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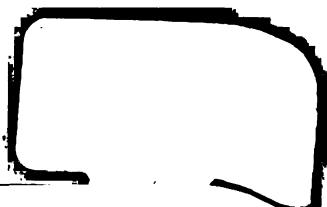
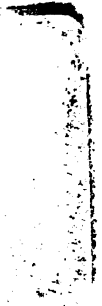
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THE
 ANNUAL REGISTER,
 OR A VIEW OF THE
 HISTORY,
 POLITICAL,
 AND
 LITERATURE,
 For the YEAR 1791.



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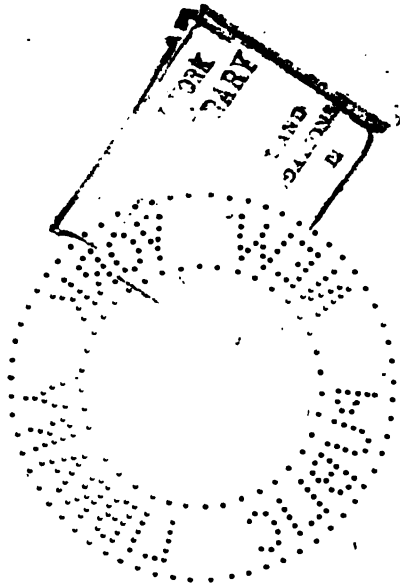
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Printed for F. and C. RIVINGTON, N° 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard;

Sold also by

J. DODSLEY, Pall-Mall. 1795.

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P R E F A C E.

IT is with extreme regret that we find ourselves under the necessity of apologizing for the late appearance of the present Volume. In consequence of MR. DODSLEY'S advanced time of life (whose zeal and assiduity in effecting a regular publication of many preceding volumes will not, we trust, be forgotten by the Public) we have been unwillingly compelled to engage with a new Publisher, and that too at a period when the Volume ought to have been actually in the press. Reduced to the unpleasant alternative, either of relinquishing the Work entirely, or of prosecuting it with redoubled and unremitting vigour, we hesitated not a moment to adopt the latter determination; but it was impossible to form a contract, and settle arrangements of some extent, without incurring a considerable delay.

The juncture, too, was peculiarly unfavourable to the recovery of our lost time. Such was the importance of the subjects to be treated in the History of 1791, that we could not in conscience run them over lightly, nor confuse them by an affected brevity. The parliament of this year was incessantly occupied by business of the utmost consequence, not only to the individual interests of Great Britain, but to the general balance of power, as well in Europe as the East Indies, both which demanded not a little introductory explanation. We have also taken more than common pains to draw, from a minute comparison of different authorities, a more faithful representation, than any before given, of the dispute between Mr. Fox and Mr. BURKE, because it has been productive of a powerful influence on our domestic affairs, and because we consider it less as a breach between two friends, than as a political schism, involving public principles

P R E F A C E.

cipling of the first magnitude. But above all, that great constitutional question, the abatement or non-abatement of Impeachments on a dissolution of parliament, seemed to require the minutest investigation. Not merely confining ourselves to the statement of the principal arguments advanced in parliament upon this long-agitated question, we have traced the matter a little higher, and have had recourse to the Rolls of Parliament for information, from whence we have spared no labour to collect what we flatter ourselves may a little tend to the elucidation of an interesting constitutional point, as well as of a remarkable period in English History.—In addition to these impediments, which the nature of the subjects threw in our way, an unforeseen circumstance of some moment still further retarded us. After our *State Papers* were printed, two material articles in them (the Declaration of the King of France on his leaving Paris, and the An-

swer of the National Assembly) which had been copied from the best English channels of information, were found to be so extremely mutilated and inaccurate, so fabricated for the worst purposes of fraud, that we could not, consistent with our duty to the Public, permit the Volume to appear without giving a new translation of them, and prefixing some introductory observations; a task, in the performance of which a greater portion of time was unavoidably consumed, than could well be spared.

Such were the difficulties which we had to encounter, and the diligence which we have employed to surmount them, in the history of the current year. But we had also a heavy arrear in the affairs of the Netherlands, and the North and North-East of Europe. We omitted the whole of this subject in our last Volume, partly from necessity and partly from choice; for we view the progressive pacification of all the belligerent powers, during

during the campaigns of 1790 and 1791, as one connected train of events; to which, notwithstanding many subsequent battles of extraordinary carnage, the first opening was made by the death of the emperor Joseph, in the beginning of the former year. We know the difficulty of this part of our task, and our Readers have had occasion to know it too, in the frequency of our complaints respecting the poverty, confusion, and contradiction of our materials, from the banks of the Dnieper, the Niester, and the Danube. We are sure, however, that it is no departure from modesty to say, that the Reader will find here a more intelligible, copious, and fair account than he has yet seen of events so seriously affecting the balance of Europe in that quarter.

We had prepared, and in part actually printed for this Volume (though already swelled beyond its usual size) a narrative of the Polish revolution to the end of 1791; but on mature consideration we

have thought it best to postpone this, together with the History of France, to the ensuing Volume. Our reasons of expediency for this distribution will be found at the end of our IXth Chapter; and we trust they will prove satisfactory. We do not, therefore, mean to offer any apology on this head; and we hope to have little occasion for apologies of any kind in future, as we are taking measures to bring forward our publication by degrees to the current year.

The Volume for 1792 is already in the press, and in such a state of forwardness as to enable us to promise it early in the following winter. But while we use every possible exertion to regain the ground which we have lost, we shall not relax in our usual endeavours, to select with discrimination, and narrate with fidelity.

This success serves as a general signal for the recal of the exiles, who now burst into the frontiers on every side, and assume the name of the Patriotic Army. Causes why the great exertions of the Generals Dalton and Bender produce no suitable effect. Extreme cowardice and profligacy of the veteran soldiers in the Netherlands, to be attributed entirely to the laxity of discipline in which they had been long indulged, through the mistaken policy, and by the absolute command of Joseph. Austrians continually defeated, and the actions very bloody. General Bender's unsuccessful attack upon Tirlemont, where great slaughter and many cruelties are said to have taken place. Great caution to be observed in receiving as facts the horrible accounts of cruelty now published. Severe encounter in the open field, in which General d'Arberg is defeated by the Patriots. Army saved by the gallantry of the regiment of Bender. Prince of Anhalt Dessau killed. Ghent recovered from the Austrians, after a course of severe conflicts which lasted some days, by a handful of the Patriotic troops. Conciliatory declaration issued by the Emperor to the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Sovereign authority assumed by the States of Flanders; who declare the Emperor to have forfeited all right and title to it. Signal and unaccountable expulsion of General Dalton and the Austrians from Brussels by a body of the burghers. That general obliged to capitulate, and to evacuate the town directly with the remainder of his troops. Moderation, good temper, and excellency of conduct, observed by the inhabitants of Brussels in this revolution. General Dalton abandons Namur, and retires with the remains of his baffled troops towards Luxembourg. Count Cobentzel sent from Vienna to endeavour to reconcile matters. Ultimatum of the States of Brabant. Act of union offensive and defensive between the States of Flanders and Brabant; which is soon acceded to by all the other provinces, except Limbourg. Ill effects produced in the Netherlands by the example of France, and the industry of the disciples to its new doctrines. Federal union formed between the provinces; the confederacy to be distinguished by the appellation of the United Belgic States. Ill success of the Brabanters in their unjust attack upon Limbourg. Citadel of Antwerp taken. English volunteers, and a British legion formed. Discord and faction appear early in the new commonwealth, and soon distract all the operations of government. Lose by their ill conduct and dissensions the friendship and protection of the allied powers. Lust of power, and the contention for it, the great sources of discord, and of all the evils that fell upon the country. Some account of the principal parties. Patriotic assembly in Brussels bears no small resemblance to the Jacobin Society in Paris. Death of the Emperor. Memorial from Leopold on his accession, produces no effect. Some account of General Vander Mersch: he is appointed Generalissimo by his officers, but Congress refuse to confirm the nomination. Vander Mersch arrests the deputies who are sent to the army by the Congress; and issues a declaration to the people. Violent resolves of the officers. Appearances of a civil war. Army abandons their general, who is sent prisoner to the castle of Antwerp. Discontents increase to the highest pitch. Government lose all reputation, and fail in raising money at home and abroad. Towns of Flanders refuse to aid Brabant in an expedition against the Austrians. Consternation of Congress on receiving notice that the King of Prussia had

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acknowledged Leopold as Duke of Brabant. Proposals for raising a great patriotic army come to nothing. Manifesto of the Emperor. Speedy downfall of the Congress evident; yet they obstinately persevere in carrying on a fruitless war on the borders, notwithstanding all the representations of the mediating powers. Convention at the Hague between the mediating powers and the Emperor, by which a new constitution is granted to the Austrian Low Countries. Obstnacy of the Congress still continuing, General Bender advances to Brussels, at whose approach they disperse, and fly, in the utmost terror, to the neighbouring countries. Inauguration of Leopold as Duke of Brabant.

THE French revolution, with other momentous affairs, which have so deeply engaged the attention of the public, and particularly the former, which has, in a less or greater degree, been the means of spreading consternation and alarm through almost every state in Europe, have been the involuntary causes which delayed for so long a time the pursuit of our observations on the broils, troubles, dangers, and war, in which our near neighbours, the Netherlanders, have been so deeply involved. During that interval, after bravely recovering, and for a time as bravely supporting their liberty, they shewed themselves in the issue incapable of retaining the precious acquisition, and of rendering the blessing in any degree permanent. When the foreign yoke was cast off, no wise, disinterested, and equitable form of government being in readiness to supply its place, but every man pursuing the vain imaginations of his own heart, discord and faction, with their numerous train of internal disorders and evils, like noxious weeds in a rich but abandoned soil, sprung up with such rapidity, that they soon filled the void, and left no room for the growth of any thing useful or valuable.

We described in a former vo-

lume * the dismay and desolation which the harsh government of Trautmansdorff, with the military executions of Dalton, operating under the imperious mandates and inflexible disposition of Joseph the Second, had spread through the Netherlands; and took notice, at the same time, of the great emigration of the superior orders of the people to the adjacent countries, which was taking place in the summer of 1789. This emigration was particularly increased in consequence of the decree issued by the emperor towards the end of June in that year, by which the convention of the states of Brabant, then sitting, was suppressed, or dissolved; the council of Brabant abolished; all the articles of the *joyeuse entrée* revoked; a new supreme council, composed of members appointed by himself, established at Malines for the conduct of the public business; and thus, so far as it was in his power to govern futurity, were all the rights, privileges, and immunities of that great and flourishing province for ever annihilated.

The exiles soon became very numerous along the frontiers, but were more particularly so in the lordship and neighbourhood of Breda (lying in the dominion of Holland, and a patrimony belonging to the prince

* Vol. xxxi. p. 37 to p. 52.

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of Orange) which they seemed to consider as their head-quarters; nor was the emigration long confined to the nobility, clergy, and people of property, for they were continually joined by great numbers of the most active and resolute young men from the different provinces, all perceiving their own fate to be involved in that of Brabant. This latter class of emigrants could have had no other object in view than that of being ready at hand to support their superiors by their personal service in whatever efforts they should make for the redemption of their country; while it is not to be imagined but that they, on the other hand, provided freely for the support and maintenance of those patriotic refugees, on whose future exertions and courage all their hopes must have ultimately rested. The government were so slack in the beginning in taking any measure to check the emigration, that it seems probable they deemed it a fortunate circumstance, that the country was thus cleared, without any trouble, of so great a number of disaffected persons; but as they became formidable on the frontiers, this political idea was perceived too dangerous to be adhered to, and the conduct was accordingly changed. Severe decrees were then issued against emigration; the magistrates were forbidden to grant passports; and the exiled nobles and clergy were charged by proclamation to return within a limited time, under the penalty of forfeiture. These decrees produced no effect. The magistrates were themselves too much interested in the common cause, to lay any restraint, which could possibly be avoided, upon those who

were disposed to take a more active part in it; while the nobility and clergy laughed at the threat of forfeiture, which they well knew no compliance could avert, if the emperor had power sufficient to inflict the penalty; and to subject their persons as well as their estates, without any reasonable ground or motive for such a risk, to his capricious and arbitrary will, they could consider only as absolute insanity.

The emigration accordingly continued as freely as it had done before, and considerable bodies of men assembled, and were daily augmenting, on different points of the frontiers. Indeed, nothing less than a powerful army, possessed of numerous and well-chosen posts and garrisons, could in any degree have effectually restrained emigrations from provinces so peculiarly situated as these are; so open on all sides; their noble fortresses, as we have formerly shewn, being long since destroyed, through the crooked, weak, and dishonest policy of Joseph; considering likewise, the freedom of intercourse which their innumerable rivers and canals afford with all the neighbouring countries; and that uncommon variety of unconnected states and small governments with which they are every where surrounded. To which may be added, the strong dislike and jealousy, with which the dangerous ambition, the violent attempts, with the ever-restless and insidious policy of Joseph, had inspired all the neighbouring powers, who were eager to seize any opportunity that offered, for lowering his pride and interrupting his designs. And while the governing powers in the adjoining states were, from motives of policy, thus

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favourably disposed to the Netherlanders, their subjects, from long habits of commercial intercourse, ties of blood and affinity, private friendships, and above all, a general commiseration of the wrongs which they sustained, were still much more sincerely and zealously interested in their behalf, generously affording them, in these days of their tribulation, every kindness, assistance and protection in their power.

A measure pursued by general Dalton, of drawing detachments from different garrisons to parade through and scour some parts of the country which were deemed the most disaffected, with orders to take up all suspected persons, together with all those whom they were pleased to consider within the description of idle vagabonds, the application of which rested entirely with themselves, produced as little good effect as most of the other plans adopted by that commander had long done; serving only to fill the prisons with unhappy persons, who were cut off from all means and hopes of redress, and to increase to the highest possible pitch that general odium and abhorrence with which the Austrian government and ministers were regarded.

In the mean time the emperor, glad of the favourable opportunity which was now presented, of recurring to his old and darling system of sequestration, and, at the same time, judging rightly, that much of the ferment in the Low Countries proceeded from the clergy, and still more particularly from the abbots, he issued a decree to sequester all the abbeyes of Brabant, and appointed civil officers for the administration of their revenues. We have,

in our former accounts of the disputes between that prince and the people of these provinces, shewn, that along with great estates, the abbots, by the long-established constitution of Brabant, possessed a large share in its legislation and government; and what rendered them still more formidable, they possessed an unbounded influence on the minds of the people. Under these circumstances it appears too evidently to admit almost of a question, that nothing could have been more ill-judged and impolitic, in so very critical a juncture, than this measure of violence. But such short-sighted, rash, and improvident measures of policy were too common in the conduct of this monarch, for any particular instance, at this time, to excite much notice.

