuses attending them; and how many are there who derive their profit or their consideration in life, not merely from such institutions, but from the evils they engender! The great mass of the people, however, is free from such influence, and will be enlightened by degrees; assuredly they will find out, in every country of Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, aimed equally against regal, aristocratical, and mobbish tyranny, they will be able to resist successfully, that variety of combinations, which, on principles of plunder and despotism, is every where at work to enslave them.

& dont

& dont nous ne pouvions perdre que l'exercice puisque le fond de ces mêmes droits est inaliénable & imprescriptible. Osons donc secouer le joug des anciennes erreurs : osons dire tout ce qui est vrai, tout ce qui est utile ; osons réclamer les droits essentiels & primitifs de l'homme : la raison, l'équité, l'opinion générale, la bienfaisance connue de notre auguste souverain tout concour à assurer le succès de nous doléances."

Having seen the propriety, or rather the necessity, of some change in the government, let us next briefly inquire into the effects of the revolution on the principal interests in the kingdom.

In respect to all the honours, power, and profit derived to the nobility from the feudal system, which was of an extent in France beyond any thing known in England since the revolution, or long parliament of 1640, all is laid in the dust, without a rag or remnant being spared* : the importance of these, both in influence and revenue, was so great, that the result is all but ruin to numbers. However, as these properties were real tyrannies ; as they rendered the possession of one spot of land ruinous to all around it—and equally subversive of agriculture, and the common rights of mankind, the utter destruction brought on all this species of property, does not ill deserve the epithet they are so fond of in France ; it is a real regeneration of the people to the privileges of human nature. No man of common feelings can regret the fall of that abominable system, which made a whole parish slaves to the lord of the manor. But the effects of the revolution have gone much farther ; and have been attended with consequences not equally justifiable. The rents of land, which are as legal under the new government as they were under the old, are no longer paid with regularity. I have been lately informed (August 1791), on authority not to be doubted, that associations among tenantry, to a great amount and extent, have been formed, even within fifty miles of Paris, for the non-payment of rent ; saying, in direct terms, we are strong enough to detain the rent, and you are not strong enough to enforce the payment. In a country where such things are possible, property of every kind, it must be allowed, is in a dubious situation. Very evil conse-

* It is to be observed, that the orders of knighthood were at first preserved ; when the National Assembly, with a forbearance that did them honour, refused to abolish those orders, because personal, of merit, and not hereditary, they were guilty of one gross error. They ought immediately to have addressed the King, to institute a new order of knighthood---KNIGHTS OF THE PLOUGH. There are doubtless little souls that will smile at this, and think a thistle, a garter, or an eagle more significant, and more honourable ; I say nothing of orders, that exceed common sense and common chronology, such as St. Esprit, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, leaving them to such as venerate most what they least understand. But that prince, who should first institute this order of rural merit, will reap no vulgar honour : Leopold, whose twenty years of steady and well earned Tuscan fame give him a good right to do it with propriety, might, as Emperor, institute it with most effect. In him, such an action would have in it nothing of affectation. But I had rather that THE PLOUGH had thus been honoured by a free assembly. It would have been a trait, that marked the philosophy of a new age, and a new system.

quences

quences will result from this; arrears will accumulate too great for landlords to lose, or for the peasants to pay, who will not easily be brought to relish that order and legal government, which must necessarily secure these arrears to their right owners. In addition to all the rest, by the new system of taxation, there is laid a land-tax of 300 millions, or not to exceed 4s. in the pound; but, under the old government, their *vingtiemes* did not amount to the seventh part of such an impost. In whatever light, therefore, the case of French landlords is viewed, it will appear, that they have suffered immensely by the revolution.— That many of them deserved it, cannot, however, be doubted, since we see their *cabiers* demanding steadily, that all their feudal rights should be confirmed *: that the carrying of arms should be strictly prohibited to every body but noblemen †: that the infamous arrangements of the militia should remain on its old footing ‡: that breaking up wastes, and inclosing commons, should be prohibited §: that the nobility alone should be eligible to enter into the army, church, &c. ¶: that *lettres de cachet* should continue **: that the press should not be free ††: and, in fine, that there should be no free corn trade ††.

To the clergy, the revolution has been yet more fatal. One word will dispatch this inquiry. The revolution was a decided benefit to all the lower clergy of the kingdom; but it was destructive of all the rest. It is not easy to know what they lost on the one hand, or what the national account will gain on the other. Mons. Necker calculates their revenue at 130,000,000 liv. of which only 42,500,000 liv. were in the hands of the *curées* of the kingdom. Their wealth has been much exaggerated: a late writer says, they possessed half the kingdom ||. Their number was as little known as their revenue; one writer makes them 400,000 §§; another 81,400 *†; a third 80,000 *‡.

* *Eureux*, p. 32.—*Bourbonnois*, p. 14.—*Artois*, p. 22.—*Bazas*, p. 8.—*Nivernois*, p. 7.—*Poitou*, p. 13.—*Saintonge*, p. 5.—*Orleans*, p. 19.—*Chaumont*, p. 7.

† *Vermandois*, p. 41.—*Quenoy*, p. 19.—*Sens*, p. 25.—*Eureux*, p. 36.—*Sesjanne*, p. 17.—*Bar sur Seine*, p. 6.—*Beauvais*, p. 13.—*Bugey*, p. 34.—*Clermont Ferand*, p. 11.

‡ *Limoges*, p. 36. || *Cambrai*, p. 19.—*Pont a Mousson*, p. 38

§ *Lyon*, p. 13. *Touraine*, p. 31.—*Angoumois*, p. 13.—*Auxerre*, p. 13. The author of the *Historical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 8vo, 1792, says, p. 68, "the worst enemies of nobility have not yet brought to light any *cabier*, in which the nobles insisted on their exclusive right to military preferments."—In the same page, this gentleman says, it is impossible for any Englishman to study four or five hundred *cabiers*. It is evident, however, from this mistake, how necessary it is to examine them before writing on the revolution.

** *Vermandois*, p. 23.—*Chalais-sur-Marne*, p. 6.—*Gien*, p. 9. †† *Crepy*, p. 10.

†† *St. Quentin*, p. 9. || *De l'Autorité de Montesquieu dans la revolution presente*. 8vo. 1789. p. 61. §§ *Etats Generaux convoques, par Louis XVI.* par M. Target, prem. suite, p. 7.

*† *Qu'est-ce-que le Tiers Etat*, 3d edit. par M. l'Abbé Siéyès. 8vo. p. 51.

*‡ *Bibliothèque de l'homme publique*, par M. Condorcet, &c. tom. iii.

The clergy in France have been supposed, by many persons in England, to merit their fate from their peculiar profligacy. But the idea is not accurate: that so large a body of men, possessed of very great revenues, should be free from vice, would be improbable, or rather impossible; but they preserved, what is not always preserved in England, an exterior decency of behaviour.— One did not find among them poachers or fox-hunters, who, having spent the morning in scampering after hounds, dedicate the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the pulpit. Such advertisements were never seen in France, as I have heard of in England:—*Wanted a curacy in a good sporting country, where the duty is light, and the neighbourhood convivial.* The proper exercise for a country clergyman, is the employment of agriculture, which demands strength and activity—and which, vigorously followed, will fatigue enough to give ease its best relish. A sportsman parson may be, as he often is in England, a good sort of man, and *an honest fellow*; but certainly this pursuit, and the resorting to obscene comedies, and kicking their heels in the jig of an assembly, are not the occupations for which we can suppose tythes were given*. Whoever will give any attention to the demands of the clergy in their *cabiers*, will see, that there was, on many topics, an ill spirit in that body. They maintain, for instance, that the liberty of the press ought rather to be restrained than extended †: that the laws against it should be renewed and executed ‡: that admission into religious orders should be, as formerly, at sixteen years of age ||: that *lettres de cachet* are useful, and even necessary §. They solicit to prohibit all division of commons ¶;—to revoke the edict allowing inclosures **; that the export of corn be not allowed ††; and that public granaries be established ‡‡.

The ill effects of the revolution have been felt more severely by the manufacturers of the kingdom, than by any other class of the people. The rivalry of the English fabrics, in 1787 and 1788, was strong and successful; and the confusions that followed in all parts of the kingdom, had the effect of lessening the incomes of so many landlords, clergy, and men in public employments; and such numbers fled from the kingdom, that the general mass of the consumption of national fabrics sunk perhaps three-fourths. The men, whose incomes were untouched, lessened their consumption greatly, from an apprehension of the unsettled state of things: the prospects of a civil war, suggested to every man, that his safety, perhaps his future bread, depended on the money which he could hoard. The inevitable consequence, was turning absolutely out of employment

* Nothing appears so scandalous to all the clergy of Europe, as their brethren in England dancing at public assemblies; and a bishop's wife engaged in the same amusement, seems to them as preposterous as a bishop, in his lawn sleeves, following the same diversion, would to us. Probably both are wrong.

