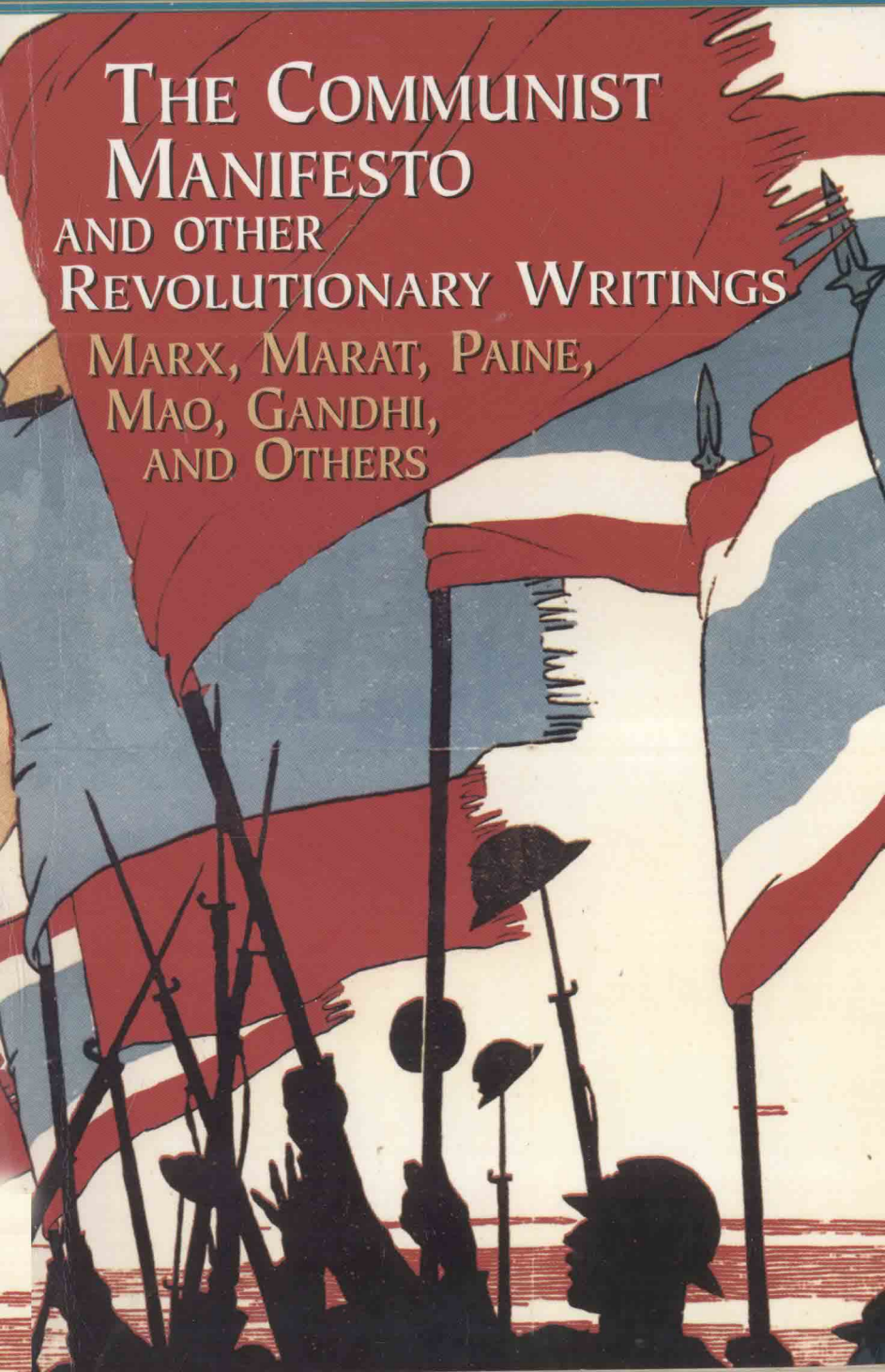


DOVER · THRIFT · EDITIONS

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

AND OTHER
REVOLUTIONARY WRITINGS

MARX, MARAT, PAINE,
MAO, GANDHI,
AND OTHERS



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**THE
COMMUNIST
MANIFESTO**
and Other
Revolutionary Writings
Marx, Marat, Paine, Mao,
Gandhi, and Others