The peculiarly characteristic temper of the people, long brooding in sullen silence over the contemplation of their injuries, which served to render them the more determined in their resolves, the more dangerous in their designs, and the more implacable in their resentments, when urged to the last extremity, now began to display its effect in the worst manner. A conspiracy, in which it was supposed, and from its nature, a very great number of persons must have been concerned, was formed and conducted in the very seat of government, and in the heart of the capital city of Brussels; the design reaching to undermine the houses of count Trautmansdorff and general Dalton, together with the guard-house, and to blow these buildings, with their possessors, into the air with gunpowder. During the confusion occasioned by this explosion, the design extended to the seizure of the ar-

fenal, of the city-gates, and to the admission of several small bodies of emigrants, who were to be prepared and at hand for the purpose. The fortunate discovery of this new gunpowder plot, which was laid in the month of August, and intended to be speedily carried into execution, possibly saved that beautiful city from being reduced to a heap of rubbish. Above twenty of the supposed conspirators were immediately taken up, and the number would undoubtedly have been much increased, and a long succession of severe punishments ensued, if the intervention of the coming troubles had not speedily put an end to that and to all similar enquiries.

About the middle of September, the duke d'Arenberg and d'Ursel, with the other nobles who had retired to Breda, being now joined by the primate, the archbishop of Mechlin or Malines, as head of the clergy, and by most, if not all, the states of Brabant, both civil and ecclesiastical, as well as by the members of the lately suppressed high council, they adopted a measure which was well to be considered as a prelude to the most decisive consequences. They constituted and declared themselves to be the regular and legal assembly of the states of that province, endowed with all the powers which they at any time possessed, and in that character unanimously passed

Sept. 14.
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a strong remonstrance to the emperor; which was sent off express to Vienna. In that piece, after lamenting with the most melancholy regret, the sad necessity which compelled them to assemble in a foreign land, under the deplorable character of a banished legislature, they entered, with a freedom,

which could not but be galling and painful in the extreme to a man of his temper and disposition, into a rigid examination of various parts of his conduct. They stated, in clear and express terms, the rights and privileges which the province of Brabant had enjoyed from the most remote times; rights sanctioned, confirmed, and extended by a long succession of sovereigns; they reminded him, without ceremony, of the solemn oaths by which he was himself bound to maintain and defend them; and then represented, with as little scruple, the wanton and oppressive infractions of them, with the lawless and shameful subversion of their constitution, which had taken place during his reign.— They concluded with a declaration, “ That inheriting the loyalty and the spirit of their ancestors, although they were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the prosperity and glory of their sovereign, they were by no means prepared for a dastardly and perfidious surrender of those rights which they held in trust for their fellow citizens and their posterity; they therefore earnestly adjured him, that by an immediate revocation of his illegal edicts, and rein-statement of the province in its rights, he would absolve them from the cruel necessity, which the most sacred duties must impose upon them, of an appeal to God and their swords.”

This manifesto, (which it truly in all points is) if the circumstances and situation of the respective parties is thoroughly considered, will, perhaps, appear among the boldest measures which history has presented to us, as having been adopted by any similar body of men. To

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form a due estimate of its degree, it will be necessary to keep in view the immeasurable disparity of power between the parties, and to consider the immense landed property which the states themselves and their adherents staked upon this decision. If they failed, their great estates, their ancient hereditary titles, honours and dignities, were lost for ever, themselves banished from their country and considered as outlaws, and their posterity scattered over the earth without home or name. While, to render the measure still more desperate, the probabilities then were, upon every rational scheme of calculation, that they never could have an opportunity of once even using those swords to which they appealed in the last resort. This was so well understood by Joseph, that upon the first rumour of their intentions at Breda, he observed, in a letter to general Dalton, that the certain consequences of forfeiture of their estates, and banishment from their country, afforded a full certainty of their not hazarding such a measure.

Such was the virtue displayed by the Brabanters, while necessity, and common danger, cemented their union, and exalted their minds to a genuine love of their country! We shall hereafter see how unable the same men were to resist the ill effects produced by prosperity, and to withstand the fascination of those illusions to which it gave birth.

Some particulars relative to the ensuing revolution, and to the conduct of the emperor, which were communicated to the pope in a letter written by the cardinal Archbishop of Malines, although a few months posterior in order of time to the events of which we are immedi-

ately treating, will not be misplaced by their insertion here, during the pause which took place on both sides previous to their recourse to the last extremities.

That prelate assures his holiness, that every effort had been used by the bishops and clergy to prevent the revolution; and lays the whole blame of it directly upon the emperor, who, he says, by the fluctuation of his councils, the unsteadiness of his measures, and the general inconstancy of his conduct, precipitated affairs into their present situation—That his laws and his decrees, which were perpetually succeeding, and in continual variance with each other, if they had any object at all, were intended not only to overturn the discipline of the church, and to efface from the minds of the people every trace of their native piety and religion, but likewise to annihilate the national customs and usages, the rights of the cities, and the liberties of the citizens.

Towards the end of October, the first acts of hostility were exhibited on the borders of Dutch Flanders, where a body of insurgents having appeared suddenly in arms, they attacked and took, with little difficulty, the two small forts of Lillo and Liefenshock; in the former of which, besides the military stores, we find, by a published letter of the emperor's, that they seized a considerable sum of the public money. They likewise seized a frigate, which, in a vain parade, of appearing to protect a navigation that was not permitted to exist, that prince had stationed off Lillo. We have formerly shewn, that these fortresses had been originally constructed by the Dutch, to prevent all intercourse between Antwerp

and the sea, and that being of little value or importance, as the passage of the river was sufficiently barred without them, they had been part of the peace-offering made to gratify the vanity of the emperor, in adjusting the late contest which he had with that republic relative to the navigation of the Scheldt.

General Dalton, upon the first intelligence of this invasion, immediately dispatched general count Schroeder, (an officer then in considerable military reputation) at the head of 4,000 disciplined Imperial troops, to chastise the insurgents, and if he could not reach completely to destroy, at least to chase them entirely out of the country, under such impressions of terror and danger, as should serve sufficiently to deter them from venturing soon again upon similar predatory incursions. The insurgents, upon the advance of this force, immediately relinquished the two forts which they had so lately acquired; and it being understood that they were retreating towards the small town of Turnhout, which lies about eight miles to the north of the Scheldt, the Imperialists, who wished for nothing so much as to come up with them in the open field, which would afford them such superior advantages over raw undisciplined troops, beyond what they could derive from a blind conflict in the narrow streets of a town, and undoubtedly placing no trust in the favourable disposition of the inhabitants, pursued them with the utmost expedition. But with all their diligence they could barely obtain sight of a small party, which probably brought up their rear, and who were immediately received within the gates, before

they could come within reach. The flying insurgents being admitted, the gates were immediately fast closed; but the Imperialists were not long in forcing them, and in making good their way into the town. Oct. 27th,

The Brabanters, as they retreated along the main street, not only did it with a degree of order which could not fail to surprize the regulars, but they maintained a hot fire, not without execution upon their enemy. In this manner the pursuers were led on, until Schroeder, with his whole force in a compact body, arrived at the market-place. Here a new and unexpected scene was suddenly opened. The Austrians were saluted by a roar of artillery from different openings; but this was a trifling impediment, compared with the tremendous fire of small arms which was poured incessantly upon them from the roofs and windows of all the surrounding houses. Every house from the cellars to the top was armed and hostile. The strength and number of the assailants was now their misfortune, and afforded a severe and instant chastisement to the misconduct of their commander, in wedging his whole force in a body, within the blind and dangerous toils, which cross streets, houses, lanes, and unknown passages, had every where spread for him. In this dangerous situation, general Schroeder displayed great personal courage, and no less presence of mind, under circumstances so unfortunate as to render them useless. Two horses were shot under him, and he was besides severely wounded. But all his efforts were fruitless in endeavouring to preserve order among his troops, or in inspiring

spring them with sufficient constancy to withstand the intolerable fire to which they were exposed. They fell into irremediable confusion, and were compelled to make a most disorderly retreat out of the town by the gate at which they entered. Their loss was very severe, being estimated at no less than seven hundred men, besides, at least, two pieces of cannon; for the reports given in of this unfortunate affair were so confused and inaccurate, that the emperor himself could not make out from them, whether two or four pieces of artillery had been lost. The rage of the Austrians at this unexpected defeat and loss was so extreme as to transgress all bounds of reason and humanity; and they are charged with the most savage cruelties in the streets through which they retreated, where they are said to have broke open the doors of the houses, and to have massacred man, woman, and child, without distinction or mercy.

Nothing could exceed, or indeed well equal, the indignation of the emperor at receiving intelligence of this, as he considered it, most shameful affair. The defeat of such a body of regular forces, in whom he placed his pride and confidence, by an undisciplined rabble, whom he held in the utmost contempt, besides the dangerous consequences which in example, as well as immediate effect, it was capable of producing, and the severe wound which it gave to his pride, was rendered still more insupportable, from its being totally subversive of all his military ideas, and overthrowing all the settled opinions of his life. Schroeder immediately felt the effects of his indignation, being stripped of all his military commands,

and ordered to return to Germany; where, it is more than possible, that the death of his master, which took place not long after, was to him a matter of no small good fortune. Even the great favourite, general Dalton, now, for the first time, was destined to experience a change in the countenance of his master; and to submit to severe censures, as well with respect to his conduct in general, as to several distinct parts, which were animadverted on in so pointed a manner, as could not but be sensibly felt by a man so long used to the most unbounded approbation, and who undoubtedly valued himself upon the possession of considerable talents and abilities.

Schroeder's misfortune evidently arose from the contempt in which he held the enemy, the overweening confidence which he placed in the number and discipline of his forces, which he thought must produce success under any circumstances of disadvantage, and his eagerness to monopolize entirely to himself the praise and renown, which he concluded to a certainty were within his grasp, of crushing the insurrection in the bud, and being the means of reducing the provinces to their wonted state of obedience. For there were two other columns of troops marching at the time to join him; so that by only enclosing the insurgents in the town, the want of provisions must, in a few days, have compelled them to surrender; and that probably without the loss of a man, or even firing a shot.

This success at Turnhout served as a general signal for the recall of the exiles, who henceforth assuming the name and distinction of *patriotic* troops, and *patriotic* army, penetrated

trated the open frontiers, in hands more or less numerous, on every quarter, full of indignation, well armed, and eager for action; while the disaffection of the people to government was so strong and universal, that almost every man who felt vigour and strength sufficient for the purpose in his composition, burned with impatience for the moment which could afford him an opportunity of joining them, so that he might claim some share of the praise due for the deliverance of his country from foreign tyrants, which were among the kindest terms now applied to the Austrians.

The generals Dalton and Bender, (the latter of whom, with his regiment, were just arrived from Luxembourg) were by no means slack or remiss in their endeavours to check that spirit of insurrection which was now becoming too potent to be subdued by any force in their possession. But they were not by any means men well calculated for the conduct of any business which required other means than the point of the sword for its completion. They were both, haughty, severe, arbitrary, and cruel in the extreme; and as ignorant of the means, as they were incapable through nature and education of the practice, of mollifying the rough edges of authority by any skill or address in the manner or circumstance of application. What seems very extraordinary was the total lack of discipline which prevailed, and which became every day more visible, in those veteran troops which they commanded, and which had been so long inured to service. This could only have proceeded from the long scope of licentiousness

in which they had been, upon system, so freely indulged since the commencement of the troubles in the Netherlands. For it had been a maxim long and closely pressed by the emperor upon his commanders in that country, to render the duty of the soldiers as light and as pleasant to them as possible; particularly directing that they should not be wearied or disgusted by an attention to the trifling parts or minutæ of discipline; as if he intended to transform them from soldiers into an heterogeneous mixture of civil and military officers, who were to be dedicated solely to the service of the police. From this mistaken principle, and dangerous military indulgence, operating along with the habits they had been in of frequently massacring a defenceless people without danger or resistance, the troops seemed to change their nature as well as character; and as soon as they were engaged in real service, and compelled to face an enemy upon equal terms, they shewed themselves to be as base and cowardly, as they were in all instances profligate and cruel. This only can account for their being now frequently and shamefully beaten, with equal, and even inferior forces, by the raw Brabanters, who had so newly taken arms into their hands.

The conflicts which took place at the commencement of the revolution were accordingly bloody and cruel in the extreme. The exorbitances committed on one side drawing forth severe retaliation from the other, and every encounter serving to increase the animosity and sanguinary disposition of the hostile parties.

The large town of Tirlemont was destined

destined to present one among the earliest and the most horrid of these bloody scenes. It appears that a weak body of patriots being closely pursued by the Austrians under general Bender, had taken refuge in that place. The town being open, Bender forced his way sword in hand into the place, where the inhabitants universally taking part with their countrymen, generously determined to protect or to perish along with them. In this state of things, Tirlemont seemed for some hours to exhibit a repetition of the affair at Turnhout, with, however, these material differences, that there were no artillery in the former, that the inhabitants were in all other respects badly provided and armed, and that the patriotic troops were few in number. Yet notwithstanding these essential defects, the defence was obstinately maintained; the inhabitants and the patriots keeping up as constant a fire, from the roofs and windows of the houses, as their provision of arms and ammunition could possibly supply, and defending every house, street, and avenue with the utmost intrepidity. On the other hand, the assailants broke open the houses, and even the churches are said to have afforded no sanctuary or protection, from the indiscriminate massacre of every man, woman, and child that came within their reach.

The resistance being still continued with unabated obstinacy, and the design of carrying the town being in no degree of completion, the approach of night put an end to this cruel conflict. General Bender, being most unwillingly compelled to submit to the disgrace of relinquishing his enterprize, found it necessary to draw off his troops

in the dusk of the evening. The loss of lives, in this paltry affair, was said to amount to thirteen hundred on both sides, including in that number both sexes, with all ages and conditions.

If the following circumstances be true, it would seem as if disaster and misfortune had been destined to follow or to meet the Austrian troops wherever they directed their steps. It is stated, that on Bender's retreat from Tirlemont by night, he met general Dalton full in his way, who was marching a strong detachment with great dispatch to his assistance. That under the double mistake of each party mistaking its opposite for the enemy, they fired upon each other in the dark; and that a furious encounter took place, in which several hundreds were killed and wounded on both sides, before the error was detected. Although such fatal mistakes have too often happened to admit any doubt of their possibility, yet the peculiar circumstances of the time tended so much to the fabrication of false and interested reports, that the fact in this instance may well be considered as doubtful.