† *Saintonge*, p. 24.—*Limoges*, p. 6, &c. ‡ *Lyon*, p. 13.—*Dourdon*, p. 5.

|| *Saintonge*, p. 26.—*Montargis*, p. 10. § *Limoges*, p. 22. ¶ *Troyes*, p. 11.

** *Metz*, p. 11. †† *Rouen*, p. 24. ‡‡ *Laon*, p. 11.—*Dourdon*, p. 17.

immense

immense numbers of workmen. I have, in the diary of the journey, noticed the infinite misery to which I was a witness at Lyons, Abbeville, Amiens, &c. and by intelligence, I understood that it was still worse at Rouen : the fact could not be otherwise. This effect, which was absolute death, by starving many thousands of families, was a result, that, in my opinion, might have been avoided. It flowed only from carrying things to extremities—from driving the nobility out of the kingdom, and seizing, instead of regulating, the whole regal authority. These violences were not necessary to liberty ; they even destroyed true liberty, by giving the government of the kingdom, in too great a degree, to Paris, and to the populace of every town.

The effect of the revolution, to the small proprietors of the kingdom, must, according to the common nature of events, be, *in the end*, remarkably happy ; and had the new government adopted any principles of taxation, except those of the *économistes*, establishing at the same time an absolute freedom in the business of inclosure, and in the police of corn, the result would probably have been advantageous, even at this recent period. The committee of imposts * mention (and I doubt not their accuracy), the prosperity of agriculture, in the same page in which they lament the depression of every other branch of the national industry. Upon a moderate calculation, there remained, in the hands of the classes depending on land, on the account of taxes in the years 1789 and 1790, at least 300,000,000 liv. ; the execution of *corvées* was as lax as the payment of taxes. To this we are to add two years tythe, which I cannot estimate at less than 300,000,000 liv. more. The abolition of all feudal rents, and payments of every sort during those two years, could not be less than 100,000,000 liv. including services. But all these articles, great as they were, amounting to near 800,000,000 liv. were less than the immense sums that came into the hands of the farmers by the high price of corn throughout the year 1789 ; a price arising almost entirely from Monsr. Necker's fine operations in the corn trade, as it has been proved at large ; it is true there is a deduction to be made on account of the unavoidable diminution of consumption in every article of land produce, not essentially necessary to life : every object of luxury, or tending to it, is lessened greatly. But after this discount is allowed, the balance, in favour of the little proprietor farmers, must be very great. The benefit of such a sum being added, as it is to the capital of husbandry, needs no explanation. Their agriculture must be invigorated by such wealth—by the freedom enjoyed by its professors ; by the destruction of its innumerable shackles ; and even by the distresses of other employments, occasioning new and great investments of capital in land : and these leading facts will appear in a clearer light, when the prodigious division of landed property in France is well considered ; probably half, perhaps two-thirds,

* *Rapport le 6 Decembre 1790, sur les moyens de pourvoir aux dépenses pour 1791, p. 4-*

of the kingdom are in the possession of little proprietors, who paid quit-rents, and feudal duties, for the spots they farmed. Such men are placed at once in comparative affluence; and as ease is thus acquired by at least half the kingdom, it must not be set down as a point of trifling importance. Should France escape a civil war, she will, in the prosperity of these men, find a resource which politicians at a distance do not calculate. With renters the case is certainly different; for, beyond all doubt, landlords will, sooner or later, avail themselves of these circumstances, by advancing their rents; acting in this respect, as in every other country, is common; but they will find it impossible to deprive the tenantry of a vast advantage, necessarily flowing from their emancipation.

The confusion, which has since arisen in the finances, owing almost entirely to the mode of taxation adopted by the assembly, has had the effect of continuing to the present moment (1791), a freedom from all impost to the little proprietors, which, however dreadful its general effects on the national affairs, has tended strongly to enrich this class.

The effects of the revolution, not on any particular class of cultivators, but on agriculture in general, is with me, I must confess, very questionable; I see no benefits flowing, *particularly* to agriculture (liberty applies equally to *all* classes, and is not yet sufficiently established for the protection of *property*), except the case of tythes; but I see the rise of many evils; restrictions and prohibitions on the trade of corn—a varying land-tax—and impeded inclosures, are mischiefs on *principle*, that may have a generative faculty; and will prove infinite drawbacks* from the prosperity, which certainly was attainable. It is to be hoped, that the good sense of the assembly will reverse this system by degrees; for, if it is not reversed, AGRICULTURE CANNOT FLOURISH.

The effect of the revolution, on the public revenue, is one great point on which Mons. de Calonne lays considerable stress; and it has been since urged in France, that the ruin of 30,000 families, thrown absolutely out of employment, and consequently out of bread, in the collection of the taxes on salt and tobacco only, has had a powerful influence in spreading universal distress and misery. The public revenue sunk, in one year, 175 millions: this was not a *loss* of that sum; the people to whom assignats were paid on that account lost no more than the discount; the loss, therefore, to the people to whom that revenue was paid, could amount to no more than from 5 to 10 per cent. *. But was it a loss to the miserable subjects who formerly paid those taxes; and who paid them by the sweat of their brows, at the expence of the bread out of their children's mouths, assessed with tyranny, and levied in blood. Do they feel a loss in

* Since this was written, assignats fell, in December 1791, and January 1792, to 34 to 38 per cent. paid in silver, and 42 to 50 paid in gold, arising from great emissions; from the quantity of private paper issued; from forged ones being common, and from the prospect of a war.

having 175 millions in their pockets in 1789, more than they had in 1788? and in possessing other 175 millions more in 1790, and the inheritance in future? Is not such a change ease, wealth, life, and animation to those classes, who, while the pens of political satirists slander all innovations, are every moment reviving, by inheriting from that revolution something which the old government assuredly did not give? The revenue of the clergy may be called the revenue of the public:—those to whom the difference between the present payment of one hundred and forty millions, and the old tythes, are a deduction of all revenue, are, beyond doubt, in great distress; but what say the farmers throughout the kingdom, from whom the detestable burthen of those taxes was extorted? Do not they find their culture lightened, their industry freed, their products their own? Go to the aristocratical politician at Paris, or at London, and you hear only of the ruin of France—go to the cottage of the *metayer*, or the house of the farmer, and demand of him what the result has been—there will be but one voice from Calais to Bayonne. If tythes were to be at one stroke abolished in England*, no doubt the clergy would suffer, but would not the agriculture of the kingdom, with every man dependent on it, rise with a vigour never before experienced.

Future Effects.

It would betray no inconsiderable presumption to attempt to predict what will be the event of the revolution now passing in France; I am not so imprudent. But there are considerations that may be offered to the attention of those who love to speculate on future events better than I do. There are three apparent benefits in an aristocracy forming the part of a constitution; first, the fixed, consolidated, and hereditary importance of the great nobility, is, for the most part, a bar to the dangerous pretensions, and illegal views, of a victorious and highly popular king, president, or leader. Assemblies, so elected, as to be swayed absolutely by the opinion of the people, would frequently, under such a prince, be ready to grant him much more than a well constituted aristocratic senate. Secondly, such popular assemblies, as I have just described, are sometimes led to adopt decisions too hastily, and too imprudently; and particularly in the case of wars with neighbouring nations; in the free countries, we have known the commonalty have been too apt to call lightly for them. An aristocracy, not *unduly*

* It is an error in France to suppose, that the revenue of the church is small in England. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris states that revenue at 210,000l.; it cannot be stated at less than five millions sterling. *Mem. présenté par la S. R. d'Ag. à l'Assemblée Nationale, 1789, p. 52.*—One of the greatest and wisest men we have in England, persists in asserting it to be *much less* than two millions. From very numerous inquiries, which I am still pursuing, I have reason to believe this opinion to be founded on insufficient data.

influenced by the crown, stands like a rock against such phrenzies, and hath a direct interest in the encouragement and support of peaceable maxims. The remark is applicable to many other subjects, in which mature deliberation is wanted to ballast the impetuosity of the people. I always suppose the aristocratic body well constituted, upon the basis of a sufficient property, and at the same time no *unlimited* power in the crown, to throw all the property of the kingdom into the same scale, which is the case in England. Thirdly, whatever benefits may arise from the existence of an executive power, distinct from the legislative, must absolutely depend on some intermediate and independent body between the people and the executive power. Every one must grant, that if there be no such body, the people are enabled, when they please, to annihilate the executive authority,—and assign it, as in the case of the long parliament, to committees of their own representatives; or, which is the same thing, they may appear, as they did at Versailles, armed before the King, and insist on his consent to any propositions they bring him; in these cases, the seeming advantages derived from a distinct executive power are lost. And it must be obvious, that in such a constitution as *the present* one of France, the kingly office can be put down as easily, and as readily, as a secretary can be reprimanded for a false entry in the journals. If a constitution be good, all great changes in it should be esteemed a matter of great difficulty and hazard: it is in bad ones only that alterations should not be looked upon in a formidable light.