Edited by
BOB BLAISDELL

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Editor's Note

... revolution, that last resort of an indignant nation.
—Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'ancien regime et la Revolution*¹

KARL MARX and Frederick Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, published in 1848, though chronologically almost equidistant between the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917, is the document that links the two most earthshaking revolutions in history. In it Marx and Engels looked back to the French Revolution and analyzed their own Europe, about to boil over into revolution, in order to look forward; later, Trotsky and Lenin, the most important Russian revolutionaries of 1905 and 1917, sometimes saw themselves fulfilling the prophecies of what had become Socialism's most holy document. For more than a hundred and fifty years *The Communist Manifesto* has influenced our sense of history and helped promote social justice. The philosopher Karl Popper, though critical of many aspects of Marxism, recognizes Marx's contribution not only to ideas but to deeds: "One cannot do justice to Marx without recognizing his sincerity. His open-mindedness, his sense of facts, his distrust of verbiage, and especially of moralizing verbiage, made him one of the world's most influential fighters against hypocrisy and pharisaism. He had a burning desire to help the oppressed, and was fully conscious of the need for proving himself in deeds, and not only in words. His main talents being theoretical, he

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. Trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 101.

devoted immense labour to forging what he believed to be scientific weapons for the fight to improve the lot of the vast majority of men. His sincerity in his search for truth and his intellectual honesty distinguish him, I believe, from many of his followers.”²

Idealism about human nature and hopefulness for social progress, less than any one ideology, characterize these thirty-six selections that begin with Rousseau’s spirited analysis of social inequality in *Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality among Men* (1755) and continue through the Charter 77 manifesto of 1977. Necessarily, these selections are only a few of the thousands of eruptions from mountains of materials. All are famous and passionate outpourings by revolutionaries or revolutionary thinkers, even though in their time the ideas and the revolutionaries were at odds with each other or became so, sometimes to their own or their causes’ destruction. “The men who rush into undertakings of vast change usually feel they are in possession of some irresistible power,” observed Eric Hoffer. “The generation that made the French Revolution had an extravagant conception of the omnipotence of man’s reason and the boundless range of his intelligence. . . . Lenin and the Bolsheviks who plunged recklessly into the chaos of the creation of a new world had blind faith in the omnipotence of Marxist doctrine.”³

The greatest analyst of the ideas and history that created the French Revolution, Alexis de Tocqueville, simultaneously complicates and clarifies our understanding of social upheaval: “. . . it is not always when things are going from bad to worse that revolutions break out. On the contrary, it oftener happens that when a people which has put up with an oppressive rule over a long period without protest suddenly finds the government relaxing its pressure, it takes up arms against it. Thus the social order overthrown by a revolution is almost always better than the one immediately preceding it, and experience teaches us that, generally speaking, the most perilous moment for a bad government is one when it seeks to mend its ways. Only consummate statecraft can enable a King to save his throne when after a long spell of oppressive rule he sets to improving the lot of his subjects. Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men’s minds.”⁴ Tocqueville’s short book, *L’ancien regime et la Revolution*,

2. Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, Volume 2 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), 82.

3. Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 8.

4. Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. Trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 176–177.

published in 1856, “contains more solid and incontrovertible historical criticism than hundreds of volumes of later date,” writes an outstanding Italian historian of the French Revolution, Gaetano Salvemini.⁵ As wonderful as *L’ancien regime et la Revolution* is, there are no end of analyses and histories of revolution and no shortage of biographies of the men and women who have stood at the forefront of revolution.