Precision and truth are, indeed, little to be hoped for in the reports of such a warfare as the present, and under such peculiar circumstances of violent prejudices, animosity, and rage, as those which at this time prevailed in spreading desolation through the Low Countries. Great allowances must therefore be made for exaggeration on that side, which alone published any detail of these transactions; for the Austrians were entirely silent under their misfortunes. It is necessary likewise to receive, with the most guarded caution,

caution, the charges of horrible cruelties which are continually made upon the Austrians, as if they had been more particularly inhuman and savage than other nations. For it is to be observed, and should be constantly kept in mind while reading these atrocious charges, that much the greater part of the Imperial troops which at this time served in the Netherlands were composed of regiments raised in the country, and that the soldiers were consequently natives. Great cruelties were undoubtedly committed; and they are probably, in a certain degree, inseparable from civil wars. It must likewise be acknowledged, however it may be lamented, and however flattering the denial might be to our vanity, that cruelty is a much more general ingredient in the composition of mankind, and, when it can be exercised with safety, displays itself openly with all its horrors in a much greater number of individuals, than can be conceived or imagined by those, who have happily passed their lives under the smiling auspices of peaceful seasons.

The affair at Tirlemont happened early in the month of November, and only a few days after the action at Turnhout; but dates and many other essential particulars are very imperfectly given in many of these details. They were, however, soon followed by the defeat of general d'Arberg, to whom the Brabanters gave battle in the open field. We are here left without any direct specification of the time, or even the place of action; it, however, appears to have been very bloody to the Austrians; and it is said, that they would have been entirely cut off in their disorderly

flight over the Scheldt, if it had not been for the noble stand made by the regiment of Bender, who bravely formed an impassable body on the banks of the river to cover their retreat. This corps, which from its manners had probably been drawn from some of the rough and untamed nations bordering on Turkey, were universally abhorred and detested by the Netherlanders, who, at the same time that they describe them as being the most savage, ferocious, and cruel of mankind, acknowledge that they were by far the bravest of all the Imperial forces. A prince of Anhalt Dessau, said to be a near relation to the empress of Russia, fell in this action; and as he had been lately guilty of some peculiar acts of cold-blooded cruelty, the Brabanters considered his death as nothing less than an immediate judgment from Heaven.

The Austrians are said to have lost a thousand men in this action and pursuit; and they are charged with the most inhuman cruelties in every part of the country which they passed through after the defeat; particularly the inhabitants of Vilsingen, a village not far from Alost, are said to have expiated, by a general conflagration and massacre, those patriotic dispositions, and emotions of joy at the success of their countrymen, which they had imprudently been too forward in shewing. It is even said that their curé, a very old, helpless, and inoffensive man, was dragged from the altar, whither he had fled for refuge, and put to death without mercy. It may not perhaps be unworthy of remark, that the striking contempt for religion, and for every thing appertaining to it, which at this time so flagrantly marked the conduct

conduct of the soldiery, had entirely sprung up in the Austrian armies under the auspices of Joseph II. ; for under the government of his predecessors, and particularly of his mother, whatever their disorders and irregularities in other respects might have been, they were at least Christians in appearance.

The peasants were now embodying, without waiting for particular orders, or even for leaders, in every part of Brabant and Flanders, where the immediate presence of the Austrians did not restrain their motions ; and large detachments from Namur, Hainault, and other neighbouring provinces, were every day arriving to join in the common cause. In the mean time the patriots gained possession of Ostend, Bruges, Louvain, and some other considerable places, without any contest. The ancient and turbulent city of Ghent, fallen and depopulated as it now is, was destined to become once more, what it had been so often in better days, a scene of blood, ruin, and massacre.

Early in the morning of the 13th of November 1789, a small body of patriotic troops, amounting, it is said, only to about seven hundred men, marched with unparalleled boldness and audacity to attack the city of Ghent, which contained, including the citadel, a garrison of between three and four thousand regular troops. They directed their course to the gate which takes the name of Bruges, and which after some conflict they forced. During this time the bridges within the walls were all taken up, and every other measure of precaution adopted, which could tend to retard or prevent their progress when they entered the town. A battle ensued

in the street, immediately upon their entrance, which continued for some hours ; until the patriots at length drove the Austrians before them with such impetuosity, that one part of them fled for refuge to the citadel, and the remainder retired for shelter to their barracks, which they, however, prepared resolutely to defend. These buildings must have been of considerable strength, and well stored with ammunition, for the siege, if so it may be called, continued from Friday to the following Monday. On that day they hung out a white flag, and colonel Lunden, who commanded, with a garrison of five hundred men, were obliged to give up their arms, and to surrender prisoners of war.

We have no information what part the inhabitants took in these conflicts ; they are not even once mentioned in the details, with respect to any part of what we have yet stated. It seems, however, not to admit of a doubt that they essentially assisted the patriots ; for, without reckoning on the general temper and disposition of the people, it would not otherwise be reconcileable to reason, that such a handful of men, who seemed lost in the magnitude of so great a city, should, by a series of fierce and continued attacks, keep it for several days in a state of the utmost uproar, and finally triumph over and reduce a garrison so vastly superior in strength, number, and all military advantages to themselves ; even supposing that all the charges of notorious cowardice, with which the assailants branded the regular troops, had been well founded.

During the time of the attack upon the barracks, instead of any vigorous attempt to relieve the besieged,

besieged, the citadel was wholly occupied in throwing bombs and combustibles of different sorts into those parts of the city which were the best inhabited, and where the buildings were closest or most valuable, with a full view of causing such a general conflagration as should entirely destroy it. Whether they were not furnished with a sufficient stock of combustibles, or from whatever other cause it proceeded, this fire produced only a partial, and comparatively very small effect to what was to be expected. About thirty capital houses, with undoubtedly a greater number of others, were totally destroyed, many damaged, several of the streets rendered impassable by the ruins, and the inhabitants kept in a state of constant terror and confusion by the fires which were continually breaking out in different quarters. The cowardly garrison of the citadel, who dared not venture to the relief of their distressed fellows in the barracks, were, however, sufficiently alert in taking advantage of the disorder and confusion which prevailed in the town. They made frequent sallies into the streets, particularly by night, where, besides rapine, rapes, murders, and the most horrid crimes, were said to have marked their footsteps.

The patriots obliged colonel Lunden to write an order to the commandant of the citadel for the immediate surrender of that fortress, which the commandant very properly refused to obey; so that the assailants found the worst and most difficult part of their work was still to be done, especially as it does not seem that they possessed any artillery. But the cowardice of the commander, augmented by a strong

sense of the punishment due to his cruelty and crimes, operating, probably, with a desire of preserving the pillage he had obtained, served to supply all these defects. For in the dead of the night he evacuated the citadel, and marched off with his whole garrison, bag and baggage; having at his departure rendered himself, if possible, more infamous than before, by the cruel pillage and massacre of which he was guilty in all the houses and streets which lay within reach of the fortress.

Such were the circumstances under which Ghent and its citadel, possessed by a powerful and numerous garrison of regular forces, were most unaccountably reduced by a handful of raw insurgents, who could scarcely be supposed to know the use of the arms which they carried. The inhabitants, as soon as they were freed from the presence and terror of the enemy, took immediate measures for the re-establishment of order, and for its further preservation. One of their earliest determinations was the taking a body of three thousand men into immediate pay, who were to be provided and armed for the protection and defence of the city. The taking of this place was a matter of the greatest consequence to the patriots; the more particularly as it removed the restraint which disabled the states of Flanders from assembling there, which they eagerly wished to do, for the purposes of legalizing their public proceedings, as those of Brabant had done, for giving a form to their intended new constitution, and to conclude a league and federal union with the other provinces.

The rapid and brilliant successes

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of the patriots were so astonishing to general Dalton, that he seemed in a great measure to be confounded and over-powered by them. Perhaps the painful task of recounting so many shameful defeats to the emperor, and of endeavouring to account for or excuse the failure of the troops in every instance, which implied so much censure on his own conduct, judgment, and designs, was not the least of the vexations which he then endured. Thus involved, sunk in hope, and distressed, he shut himself up in Brussels, where for some time the gates were kept close shut, and strongly guarded by day as well as by night; but perceiving at length that this novel measure was understood as an open confession of his weakness and apprehension, and was become a subject of standing jest and ridicule among the people, he thought it convenient to admit the gates to be again opened by day. But even in these untoward circumstances, he still persevered to the last in the same haughtiness and ungraciousness of manner, and pursued the same harsh and arbitrary conduct, which had already rendered him so universally odious. Among the numerous instances of this kind, was the sending above forty of the principal inhabitants of Brussels, merely upon suspicion, prisoners to the citadel of Antwerp, which was then justly considered as the Bastille of the Netherlands.

The present alarming state of affairs induced the emperor, notwithstanding his haughtiness and natural obliquity, and notwithstanding the total want of faith in his promises or engagements, which he could not but know was universally prevalent, to commit himself, as a

last effort, to paper, and to publish, what in some degree might be considered as a penitentiary declaration, addressed to the inhabitants of the Low Countries. In this piece, which was dated at Vienna, on the 20th of November 1789, along with expressing great sorrow for the present troubles, and some surprize at the violent measures which were pursued, he exhorts the mal-contented to lay down their arms, and to trust to his clemency and paternal affection, for the redress of any real grievances which they sustained. He places in a strong light the destruction which must ensue to their country, and the inevitable ruin to its inhabitants, if by their obstinacy they should compel him to relinquish the great line of conquest which he was now pursuing, and to pour in for their suppression those numerous and conquering armies, which were now so successfully employed against a foreign enemy. He endeavours partly to justify, and partly to apologize for and explain, several of the most obnoxious parts of his past conduct. He expresses much surprize that they should abuse the holy name of religion, by representing that as the motive of their conduct; and states, that the establishment of a general seminary at Louvain was to add to the glory of the clergy and of religion. He has, however, he says, already re-established the episcopal seminaries; and he promises that the new seminaries at Louvain shall from that moment cease. He likewise suspends the teaching of theology at Louvain, and the operation of the ecclesiastical laws at Brussels, until the present disorders are quelled, and the necessary arrangements made. He concludes by an order, that

that no person shall be arrested for any cause, or under any pretence whatever, but according to the existing laws and established usages; and by granting a general, full, and perpetual amnesty to all who shall return to their duty within a certain specified but considerable portion of time, the leaders of the revolt alone excepted.

But the season for negociations to succeed, or for promises or concessions to produce effect, was now totally past. The states of Flanders, without waiting for the interposition of any conciliatory proposals from the emperor, boldly seized, without hesitation, the sovereign authority in their province; and in imitation of their Dutch neighbours, assumed the style of *High and Mighty States*.

Nov. 20th, 1789. At their first meeting they passed six resolutions, by the first of which they declared the emperor to have forfeited all right and title to the sovereignty of Flanders. By the others they agreed to raise immediately an army of 20,000 men, including a thousand who were to be armed with rifles, but exclusive of the quotas which were to be furnished by the towns. They appointed commissioners for raising and organizing this army, with authority to purchase sufficient arms and ammunition from the neighbouring powers for their supply. And they lastly resolved to unite themselves with the states of Brabant and Hainault; and decreed, that the council of Flanders should no longer be considered as provincial but sovereign.

The inhabitants of Brussels became too impatient of the despotism of Dalton, to wait the issue of the numberless provisions and slow pre-

parations, which the patriotic army, yet in a great measure unformed, and destitute almost of all military means of regular service, was of necessity to make, before it could proceed upon so great and hazardous an enterprize as that of attempting their deliverance. Their impatience and indignation were farther excited, and the grievance became the more intolerable, from their reflecting on the happy state of their surrounding neighbours and countrymen, who had almost every where shaken off the yoke, while they were peculiarly and disgracefully marked by still groaning under the same odious tyranny. A select number of the bravest citizens, inspired by these sentiments with a high degree of enthusiasm, formed the generous and gallant, but apparently desperate design of rescuing Brussels from its present tyranny, or of perishing in the attempt. The design was undoubtedly worthy the inhabitants of a Grecian city, in the most shining days of that country. This conspiracy, if such it may be called, for it seemed to be conducted with too much openness and fairness to come under that denomination, was by no means general among the inhabitants; and it is asserted, that the whole number of assailants engaged in the first attacks upon the Austrians did not exceed five hundred, while the number of the latter was estimated at between five and six thousand. It is, however, to be observed that the Austrians, through the number of posts which they occupied in the city and suburbs, were greatly divided, and separated by considerable distances.

No riot or tumult was made or pretended to cover the real design.

nor was it commenced, as usual in such cases, by surprize or assassination; but about four o'clock in an afternoon, as if it had been a trial of military skill and manœuvre, this band of heroic citizens marched boldly and openly, to attack and seize the soldiers who were appointed to guard the mint, as well as all those who were stationed or quartered in the different convents. In these enterprizes they succeeded without difficulty; for general Dalton, contrary to his usual temper and disposition, having directed his views entirely to pacification, and to the conclusion of an armistice, placed so much trust in the hope of attaining that object, that he did not choose to exasperate matters for the present by any attack upon the patriots. The negociation on this subject seems to have occasioned a pause on both sides, for several hours, during the evening and night; but our information, which is extremely imperfect in all its parts, is particularly so with respect to the order of time; so that it is impossible to distinguish, with any precision, those actions which took place in the course of the night, from those which were decided on the following day. At all events, the delay must have been highly useful to the band of patriots, as it afforded time to their fellow-citizens to collect their thoughts and resolution, and to determine upon the part which it was fit for them to take. It appears upon the whole, that, the negociation for an armistice not succeeding, both parties had recourse to arms during some part of the night.

It is not to be supposed, although the circumstance is not mentioned, and was undoubtedly omitted on

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purpose, but that the 500 original insurgents had by this time been joined by a great number, if not by the generality of their fellow-citizens. A reinforcement of 800 men, with two pieces of cannon (which they planted in the great square) had likewise arrived during the night to the aid of the Austrians. The first attack was made by general Dalton, who, upon the failure of the proposed armistice, sent a strong detachment to deliver the officers and soldiers who had been made prisoners at the commencement of the insurrection, and who were confined in the lower town. This motion served as an immediate signal for general action to the patriots, who furiously attacked and routed the detachment on its march; after which they invested the great market-place, which seems to have been rendered a principal place of arms. Here, after a long and obstinate conflict, they carried every thing before them, became masters of the *corps-de-garde*, took two pieces of cannon, and made above 400 Austrians prisoners. Different engagements were now carried on with great fury in every quarter of the city, and in a few hours the insurgents became masters of the barracks and of the magazines, in which they found 2,000 muskets, besides a considerable quantity of ammunition and ready-made cartridges.