That these circumstances may prove advantages in an aristocratical portion of a legislature, there is reason to believe; the inquiry is, whether they be counter-balanced by possible or probable evils. May there not come within this description, the danger of an aristocracy uniting with the crown against the people? that is to say, influencing by weight of property and power, a great mass of the people dependent—against the rest of the people who are independent? Do we not see this to be very much the case in England at this moment? To what other part of our constitution is it imputable that we have been infamously involved in perpetual wars, from which none reap any benefit but that tribe of vermin which thrive most when a nation most declines; contractors, victuallers, paymasters, stock-jobbers, and money-scriveners: a set by whom ministers are surrounded; and in favour of whom whole classes amongst the people are beggared and ruined. Those who will assert a constitution can be good * which

* It ought not to be allowed even tolerable, for this plain reason, such public extravagance engenders taxes to an amount that will sooner or later force the people into resistance, which is always the destruction of a constitution; and surely that must be admitted bad, which carries to the most careless eye the seeds of its own destruction. Two hundred and forty millions of public debt in a century, is in a ratio impossible to be supported; and therefore evidently ruinous.

suffers these things, ought at least to agree, that such an one as would not suffer them would be much better *.

If an aristocracy have thus its advantages and disadvantages, it is natural to inquire, whether the French nation be likely to establish something of a senate, that shall have the advantages without the evils. If there should be none, no popular representatives will ever be brought, with the consent of their constituents, to give up a power in their own possession and enjoyment. It is experience alone, and long experience, that can satisfy the doubts which every one must entertain on this subject. What can we know, experimentally, of a government which has not stood the brunt of unsuccessful and of successful wars? The English constitution has stood this test, and has been found deficient; or rather, as far this test can decide any thing, has been proved worthless; since, in a single century, it has involved the nation in a debt of so vast † a magnitude, that every blessing which might otherwise have been perpetuated is put to the stake; so that if the nation do not make some change in its constitution, it is much to be dreaded that the constitution will ruin the nation. Where practice and experience have so utterly failed, it would be vain to reason from theory: and especially on a subject on which a very able writer has seen his own prediction so totally erroneous: "In the monarchical states of Europe, it is highly improbable that any form of properly equal government should be established for many ages; the people, in general, and especially in France, being proud of their monarchs, even when they are oppressed by them ‡."

In regard to the future consequences of this singular revolution, as an example to other nations, there can be no doubt but the spirit which has produced it, will, sooner or later, spread throughout Europe, according to the different degrees of illumination amongst the common people; and it will prove either mischievous or beneficial, in proportion to the previous steps taken by governments. It is un-

* "The direct power of the King of England," says Mr. Burke, "is considerable. His indirect is great indeed. When was it that a King of England wanted wherewithal to make him respected, courted, or perhaps even feared in every state in Europe?" It is in such passages as these, that this elegant writer lays himself open to the attacks formidable, because just, of men who have not an hundredth part of his talents. Who questions, or can question, the power of a prince that in less than a century has expended above 1000 millions, and involved his people in a debt of 240! The point in debate is not the *existence* of power, but its *excess*. What is the constitution that generates or allows of such expences? The very mischief complained of is here wrought into a merit, and brought in argument to prove that poison is salutary.

† This debt, and our enormous taxation, are the best answer the National Assembly gives to those who would have had the English government, with all its faults on its head, adopted in France; nor was it without reason said by a popular writer, that a government, formed like the English, obtains more revenue than it could do, either by direct despotism, or in a full state of freedom.

‡ Dr. Priestley's Lectures on Hist. 4to. 1788. p. 317.

questionably

questionably the subject of all others the most interesting to every class, and even to every individual of a modern state; the great line of division, into which the people divides, is, 1st, those that have property; and, 2d, others that have none. The events that have taken place in France, in many respects, have been subversive of property; and have been effected by the lower people, in direct opposition to the nominal legislature; yet their constitution began its establishment with a much greater degree of regularity, by a formal election of representatives, than there is any probability of seeing in other countries. Revolutions will there be blown up from riotous mobs—from the military called out to quell them, but refusing obedience, and joining the insurgents. Such a flame, spreading rapidly through a country, must prove more hostile, and more fatal to property, than any thing that has prevailed in France. The probability of such events, every one must allow to be not inconsiderable; the ruin that must attend them cannot be doubted; for they would tend to produce not a National Assembly, and a free constitution, but an universal anarchy and confusion. The first attempt towards a democracy in England would be the common people demanding an admission and voice in the vestries, and voting to themselves whatever rates they thought proper to appropriate; which, in fact, would be an agrarian law. Can there be so much supineness in the present governments of Europe, as to suppose, that old principles and maxims will avail any longer? Can such ignorance of the human heart, and such blindness to the natural course of events be found, as the plan of rejecting *all* innovations lest they should lead to greater? There is no government to be found, that does not depend, in the last resort, on a military power; and if that fail them, is not the consequence easily seen? A new policy must either be adopted, or all the governments we know will be swept from their very foundations. This policy must consist, first, in making it the interest, as much as possible, of every class in the state, except those absolutely without property*, to support the established government; and also to render it as palatable, as the security of property will allow, even to these; farther than this, none can look; for it is so directly the interest of the people, *without property*, to divide with those *who have it*, that no government can be established, which shall give the poor an equal interest in it with the rich †;—the visible tangible interest of the
 poor

* The representation of mere population is as gross a violation of sense, reason, and theory, as it is found pernicious in practice; it gives to ignorance to govern knowledge; to uncultivated intellect the lead of intelligence; to savage force the guide of law and justice; and to folly the governance of wisdom. Knowledge, intelligence, information, learning, and wisdom ought to govern nations; and these are all found to reside most in the middle classes of mankind; weakened by the habits and prejudices of *the great*, and stifled by the ignorance of the vulgar.

† Those who have not attended much to French affairs, might easily mistake the representation of territory and contribution in the French constitution, as something similar to what I contend for
 but

poor (if I may use the expressions), and not the ultimate and remote, which they will never voluntarily regard, is a *pure* democracy, and a consequent division of property, the sure path to anarchy and despotism. The means of making a government respected and beloved are, in England, obvious; taxes must be immensely reduced; assessments on malt, leather, candles, soap, salt, and windows, must be abolished or lightened; the funding system, the parent of taxation, annihilated for ever, by taxing the interest of the public debt—the constitution that admits a debt, carries in its vitals the seeds of its destruction; tythes * and tests abolished; the representation of parliament reformed, and its duration shortened; not to give the people, without property, a predominancy, but to prevent that corruption, in which our debts and taxes have originated; the utter destruction of all monopolies, and, among them, of all charters and corporations; game-made property, and belonging to the possessor of one acre, as much as to him who has a thousand; and, lastly, the laws, both criminal and civil, to be thoroughly reformed.—These circumstances include the great evils of the British constitution; if they be remedied, it may enjoy even a Venetian longevity; but if they be allowed, like cancerous humours to prey on the nobler parts of the political system, this boasted fabric may not exist even twenty years. To guard property effectually, and to give permanency to the new system, the militia laws ought all to be repealed. When we see, as in all the monarchies of Europe, the government only armed, despotism is established. When those who have property alone are armed, how secure the people from oppres-

---but nothing is more remote: the number chosen is of little consequence, while persons without property are the electors. Yet Mr. Christie says, vol. i. p. 196. that property is a base on which representation ought to be founded; and it is plain he thinks that property is represented, though the representatives of the property are elected by men that do not possess a shilling! It is not that the proprietors of property should have voices in the election proportioned to their property, but that men who have a direct interest in the plunder or division of property should be kept at a distance from power. Here lies the great difficulty of modern legislation, to secure property, and at the same time to secure freedom to those that have no property. In England there is much of this effected for the small portion of every man's income that is left to him after public plunder is satiated (the poor, the parson, and the king take 50 to 60 per cent. of every man's rent)---but the rest is secure. In America the poor, the parson, and the king take nothing (or next to nothing), and the whole is secure. In France ALL seems to be at the mercy of the populace.