Other works consulted but *not* cited in the headnotes or as sources for individual selections include Hannah Arendt’s *On Revolution* (1965), Crane Brinton’s *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1965), Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), E. H. Carr’s *Studies in Revolution* (1964), Isaac Deutscher’s *The Prophet Armed: Trotsky, 1879–1921* (1954), Alexander Herzen’s *My Past and Thoughts* (1923), R. R. Palmer’s *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution* (1941), Harold Rosenberg’s *The Tradition of the New* (1960), Leon Trotsky’s *1905* (1917), and Edmund Wilson’s *To the Finland Station* (1940). I acknowledge a large debt to the editors of earlier anthologies, particularly Albert Fried and Ronald Sanders’s *Socialist Thought: A Documentary History* (1964) and Robert V. Daniels’s *A Documentary History of Communism* (1984). Also of guidance were James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher’s *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1918: Documents and Materials* (1934), Steven M. Cahn’s *Classics of Modern Political Theory: Machiavelli to Mill* (1997), James E. Connor’s *Lenin on Politics and Revolution: Selected Writings* (1968), Frank A. Golder’s *Documents of Russian History, 1914–1917* (1928), Lawrence Kaplan’s *Revolutions: A Comparative Study* (1973), Robert C. Tucker’s *The Marx-Engels Reader* (1978), and George Woodcock’s *A Hundred Years of Revolution: 1848 and After* (1948). Martin L. Van Creveld’s *The Encyclopedia of Revolutions and Revolutionaries: From Anarchism to Zhou Enlai* (1996) and the websites of Marxists.org, the International Institute of Social History, and the Anarchy Archives helped provide me with biographical information. I thank Dover’s executive editor, Paul Negri, for suggesting several of the selections and my friend Kia Penso for her advice on background readings.

BOB BLAISDELL

5. Gaetano Salvemini, *The French Revolution: 1788–1792* (New York: Norton, 1962), 337.

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JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Preface and Part 2,

Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality among Men
[*Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*]

1755

"Our men of letters did not merely impart their revolutionary ideas to the French nation," writes Alexis de Tocqueville, reflecting on the causes of the French Revolution, "they also shaped the national temperament and outlook on life. In the long process of molding men's minds to their ideal pattern their task was all the easier since the French had had no training in the field of politics, and they thus had a clear field. The result was that our writers ended up giving the Frenchman the instincts, the turn of mind, the tastes, and even the eccentricities characteristic of the literary men. And when the time came for action, these literary propensities were imported into the political arena.

"When we closely study the French Revolution we find that it was conducted in precisely the same spirit as that which gave rise to so many books expounding theories of government in the abstract. Our revolutionaries had the same fondness for broad generalizations, cut-and-dried legislative systems, and a pedantic symmetry; the same contempt for hard facts; the same taste for reshaping institutions on novel, ingenious, original lines; the same desire to reconstruct the entire constitution according to the rules of logic and a preconceived system instead of trying to rectify its faulty parts. The result was nothing short of disastrous; for what is a merit in the writer may well be a vice in the statesman and the very qualities which go to make great literature can lead to catastrophic revolutions."¹

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. Trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 146.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), born in Geneva, Switzerland, author of *The Confessions* (1781), the most extraordinary autobiography in literature, was, whether he would have liked it or not, one of the French Revolution's ideological forefathers. *Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality among Men* was a prize-winning essay that assured his fame among fellow *philosophes* and inspired those revolutionaries who followed with “the same fondness for broad generalizations, cut-and-dried legislative systems, and a pedantic symmetry; the same contempt for hard facts; the same taste for reshaping institutions on novel, ingenious, original lines; the same desire to reconstruct the entire constitution according to the rules of logic and a preconceived system instead of trying to rectify its faulty parts.”