General Dalton, with the remainder of his troops, or at least so many as could be collected in the present confusion, had retired into the park, and the royal square, the only places of defence they had now left, where they were supported by twelve pieces of cannon. The insurgents hastened from all quarters to drive them

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them from this last resort; and about noon they were furiously attacked on all sides. A very heavy firing took place, and was well supported on both sides for more than an hour. But affairs at length became so desperate, and the courage and fury of the patriots were so irresistible, that general Dalton, with all his known military skill, and long-tryed valour, and with the great stakes, involving both his own fortune and that of his master, which were depending, was compelled to endure the mortification of desiring to capitulate. The terms were few, and not long in agitation. They admitted a safe but immediate retreat to him and to the remains of his garrison; and within an hour the Austrian troops marched out, with great precipitation and no less disorder, through the gate leading to Namur. The prisoners taken in the course of these various actions were not included in the capitulation, and the Brabanters, not a little elated, as may be supposed, by their success, boasted that they had 3,000 of them in their possession. This extraordinary stroke might be considered as nearly putting an end, at least for the present, to the Austrian dominion in the Low Countries; nothing now remaining which they could hope to retain but the dutchy of Luxemburgh; a small garrison which they still held in the citadel of Antwerp being of no account.

The burghesses of Brussels valued themselves, with great propriety and justice, still more highly, upon the continence which they preserved in their conduct, both in and after the rage and fury of these bloody actions, than even upon the valour with which they had sub-

dued so dangerous and powerful an enemy. Not a man was killed in cold blood, nor quarter refused to any who demanded it in the heat of action: not a single house was burnt or plundered, although the owners who were inimical to the revolution were well and generally known; nor was hurt or injury offered to any person except in fair and open hostility. General Dalton, with the remainder of his baffled and disgraced troops, speedily evacuated Namur, and quitting the country entirely, retired towards Luxemburgh, not committing the smallest hostility or depredation in any of the places they passed through; thus assuming a moderation and lenity when it was too late, which would have been eminently useful in the proper season. Count Trautmansdorff, with some other principal members of the late government, retired to Liege; no mention is made of the duke of Saxe Teschen, nor of the arch-duchess, so that it is probable they had previously quitted Brussels; but the lenity of their government, so far as their own inclinations were allowed to operate, the continual applications which they were known to have made at Vienna in favour of the provinces, along with their many excellent private qualities, had so effectually endeared them to the people, who were forward on every occasion in expressing their gratitude that they were certain in all situations, and under whatever circumstances, of commanding their utmost attention, respect, and even affection. So easily may popularity be acquired by the great, if the fit seasons are chosen for making the acquisition!

About the time of issuing the last

last memorial from Vienna, the emperor dispatched count Cobentzel, an able minister, particularly eminent for his diplomatical knowledge and abilities, from that capital to Brussels, in the flattering hope of his being able to accomplish a pacification and re-union with the Belgic provinces. The powers of this minister were supreme and unlimited, he being accountable only to his master for his conduct; while those hitherto held by the counts Dalton and Trautmansdorff, if not absolutely suspended, were at least secondary and subservient, during the unknown term of his mission. The loss of Brussels was not foreseen at the time of this appointment; and Cobentzel's ill health, along with his desire of obtaining all the information that was possible of the state of public affairs before he arrived at the scene of business, having delayed him on the way, he had the fortune of arriving just at the time of breaking up the old government, and when the former ministers had fled from the country. Cobentzel, however, did not desist from endeavouring to fulfil the purposes of his mission, and accordingly opened a negotiation with the new government.

It was probably in consequence of this negotiation, that the states of Brabant transmitted to Vienna a document, which might be considered as their *ultimatum*, containing those articles for the security of their rights, privileges, and liberties, the punctual fulfilment of which could alone induce them to submit to the sovereignty of the emperor. These conditions were of such a nature, that knowing Joseph's temper and character so well as they did, the states certainly could not

expect, and probably did not wish, he should comply with.

The first article went to the extension, in the fullest manner, of all the articles, privileges, and immunities, whether ancient or modern, which were included in the *joyeuse entrée*, to all the other Belgic provinces, in as ample a manner as they had been granted to or enjoyed by Brabant. Another stipulated, that no law should be promulgated in any of those provinces, which had not first been approved of and confirmed by the sovereign council of Brabant. By the third, to defeat all future attempts of the sovereign to loosen or dissolve the union of the provinces, no separate subsidy was to be granted by any of them. The ancient states general, but now organized in a new manner, the number of commissioners being proportioned to the extent and consideration of the respective provinces, (upon which principle Brabant and Flanders were to send twelve each, while the smaller were confined to six deputies only, that is, to two from each order) were to meet annually at Brussels, for the purpose of granting subsidies, and to dispatch the general business of the provinces. It was likewise laid down as a rule, that all persons who in future should compose the government general must have been born in the Netherlands; with a single exception in favour of the governor or captain general, (offices which hereafter were to be vested in the same person) when he is of the blood royal. Other articles went to guard the purity of the courts of justice, and to prevent the possibility of any interference or influence of the sovereign from operating in their proceedings:

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That the university of Louvain should be re-established in all its privileges: That a national council should be held every two years under the presidency of their primate, the archbishop of Malines, which should regulate the discipline of the Belgic church, and have the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs: And lastly, that the kings of France, England, Prussia, and the states of the United Provinces, should be guarantees of the constitution of Belgic Austria.

It may be easily judged, from a review of these preliminary articles, that the negotiations and abilities of count Cobentzel were not likely to produce much effect in the present state of things.

In the mean time, the rejoicings in Brussels were extreme, and the most solemn offices of religion were celebrated, as well to return thanks for their happy deliverance, as to offer up their orisons for the souls of those brave men who had fallen in the cause of their country. Sovereignty now appeared in every thing. The ancient courts of justice were restored, and appeared in all their customary forms and splendor. Gazettes were published under the auspices of government; a new oath of allegiance was administered to all the officers of the state, as well as to the deputies of the committee of the states of Brabant; while that city enjoyed so profound a tranquillity, that a newly-arrived stranger would find it difficult to believe, it had so lately presented a scene of blood and confusion.

On the last day of the year 1789, the states of Brabant being assembled at Brussels, bound themselves by oath, in the presence of the citi-

zens, religiously to preserve the rights, privileges, and constitution of their country; and then administered the same oath to the members of the sovereign council of Brabant, amidst the general acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

Within a few days of the opening of the year 1790, the states of Flanders concluded and published an act of union, offensive and defensive, with those of Brabant. By this act the parties were mutually bound, that neither of them should enter into any negotiation or agreement whatever with any foreign state, particularly with their late sovereign, without the consent and approbation of the other. And the states of Flanders, in order to give those of Brabant every proof of pure cordiality and sincere friendship, and to manifest a desire of cementing an indissoluble union with them, agree to the proposal already made by the former, that the said union shall compose a sovereignty of the two states, in such manner, that all the power and exercise of that sovereignty be concentrated in a congress, which shall be composed of a prescribed number of deputies from each party, according to articles and regulations hereafter to be settled. Provided, however, that the powers of that sovereign assembly shall go no further than to mutual defence, to the right of making peace and declaring war, consequently to the raising and support of a national militia, to the maintaining of necessary fortifications, to the entering into alliances with foreign powers, and to such other matters, in which the common interests of both states are mutually concerned.

This treaty being speedily accepted

cepted and ratified by the states of Brabant, was soon acceded to by Hainault, and all the other late Austrian provinces, excepting Limburgh.

Success and prosperity soon began to produce some of their usual effects, in the sentiments even of a people, deemed so slow in their passions, and so moderate in their conduct and disposition, as the Netherlanders have usually been considered. Scarcely yet assured of their emancipation, their power by no means established, nor any force at all adequate to its preservation formed, subject to have all their hopes overturned by every blast of fortune, and while the scourge of a vindictive sovereign was still hanging heavily over their heads; yet, in these doubtful and precarious circumstances, nothing less was now talked of than the conquest of the dutchy and strong city of Luxemburgh; and so wide-spreading was the blind spirit of ambition already grown, that hints were thrown out, though with some observation of caution, of the propriety of re-uniting the barbed French provinces in the Low Countries to their old neighbours, the members of the new Belgic republic. At the same time, the ferment and disorders in France, with the unwearied labours of their political missionaries, who were spread in all countries, and whose zeal in the propagation of their new doctrines was without example in ancient or modern history, were producing a gradual but wonderful effect upon the people of the Low Countries. Along with the general laxity of morals and licentiousness of manners which that nation was ever eminent in disseminating, their new-fangled doctrines in religion

and politics, had been the means of setting afloat strange and loose opinions in both respects, which had till then been unthought and unheard of among that serious, rational people.

The states of Flanders struck a medal to commemorate the revolution; an example which was speedily followed by those of Brabant. In the month of January, the states general of the united Netherlands settled the terms of their federal union, the confederacy being in future to be distinguished by the title of the *United Belgic States*. The treaty of union was signed by the deputies of Brabant, Flanders, West Flanders, Flemish Guelderland, Hainault, Namur, Tournay, the Tournesis, and Mechlin. Nothing could be more fair and equitable than the conditions of union, with respect to the distinct rights of each province. A perfect equality was established among all, each being sovereign and independant in the exercise of its internal government; but the sovereign power, which was to regulate the great and general affairs of state, was, as we have already stated, to be vested entirely in the congress.

Though the province of Limburgh had sent three deputies to the meeting, they evaded signing the act of union and confederacy, under pretence of their not being instructed on that head by their constituents; but the real cause was, the measure being contrary to the political principles, likings, or opinions of the people of that province. This failure or defection of Limburgh, was so highly resented by the Brabanters, that in the excess of that pride, generated by their new-born sovereignty, eight hundred of them

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set out immediately for the invasion of that country, and to punish another people for exercising that freedom of mind and conduct on the possession of which they so much valued themselves. The river Meuse was found upon this occasion, as well as others that succeeded, a fortunate barrier to the people of Limburgh; and this hasty, rash, and unjust enterprize, experienced the fortune to which it was so fully entitled. We are not informed of the time, place, or particular circumstances of the ensuing action; but only in general, that the Brabanters being encountered by a party of Austrians, were entirely defeated, and driven back in great confusion, with the loss of three hundred of their number.

This loss and disgrace, served to increase the rage against the Limburghers; and a strong division of the patriotic army, furnished with artillery, was accordingly appointed for the formal invasion and conquest of that province. But the Meuse lay still in the way, and the only apparent method for surmounting that difficulty, was an application to the people of Liege, to grant leave to the army to pass the river at the bridge of that city; a request of which no doubt was entertained but it would have been freely granted. It happened, however, fortunately to the country which was thus threatened with war and desolation, that a Prussian general, then stationed at Lisse, possessed such influence, if not command, over that turbulent people, that, contrary to their own disposition and wishes, which accorded entirely with those of the Brabanters, he procured a refusal of the request. Thus was Limburgh saved for the present;

nor was the scheme of invasion, though often afterwards talked of, ever carried into effect.

The Belgic forces were, however, more successful in several other small engagements with the Austrians than they had been on the side of Limburgh; and the states were abundantly consoled for that disappointment, by the unexpected and unaccountable surrender of the citadel of Antwerp. That fortress was said to have been capable of making a very troublesome and even long defence, considering how ill calculated and provided the assailants were for such an undertaking; and though its surrender was at first represented to the common people as a sort of miracle, it was soon openly said, and much more generally believed, that the treachery of the governor had rendered all supernatural aid needless, and that a prudent application of gold had afforded cheaper as well as easier means for its recovery, than could have been procured from cannon-balls and gunpowder. If the charge of treachery, so loudly raised against the governor, was well founded, he probably owed his escape from the punishment which he so justly merited to the disordered state of the times.

The spirit of enterprize and martial ardour which has at all times so strongly marked the character of Englishmen, induced a number of gentlemen, most of whom had served as officers in the last war, to pass over as volunteers to the Low Countries. The cause of an oppressed people, their old friends and near neighbours, and who by their present conduct seemed to deserve that freedom which they were bravely contending for, was highly congenial

congenial to their feelings; and as the court and government of Great Britain seemed, in a considerable degree, to hold sentiments not very dissimilar, no opposition was made at home to the gratification of their wishes in this respect. These gentlemen were received with open arms by the Netherlanders, and most, if not all of them, were appointed to immediate commands. Their numbers soon became so considerable, and several of them possessing sufficient influence in their respective countries for the levying of men, that, in conformity to proposals made to them by the congress, they raised and formed, under the name of *the British legion*, a body of troops, composed entirely of English and Irish.

Jan. 12th, 1790. The states of Flanders passed a decree at Ghent, which, after stating, that as an indefinite liberty of the press was liable to give birth to numberless publications subversive of morals and good order, and destructive of the public tranquillity, that therefore all publications whatever, without any exception, should continue, as usual, to be previously subject to the examination and judgment of clerical or lay censors, according to the nature of the matter treated of in such publications; and that all printers, booksellers, and hawkers, should be answerable for the matter contained in the books, pamphlets, or papers which they should publish.

About the same time a formal religious ceremonial which was exhibited at Ghent, for the purpose of bestowing a solemn benediction on the standards and colours of the troops, and which drew thither a vast concourse of people from all

the surrounding country, was certainly not without its political use in the present season and state of things; particularly with a people, who have at all times been more attached to shews and processions than almost any other in Europe.

In the mean time, at this early period, before the infant government was yet fully formed, and before the civil concerns of the people were in any degree settled, or proper lines of demarcation drawn, to define or reconcile the clashing interests and claims of the respective orders of the state, cabals, parties, and factions, sprung up in the centre of the congress itself, and were not slow in spreading their baleful effects through the whole mass of the people. It is not easy, through the mist in which things have been suffered to appear, to form any accurate ideas of the state, real motives, or ultimate views, of the different factions which were now to rend the new commonwealth, and which finally served to frustrate and defeat all the great and happy effects, which the revolution seemed otherwise capable of affording, and possibly of rendering permanent, to the people of the Low Countries. For when, by their shameful intestine dissensions, they had shewn themselves unworthy of and incapable of enjoying that liberty which they had obtained with so much peril, when ambitious, interested, and sordid views, seemed predominant in all their conduct, and when it became apparent, that this perversion of mind, and dereliction of principle, had rendered them incapable of framing or adopting any wise or equitable system for the administration of their own government, then, and not till then,

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the allied powers, who partly from political motives, and partly likewise from some more generous movements in the human mind, had, in the beginning of the contest, shewn so lively a disposition in their favour, found it necessary at length to abandon them to their fate, and suffer them to revert to that state and condition from which they had been so lately emancipated.