* The exaction of tythes is so absurd and tyrannical an attack on the property of mankind, that it is almost impossible for them to continue in any country in the world half a century longer. To pay a man by force 1000l. a year, for doing by deputy what would be much better done for 100l. is too gross an imposition to be endured. To levy that 1000l. in the most pernicious method that can wound both property and liberty, are circumstances congenial to the tenth century, but not to the eighteenth. Italy, France, and America have set noble examples for the imitation of mankind; and those countries that do not follow them, will soon be as inferior in cultivation as they are in policy.

tion ?

son?—When those who have no property are armed, how prevent their seizing the property of others?—Perhaps the best method of guarding against these contrary evils, is to embody, in a national militia, all who have property; and, at the same time, to allow arms (unembodied) to all citizens indiscriminately: we see, in the case of Berne, that the people being armed, keeps an aristocracy in such order, that great oppressions are unknown. An army was always dangerous; and, in the probable state of Europe, it may be doubly so; discipline preserved, it cemented despotism; undisciplined, it may unite with the people of no property, and produce anarchy and ruin. There seems to be no sufficient guard upon it, but a national militia, formed of every man that possesses a certain degree of property, rank and file as well as officers*. Such a force, in this island, would probably amount to above 100,000 men; and would be amply sufficient for repressing all those riots, whose object might be, immediately or ultimately, the democratic mischief of transferring property †. This for a free govern-

* The late riots at Birmingham ought to convince every man, who looks to the preservation of peace, that a *militia of property* is absolutely necessary; had it existed at that town, no such infamous transactions could have taken place, to the disgrace of the age and nation. Those riots may convince us how insecure our property really is in England, and how very imperfect that *POLITICAL SYSTEM*, which could, twice in ten years, see two of the greatest towns in England at the mercy of a vile mob. The military must, in relation to the greater part of the kingdom, be always at a distance; but a militia is on the spot, and easy to be collected, by previous regulations, at a moment's warning.

† The class of writers who wish to spread the taste of revolutions, and make them every where the *order of the day*, affect to confound the governments of France and America, as if established on the same principles; if so, it is a remarkable fact that the result should, to appearance, turn out so differently: but a little examination will convince us, that there is scarcely any thing in common between those governments, except the general principle of being free. In France, the populace are electors, and to so low a degree that the exclusions are of little account; and the qualifications for a seat in the provincial assemblies, and in the national one, are so low that the whole chain may be completed, from the first elector to the legislator, without a single link of what merits the name of property. The very reverse is the case in America, there is not a single state in which voters must not have a qualification of property: in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a freehold of 3l. a year, or other estate of 60l. value: Connecticut is a country of substantial freeholders, and the old government remains: in New York, electors of the senate must have a property of 100l. free from debts; and those of the assembly freeholds of 40s. a year, *rated and paying taxes*: in Pennsylvania, payment of taxes is necessary: in Maryland, the possession of 50 acres of land, or other estate worth 30l.: in Virginia, 25 cultivated acres, with a house on it: in North Carolina, for the senate 50 acres, and for the assembly payment of taxes: and in all the states there are qualifications much more considerable, necessary for being eligible to be elected. In general it should be remembered, that taxes being so very few, the qualification of paying them excludes vastly more voters than a similar regulation in Europe. In constituting the legislatures also, the states all have two houses, except Pennsylvania. And Congress itself meets in the same form. Thus a ready explanation is found of that order and regularity, and security of property, which strikes every eye in America; a contrast to the spectacle which

France

government :—despotic ones, that would wish to escape destruction, must emancipate their subjects, because no military conformation can long secure the obedience of ill treated slaves; and while such governments are giving to their people a constitution worth preserving, they should, by an absolute renunciation of all the views of conquest, make a small army as efficient for good purposes, as a large force for ambitious ones; this new-modelled military should consist, rank and file, of men interested in the preservation of property and order: were this army to consist merely of nobility, it would form a military aristocracy, as dangerous to the prince as to the people; it should be composed, indiscriminately, of individuals, drawn from all classes, but possessing a given property.—A good government, thus supported, may be durable; bad ones will be shivered to pieces by the new spirit that ferments in Europe. The candid reader will, I trust, see, that in whatever I have ventured to advance on so critical a subject as this great and unexampled revolution, I have assigned the merit I think due to it, *which is the destruction of the old government*, and not the establishment of the new. All that I saw, and much that I heard, in France, gave me the clearest conviction, that *a change* was necessary for the happiness of the people; a change, that should limit the royal authority; that should restrain the feudal tyranny of the nobility; that should reduce the church to the level of good citizens; that should correct the abuses of finance; that should give purity to the

France has exhibited, where confusion of every sort has operated, in which property is very far from safe; in which the populace legislate and then execute, not laws of their representatives, but of their own ambulatory wills; in which, at this moment (March 1792), they are a scene of anarchy, with every sign of a civil war commencing. These two great experiments, as far as they have gone, ought to pour conviction in every mind, that order and property never can be safe if the right of election is personal, instead of being attached to property: and whenever propositions for the reformation of our representation shall be seriously considered, which is certainly necessary, nothing ought to be in contemplation but taking power from the crown and the aristocracy---not to give it to the mob, but to the middle classes of moderate fortune. The proprietor of an estate of 50l. a year is as much interested, in the preservation of order and of property, as the possessor of fifty thousand; but the people without property have a direct and positive interest in public confusion, and the consequent division of that property, of which they are destitute. Hence the necessity, a pressing one in the present moment, of a militia rank and file, of property; the essential counterpoise to assemblies in ale-house kitchens, clubbing their pence to have the *Rights of Man* read to them, by which should be understood (in Europe, not in America) the **RIGHT TO PLUNDER**. Let the state of France at present be coolly considered, and it will be found to originate absolutely in population, without property being represented; it exhibits scenes such as can never take place in America. See the National Assembly of a great empire, at the crisis of its fate, listening to the harangues of the Paris populace, the female populace of St. Antoine, and the president formally answering and flattering them! Will such spectacles ever be seen in the American Congress? Can that be a well constituted government, in which the most precious moments are so consumed? The place of assembling (Paris) is alone sufficient to endanger the constitution.

administration

administration of justice; and that should place the people in a state of ease, and give them weight enough to secure this blessing. Thus far I must suppose every friend of mankind agreed. But whether, in order to effect thus much, all France were to be overthrown, ranks annihilated, property attacked, the monarchy abolished, and the king and royal family trampled upon; and, above all the rest, the whole effect of the revolution, good or bad, put on the issue of a conduct which, to speak in the mildest language, made a civil war probable:—this is a question absolutely distinct. In my private opinion, these extremities were not necessary; France might have been free without violence; a necessitous court, a weak ministry, and a timid prince, could have refused nothing to the demands of the states, essential to public happiness. The power of the purse would have done all that ought to have been done. The weight of the commons would have been predominant; but it would have had checks and a controul, without which *power* is not CONSTITUTION, but *tyranny*.—While, however, I thus venture to think that the revolution might have been accomplished upon better principles, because probably more durable ones, I do not therefore assign the first National Assembly in the gross to that total condemnation, they have received from some very intemperate pens, and for this plain reason, because it is certain that they have not done much which was not called for by the people.

Before the revolution is condemned in the gross, it should be considered what extent of liberty was demanded by the three orders in their *cabiers*; and this in particular is necessary, since those very *cabiers* are quoted to shew the mischievous proceedings of the National Assembly. Here are a few of the ameliorations demanded; to have the trial by jury, and the *habeas corpus* of England*; to deliberate by head, and not by order, demanded *by the nobility themselves*†; to declare all taxes illegal and suppressed—but to grant them anew for a year‡; to abolish for ever the capitaineries‡; to establish a *caisse nationale séparée inaccessible à toute influence du pouvoir executif*||: that all the intendants should be suppressed§: that no treaties of commerce should be made but with the consent of the states¶: that the orders of begging monks be suppressed**: that all monks be suppressed, and their goods and estates sold††: that tythes be for ever suppressed‡‡: that all feudal rights, duties, payments, and services be abolished|||: that salaries (*traitement pécuniaire*), be paid to the depu-

* *Nob. Auxois*, p. 23. *Artois*, p. 13. *T. Etat de Peronne*, p. 15. *Nob. Dauphiné*, p. 119.