Part philosophy, part sociology, the *Discourse* is an almost continuous flight of genius on the wing. In his Preface Rousseau introduces himself and the topic. (Part 1, not included in this selection, is speculative, compelling—if often fanciful—anthropology.) In Part 2, Rousseau discusses “the nature of the fundamental compact of all government . . . a contract by which both parties bind themselves to observe the laws therein expressed, which form the ties of their union.”

SOURCE: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “A Dissertation on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality of Mankind.” In *The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. J. J. Rousseau*, Volume 1. Anonymous translator (London: T. Becket and P. A. DeHondt, 1767), 153–161, 213–260.

Preface

Of all human sciences the most useful and most imperfect, appears to me that of mankind: and I will venture to say, the simple inscription on the Temple of Delphos contained a precept more difficult and important than is to be found in all the huge volumes of morality, that have been written. I consider the subject of the following discourse, as one of the most interesting questions philosophy can propose, and unhappily for us, one of the most perplexing for philosophers to solve. For how shall we know the source of the inequality subsisting among men, if we do not begin with the knowledge of mankind. And how shall man arrive at the prospect of himself, such as he was formed by nature, through all those changes which the succession of place and time must have produced in his original constitution? How shall he be able to separate and distinguish, that which is essential to his nature, from what accident and improvement may have added to, or diversified in, his primitive state.

As the statue of Glaucus, which was so disfigured by time, by the seas and tempests, that it bore the resemblance rather of a wild beast than a God; so the human soul, altered in the midst of society by a thousand

causes perpetually recurring, by the acquisition of a multiplicity of truths and errors, by the changes happening to the constitution of the body, and by the continual jarring of the passions, hath, if I may so speak, lost its original appearance, so as to be hardly known for the same. Instead of a Being, acting constantly from fixed and invariable principles; instead of that celestial and majestic simplicity, impressed on it by its divine Author, we find in it only the frightful contrast of passion, mistaking itself for reason, and of understanding totally perverted.

It is still more cruel that, every improvement made by the human species removing it still farther from its primitive state, the more discoveries we make, the more we deprive ourselves of the means of making the most important of all. Thus it is, on one sense, from our very application to the study of man, that the knowledge of him is put out of our power.

It is easy to perceive that, it is in these successive changes, which have happened to the constitution of man, we are to look for the origin of those differences which now subsist among the several parts of our species; all which, it is allowed, are as equal among themselves as were the animals of every kind, before physical causes had introduced those varieties which are now observable among some of them.

It is, in fact, not to be conceived that these primary changes, to whatever causes they may be imputed, could have altered, all at once and in the same manner, every individual of the species. It is natural to think that, while the condition of some of them grew better or worse, and they were acquiring various good or bad qualities not inherent in their nature, there were others who continued a longer time in their first situation. Such was doubtless the first source of the inequality of mankind; which it is much easier to point out thus in general terms, than to assign with precision the true causes of particular distinctions.

Let not my readers, therefore, imagine that I flatter myself with having seen what it appears to me so difficult to discover. I have here opened some arguments, and risked a few conjectures; but less from the hope of being able to solve the difficulty, than with a view to throw some light upon it, and of giving a true state of the question. Others may easily proceed farther in the same route, without finding it very easy to reach the end of their career. For, it is, by no means, a slight undertaking to distinguish properly between what is originally natural, and what is artificial, in the actual constitution of man; to form a just notion of a state, which exists no longer, perhaps never did exist, and probably never will; and of which, it is, nevertheless, necessary to have just ideas, in order to form a proper judgment of our present state. It requires, indeed, more philosophy than may possibly be imagined, to

enable any one to determine exactly, what precautions he ought to take, in order to make solid observations on this subject; it appearing to me that a good solution of the following problem is not unworthy of the Aristotles and Plinys of the present age. *What are the experiments necessary to be made, in order to discover the natural state of man? And how are those experiments to be made in a state of society!*

So far am I from undertaking to solve this problem, that I think I have sufficiently considered the subject, to venture to declare beforehand that, it would require all the sagacity of our greatest philosophers to direct how such experiments are to be made, and the influence of our most powerful sovereigns to make them. A concurrence of which, we have very little reason to expect, especially attended with that perseverance, or rather succession of science and zeal, necessary on both sides to reach the end proposed.