For they must be little versed in the politics of nations, and ill acquainted with the general state of public affairs which prevailed at the time in Europe, who will not perceive, that nothing could have been more conducive to the interests, ease, convenience and security of the three allied powers, England, Holland, and Prussia, than the erection of the Belgic nation into an independent and powerful state; circumstances of which, from situation, richness of soil, excellence of cultivation, variety of products, immediate wealth, and the peculiar industry of the inhabitants, the country was most eminently capable. The advantages which the allied powers would have derived from such an arrangement, will afford a better testimony, than any words or declarations, of what their real wishes and designs were in this business. By such an arrangement two of them would have got entirely rid, and the third would have been freed on one side of his dominions, from all connection with an ambitious, litigious, exceedingly vexatious, and dangerous neighbour, whose caprice was unaccountable, and whose faith was always to be suspected. By it an excellent barrier would have been formed to Holland, to the neighbouring dominions of the king of Prussia, and in

some degree to England itself; while it would tend much to consolidate and add weight to the alliance between the three coalesced powers, and serve to restrain the hostile encroachments of France, as well as entirely check the domineering ambition of the House of Austria on that side. With such objects of advantage in view, no doubt can be entertained of the original intentions of the allies with respect to the Netherlanders, until their own unhappy discordance shewed, that they were incapable of becoming useful allies, and that it was a matter of less difficulty to let them pass backwards to their former state, than the vain endeavour of attempting to reform their disorders, which could only be done by the fruitless and dangerous experiment of forcing a new form of government upon them.

No civil contentions perhaps ever took place in any of the western countries of Europe, since the use of printing became general, which were so totally barren of all public detail and explanation, as those which from this time prevailed in the Low Countries. The short duration of the new government, the rapid succession of events, the continual fluctuation in the state of parties, which rendered the affairs that seemed interesting, and important on one day, totally out of mind and notice on the next, all coincided in producing this effect; and along with the veils by which the several leaders endeavoured to cover their real motives of action, and consequently their ultimate designs, served to involve the whole in almost impenetrable obscurity. Something perhaps may be attributed in this respect to the restraints

straints on the press; but the vicinity of England and Holland, and the easy mode of publication in these countries, leave little indeed to be charged to that account.

It is, however, discoverable that power was the great source of discord, and that the lust of attaining it operated more particularly, as might be expected, upon the two superior orders of the state, the nobility and clergy; who seemed equally desirous of engrossing it entirely to themselves. The two parties seemed pretty equally balanced in point of strength and pretensions. The nobility, besides the influence necessarily incident to great landed property, possessed a large portion derived from the high antiquity of their families, the reverence with which their ancestors had through a long course of ages been regarded, as well as the virtues which at the present day characterized and adorned several of their principals. They had likewise a strong claim upon the opinion and gratitude of the public, for the great share which they had in the accomplishment of the revolution, and the extraordinary stakes which they hazarded on that occasion. But with all this influence and all these claims, they were rendered, by their mutual jealousies and suspicions, loose and disjointed; the envy of those who were lower in point of fortune and condition, joined with their private and separate views, exciting their enmity against those who were vastly superior to them in these and other respects, and thereby preventing any common bond of union from being formed, which could cement, and give force and effect to the order. Through these causes, the nobility as a party, were comparatively to

be considered as little more than a rope of sand, incapable of cohesion, which could not but afford a manifest superiority to their competitors for power. It seems probable that a few of the nobility, who possessed the largest estates, with the greatest share of popularity and influence, hoped, in the crash and divisions of parties, to have been able to draw the whole, or at least a principal share of the administration of public affairs, within their own hands, and perhaps those of a few select friends chosen by themselves. Although the nobility in general, as well as these we have just mentioned, wished much to circumscribe, if not to curtail, the power of the clergy, yet their discordant and interested views led them in act, to frustrate and defeat their own wishes.

On the other hand, the clergy had, even from time immemorial, been possessed of a very extraordinary degree of power in these provinces; and which had continued unimpaired under all successions and through all changes of government, until the rash attacks lately made upon them by the excentric Joseph the Second. They likewise held, at the present day, very large landed possessions, and no small share of personal wealth; and what might well be considered of greater consequence than both, the peculiar and extreme bigotry of the common people had thrown them so totally into their hands, and the ties of attachment to their dominion appeared to be so indissoluble, that the whole mass could scarcely be regarded in any other light than that of an absolute and inalienable property. They likewise possessed great advantages peculiar to that body in all cases of contest with others.

others. Their union, their discipline, the closeness with which their designs were concealed, their unceasing, though silent, pursuit of their object, which was never given over through difficulty, nor abandoned through caprice; and above all, the facility with which their united powers were concentrated in a point, and the force of the many brought to act with the energy of an individual, served, altogether, to afford them a wonderful superiority over their loose and disjointed antagonists.

The third order of the state, which, as in other countries, might be supposed to include the people at large, was, however, in this case, through the blind attachment of the common sort to the clergy, virtually confined to the burghers and inhabitants of the towns, reckoning in that number the trading and manufacturing parts of the community, however situated. This was a numerous and resolute class of men, capable of looking forwards to distant consequences, of forming a right judgment on present affairs, of concert and design in their actions, and were endued with sufficient courage, if the necessity required, to execute boldly what they determined. These were intermixed with that numerous and fast-increasing class of men, who, as we have before seen, had imbibed, what about this time began to be called, the *French contagion*; and who accordingly adopted the new doctrines, in philosophy, politics, and even religion, which had taken such fast possession of the inhabitants in general of that ill-fated country. Though their views extended far beyond those of the burghers at large, who wished for nothing more

than that the third estate should possess such a reasonable share in the constitution of their country as would be sufficient to secure them from wrong and oppression, yet the former, who hoped in due time to find an opportunity of realizing their new doctrines, by the subversion of all establishments, civil and religious, and by the forming of an Utopian government, on a system of general equality, however, thought it necessary for the present to conceal their remote designs; and deemed it to be consistent with their secret views, and capable of affording the best means for their furtherance, not only to join the majority in every thing, but to be the foremost and loudest in their outcries against the measures and designs of the congress. They considered, and not unwisely, if the principle and design on which they acted had been founded in justice or wisdom, that while by pursuing this conduct they acquired great credit and popularity, from being placed in the first rank of those who were admired as true patriots, they should thereby not only have a continual opportunity of fomenting the discord which they wished, but when men's minds were heated by controversy, and by opposition to their claims and desires; when they were kept disturbed and agitated by frequent discussions of, or constant ruminations on, real or imaginary grievances; and above all, when they were inflamed by strong liquors at their political clubs and meetings, they should then be able to draw the most moderate into the adoption of the most violent and extravagant of their own opinions and measures: still concealing carefully from public view, until the proper hour of disclosure

closure arrived, their grand and ultimate object.

The military men, and particularly those brave officers, without whose bold enterprize and extraordinary exertions, in bringing forward raw men unused to arms, to encounter and defeat in the open field, upon equal, and often inferior terms, disciplined and veteran troops, the revolution could not have been accomplished, being themselves mostly of the third estate, were highly dissatisfied at finding, that the eminent services which they had performed, and the dangers which they had encountered, had produced no effect whatever in bettering their condition. They thought it was to small purpose indeed that they had succeeded in shaking off the Austrian yoke, if it was only to be exchanged for a similar despotism, placed in the hands of a few of their own countrymen; a tyranny, which from that circumstance, as well as from the dissimilarity of condition in the rulers, would prove more odious and intolerable than even that of a great foreign power.

Upon the whole, the third order thought they too plainly perceived, that the great leaders of the nobility and clergy, without the smallest attention to them, or design of enlarging their representation, or increasing their privileges, were entirely engaged in a violent and shameful contest, for the engrossing of all power, whether as orders or individuals, to themselves.

Thus the seeds of jealousy, dissension, faction and cabal, were sown thick in the very formation of the infant republic.

The inhabitants of Brussels, who held themselves high, through the

reputation which their valour in the expulsion of the Austrians had so justly obtained, assumed greater port, and were more free and bold in the disclosure of their sentiments, than those of other places. Before the ink was yet well dry on the signatures of the deputies from the respective provinces who had signed the articles of union, a numerous society was formed in that city, under the eyes, it might be said, of the congress, which assumed the name of the Patriotic Assembly; this new body held regular sessions; discussed questions of state and government; decided on them by vote; passed resolutions; and proposed several innovations or reforms with respect to these subjects. The similarity between this assembly and that of the Jacobins in Paris, cannot escape any observer; the resemblance only failing, where a deficiency of power, and perhaps of equal natural arrogance, affected the former. It was in vain that these meetings were prohibited by the committee of the states; the new assembly met regularly as before, carried on its proceedings publicly without disguise, and was continually reinforced by the addition of new members, many of whom were respectable from condition and character. Among their other acts, they drew up, printed, and published, a piece under the title of "An Address to the States of Brabant," in the name of the people at large, but more particularly of the subscribers. In this document, they pointed out many supposed errors and vices in the new arrangement, and in the constitution derived from it, among which the neglect of the third estate bore a principal part; and

and in a very short time they procured above two thousand signatures to this document.

The states found no more effectual means to oppose to these proceedings, and to endeavour to lay the spirit from which they originated, than that of employing the curés, or parish priests, both of the towns and villages of the province, to visit their respective parishioners, and to use their utmost influence to induce them to sign a counter-address, in which the states were requested to seize and punish, in an exemplary manner, all those disturbers of the public tranquillity, who wished to introduce innovations and changes in the religion, in the constitution, or in the present form in which the nation is represented by the three orders of the states, which it has chosen for its representative. The priests being habituated thro' life to hold the greatest intimacy and friendship with their parishioners, besides their being subject themselves to embrace the opinions of those with whom they hourly conversed, found it otherwise a very unpleasing and embarrassing task, to be under a necessity of endeavouring to persuade their friends to adopt a measure, which they often knew was directly contrary to their liking. The counter-address accordingly dragged on very heavily; nor have we any information whether it was ever presented: but whether it was or not, the ferment among the people increased instead of diminishing, and dissatisfaction, party divisions, and civil dissensions became every day more prevalent and general.

Feb. 20th, 1790. It was expected that the death of the Emperor Joseph the Second,

and the accession of his brother Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, to the Austrian hereditary dominions, would have afforded the means of restoring peace and order to the Low Countries, by bringing about a reconciliation and re-union between the Belgic people and the new successor of their late sovereign, who was not implicated in any of the causes of dislike or aversion which hang so heavily about his predecessor. Much indeed was expected from the moderate, apparently unambitious, and pacific character of Leopold, as well as from the mild and equitable administration of his government during so many years in the grand dutchy, whereby he had gained no small degree of applause in foreign countries, and well secured, in general, the attachment and affection of his own subjects.

A memorial, however, which he addressed to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, speedily after his arrival at Vienna, by no means answered the expectations which had been formed from a review of his former conduct and supposed character, and was still farther from affording any satisfaction to the people to whom it was directed. In that document, although intermixed with no unsparing degree of blame upon the conduct of his predecessor, with great professions on his side of lenity, of kindness, of affection for the people, along with declarations of his disposition and intention to redress all real grievances, he however entered upon an ungrateful subject, which, in a first address, and in the present state of things, would seem to have been better omitted, by asserting, in as high terms, his undoubted right to the sovereignty of

of the Austrian Low Countries, as Joseph himself could have used in the plenitude of his power, before they had yet shaken off his dominion, and assumed the name and character of a free and independent state. And, as if it had been to render this claim and language more unpalatable, it was accompanied with what might be considered virtually as a threat, that no power on earth should deprive him of his right while he possessed the means of maintaining it.

This ill-judged memorial was accordingly very ill received, and, so far as we are informed, did not even produce an answer from the Belgic states; but it gave birth to many comments, and to several severe pasquinades in the public prints. Among these it was observed, that as power smooths the way, so ambition always quickens its pursuits; that although the men were changed, the object was still the same, and the desire of arbitrary rule as prevalent as ever; and that Leopold, who seemed so pacific, while circumscribed in a narrow dominion, incapable of exertion, would now, feeling his strength, endeavour to tread in the tracks made by his ever-restless and all-grasping predecessor. This memorial, however, had the effect of reviving, or at least of calling into notice, a new party, in a country already torn to pieces by faction. This was the party of the loyalists, or friends of the House of Austria, who now began to declare themselves openly, to be distinguished by cockades of a different colour from those of the patriots, and who, being probably joined by many persons of other parties, who were dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, appeared to be far

more numerous than they had been before imagined.

The nobility, finding that the power of the clergy was becoming predominant on the one hand, and that, on the other, the people were every day growing more discontented, and their aspect more alarming, thought it necessary in the month of February to endeavour to regain their popularity, by making on their part considerable concessions to the third estate. But whether any impediments were thrown in the way, which prevented these dispositions from being carried into full effect, or from whatever other cause it proceeded, the general discontent and jealousy, instead of being lessened, was increasing to the utmost pitch. A rumour was spread, and seemed by the effect to be generally believed, that a few of the states had formed the atrocious design of seizing all the powers of the state and government, and of establishing an odious despotism among themselves. It signified little whether this plot was real or imaginary, the effect with respect to the people was the same as if it had been fully authenticated. The consequence was, that strong parties of horse and foot continually patrolled the public streets in Brussels and other principal cities, by day and by night; and the new commonwealth began to bear the appearance of a military government. In the mean time, the prisons were crowded with suspected or obnoxious persons, whose wants and sufferings rendered them ripe for acts of the utmost desperation; while the sympathy of those without could only be restrained by force from co-operating with them.

Of all the officers who had distinguished themselves in the Belgic revolution, general Vander Merck stood the foremost, and from the brilliance and success of his numerous military enterprizes, had not only borne the palm in a supreme degree from all competitors, but was regarded with admiration in other countries, and acquired no small degree of renown in every part of Europe. He was rendered particularly remarkable by his early and abrupt desertion of the emperor's service, in which he held the rank of colonel, to embrace the cause of his country, in which he bore so conspicuous a part. This took place at or before the commencement of the revolt; and excited the indignation and resentment of Joseph the Second in so extreme a degree, that by an immediate order in his own hand to general Dalton, Vander Merck was hanged in effigy in the front of the army, which was drawn out for the purpose; that prince, in the same letter, expressing his sanguine hopes or wishes, that this mock execution would soon be realized with full effect. The condemned general found sufficient opportunities, before the emperor's death, to retaliate this affront in such a manner as procured him ample satisfaction.

General Vander Merck was one of that very great number of men, who had become highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the congress, or at least of those secret leaders who were supposed to be the directors of all its actions. As the faculty of concealing opinions or principles is not generally very eminent among military men, he of course became obnoxious to the cabal; but his great popularity

among the people at large, and the supreme influence which he was supposed to possess with every degree of men in the army, made it appear imprudent to quarrel with him upon slight grounds. We are probably in the dark as to many intermediate steps, and perhaps brangles. But it appears, that towards the close of the month of March, (that month which was once so fatally ominous to a much greater general and man) the dissensions between the parties were risen to such a pitch, and so openly avowed, that deputies were sent by the congress to Namur, where the acting part of the army employed against the Austrians then was, under the general's orders, evidently with a view of, at least, removing him from his command, if not of arresting his person. In this new situation, and in these difficult and dangerous circumstances, Vander Merck determined upon a bold stroke, which, however great the peril, afforded the only prospect left of retrieving his affairs, and even of escaping the horrors of a prison; without reckoning, that life itself was no less at stake than honour and liberty. He accordingly ordered the deputies from the congress to be immediately arrested, and committed them to prison.

