

He then proceeds to "Nations considered in themselves." A nation or a state (he observes) is a body politick, or a society of men united together to promote their mutual safety and advantage, by means of their union. From the very design that induces a number of men to form a society that has its common interests, and ought to act in concert, it is necessary that there should be established a publick authority, to order and direct what ought to be done by each, in relation to the end of the association. This political authority is the sovereignty, and he or they who are invested with it are the sovereign. It is evident from the very act of the civil or political association, that each citizen subjects himself to the authority of the entire body, in every thing that relates to the common welfare. The authority of all, over each member, therefore essentially belongs to the body politick, or to the states; but the exercise of that authority may be placed in different hands, according as the society shall ordain. If the body of the nation keeps in its own hands the empire, or the right of command, it is a popular government, a democracy; if it refers it to a certain number of citizens, to a senate, it establishes a republick, an aristocracy; in short, if it confines the government to a single person, the state becomes a monarchy. These three kinds of government may be variously combined and modified*.

After a great deal more upon this subject he next considers the duties of a nation towards itself; in which he shews, that a nation is under an obligation to preserve itself and its members; that it ought to avoid every thing that might occasion its destruction; and that it has a right to every necessary for its preservation. "Another of the duties of a nation towards itself is, to endeavour after its perfection, and that of the state. It is this double perfection that renders a nation capable of attaining the end of civil society: it would be absurd to unite in society, and yet not to endeavour to promote the end of that union."---- "Since then the perfection of the society is what renders it proper to secure equally the happiness of the body and that of the members; to endeavour after this perfection is the grand object of the engagements and duties of a citizen. Whatever therefore may hinder the perfection of the people, and that of the state, or retard the progress either of the one or the

other, must be prevented and carefully avoided."----"The English furnish us with an example of the kind, highly worthy of attention. That illustrious nation distinguishes itself in a glorious manner, by its application to every thing that can render the state the most flourishing. An admirable constitution there places every citizen in a situation that enables him to contribute to this great end, and every where diffuses a spirit of true patriotism, which is zealously employed for the publick welfare. We there see mere citizens form considerable enterprizes, in order to promote the glory and welfare of the nation. And while a bad prince would be abridged of his power, a king, endowed with wisdom and moderation, finds the most powerful succours to give success to his great designs. The nobles and the representatives of the people form a band of confidence between the monarch and the nation, and concur with him in every thing that concerns the publick welfare; ease him in part of the burthen of government; confirm his power, and render him an obedience the more perfect, as it is voluntary. Every good citizen sees that the strength of the state is really the welfare of all, and not that of a single person. Happy constitution! which they did not suddenly obtain: It has cost rivers of blood; but they have not purchased it too dear. May luxury, that pest so fatal to the manly and patriotic virtues, that minister of corruption so dangerous to liberty, never overthrow a monument that does so much honour to human nature; a monument capable of teaching kings how glorious it is to rule over a free people."

In the 4th chapter he considers "The sovereign, his obligations, and prerogatives."---- "We have said (continues the author) that the sovereignty is that publick authority which commands in civil society, and orders and directs what each is to perform, to obtain the end of its institution. This authority originally and essentially belonged to the body of the society, to which each member submitted, and ceded the rights he received from nature, to conduct himself in every thing as he pleased, according to the dictates of his own understanding, and to do himself justice. But the body of the society does not always retain this sovereign authority; it frequently trusts it to a senate, or to a single person. This senate, or this person, is then the sovereign.

"It is evident that men form a political society,

* Our own constitution is an instance of this combination, since it is a mixture of all three.