† *Nob. Touraine*, p. 4. *Nob. Senlis*, p. 46. *Nob. Pays de Labour*, p. 3. *Nob. Quenoy*, p. 6. *Nob. Sens*, p. 3. *Nob. Thimerais*, p. 3. *Clergé du Bourbonnois*, p. 6. *Clergé du Bas Limosin*, p. 10.

‡ Too numerous to quote, of both Nobility and Tiers. || Many; Nobility as well as Tiers.

§ *Nob. Sezanne*, p. 14. *T. Etat Metz*, p. 42. *T. Etat de Auvergne*, p. 9. *T. Etat de Riom*, p. 23.

¶ *Nob. Nivernois*, p. 25. ** *Nob. Bas Limosin*, p. 12. †† *T. Etat du Haut Vivarais*, p. 18. *Nob. Rheims*, p. 16. *Nob. Auxerre*, p. 41. ‡‡ *Nob. Toulon*, p. 18. ||| Too many to quote.

ties * : that the permanence of the National Assembly is a necessary part of its existence † : that the Bastille be demolished ‡ : that the duties of *aides*, on wine, brandy, tobacco, salt, leather, paper, iron, oil, and soap, be suppressed || : that the apanages be abolished § : that the domains of the king be alienated ¶ : that the king's studs (*baras*), be suppressed ** : that the pay of the soldiers be augmented †† : that the kingdom be divided into districts, and the elections proportioned to population and to contributions ‡‡ : that all citizens, paying a determinate quota of taxes vote in the parochial assemblies |||| : that it is indispensable in the states-general to consult the Rights of Man §§ : that the deputies shall accept of no place, pension, grace, or favour ¶¶.

From this detail of the instructions given by the nation, I will not assert that every thing which the National Assembly has decreed is justifiable; but it may be very fairly concluded, that much the greater part of their arrears, and many that have been the most violently arraigned, are here expressly demanded. To reply that these demands are not those of the nation at large, but of particular bodies only, is very wide from the argument; especially as the most virulent enemies of the revolution, and particularly Mess. Burke and De Calonne, have, from these *cabiers*, deduced such conclusions as suited their purpose; and if they are made authority for condemning the transactions in that kingdom, they certainly are equal authority for supporting those transactions. I shall make but one observation on these demands. The assemblies that drew them up, most certainly never demanded, in express terms, the abolition of the monarchy, or the transfer of all the regal authority to the deputies; but let it be coolly considered, what sort of a monarchy must necessarily remain, while an assembly is permanent, with power to abolish tithes; to suppress the intendants; not only to vote, but to keep the public money: to alienate the king's domains; and to suppress his studs: to abolish the *capitaineries*, and destroy the Bastille:—the assembly that is called upon to do all this, is plainly meant to be a body *solely* possessing the legislative authority: it is evidently not meant to *petition the king*

* *Nob. Nomeny en Loraine*, p. 10. † *Nob. Mantes & Meulan*, p. 16. *Provins & Montereaux*, art. 1. *Rennes*, art. 19. ‡ *Nob. Paris*, p. 14. || *Nob. Vitry le Francois*, MS. *Nob. Lyon*, p. 16. *Nob. Bugey*, p. 28. *Nob. Paris*, p. 22. § *Nob. Ponthieu*, p. 32. *Nob. Chartres*, p. 19. *Nob. Auxerre*, art. 74. ¶ *Nob. Bugey*, p. 11. *Nob. Montargis*, p. 18. *Nob. Paris*, p. 16. *Nob. Bourbonnois*, p. 12. *Nob. Nancy*, p. 23. *Nob. Angoumois*, p. 20. *Nob. Pays de Labour*, fol. 9. ** *Nob. Beauvois*, p. 18. *Nob. Troyes*, p. 25. †† *Nob. Limoges*, p. 31. ‡‡ *T. Etat de Lyon*, p. 7. *Nismes*, p. 13. *Cotentin*, art. 7. ||| *T. Etat Rennes*, art. 15. §§ *T. Etat Nismes*, p. 11.

¶¶ *T. Etat Pont a Mousson*, p. 17. Mr. Burke says, "When the several orders, in their several bailliages, had met in the year 1789, to chuse and instruct their representatives, they were the *people* of France; whilst they were in that state, in no one of their instructions did they charge, or even hint at any of those things which have drawn upon the usurping assembly the detestation of the rational part of mankind."

to do it; because they would have used, in this case, the form of expression so common in other parts of the *cabiers*, *that his majesty will have the goodness*, &c.

The result of the whole inquiry, cannot but induce temperate men to conclude, that the abolition of tythe, of feudal services and payments, of the *gabelle*, or salt-tax, of that on tobacco, of the *entrees*, of all excises on manufactures, and of all duties on transit, of the infamous proceedings in the old courts of justice, of the despotic practices of the old monarchy, of the militia regulations, of the monasteries and nunneries, and of numberless other abuses; I say, that temperate men must conclude, that the advantages derived to the nation are of the very first importance, and such as must inevitably secure to it, as long as they continue, an uncommon degree of prosperity. The men who deny the benefit of such events, must have something sinister in their views, or *muddy in their understandings*. On the other hand, the extensive and unnecessary ruin brought on so many thousands of families, of all descriptions, by violence, plunder, terror, and injustice, to an amount that is shewn in the utter want of the precious metals, the stagnation of industry, and the poverty and misery found amongst many, is an evil of too great a magnitude to be palliated. The nourishment of the most pernicious cancer in the state, public credit; the deluge of paper money; the violent and frivolous extinction of rank*; the new system of taxation, apparently so hurtful to landed property; and a restricted corn trade; all these are great deductions from public felicity, and weigh the heavier in the scale, because unnecessary to effect the revolution. Of the nature and durability of the constitution established, prudent men will not be eager to prophesy: it is a new experiment†, and cannot be tried or examined

* It is so because the inequality remains as great as if titles had remained, but built on its worst basis, wealth. The nobility were bad, but not so bad as Mr. Christie makes them; they did *not* wait till the *Etats Generaux* before they agreed to renounce their pecuniary privileges, *Letters on the Rev. of France*, vol. i. p. 74. The first meeting of the states was May 5, 1789; but the nobility assembled at the Louvre, Dec. 20, 1788, addressed the king, declaring that intention.

† After all that has been said of late years, on the subject of constitutions and governments by various writers in England, but more especially in France, one circumstance must strike any attentive reader; it is, that none of the writers who have pushed the most forward in favour of new systems, have said any thing to convince the unprejudiced part of mankind, that experiment is not as necessary a means of knowledge in relation to government, as in agriculture, or any other branch of natural philosophy. Much has been said in favour of the American government, and I believe with perfect justice, *reasoning as far as the experiment extends*; but it is fair to consider it as an imperfect experiment, extending no further than the energy of personal virtue, seconded by the moderation attendant on a circulation not remarkably active. We learn, by Mr. Payne, that General Washington accepted no salary as commander of their troops, nor any as president of their legislature---an instance that does honour to their government, their country, and to human nature; but it may be doubted, whether any such instances will occur two hundred years hence? The exports of the United States now amount to 20 millions of dollars; when they amount to 500 millions, when great wealth,

examined on old ideas ; but the EFFECTS, good and bad, here arranged, in opposition to each other, are visible to every eye ; the advantages are recognized ; the evils are felt. On these circumstances we are competent to reason *.

1792.

IT may afford the reader some satisfaction to note a few circumstances of the state of France at the opening of 1792, which I draw from the correspondence of some friends, on whose accuracy I can rely.