He followed this act by issuing and publishing a declaration, in which, without taking any notice of the congress by name, he observes, that ill-intentioned persons, and who were strongly suspected of having fomented the execrable practices of pillage and proscription, which had taken place in Brussels, were arrived there for the purpose of stirring up the people to sedition,

March 30th,
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sedition, and to calumniate the loyal intentions of the general, and of the army; that it was therefore thought necessary to remove every cause of alarm by declaring, that he was himself placed at the head of the army for the purpose of defending the Roman Catholic faith, with the civil and religious rights, and the liberty of the people, and that he would not suffer these to receive the smallest injury or diminution whatsoever.

It appears that the corps of officers belonging to that army had, in the course of these disputes, and under circumstances of which we are not informed, nominated Vander Merfch to be generalissimo of the Belgic forces, and had applied to the congress, without effect, for the confirmation of their choice. They had undoubtedly gone too far in the adoption of that measure, and it can be no wonder that congress did not comply with their demands; but they were determined to go still farther, and to venture upon a measure which struck at the root of all government. For on the day succeeding that upon which the declaration had been issued, they unanimously passed, and published the four following violent resolutions: — That general Vander Merfch shall continue generalissimo of the Belgic army: That the duke d'Ursel shall instantly be placed at the head of the war department: That the prince of AreMBERG, count de la Marck, (son of the duke) whose military talents are generally known, and who, at the commencement of the revolution, gave such proofs of patriotism in offering his services to the committee at Breda, shall be appointed second in the command of the army, next to general Vander

Merfch; and that addresses of supplication shall be sent to all the provinces, inviting them to co-operate with the army in reforming abuses and re-establishing order.

The supreme congress, upon these proceedings, immediately issued orders for the troops at Brussels, and various other stations, to march towards Namur; near which a place of rendezvous was appointed, where they were to coalesce, and advance in a body to bring the opposite army to reason; so that every thing now bore the appearance of a civil war, which indeed seemed to be inevitable.

We are totally unable to give any account by what means this event was prevented: or by what unaccountable revolution in the human mind, or by what party manoeuvre, that body of officers, and that army, who seemed just now to pass all bounds in the irregularity and violence of their determinations, and who had undoubtedly been the cause of Vander Merfch's pursuing the measures and proceeding the lengths which he did, should in a few days be so thoroughly debauched, as most shamefully to abandon their general to the rage of his enemies, and thereby forfeit all pretensions to principle, honour, or character, which should have operated upon them, whether as men or as soldiers. Yet such was the case now; and the dragging out of a miserable existence in the dungeons of the citadel of Antwerp, (which at this time as fully merited the character of a state Bastille, as it even had done under the so much execrated tyranny of general Dalton) was the reward which the brave general Vander Merfch obtained for all his eminent services.

The charges laid by the congress against Vander Merck, for which they at first designed to bring him to trial, and aimed at his life, were the following:—"That, forgetting that he derived all his authority from them, he had permitted himself to be chosen generalissimo by the officers of his army, and endeavoured to retain that situation by force; that, with equal violence, he had caused the deputies who were sent from the congress to the army to be arrested; and, that by these, and other violent proceedings, he had nearly involved the country in a civil war."

Few triumphs have been shorter-lived, or have afforded less real cause for satisfaction in the recollection, than that which their present victory afforded to the ruling faction. Scarcely any other act in their power to perform, could have rendered them so universally unpopular, or so generally odious. All men sympathized in the unhappy fate of Vander Merck, and were disposed to curse the authors of it; while his gallant exploits rose full in every view, as if they had been reflected through a microscope. The people of Flanders (whose countryman he was) resented this as an act of the most injurious and outrageous nature; and if the public inclination had power to act, it would have occasioned a rupture between the two great provinces of the union, unless a mutual agreement had taken place for changing the present rulers. In the mean time, Vandernoot and Van Eupen, the abhorred agents and instruments of the cabal, and particularly of the clergy, became virtually possessed of all the executive powers of the state; two men to whom may be

principally, if not entirely, attributed the ruin of the Belgic republic; and who, during their short and inglorious reign, seemed to rule every thing without controul.

From this time the history of the new commonwealth presents little that is interesting. The government lost all reputation abroad, as it had done the good opinion and attachment of the people at home. The allied powers became every day more slack in their zeal for the prosperity and independency of a people who they saw could not be served. The army seemed to have lost its spirit along with its general; and defeats from those Austrians who had lately been so much despised, became not unfrequent. So totally was government sunk in credit, that it could not, in that rich country, borrow money even for the immediate purposes of defence. It was not more successful in its attempts to raise money in England and Holland. The scheme of a grand expedition being formed by government against the Austrians, they committed the conduct of it to Vandernoot; which would have been sufficient to render it odious, and to mar the enterprize, if the people had even been in a much better state of temper and disposition in other respects than they by any means were. A considerable number of Brabanters were, however, brought together; but the towns of Flanders peremptorily refused to send a single man to join them. Even in Brussels, where the military spirit lately rose so high, they could scarcely find a man, who would encourage the enterprize by enrolling his name as a volunteer. The consequence was, that the cabal, after considerable expence, were obliged

obliged to submit to the disgrace of relinquishing their enterprize, the Brabanters were sent home, and Vandernoot underwent the inexorable mortification, of not having had an opportunity of eclipsing Vander Merfch's renown, and of establishing his own character as a general in his place.

As dislike and disaffection to government became daily more prevalent, and spread more extensively among the people, so the royalist or Austrian party received such continual accessions in force, numbers, and courage, as afforded sufficient cause of alarm to the congress. The peasants broke out into open revolt in different parts, the inhabitants of several villages assembling in bodies, wearing Austrian cockades, displaying Austrian standards, and proceeding to various acts of irregularity and violence, until the troops had time to collect for their dispersion.

Thus affairs were every day growing from bad to worse, and every body was sensible that the present system of government could not long hang together, although the means and the manner of its dissolution were not easily foreseen. A letter, which congress received about the middle of August from the king of Prussia, afforded, however, a sad warning of their approaching fate, and threw them into paroxysms of consternation and terror. The great differences which had subsisted between the courts of Berlin and Vienna being at length terminated by the treaty of Reichenbach, which was concluded on the 27th of July, and the war which had so long seemed inevitable between those powers, being thereby most unexpectedly prevent-

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ed, the letter we mentioned was to give notice to the congress, that the king of Prussia had acknowledged Leopold (whose election to the empire was now settled) to be duke of Brabant — an acknowledgment which of course carried with it his succession, under different titles, to all the other Austrian provinces of the Netherlands.

The means adopted to prevent or alleviate the immediate effect of this thunder-stroke were, in the first instance, to conceal the purport of the letter from the public; and this weak resource was succeeded by an extraordinary affectation of vigour; courage and bravery, cloathed in all the language of power and confidence. On this ground they issued long printed proposals, branched out into a numerous list of articles, for the immediate raising and forming of a vast patriotic army, which, indeed, if it could possibly be done, might well bid defiance to all their opponents. But as they had the misfortune to have lost all influence over both the persons and purses of the people, this scheme soon vanished in smoke, and their speedy downfall became evident.

A manifesto issued by Leopold at Frankfort immediately after his coronation, and addressed to the people of the Netherlands, produced, however, no effect on the conduct of the congress. On the contrary, in a short printed paper which was handed about as their answer, but which wanted every formality that could render it capable of being presented or received, they totally denied his claim of any right derived from his ancestors to the sovereignty of that country; and asserted, that though many of them

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had

had been in that situation, they owed it entirely to the free choice and appointment of the people, who had a right to choose whom they pleased to be their governors.

Notwithstanding the weakness of government, and the discontents of the people, there was so much spirit still left in the army, and so much obstinacy not only in the rulers, but in the republican party, to whom it was death to think of submitting again to the government of the house of Austria, that the war was renewed with great animosity on the borders, and much blood wantonly and fruitlessly spilled; and this in contravention to the incessant amicable interposition of the allied powers, who did every thing possible to prevent that fatal effect; and repeatedly shewed to the congress the futility and cruelty of these vain efforts.

These powers were, however, destined to be the means of finally putting an end to the mixed system of tyranny, anarchy, and disorder, which, through the present administration of affairs, had produced so much calamity in the Austrian Netherlands. By their continued interposition with the emperor (who was by no means disposed on several occasions to be flexible) they procured an excellent constitution for the people of the Low Countries, of which they were themselves to be the perpetual guaranties. The ministers of the allied powers and of the emperor held a congress at the Hague, where they spent several weeks in discussing and settling this important business. The new constitution was highly favourable to the people, and placed them upon a much better footing than they had ever been before: for, besides a re-

newal and confirmation of all their ancient immunities, and the placing them in the same situation in which they had deemed themselves so happy, under the much-applauded government of Maria Theresa, several new stipulations were now added, to restrain the sovereign, whatever his disposition might be, from being capable of any material invasion of their rights, privileges, or liberties. The only condition binding on or expected from the Belgians, being merely a quiet and peaceable, but immediate submission to the sovereignty and government of Leopold; this article being likewise guaranteed by the allied powers, as well as those which secured the rights and liberties of the people; and, if a strict interpretation were followed, rendering the rest conditional. This convention, including a general amnesty, was executed at the Hague on the 10th of December 1790.

But the obstinacy and rashness of the ruling faction would not permit them to relinquish their fruitless war while they had a man left to carry it on. All the representations and exhortations of the negotiating ministers were offered in vain. Repeated defeats produced as little effect. Though they could not but be sensible that the hour of dissolution was at hand, yet they could not face the thought of resigning their ill-used power to the last moment. Through this unaccountable and shameful conduct, which no words can palliate, affairs were precipitated in such a manner, and thrown into a state of such unforeseen confusion, as might well not only have disturbed the proceedings of the congress, but, under other circumstances than the present, might have defeated

defeated all the intentions of the mediating powers, and prevented the happy conclusion of the convention.

For general Bender having continually routed their troops, and carried every thing before him on the frontiers, at length penetrated the country, and advanced toward Brussels; when, however, he halted, and sent a message to the congress, assigning a certain short number of days in which they were to determine on the question, Whether they would accede to the conditions proposed by the mediating powers or not? assuring them at the same time, and confirming it by an oath, that if at the expiration of that term they put him under the necessity of drawing on his boots, he would never take them off again until he had chased them out of the Netherlands. The time elapsed—no answer was returned—the general drew on his boots, and marched rapidly for Brussels. Then, all at once, overwhelmed with consterna-

tion and fear, each man, apprehensive that his own life would be the forfeit for the misdeeds of the whole, the congress, the members of the war department, with Vandernoot and Van Eupen, all fled different ways in the greatest confusion and terror, some escaping to Holland, some to France, and others to Germany. General Bender used his success with great moderation and lenity: but this changed the whole face and nature of things; for the convention was not yet concluded, and the country was become subject to Leopold by right of conquest; a title which, it is said, he was well disposed to profit by, and which it cost the allied powers no small trouble to prevent his adopting.

All differences and doubts being, however, at length amicably settled, the emperor was, on the 30th of June 1791, inaugurated at Brussels, as duke of Brabant; the duke of Saxe Teschen acting as his proxy in that ceremonial.

C H. A P. II.

Meeting of the new parliament. Speech from the throne. Address voted by the house of commons. Mr. Fox's remarks on the address. Address voted by the house of lords. Lord Stanhope's speech upon the occasion. Copies of the declaration and counter-declaration signed at Madrid, and of the convention with Spain, laid before both houses. Debates upon this subject in the house of commons. Address to his Majesty, congratulating him upon the success of the late negotiations. Objections of Mr. Fox to this address; answered by Mr. Pitt. House of lords.—Marquis of Lansdowne. Committee of ways and means to defray the expences of the late armament. Debates in the house of commons upon the question, whether an impeachment abated by a dissolution of parliament.—In the house of lords. Mr. Burke's motion for the limitation of Mr. Hastings's impeachment.

THE new parliament assembled on the 25th of November, 1790, and proceeded to the election

of a speaker. Mr. Addington, the speaker of the late house of commons, was nominated by the master of the rolls,

rolls, and took the chair with the marked and unanimous approbation of the house.

On the following day the session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty informed parliament that the differences, which had arisen with the court of Spain, were brought to an amicable conclusion.—That a separate peace had been made between Russia and Sweden.—That, in conjunction with his allies, he had employed his mediation for the purpose of negotiating a definitive treaty between Russia and the Porte, and likewise of endeavouring to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands. Towards the conclusion of the speech his majesty adverted to the interruption which had taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian possessions, and recommended to parliament a particular attention to the state of the province of Quebec.

On the motion for an address, made by Mr. Mainwaring and seconded by Mr. Carew, in the house of commons, Mr. Fox observed, that he by no means wished to destroy that unanimity which he trusted would prevail in the house upon the occasion, but confessed that he did not feel himself inclined to adopt the principles, and sanction all the collateral observations, advanced by the honourable gentlemen, who supported the address. To the merits of the convention with Spain, he did not think himself bound to subscribe by giving his vote for the motion before the house, as sufficient documents had not been produced to enable him to form a proper judgment upon that subject. It had been stated that it was policy in this country to promote the return

of the Netherlands to the dominion of the house of Austria, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of another power likely to prove dangerously inimical to this country. He conceived that France must have been the power alluded to. But how came France so suddenly a greater object of terror to us at this than at any former period? He did not wish to enter into a discussion of the situation of France; but whatever difference of opinion might exist upon that subject, all parties, he trusted, would agree that the interference of the French nation, for very obvious reasons, was little to be dreaded at the present moment. With regard to the affairs of Europe in general, so novel an order of things had lately presented themselves, and the interests of different powers had taken such various turns, that he thought Great Britain might select what allies she deemed most proper; and that his majesty's ministers would be highly culpable, if they did not profit by the singular situation of other nations. On the subject of India, he observed, that if we meant only to defend our ally when attacked, we should act upon principles which met with his hearty concurrence; but that if we made a quarrel between two native princes a pretext for carrying on a war from the motive of obtaining for ourselves new territorial acquisitions, he should enter his determined protest against the injustice of such a proceeding.