These researches, so difficult to make, and which have been hitherto so little thought of, are, nevertheless, the only means which remain to obviate a multitude of difficulties, which deprive us of the knowledge of the real foundations of human society.

It is this ignorance of the nature of man, which casts so much uncertainty and obscurity on the true definition of natural justice: for, the idea of justice, says Burlamaqui, and more particularly that of natural justice, are ideas manifestly relative to the nature of man. It is therefore from this very nature itself, continues he, from the constitution and state of man, that we are to deduce the first principles of natural law.

We cannot without surprize and disgust remark how little the different Authors agree, who have treated this important subject. There can hardly be found any two, among the most serious writers, that are of the same opinion concerning it. I shall not insist upon what the ancient philosophers have advanced on this head; as one would imagine they had purposely engaged to contradict one another, in respect to the most fundamental principles. The Roman civilians subjected man and all other animals indiscriminately to the same natural law, because they considered, under that appellation, rather that law which nature imposes on herself than what she hath prescribed to others; or perhaps because of the particular acceptation of the term, law, among those Civilians; who seem on this occasion to have understood nothing more by it than the general relations, established by nature, between all animated Beings, for their common preservation. The moderns, understanding only by the term, law, a rule prescribed to a moral Being, that is to say intelligent, free and considered as to the relations in which he stands to other beings, have consequently confined the jurisdiction of natural law to man as the only animal endowed with reason. But, as in defining this law, almost every one hath taken a different method, they

have established it on such metaphysical principles, that there are very few persons among us capable of comprehending them, much less of originally discovering them themselves. So that the definitions of these learned men, all differing in every thing else, agree only in this, that it is impossible to comprehend the law of nature, and of course to obey it, without being a very subtil casuist, and a profound metaphysician. All which is exactly the same as to say that, mankind must have employed, in the establishment of society, that knowledge which is with great difficulty, and by very few persons, to be acquired even in a state of society.

Knowing so little, therefore, of nature, and so ill agreeing about the meaning of the word *law*, it would be difficult for us to fix upon a good definition of the law of nature. Thus all the definitions we meet with in books, setting aside their defect in point of uniformity, have yet another, in that they are derived from many kinds of knowledge, which men by nature do not possess, and from advantages of which they can have no idea when they have once departed from that state. Our modern civilians begin by enquiring, what rules it would be expedient for men to agree to, for their common interest; and then give the name of natural law to a system composed of these rules, without any other proof of their originality, than the utility which would result from their being universally practised. This is undoubtedly a commodious way of making definitions, and of explaining the origin and natural fitness of things, by the accidental and almost arbitrary convenience of them.

But so long as we are ignorant of the natural state of man, it is in vain for us to attempt to determine either the law originally prescribed to him, or that which is best adapted to his constitution. All we can know with any certainty respecting this law, is that, in order to its being a law, not only the will of those it obliges, must be sensible of its obligation in their submitting to it; but also that, in order to its being natural, it must come directly from the voice of nature.

Throwing aside, therefore, all those scientific books, which teach us only to look upon men, in the light wherein they have placed themselves, and contemplating the first and most simple operations of the human soul, I think I can perceive in it two distinct principles of action, prior to reason one of them deeply interesting us in our own welfare and preservation, and the other exciting a natural aversion to see any other sensible being, and particularly any of our own species, suffer pain or death. It is from the concurrence and combination, which the understanding is capable of forming between these two principles, without its being at all necessary to annex that of sociability, that all the rules of natural equity appear to me readily deducible; rules which our reason is afterwards obliged to re-establish on other founda-

tions, when by its successive efforts to the improvements of science, it hath suppressed the voice of nature.