Agriculture.—Small proprietors, who farm their own lands, are in a very improved and easy situation : renters are proportionally so, to the degree in which their landlords have not been able to acquire in new rents, the payments from which the land has been freed. Owners of meadows, woods, and a variety of articles for which no tythe was paid before, gain much less than others whose property used to be subject to that burthen. In regard to the payment of rent, there is a distinction between the north and south of the Loire ; in the former, rents continue to be paid ; but to the south, many landlords have been unable to receive a penny ; and here a difference is observable ; absentees, who were not beloved, or whose agents are disliked, are in an ill situation ; but others, who reside, or who, though absent, are beloved, are paid proportionally to the ability of the *metayer*, which species of tenant is chiefly found south of the Loire. The last crop (of 1791), is said to have been short ; in a good year, in Picardy, 40 sheaves gave a *septier* of wheat, of 240 lb. ; but now it takes 50 to 60. This circumstance, however, cannot be general, as the price plainly proves ; for January 7th 1792, price at Paris of wheat was 22 to 28 liv. with assignats at 36 per cent. discount, a remarkable proof, that the most depreciated paper cur-

wealth, vast cities, a rapid circulation, and, by consequence, immense private fortunes are formed, will such spectacles be found? Will their government then be as faultless as it appears at present? It may. Probably it will still be found excellent ; but we have no conviction, no proof ; it is in the womb of time---THE EXPERIMENT IS NOT MADE. Such remarks, however, ought always to be accompanied with the admission, that the British government has been experimented.---With what result?---Let a debt of 240 millions---let seven wars---let Bengal and Gibraltar---let 30 millions sterling of national burthens, taxes, rates, tythes, and monopolies---let these answer---

* The gross abuse which has been thrown on the French nation, and particularly on their assemblies, in certain pamphlets, and without interruption, in several of our newspapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who feels for the future interests of this country. It is in some instances carried to so scandalous an excess, that we must necessarily give extreme disgust to thousands of people, who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to *vote* and *act* under the influence of impressions unfavourable towards a country, that, unprovoked, has loaded them with so much contumely ; for a nation groaning under a debt of 240 millions, that deadens the very idea of future energy, this seems, to use the mildest language, to be at least very imprudent.

rency will answer every purpose for objects of physical necessity, and daily consumption. The discount on this paper, is greater than ever was foretold by those who predicted an enormous rise of all the necessaries of life; a proof how new the science of politics is, and how little able the most ingenious men are to foretel the effects of any specified event. The sale of the national estates has been of late very slow, which is a strange circumstance, since the rapidity of their transfer ought to have been proportioned to the discount upon assignats, for an obvious reason; for, while land is to be acquired with money, the more depreciated paper is, the greater the benefit to the purchaser. While the sale of the estates lasted with any degree of briskness, the common price, of such as have come to my knowledge, was 20 to 30, and even more years purchase; at which rate the advantages attending investments may be great.

Commerce and Manufactures.—The result of the vast discount upon assignats has, in relation to the national industry, been almost contrary to what many persons, not ill informed, expected. Early in the confusion of the revolution, nothing suffered so severely as manufactures; but I am now (1792) informed, that there is much more motion and employment in them than some time past, when the general aspect of affairs was less alarming. The very circumstance which, according to common ideas, should have continued their depression, has most unaccountably revived them in some measure; I mean the depreciation of the assignats. Paper currency has been at so low a pitch, that every species of goods has been preferred in payments; master manufacturers paying their workmen, &c. in assignats, by which bread is purchased at a price proportioned to the crop, can sell the product of that labour to such an advantage, as to create demand enough to animate their business: a most curious political combination, which seems to shew, that in circumstances where evils are of the most alarming tendency, there is a re-action, an under-current, that works against the apparent tide, and brings relief, even from the very nature of the misfortune. Combine this with the point of depression of England, in all her wars, as explained with such talents by the ingenious Mr. Chalmers, and something of a similarity will strike the reflecting reader. The loss by the depression of assignats has not been by any interior transactions, but by those with foreign powers. In consequence of it, the course of exchange rose at last so high, that the loss to the kingdom has been great, but by no means so great as some have imagined, who supposed the intercourse to be moving in the same ratio as in preceding periods. But this is no light error: the evil of exchange, like all other political evils, corrects itself; when it is very much against a people, they necessarily lessen their consumption of foreign commodities; and on the contrary, foreign nations consume *theirs* very freely, because so easily paid for. Through the month of January 1792, the course of exchange between us and Paris, has been about 18

on

on an average ; reckoning the par at 30 (which, however, is not exact), here is 40 per cent. against France ; deduct 36 for the discount on assignats, and this apparent enormity of evil is reduced to 4 per cent. Through the month of January 1791, the course was 25½ ; this was 15 per cent. disadvantage, and deducting 5 for the discount on assignats, the real disadvantage was 10. Thus the exchange in January 1792 is 6 per cent. more favorable to France than in 1791 ; a remark, however, which must not be extended to any other case, and touches not on the internal mischiefs of a depreciated currency. It seems to shew, that the evils of their situation, so little understood by the generality of people here, are correcting themselves, relative to foreigners, through the operation of the causes I have mentioned. It is at the same time to be remarked, that while the price of corn, and other things, in which there is no competition by foreigners, rises merely on account of a scarcity, real or apprehensive ; at the same time, every thing bought by foreigners, or which can be bought by them, has risen greatly ; for instance, the cloth of Abbeville, a French commodity, has risen from 30 liv. to 42 liv. the aulne ; and copper, a foreign commodity, has increased, it is asserted, in the petition of the Norman manufactures to the National Assembly, 70 per cent. Such a fabric may suffer ; but if their pins sell proportionably with other things, the evil, it must be admitted, tends to correct itself.

Finances.—The prominent feature is the immensity of the debt, which increases every hour. That which bears interest, may be about 5,000,000,000 liv. ; and assignats, or the debt not bearing interest, may be grossly estimated at 1,500,000,000 liv. ; in all 6,500,000,000 liv. or 284,375,000l. sterling : a debt of such enormity, that nothing but the most regular, and well paid revenue, could enable the kingdom to support it. The annual *deficit* may be reckoned about 250,000,000 liv. *at present*, but improveable by a better collection of the revenue. The following is the account for the month of February 1792.

Recette,	-	-	-	-	20,000,000
Depenses extraordinaire de 1792,	-	-	-	-	12,000,000
Id. pour 1791,	-	-	-	-	2,000,000
Avances au de part de Paris,	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
Deficit,	-	-	-	-	43,000,000
					<u>58,000,000</u>

I am afraid that any attempt to support such infinite burthens, must continue to deluge the kingdom with paper, till, like Congress dollars in America, circulation ceases altogether. There seems to be no remedy but a bankruptcy, which is the best, easiest, and most beneficial measure to the nation, that can be embraced ; it is also the most just and the most honourable ; all shifting expedients are, in fact, more mischievous to the people, and yet leave government as deeply involved,

involved, as if no recourse had been made to them. If the *milice bourgeoise* of Paris is so interested in the funds, as to render this too dangerous, there does not appear to be any other rule of conduct, than one great and last appeal to the nation, declaring, that they must either DESTROY PUBLIC CREDIT, OR BE DESTROYED BY IT. If the National Assembly have not virtue and courage enough thus to extricate France, she must at all events, remain, however free, in a state of political debility.

The impossibility of levying the *economistes*, land-tax, is found in France to be as great in practice as the principles of it were absurd in theory. I am informed (February 1792), that the confusion arising from this cause, in almost every part of the kingdom, is great. The tax of 300 millions, laid on the *rental* of France, would not be more than 2s. 6d. in the pound; too great a burthen on just political principles, but not a very oppressive one, had it been once fairly assessed, and never afterwards varied. But, by pursuing the jargon of the *produit net*, and making it variable, instead of fixed, every species of inconvenience and uncertainty has arisen. The assembly divided the total among the departments; the departments the *quotas* among the districts; the districts among the municipalities; and the municipalities assembled for the assessment of individuals: the same decree that fixed the tax at 300 millions, limited it also not to exceed one-fifth of the *produit net*; every man had therefore a power to reject any assessment that exceeded that proportion; the consequence was, the total assigned to the municipalities, was scarcely any where to be found, but upon large farms, let at a money-rent in the north of France; among the small proprietors of a few acres, which spread over so large a part of the kingdom, they all screened themselves under definitions, of what the *produit net* meant; and the result was, that the month of December, which ought to have produced 40 millions, really produced but 14. So practicable has this visionary nonsense of the *produit net* proved, under the dispensations of a mere democracy, though acting *nominally* * by representatives. The fact has been, that this ill conceived and ill laid land-tax, which, under a different management, and under the orderly government of the *settled* part of America, might have been effectively productive, has been so contrived, that it never will, and never can produce what it was estimated at in France. The people, without property, have a direct interest in seconding the refusals of others to pay, that are in the lowest classes of property, and who can really ill afford it; one great objection to all land-taxes, where possessions are much divided. With power in such hands, the refusal is effective, and the national treasury is empty. But supposing such enormous difficulties overcome, and these little properties valued and taxed on some practicable plan, from that moment there must be a new valuation every

* Whether nominally, or really, is not of consequence, if *effective* qualifications of property be not, at every step, the guard, as in the American constitutions.

year; for, if one has wealth enough to improve beyond the capacity of the rest, they immediately shift a proportion of their tax on him; and this has accordingly happened, early as it is in the day, and indeed is inherent in the nature of the tax, as promulgated by the assembly*. Thus annual assessments, annual confusion, annual quarrels, and heart-burnings, and annual oppression, must be the consequence; and all this, because a plain, simple, and practicable mode of assessment was not laid down by the legislature itself, instead of leaving it to be debated and fought through 500 legislatures, on the plan, purely ideal and theoretical, of the *économistes*!