The chancellor of the exchequer remarked, in reply, that voting for the address was certainly not intended to imply an approbation of the convention with Spain. With respect to foreign alliances, his majesty's

jeſty's miniſters, he ſaid, were neither ſo idle nor ſo inattentive to their duty, as to overlook any favourable opportunities, which might occur, for the improvement of former treaties, or for the contraction of new ones. He concurred with Mr. Fox in his obſervations upon the unjuſtice and imprudence of making war in India for the purpoſe of extending territory; but conceived, that, in caſe of a fortunate termination of the war in which we were likely to be involved, we ſhould be fully juſtified in obtaining for our injured ally an adequate compenſation, and for ourſelves a reaſonable indemnification.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the houſe of lords upon the ſubject of the addreſs to his majeſty for his gracious ſpeech from the throne, except ſome ſingular obſervations from lord Stanhope. His lordſhip ſincerely congratulated the houſe and the nation upon the continuance of peace, which he conceived was principally to be attributed, under Divine Providence, to the glorious revolution of France. Nothing, his lordſhip obſerved, would more tend to make it permanent, than a ſteady and well-formed alliance with that great and free country: an alliance, if completely eſtabliſhed and confirmed, likely to prove productive of the moſt ſalutary confequences to both nations. Towards the concluſion of his ſpeech he wiſhed to draw the moſt ſerious attention of the houſe to a very extraordinary ſubject, to a publication, which he termed a monſtrous and ſcandalous libel againſt his majeſty, a publication from the pen of

no vulgar writer, but of one, who was formerly the firſt miniſter of ſtate in a neighbouring kingdom, of no leſs a man than Monſieur Calonne, late premier of France! This publication, in his lordſhip's opinion, after recommending a ſort of civil war in France, moſt audaciously preſumed to inſinuate that the cauſe of the French king againſt the French nation would be eſpouſed by every crowned head in Europe; an expreſſion ſufficiently comprehensive to include the king of England. And dares any man, exclaimed his lordſhip, impute to his majeſty, who has always ſhewn the ſincereſt love for his people, even inclinations, much leſs intentions, of ſo pernicious a tendency? If there are any in this houſe, if there are any in adminiſtration, who countenance ſuch atrocious proceedings as thoſe which are recommended by M. Calonne, it is full time that they ſhould be pointed out to us and to the public.

Not a ſingle remark was made by any noble lord upon the preceding obſervations. Immediately after lord Stanhope had concluded, the lord chancellor put the queſtion upon the motion for the addreſs; when it was declared that the contents had it *nem. diſſ.*

On the 3d of December copies * of the declaration and counter-declaration exchanged at Madrid, July 24th, 1790, and of the convention with Spain, ſigned the 28th of October 1790, together with the expences of the late armament, &c. were preſented to both houſes of parliament. A motion was made in the houſe of commons on the 13th, for the production of all the

* Inſerted among the State Papers of our laſt volume, p. 300, and 303.

papers relative to the affair at Nootka Sound. The propriety of producing those papers was strongly urged by opposition, upon the ground, that, if the convention were a bad one, culpability might attach, where in justice it ought, to his majesty's ministers; if a good one, that the house might be enabled to testify an approbation, which would be the more valuable in proportion to the more accurate minuteness of its enquiry. Much eloquence likewise was exerted to dissuade the other side of the house from placing, what was termed, a blind and treacherous confidence in ministers.

To the arguments of opposition it was answered, that the production of the papers requested was not only unnecessary (the papers already presented to the house furnishing sufficient documents for a decision upon the general merits of the proceeding); but might be mischievous, by communicating negotiations with other courts and with our allies, which were by no means proper to bring under the public eye. It was contended that the acknowledged right of the house to call for papers of every kind, ought not to be exercised but upon great, solemn, and weighty occasions, when sufficient cause appeared for blame, or suspicion of blame, upon the face of any treaty. That as to the doctrine of confidence, ministry only wished to obtain that degree of confidence which would enable them to carry on without frivolous obstructions the executive government of the country. Upon a division, the numbers were ayes 134—noes 258.—Majority 124.

An address to his majesty, congratulating him upon the success of the late negotiations, was moved

December 14th, in the house of commons. The principal topics urged by the gentlemen who opened the debate, were the great commercial advantages likely to accrue to Great Britain from the stipulations acceded to on the part of Spain, particularly in the whale-fishery and the fur-trade. Those positions were controverted and treated as delusive by the opposition. Mr. Fox entered into a discussion of the merits of the convention, which he termed a treaty of concessions rather than of acquisitions. He observed, that there were two objects to be considered in this negotiation; 1st, the reparation for the insult received; 2dly, the arrangement for the prevention of future disputes. The reparation which had been obtained, he thought insufficient. In the altercation respecting the Falkland Islands, in the year 1771, reparation was the only object in view, and it was obtained in its fullest extent. Spain then agreed to put every thing exactly in the same situation as before the insult was committed, which agreement she punctually fulfilled. In that case there was a complete restoration; in the present there was only the declaration of a disposition to restore. The restitution promised appeared to him to be at best but incomplete; nor had even the little which had been promised, been performed. On the subject of reparation, therefore, he conceived that we had no cause for boasting—the arrangement made for the prevention of future disputes seemed in his eye to be equally culpable. It consisted more of concessions on our part, than on the part of Spain. Previous to this dispute, we possessed and exercised the free navigation

tion of the Pacific Ocean without restraint and without limitation. We possessed and exercised the right of carrying on fisheries in the South Seas alike unrestrained and unlimited. But the admission of a part only of these rights was all that we had obtained by the convention. Formerly we claimed the privilege of settling in any part of South or North West America, not fortified against us by previous occupancy; now we consented to the limitation of settling in certain places only, and even there under various restrictions. Our right of fishing before extended to the whole ocean; it was now refused us within particular distances of the Spanish settlements. We were allowed indeed to form colonies on the north of the parts occupied by Spain, and to build temporary huts to the south; but the Spanish boundaries, beyond which such permissions were granted us, could not be accurately determined. Certainty, in his estimation, was of more value than extent of territory. He should therefore have thought it better to have obtained in the first instance a precise line of demarkation, even at the expence of a few leagues of country, from such an account as Spain herself might choose to give of the limits of her occupancy. Upon the whole, he observed, that we had resigned what was of infinite consequence to Spain, and retained what was insignificant to ourselves; and that what we had retained was so vague in its description, so undefined in its limits, and consequently so liable to be again disputed, that we had conceded much more in point of right, than we had acquired in point of security.

The chancellor of the exchequer,

on the other hand, contended, that the reparation for the injury which we had received was complete. In the controversy respecting the Falkland Islands, the minister of the time had indeed obtained a reparation, but left the claim of right unsettled. Upon the present occasion, by the first article of the convention we had gained all that we could have reasonably expected on the point of restitution, the Spanish court pledging itself to restore the lands, of which we had been unjustly dispossessed; and by the second article our claim of right was acknowledged and adjusted. In answer to Mr. Fox's objections to the other articles of the treaty, as being replete with concessions rather than acquisitions, he observed that our gains consisted, not perhaps in the acquirement of new rights, but certainly of new advantages. He admitted that we before had a right to the Southern whale-fishery, and a right to navigate the Pacific Ocean, as well as to trade on the coasts of any part of North West America: those rights however had been disputed and resisted, but by the convention they were now secured to us; circumstances which constituted new and considerable advantages. Whenever a concession was made on our part, he asserted, that a stipulation equally favourable to us was made by Spain. On the subject of the line of demarkation, he remarked, that it was judged most expedient to leave undefined, what at the present moment it was impossible to ascertain with sufficient accuracy. The address was carried by a majority of, 124.—Ayes 247—noes 123.

In the house of lords, the address was supported and opposed upon grounds similar to those which had

been previously selected in the house of commons. The marquis of Lansdowne entered into a long discussion, not merely of the merits of the particular treaty under consideration, but of the general views and political transactions of ministers with respect to foreign powers, from the period when he himself resigned his official situation in the cabinet; of all which the most noble marquis completely disapproved. The previous question was moved on the address, and lost by a majority of 43.—Contents 30—non-contents 73.

On the 15th of December, the house of commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the committee a plan to defray the expences of the late armament, and the extraordinary charges of an additional number of seamen voted for the service of the ensuing year. The following, he said, were the expences incurred by the armament:

	£.
For the navy -	1,505,000
army - -	64,000
ordnance -	151,000
For provisions to the East and West Indies -	41,000
	<hr/>
Making in the whole	1,821,000
To which was to be added,	
The vote of credit ex- pended - -	1,000,000
	<hr/>
Making a total expence for the armament of	2,821,000

From this, however, £. 200,000 might be deducted for naval stores on hand, but this he should avoid, wishing

to have every expenditure, occasioned in any degree by the armament, stated separately, as he had pledged himself that it should be, and separately provided for; upon this principle he should include the expences of the additional 6,000 seamen

at - - - - 312,000

Left to be provided for 3,133,000

Previously to stating the mode in which he proposed to raise the above sum, he took a comparative view of the state of the nation at the conclusion of the last war, and at the present period, when our circumstances were peculiarly fortunate and flourishing. The former parliament, which found the country depressed and apparently burdened beyond measure, had not only laid the grounds of a gradual reduction of the national debt, but had beheld its endeavours in a degree crowned with success. The present parliament had not, he conceived, the same difficulties to encounter; for the country was obviously more equal to the burdens, with which the late armament compelled ministers unwillingly to load it. He hoped, therefore, that the house would meet the addition of debt with firmness and energy; that it would not be contented to defray the interest and leave the capital a permanent burden, but that it would convince the world of the magnitude of our resources, as well as of the increase of our power. With this view he should bring forward a plan of ways and means adapted to the occasion, and should propose taxes,

taxes, which would in a short time pay off the whole of the additional debt. The first resource, which he should suggest, was the balance of the issues of public money for particular purposes, which had accumulated from unpaid dividends in the hands of the directors of the bank of England. On the most evident principles of prudence, of justice, of good faith, and œconomy, the public, he conceived, had a right to avail itself of this balance, a balance which arose from public issues. His intention was to give the creditor equal security, whenever a demand might be made, in the consolidated fund. He stated that this balance had been uniformly increasing from the year 1727. In that year it was 43,000*l.*; in 1774 it had amounted to 292,000*l.*; in 1775 it decreased 800*l.* being only 284,000*l.*: but in 1786 it was 314,000*l.*; and in July 5th, 1789, when the last amount was made up, it rose to 547,000*l.* On the 12th of last October there remained a floating balance of 660,000*l.* He proposed to appropriate from this sum to the public use 500,000*l.* which would leave 160,000*l.* for the current service of the year, to answer any casual demand.

His next proposal was to adopt such temporary taxes, as with the addition of the unclaimed dividends, and one permanent tax, might produce a discharge of the whole debt in the space of four years. In the first year he would endeavour to find the means of paying off, independent of the interest, 800,000*l.* of the capital. In the second year, by the continuation of the same taxes, he hoped to pay off another 800,000*l.* Thus the 500,000*l.* which he proposed to appropriate from the balance of the unclaimed

dividends, and the two payments of 800,000*l.* each, would form a discharge of more than half the capital in the two first years; after which period part of the taxes might be taken off, and the others continued for the payment of the remainder in the two subsequent years, forming a complete extinction of the whole capital in four years. The first, which he should propose, would be upon an article of general consumption, sugar, paying at present a duty of 12*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. to which he should annex an additional 2*s.* 8*d.* Hence he expected to raise 241,000*l.* The second would be on spirits, which he considered as not likely to be evaded, when imposed for a short time, and in a slight degree. British spirits were already taxed in the wash at 6*d.* per gallon; brandy at 5*s.*; and rum at 4*s.* He should here add one-sixth of the existing duty, which would produce 240,000*l.* The third would be on malt, to be enforced only for the two first years, on which he should propose an additional 3*d.* a bushel. This he calculated at 122,000*l.* The fourth would be a tax of 10*l.* per cent. on all assessed taxes (except the commutation and land taxes) which he estimated at 100,000*l.* Lastly, he should propose a double tax on game-keepers, and the addition of one-third more on game-licences. The whole recapitulated would be

	£.
Sugar - - -	241,000
British spirits - - -	86,000
Brandy - - -	87,000
Rum - - -	67,000
Malt - - -	122,000
Assessed taxes -	100,000
Game licences -	25,000
	728,000

This,

This, he remarked, was not a sufficient sum, even with the 500,000 l. of the unclaimed dividends, for the purposes which he had stated. To make up the deficiency, he intended to modify an existing tax upon bills of exchange and receipts in such a manner as to prevent the frauds hitherto practised in evading it, and at the same time to increase the revenue at least 300,000 l. The regulations of this tax he meant to make not temporary, but permanent.

If the plan, which he thus proposed, should be carried into effect, the consolidated fund, he observed, would gain by the 500,000 l. from the bank, and the 800,000 l. of the produce of the first year, an addition of 1,300,000 l. which sum he should move to be issued for the year 1791; and as a temporary source for the remainder, he should propose the adoption of exchequer bills to the amount of 1,800,000 l.

All the above arrangements were agreed to by the house, except the proposal of appropriating to the public use the 500,000 l. of the unclaimed dividends. This measure being represented as likely to prove in some degree injurious to the national credit, the minister consented to accept from the bank a loan of the same sum, as long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of their cashier.

The next subject which engaged the attention of the house of commons, was one of the utmost importance, not only to the dearest privileges of that house, but to the very existence of the constitution itself. The question was, whether an impeachment brought by the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, in their own name, and in

the name of their constituents, did not remain in *statu quo*, notwithstanding the intervention of a dissolution? On the 17th of December, in a committee of the whole house, Sir Peter Burrell in the chair, Mr. Burke made a motion to the following effect: "It appears, that an impeachment of this house, in the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, and in the name of all the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, esq. late governor general of Bengal, for sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, is now depending."

This motion, he observed, involved no abstract question, but was a plain practical assertion of their privileges, as handed down to them by their predecessors through an uninterrupted succession of five hundred years. In all the convulsions of our government, in all the struggles, contests, and incidental or progressive changes of the functions and powers of the house of commons, this alone had remained immutable—that an impeachment was never to be defeated by collusion with a minister, or by the power of the crown. That an impeachment abated by a dissolution of parliament, he contended, was not to be found in *plain express* terms on the journals of the house of lords, on the journals of the house of commons, nor in the minutes of the conferences between the two houses. It was not to be found in any book of authority, or in any good report of law cases.

Mr. Erskine, wishing to gain time for deliberation, moved, "That Sir Peter Burrell might leave the chair." A debate of unusual length ensued. The arguments advanced in favour of an abatement (argu-
ments

ments asserted on the other side to have been loaded with much extraneous matter and irrelevant reasoning) were principally grounded upon analogies derived from the general complexion of parliamentary proceedings, and from the principles of the courts of common law, and upon precedents extracted from the journals of the house of lords.