In proceeding thus, we shall not be obliged to make man a philosopher, before he is made a man. His obligations toward other Beings are not only dictated to him by the late and tedious lessons of wisdom; but so long as he does not resist the internal impulse of compassion, he will never hurt any other man, nor even any animate creature, except on those lawful occasions, in which his own preservation is concerned, and he is obliged to give himself the preference.

By this method, also, we may terminate the ancient disputes, concerning the participation of other animals in the law of nature: for it is clear that being destitute of knowledge and freewill, they are not recognizable to that law; as they partake, however, in some measure of our nature, in consequence of the sensibility with which they are endowed, they ought to partake equally of a right to natural justice; so that mankind are subjected to a kind of moral obligation even toward the brutes. It appears, in fact, that my natural obligation to do no injury to my fellow creatures is founded less on their being rational than sensible creatures: and this quality of sensibility, being common both to men and beasts, ought to entitle the latter at least to the privilege of not being wantonly abused by the former.

The very study of the origin of man, of his real wants, and the fundamental principles of his duty, is besides the only proper method we can take to obviate a number of difficulties, which present themselves on the origin of moral inequality, on the true foundations of the body politic, on the reciprocal rights of its members, and many other similar topics equally important and obscure.

In taking a view of human society with a calm and disinterested eye, it seems, at first, to present us only with a prospect of the violence of the powerful and the oppression of the weak. The mind is shocked at the cruelty of the one, or is induced to lament the blindness of the other; and as nothing is less permanent in life than those external relations, which are more frequently produced by accident than wisdom, and which are called weakness or power, riches or poverty, all human establishments appear at first glance to be founded merely on moving banks of quick-sand. By taking a nearer survey of them, indeed, and removing the dust which surrounds the edifice; we may perceive the immoveable basis on which it is raised, and thence learn to respect their foundation.

Now, without a serious application to the study of man, his natural faculties and their successive developement, we shall never be able to make these necessary distinctions; or to separate, in the actual situation of things, that which is the effect of the divine will, from the improve-

ments attempted by human art. The political and moral researches, therefore, to which the examination of the important question before me, leads us, are in every respect useful; while the hypothetical history of governments, affords a lesson equally instructive to mankind.

In considering what we should have been, if left to ourselves, we should learn to bless that Being, whose gracious hand, correcting our institutions, and giving them an immoveable basis, hath prevented those disorders which otherwise would have arisen from them, and caused our happiness to proceed from those means, which seemed calculated to involve us in misery.

*quem te deus esse
iussit et humana qua parte locatus es in re;
disce.**

Part 2

The first person, who, having inclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, battles and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes would not that man have saved mankind, who should have pulled up the stakes, or filled up the ditch, crying out to his fellows, "Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and that the earth itself belongs to nobody." But there is great probability that things were arrived to such a pitch, that they could no longer continue in the same state: for this idea of property depends so much on prior ideas, which could only be successively acquired, that it could not be suggested all at once to the human mind. Mankind must have made a very considerable progress, they must have amassed a great stock of knowledge and industry; which they must also have transmitted and increased from age to age, before they arrived at this last term of a state of nature. Let us recur therefore still farther back, and endeavour to trace under one point of view that slow succession of events and discoveries, as they proceeded in their natural order.

Man's first sentiment was that of his own existence, and his first care that of self-preservation. The produce of the earth furnished him with the means, and instinct directed him in the use of them. Hunger and other appetites made him at various times experience various modes of

* (Learn) what part God has ordered you to play, and at what point in the human commonwealth you have been stationed. (Persius, *Satires*, iii. 71. Translation by G. G. Ramsay. Loeb Classical Library, 1918, 1940. Harvard University Press, 1979.)

existence: among these there was one which urged him to the propagation of his species; a blind propensity that having nothing to do with the heart, produced only an act merely animal. This desire once gratified, the two sexes had nothing farther to do with each other; even the offspring of their embraces caring as little for its mother, as soon as it could do without her.