Police of Corn.—The National Assembly has been of late repeatedly employed in receiving complaints from various departments, relative to the scarcity and high price of corn, and debates on it arise, and votes pass, which are printed, to satisfy the people that all precautions are taken to prevent exportation. Such a conduct shews, that they tread in the steps of *Monf. Necker*, and that they consequently may expect, with a crop but slightly deficient, to see a famine. In the *Gazette Nationale*, of March 6, 1792, I read, in the journal of the Assembly, *Inquietudes—précautions prises—commissaires envoyés—veiller à la subsistance du peuple—fonds pour acheter des grains chez l'étranger—dix millions—&c.* Now this is precisely the blind and infatuated conduct of *Monf. Necker*. If these steps are necessary to be taken (which is impossible), why talk of and print them? Why alarm the people, by shewing yourselves alarmed? Forty-five millions loss, in the hands of *M. Necker*, purchased not three days corn for France; ten millions will not purchase one day's consumption!! but the report and parade of it will do more mischief than the loss of five times the quantity: without being in France, I am clear, and can rely enough upon principles to know, that these measures will RAISE, not sink the price. One of the many instances in legislation, that proves the immense difference (regarding the cases of France and the United States) between a representation of mere population, and one of property! *M— pour prévenir les inquietudes qui pourraient arriver l'année prochaine et les suivantes, l'assemblée doit s'occuper dès ce moment d'un plan général sur les subsistances*—There is but one plan, ABSOLUTE FREEDOM; and you will shew, by accepting or rejecting it, what class of the people it is that you represent. Proclaim a free trade, and from that moment ordain that an inkstand be crammed instantly into the throat of the first member that pronounces the word corn.

Prohibition of the Export of the raw Materials of Manufactures.—The last information I have had from France is a confirmation of the intelligence our newspapers gave, that the National Assembly had ordered a decree to be pre-

* "Aussitôt que les opérations préliminaires seront terminées les officiers municipaux et les commissaires adjoints feront, en leur ame et conscience l'évaluation du revenue net des différentes propriétés foncières de la communauté section par section. *Journal des Etats Gen.* tom. xvi. p. 510.

pared for this prohibition. It seems that the master manufacturers of various towns, taking advantage of the great decline of the national fabrics, made heavy complaints to the National Assembly; and, among other means of redress, demanded a prohibition of the export of cotton, silk, wool, leather, and, in general, of all raw materials. It was strenuously opposed by a few men, better acquainted than the common mass with political principles, but in vain; and orders were given to prepare the decree, which I am assured will pass. As I have, in various papers in the *Annals of Agriculture*, entered much at large into this question, I shall only mention a few circumstances here, to convince France, if possible, of the mischievous and most pernicious tendency of such a system, which will be attended with events little thought of at present in that kingdom. As it is idle to have recourse to reasoning, when facts are at hand, it is only necessary to describe the effect of a similar prohibition in the case of wool in England:—1st, The price is sunk by it 50 per cent. below that of all the countries around us, which, as is proved by documents unquestionable, amounts to a land-tax of between three and four millions sterling; being so much taken from land and given to manufactures. 2d, Not to make them flourish; for a second curious fact is, that of all the great fabrics of England that of wool is *least* prosperous, and has been regularly *most* complaining, of which the proofs are before the public; the policy therefore has failed; and because it fails in England, it is going to be adopted in France. The home monopoly of wool gives to the manufacturers so great a profit, that they are not solicitous about any extension of their trade beyond the home product; and to this it is owing that no foreign wool, Spanish alone excepted (which is not produced here), is imported into England. The same thing will happen in France; the home-price will fall; the landed-interest will be *robbed*; and the manufacturer, tasting the sweets of monopoly, will no longer import as before: the fabric at large will receive no increase; and all the effect will be, to give the master manufacturer a great profit on a small trade: he will gain, but the nation will lose. 3d, The most flourishing manufacture of England is that of cotton, of which the manufacturer is so far from having a monopoly, that $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of the material are imported under a duty, and our own exportable duty free. The next (possibly the first) is that of hardware; English iron is exported duty free, and the import of foreign pays 2l. 16s. 2d. a ton; English coals exported in vast quantities. Glass exhibits the same spectacle; English kelp exportable duty free, and 16s. 6d. a ton on foreign; raw silk pays 3s. a lb. on import; export of British hemp and flax undressed is free, foreign pays a duty on import; British rags, for making paper, exportable duty free; unwrought tin, lead, and copper all exportable either free or under a slight duty. The immense progress made by these manufactures, particularly hardware, cotton, glass, flax, and earthen-ware, another in

which no monopoly of material can exist, is known to all Europe; they are among the greatest fabrics in the world, and have risen rapidly; but note (for it merits the attention of France), that wool has experienced no such rise*. Our policy in wool stands on fact, therefore convicted of rottenness; and this is precisely the policy which the new government of France copies, and extends to every raw material! 4th, The free trade in raw materials is necessary, like the free trade in corn, not to send those materials abroad, but to secure their production at home; and lowering the price, by giving a monopoly to the buyer, is not the way to encourage farmers to produce. 5th, France imports silk and wool to the amount of 50 or 60 millions a year, and exports none, or next to none; why prohibit an export, which in settled times does not take place? At the present moment, the export either takes place, or it does *not* take place; if the latter, why prohibit a trade which has no existence? If it does take place, it proves that the manufacturers cannot buy it as heretofore: is that a reason why the farmers should not produce it? Your manufacturers cannot buy, and you will not let foreigners; what is that but telling your husbandmen that they shall not produce? Why then do the manufacturers ask this favour? They are cunning: they very well know why: they have the same view as their brethren in England—solely that of **SINKING THE PRICE**, and thereby putting money in their own pockets, at the expence of the landed interest! 6th, All the towns of France contain but six millions of people; the manufacturing towns not two millions: why are twenty millions in the country to be cheated out of their property, in order to favour one-tenth of that number in towns? 7th, In various passages of these travels, I have shewn the wretched state of French agriculture, for want of more sheep; the new system is a curious way to effect an increase—*by lowering the profit of keeping them*. 8th, The French manufacturers, under the *old system of freedom*, bought raw materials from other nations, to the amount of several millions, besides working up all the produce of France; if sinking the price be not their object, what is? Can they desire to do more than this? If under the new government their fabrics do not flourish as under the old one, is that a reason for prohibition and restriction, for robbery and plunder of the landed interest, to make good their own losses? And if such a demand is good logic in a manufacturer's counting-house, is that a reason for its being received in a **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY!!**

One of the most curious inquiries that can be made by a traveller, is to endeavour to ascertain how much per cent. a capital invested in land, and in farming-stock, will return for cultivation in different countries; no person, according to my knowledge, has attempted to explain this very important but difficult problem.

* Exports 1757, 4,758,095l. In 1767, 4,277,462l. In 1777, 3,743,537l. In 1787, 3,687,795l. See this subject fully examined, *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. x. p. 235.