Such was the condition of infant man; such the life of an animal limited at first to mere sensations, and hardly profiting by the gifts bestowed on him by nature, much less capable of entertaining a thought of forcing them from her. But difficulties soon presented themselves, and it became necessary to learn to surmount them: the height of the trees, which prevented his gathering their fruits; the competition of other animals desirous of the same fruits; the ferocity of those who attacked his person; all these things obliged him to apply himself to bodily exercises. It was necessary for him to be active, swift of foot, and vigorous in flight. Those natural weapons, stones and sticks, were easily found. Thus surmounting the obstacles of nature, he learned to contend in cases of necessity, with other animals, and to dispute the means of subsistence even with other men, or to indemnify himself for what he was forced to give up to a stronger.

In proportion as the species grew more numerous, the cares of individuals would increase. The difference of soils, climates, and seasons, would introduce some difference of course into their manner of living. Barren years, from long and sharp winters, or scorching summers parching the fruits of the earth, would require them to be more than ordinarily industrious. On the sea-shore and the banks of rivers, they would invent the hook and line, and become fishermen. In the forests they would make bows and arrows, and become huntsmen and warriors. In cold countries they would clothe themselves with the skins of the beasts they had slain. The lightning, a volcano, or some lucky incident brought them acquainted with fire; a new relief against the rigour of winter: they next learned the way to preserve this element, then the method to reproduce it when extinguished, and at length that of using it to prepare the flesh of animals, which before they had been accustomed to devour raw.

This repeated application of different beings to himself, and of one to the other, would naturally give rise in the human mind to the perceptions of certain relations between them. Thus, for example, the relations which we denote by the terms, great, little, strong, weak, swift, slow, fearful, bold, and the like, being occasionally and almost insensibly compared, would at length produce in him a kind of reflection, or rather a mechanical sort of prudence, which indicated to him the precautions most necessary to his security.

The new lights which would result from this developement, would augment his superiority over other animals, by making him sensible of it. He would now endeavour, therefore, to ensnare them; would play them a thousand tricks; and though many of them might surpass him in swiftness or in strength, he would in time become the master of some and the tyrant over others.

It is hence that man, when he first looked into himself, felt the first emotion of human pride; and this it was that, at a time when he scarce knew how to distinguish the different orders of beings, yet by looking upon himself as the first of animals, as one of the superior species, he prepared the way, at a distance, for assuming pre-eminence as an individual.

Other men, it is true, were not then to him what they now are to us, and he had hardly any greater intercourse with them, than he had with other animals; yet they were not neglected in his observations. The conformities, which he might in time discover between them, and between himself and his female, led him to form a judgment of others which might not then be perceptible; and finding that they all behaved as he himself would probably have done in like circumstances, he naturally inferred that their manner of thinking and acting was altogether conformable to his own. This important truth, being once impressed deeply on his mind, would induce him, from a presentiment more certain and much quicker than any kind of argument, to pursue the best rules of conduct, which he ought to observe towards them, for his own security and advantage.

Taught by experience that the love of happiness is the sole motive of all human actions, he now found himself in a capacity to distinguish the few cases, in which mutual interest might justify him in relying upon the assistance of his fellows; and also those, which are still fewer, wherein a concurrence of jarring interests might give cause to suspect it. In the former case, he joined in the same herd with them, or at farthest in some kind of loose association, that laid no tie or restraint on its members, and lasted no longer than the transitory occasion that formed it. In the latter case, every one sought his own private advantage, either by open force if he was strong enough, or by address and cunning, if he found himself the weakest.

In this manner, mankind might have insensibly acquired some gross ideas of mutual engagements, and the advantages of fulfilling them: that is, just so far as their present and apparent interest was concerned: for, with regard to foresight, they were perfect strangers to it, and were so far from troubling themselves about a futurity far distant, that they hardly entertained a thought of the morrow. If a deer was to be taken, every one saw that, in order to succeed, he must abide faithfully by his