The price of land, the interest of money, the wages of labour, the rates of all sorts of products, and the amount of taxes, must be calculated with some degree of precision, in order to analyze this combination. I have for many years attempted to gain information on this curious point, concerning various countries. If a man in England buys land rented at 12s. an acre, at thirty years purchase, and cultivates it himself, making five rents, he will make not more than from 4½ to 5 per cent. and at most 6, speaking of general culture, and not estimating singular spots or circumstances, and including the capital invested in both land and stock. I learn, from the correspondence of the best farmer, and the greatest character the new world has produced, certain circumstances, which enable me to assert, with confidence, that money invested on the same principles, in the middle states of North America, will yield considerably more than double the return in England, and in many instances the treble of it. To compare France with these two cases, is very difficult:—had the National Assembly done for the agriculture of the kingdom what France had a right to expect from FREEDOM, the account would have been advantageous. For buying at 30 years purchase, stocking the the same as in England, and reckoning products 6 per cent. lower in price (about the fact), the total capital would have paid from 5½ to 6½ per cent.; land-tax reckoned at 3s. in the pound, which is the proportion of the total tax to the rental of the kingdom*. It is true, that the course of exchange would make an enormous difference, for when exchange is at 15, this ratio per cent. instead of 5½ becomes 11, if the capital is remitted from Britain: but as that immense loss (50 per cent.) on the exchange of France, arises from the political state of the kingdom, the same circumstances which cause it, would be estimated at so much hazard and danger. But bring to account the operations of the National Assembly, relating to the non-inclosure of commons; the land-tax, variable with improvements, (an article sufficient to stifle the thoughts of such a thing); the export of corn at an end; the transport every where impeded; and your granaries burnt and plundered at the pleasure of the populace, if they do not like the price; and, above all, the prohibition of the export of all materials of manufactures, as wool, &c. and it is sufficiently clear, that America offers a vastly more

* But this land-tax is variable, and therefore impossible to estimate accurately; if you remain no better farmer than your French neighbours, *it is so much*; but if you improve, *you are raised, and they are sunk*; all that has, and can be said against tithes, bears with equal force against such a tax. And though this imposition cannot go by the present law beyond 4s. in the pound, it would be very easy to shew, by a plain calculation, that 4s. in the pound, *rising with improvement*, is a tax impossible to be borne by one who improves; and consequently, that it is a direct tax on improvement; and it is a tax in the very worst form, since the power to lay and enforce it, is not in the government of the kingdom, but in the municipal government of the parish. Your neighbour, with whom you may be on ill terms, has the power to tax you; no such private heart-burnings and tyranny are found in excises.

eligible field for the investment of capital in land than France does; a proof that the measures of the National Assembly have been ill-judged, ill-advised, and unpolitical: I had serious thoughts of settling in that kingdom, in order to farm there; but the two measures adopted, of a variable land-tax, and a prohibition of the export of wool, damped my hopes, ardent as they were, that I might have breathed that fine climate, free from the extortions of a government, stupid in this respect as that of England. It is, however, plain enough, that America is the only country that affords an adequate profit, and in which a man, who calculates with intelligence and precision, can think of investing his capital. How different would this have been, had the National Assembly conducted themselves on principles directly contrary; had they avoided all land taxes*; had they preserved the free corn-trade, a trade of import more than of export; had they been silent upon inclosures; and done nothing in relation to raw materials, the profit of investments would have been higher in France than in America, or any country in the world, and immense capitals would have flowed into the kingdom from every part of Europe: scarcity and famine would not have been heard of, and the national wealth would have been equal to all the exigencies of the period.

* To have avoided land-taxes, might very easily have been made a most popular measure, in a kingdom so divided into little properties as France is. No tax is so heavy upon a small proprietor; and the *œconomistes* might have foreseen what has happened, that such little democratic owners would not pay the tax; but taxes on consumption, laid *as in England*, and not in the infamous methods of the old government of France, would have been paid by them in a light proportion, without knowing it; but the *œconomistes*, to be consistent with their old pernicious doctrines, took every step to make all, except land-taxes, unpopular; and the people were ignorant enough to be deceived into the opinion, that it was better to pay a tax on the bread put into their children's mouths---and, what is worse, on the land which ought, but does not produce that bread, than to pay an excise on tobacco and salt; better to pay a tax which is demanded equally, whether they have or have not the money to pay it, than a duty which, mingled with the price of a luxury, is paid in the easiest mode, and at the most convenient moment. In the writings of the *œconomistes*, you hear of a free corn trade, and free export of every thing, being the recompence for a land-tax; but see their actions in power---they impose the burthen, and forget the recompense!

* * * * *

April 26, 1792.

IN the last moment which the preparation for publication allows me to use, the intelligence is arrived of a declaration of war on the part of France against the House of Austria;—the gentlemen in whose company I hear it, all announce destruction to France;—*they will be beat*;—*they want discipline*;—*they have no subordination*;—and this idea I find general. So cautiously as I have avoided *prophetic* presumption through the preceding pages, I shall scarcely assume it so late in my labours;—but thus much I may venture,—that the expectation of destruction to France has many difficulties to encounter. Give all you please to power of field evolution, depending on the utmost strictness of discipline—you must admit that it bears only on the question of battles. But guarded as France is, by the most important frontier fortresses the world knows, why hazard battles? Undisciplined troops behind walls and within *works*, are known on experience to be effective: and where are the resources to be found that shall attack those strong holds 700 miles from home? I was at Lisle, Metz, and Strasbourg; and if the military intelligence I had was accurate, it would demand 100,000 men, completely provided with every thing for a siege, three months to take either of those towns, supposing them well provided and well defended. We know, on positive experience, what the Austrians and Prussians led by some of the greatest men that have existed, were able to do in sieges, when undertaken at their own doors;—what will they effect against places ten times as strong and 700 miles from home? It is a matter of calculation—of pounds and shillings;—not of discipline and obedience.

But many depend on the deranged state of the French finances; that derangement flows absolutely from a vain attempt at preserving public credit:—the National Assembly will see its futility; misery; ruin; the NATION must be preserved—what on comparison is *public credit*?

The divisions, factions, and internal disturbances, offer to others the hope of a civil war. It ought to be a vain hope. During peace, such difficulties fill the papers, and are dwelt upon, till men are apt to think them terrible; in war they are TREASON, and the gallows sweeps from the world, and the columns of a gazette the actors and the recital.

Oil and vinegar—fire and water—Prussians and Austrians are united to carry war amongst 26 millions of men, arranged behind 100 of the strongest fortresses in the world.—If we are deceived, and Frenchmen are not fond of freedom, but will fight for despotism—something may be done; for then France falls by the power of France: but if united but tolerably, the attack will be full of difficulties in a country where every man, woman, and child is an enemy, that fights for freedom.

But, suppose this idea erroneous—suppose an impression made—and that the German banners were flying at Paris.—Where is the security of the rest of Europe? Is the division of Poland forgotten? Is an unforeseen union of two or three great powers to protrude through Europe a predominancy dangerous to all? Gentlemen, who indulge their wishes for a counter-revolution in France, do not, perhaps, wish to see the Prussian colours at the Tower, nor the Austrian at Amsterdam. Yet success to the cause might plant them there. Should real danger arise to France, which I hold to be problematical, it is the business, and direct interest of her neighbours, to support her.

The revolution, and anti-revolution parties of England, have exhausted themselves on the French question; but there can be none, if that people should be in danger:—WE hold at present the balance of the world; and have but to speak, and it is secure.

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T H E E N D.

ERRATA.

P. 24. l. 33, &c. a transposition; for *thing that is in supper one and a desert: the whole very well served, with every desert, and at season*, read *desert for dinner; for supper one, and a desert; the whole very well served, with every thing in season*.—P. 37. l. 30. for *Fondrins*, r. *Londrins*.—P. 38. l. 33. for *striking*, r. *sinking*.—P. 43. l. 12. for *Lünder*, r. *landes*.—P. 44. l. 30. for *La Tour*, r. *Leitour*.—P. 101. l. 27. for *power*, r. *powers*.—P. 105. l. 17. for *Toy*, r. *Foy*.—P. 106. l. 11. for *setton*, r. *jetton*.—P. 127. l. 20. for *aciné*, r. *acmé*.—P. 129. l. 19. for *Frudrains*, r. *Trudains*.—P. 130. for *Montesquieu*, r. *Montesquion*.—P. 153. l. 36. for *in flame*, r. *enflame*.—P. 158. for *Barut*, r. *Barut*.—P. 159. l. 5. for 800 liv. r. 8000 liv. P. 207. l. 29. for *Poute*, r. *Ponte*.—P. 429. l. 8. for *Aux*, r. *Augs*.—P. 440. l. 19. for *distinction*, r. *destruction*.—P. 460. l. 14. for 1,700,000, r. 3,700,000, and alter the sums dependent on that.—P. 484. for *surplus*, r. *supply*.—P. 512. l. 39. for 2,430,980, r. 7,505,980, and alter the sums dependent.—P. 521. l. 32. for 2500, r. 1500.—P. 530. l. 15. for *invested*, r. *infested*.—Several of these errors affect the sense so much, that I have noted them; but there are others in the French passages, which the candid reader will see at once are errors of the press, and it is hoped will pardon accordingly.