It was contended, that the idea of taking up any proceeding of a former parliament was refuted by an impartial survey of all the powers exercised by the house, as limited by immemorial usage. If a day were appointed for attendance, but that day did not arrive until after a dissolution, the succeeding parliament could not act upon it. If the commons imprisoned for a contempt, the door of their prison was opened immediately upon the expiration of parliament. If the commons had framed a bill, and their messenger was carrying it up to the lords when the king dissolved the parliament, no subsequent house could proceed upon that stage of the bill, but the whole must again be taken up. If such a bill was in the nature of a public charge against a culprit of state, as an attainder and bills of penalty, the same rule attached upon it, and the culprit would escape, unless the proceeding should again commence *de novo*. It was asked, what could prevent Mr. Hastings, if he pleased, from quitting the kingdom? What penalty of bail was a guard over him or his friends? Would any lawyer assert, that Mr. Hastings, or his bail, could be touched by an order of the lords between parliament and parliament? Upon the supposition then, that the lords

could not imprison or bail for a space of time beyond the duration of an existing parliament, yet might proceed in *statu quo* at the meeting of a new one, would not such a power of proceeding be ridiculous in the extreme, when they possessed not the means of securing the appearance of the culprit?

It was admitted, that the nature of a trial by impeachment deprived the accused of many advantages, which the law had provided for the safety of accused persons in all other cases; and that therefore the reasoning by analogy from legal proceedings in general would not closely apply. It was nevertheless contended, that a ray of light might be thrown upon the question from that quarter; and that if a trial by impeachment under the best regulations violated some of the established principles of English law, the continuance of it from parliament to parliament violated them all.

The first maxim of law adduced in support of the above argument was this—that persons accused should be brought to a speedy trial, in order to prevent long imprisonments, and all the miseries incidental to a state of tedious and cruel suspense.

But if impeachments were allowed to be extended in the manner proposed, it was observed that they might continue for life, operating to perpetual imprisonment; which would reduce the liberty of the subject not to a dependance on the law, but to a dependance on the will alone of one branch of the legislature.

The second maxim adduced was, that the individuals who are appointed

pointed to try the causes, should be purified from all prejudices by the challenges of the prisoner.

It was confessed, that the very constitution of a court, where the judges sit by inheritance or the creation of the crown, in some degree militated against this great maxim; but it was observed, that such a departure from an established rule could not, considering the number of the judges, be very dangerous in a single parliament. Supposing, however, that an impeachment continued from parliament to parliament, the person impeached might at last be judged not only by peers, who would be total strangers to all the primary proceedings, but perhaps by some of his very accusers.

The last maxim adduced was; that a trial once commenced should go on without alteration or separation to prevent impressions from any source but the evidence, which should be given by the witnesses in the presence of the prosecutor, the prisoner, and the court; and that the verdict should be formed on the recent view and recollection of the circumstances.

It was indeed admitted, as in the former instance, that the constitution of the court in question was not exactly regulated by the above-mentioned principle; nevertheless it was asserted, that, considering an impeachment as a trial confined to one parliament only, the evil, how much soever to be lamented, had its limits. The prosecutors were the same; the court partly so; and the evidence, after adjournment or prorogation, might be recollected by the aid of notes. But if impeachments were to be continued from parliament to parliament, the

changes which might unavoidably take place in the prosecutors, by the election of new managers, and in the court, by the admission of new peers, might make it impossible for either party to proceed upon any but written evidence in direct opposition to the genius of English law. On such kind of evidence, on evidence which must be taken upon trust, where the demeanor of the witnesses could not be observed, it was strenuously maintained, that their lordships ought not to pluck a feather from a sparrows's wing.

With respect to precedents, it was said, that the proper place to search for them was in the journals of the house of lords. Viewing an impeachment in the light of a prosecution on the accusation of the house of commons before the house of lords, could any man doubt by which house every question, likely to affect the interest of the prisoner, should be adjudged? Common sense and common justice revolted at the idea of a judgment, consequential perhaps to the fate of the culprit, delivered by his accusers. It seemed, therefore, reasonable, that every point respecting the existing state of an impeachment should be determined by that court, where the commons had by law lodged it.

The principal precedents which were brought forward on this occasion, were those which occurred in the years 1673, 1678, 1685, 1690, 1701 and 1717. The precedent of 1673 was conceived to relate only to writs of error, and not to impeachments. It was said to be a mere resolution of the lords upon a reference to their committee, and simply intended to decide the question,

tion, Whether writs of error abated by a prorogation? preserving a total silence on the point of a dissolution.

The precedent of 1678 was admitted to be favourable to the doctrine of a non-abatement; but to diminish the authority of this precedent it was remarked, that at the period in which it had been framed, the nation was excited to the highest possible pitch against popery, when neither the voice of reason nor of law could be heard. On the 12th of March, 1678, a motion was made in the house of lords to declare, that writs of error, which by the resolution of 1673 had been considered as continuing from session to session, continued from parliament to parliament; and a committee was appointed to search for precedents. This was merely to give colour to their subsequent conduct; for only two days after, without taking any steps in consequence of the first order, it was added as an instruction to the committee, that they should make enquiries into the state of the impeachments which had been brought up in the preceding parliament. Accordingly, on the 19th of the same month, report was made to the house, that on perusal of the journal of the 29th of March 1673, it appeared that the state of the impeachments was not altered. The house acceding to this opinion, the order of 1678 was made. The order, therefore, in question, was said to have been established upon no antecedent custom of parliament, but to have been framed upon a strained and absurd analogy to writs of error.

But if the precedent of 1678 was against the argument on this side

the question, that of 1685 directly supported it. The precedent of 1685 completely annihilated the former; for its language was, "Resolved, that the order of the 19th of March, 1678, shall be reversed and annulled as to impeachments." If the lords had jurisdiction to make the order of 1678, they certainly must have had jurisdiction to unmake it.

The next precedent was that of the year 1690. The lords Salisbury and Peterborough, who had been impeached by a former parliament, petitioned the house of lords to be discharged from their imprisonment, pleading a dissolution of parliament as a cause for that discharge, and likewise a free and general pardon. The operation of the pardon was referred to the judges, upon the reception of whose answer the prisoners were admitted to bail, but not discharged. The lords appointed a committee to search for precedents. On the report of this committee alone, without the least reference to the general pardon, they were supposed to have released the prisoners from confinement. As an additional proof of the accuracy of this statement, it was asserted, that if the parties had been entitled to the benefit of the pardon, it must have been argued before the lords in bar to the impeachment, when the commons would have had a legal right to have been heard against that plea; but no such right was exercised or claimed. About the same time Sir Adam Blair, Mole, Gray, and Elliott, who had been previously impeached, were said to have been liberated upon similar grounds, without any communication

tion with the commons, and without any subsequent objection or dissatisfaction.

The case of the duke of Leeds in 1701 was next adduced. Upon the meeting of a new parliament, the house of lords dismissed the articles of impeachment against that nobleman, entering on their journals: "That in the former parliament the duke of Leeds had been impeached; articles brought up, and answer put in; but that the commons not prosecuting, he was discharged." This discharge was argued to have been ordered by the lords in consequence of the termination of their jurisdiction, and not by an act of judicature upon a subsisting impeachment.

The last precedent quoted, was that of 1717, when lord Oxford petitioned to be released from confinement, upon the supposition that a prorogation alone was fatal to an impeachment. This petition was rejected by the house. It was however confidently maintained, that the fatality of a dissolution was a point acceded to by both parties in the debate. This conclusion was drawn from the language of the protest, which was signed upon this occasion, the protesting lords expressing their fears, lest the vote of that day should weaken the order of 1685.

Very full and complete answers were given to the preceding arguments by the most distinguished speakers on both sides of the house. But it was previously argued upon every principle of reason as an absurdity to conceive, that the constitution could have given to the commons the power of exhibiting articles of impeachment against a state delinquent, yet perhaps in the

most important cases have withheld the means of prosecuting to conviction.

Parliament, it was observed, exercised two powers, legislative and judicial, which had their distinct limits and duration. The confusion of those powers was the principal source of all the doubts upon the question. Every legislative act was terminated both by prorogation and dissolution; but no judicial act was influenced by either. Under this last head, impeachments were to be classed.

The high court of parliament was asserted to be at all times an existing court; and although, from dissolution or other causes, it might not be sitting to do justice, it was said to be always open for the reception of appeals and writs of error. The authority of the peers in parliament did not depend upon the sitting of parliament, although it was during that period that they exercised their authority in judicial proceedings. The moment that the king affixed the seal to the patent of a peerage, the dignity and privileges which belonged to it continued to the person during his natural life, and at his death descended to his posterity without change or diminution. The meeting, therefore, of parliament, was to them no more than a notice and direction from the crown to proceed in the exercise of their privileges; but which the crown could neither take away, abridge, or render void. Such was the case of the judges in impeachment. What was the case of the prosecutors? An impeachment ought not to be considered as the act of the house of commons alone, but of all the commons of Great Britain, the proceeding

proceeding being in the name both of constituents and representatives. The house of commons was only the legal organ of instituting impeachments, as the attorney general was of filing bills *ex officio*, or an indictment in the name of the crown. In the one case the king prosecuted; in the other the whole commons of the realm. If therefore neither the judges nor the prosecutors of an impeachment were either politically or physically annihilated; if it were true, that, although the means of acting were for a time suspended, the right remained; it followed, that every judicial proceeding, in which they were engaged before such an event took place, revived on their meeting again; and that during such an interval every such proceeding must be still depending.

In reply to the argument of analogies derived from the general complexion of parliamentary proceedings, it was observed, that this argument, if it proved any thing, proved too much; because it equally tended to annihilate an impeachment after prorogation as after dissolution. Whatever question occupied the house in its legislative capacity, it terminated alike in both instances. If a legislative act was in its progress, a prorogation was known to put an end to it as completely and effectually as a dissolution. It was only judicial proceedings which survived the one or the other. During the intermediate period occasioned by either, the high court of parliament, indeed; could not sit, any more than the courts of common law, in the interval between term and term; but when parliament again assembled, judicial proceedings revived, just

as in the inferior courts after a vacation. In this manner were the proceedings on an impeachment suspended by every prorogation, and the committee of managers dissolved. After the prorogation the committee was always re-appointed, and the trial resumed.

On the point of analogies deduced from the principles of the courts below, it was observed that if a right admitted for centuries were to be supposed doubtful, because some ingenious men had endeavoured to bring it into question by forced analogies to the rules of other courts, established on very different principles, and standing on circumstances entirely distinct from those, in which the two houses stood with respect to any proceedings before the house of lords in its judicial capacity, there was no right, so sanctioned by immemorial usage, which might not be controverted; no privilege, however valuable, which might not become a subject of cavil and altercation.

Much confusion of ideas, and many unnecessary attempts to draw parallels, where no parallel existed, it was remarked, would have been avoided, had the gentlemen on the other side taken the least pains to acquaint themselves with the only law applicable to the question under debate—the law of parliament. By this law, every point which affected the privileges of parliament should be decided, and not by distorted rules extracted from imaginary comparisons with the practice of inferior courts. The law of parliament, as extant in all its ancient customs and usages, was not contrary to the established law of the land, but a great and important part of it. It was the supreme

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and sovereign law of the constitution, plain and practical, deformed by no theoretical conceits, no quibbling subtleties. It spoke a language level to every capacity, which the meanest could not misapprehend, and which the sublimest must admire.

Analogies of the kind alluded to were said to be capable only of misleading, because the proceedings and principles of action were fundamentally different. The court of the king in parliament could not with the least propriety be compared to a common trial by jury. When a jury was impanelled to try a cause, a judge presided. The judge took notes, but there was no stop to take down the question, no stop to receive the answer, no form which made the evidence a species of record; but all was done on the general immediate impression. The jury could not separate until they had given their verdict; and if they retired they retired in the custody of a bailiff. The case of the court of the king in parliament was quite distinct. There the proceedings became a matter of record; for the question, instead of being directly put to the witness, was proposed to the court by the managers or the counsel; the chancellor, who presided, then put it to the witness, when both the question and the answer were written down by the clerk previous to any subsequent proceeding. Thus not the general effect, but the precise terms, were taken down and preserved for the benefit of the court. An impeachment was observed to be an extraordinary case, which did not admit of being conducted upon the same rules as an ordinary trial. In the latter instance *viva voce* evidence

was deemed requisite; but in the former it was necessary from the very constitution of the court itself, that judgment should be formed upon written evidence. Were the rules of the court of king's bench to obtain in the house of lords, the question would be entirely at an end, and the benefit of impeachment at once annihilated; since it would then be better to file an indictment in one, than prefer an impeachment in the other. But the very foundation of impeachments rested upon a power of bringing delinquents to justice, who would have escaped, if tried according to the ordinary rules of the courts of judicature. It was likewise remarked, that even in those courts written evidence was by no means novel. Upon this species of evidence the court of chancery proceeded in almost all its decisions. It was also well known that nine tenths of misdemeanors were tried at sittings, and the record being returned to the court from which it issued, sentence was there pronounced by judges who had heard no part of the oral evidence, who had seen nothing of the demeanor of the prisoner or witnesses, who had no knowledge whatever of the case or its circumstances, but what they received from the notes of the judge that tried it. Upon the whole it was observed, that almost every argument derived from the source of what had been termed legal analogies, not only militated against any future proceedings, but against the very existence itself of that high court, which had been for centuries the bulwark of British freedom.

When the topic of precedents was discussed, it was premised, that upon a question of privilege it had always been the practice of their predecessors

predecessors to consult their own journals, and not those of the house of lords. Their own journals contained not the shadow of a doubt upon the subject. The right of the commons to prosecute a state delinquent to conviction, in defiance of all opposition from the crown or its ministers, in defiance of prorogation or dissolution, had always been considered in that house as a great and constitutional privilege, without which the controul of the people over the executive branch of government would be rendered ineffectual. So decided had their predecessors been upon this point, that the journals of the house of commons have never been disgraced by a single surmise of an opposite tendency. But even if recourse were had to the journals of the house of lords, not one authority could there be found on the other side, but the miserable decision of 1685, which was said to have been raked from the ashes, where it had long lain despised and forgotten by the very house that made it, and contaminated by the despicable circumstances which had given it birth, and the unprincipled times in which it had been framed.

To render precedents of full authority, it was stated, that they ought to be numerous, and not scattered here and there—to be concurrent, and not contradictory—to have been made in good constitutional times, not to have been framed for the purpose of serving a particular occasion—and lastly, to be agreeable to the general tenor of legal principles, which should always over-rule them.—But nothing of this kind had been proved, or attempted to be proved.

The first precedent which had

been quoted, was the resolution of 1673. On this it had been observed, that, since no mention was made in it of impeachments, a dissolution operated in abatement of such proceedings. But it was answered, that the very contrary seemed deducible from the report of the committee, which expressly comprehended not only writs of error and petitions of appeal, but in general “*any other business wherein their lordships act as in a court of judicature, and not in their legislative capacity.*” All such businesses were declared to extend from session to session, which was considered as tantamount to an extension from parliament to parliament; the effect of a prorogation and of a dissolution being precisely the same, putting an end alike to all pending measures of a legislative nature, and alike leaving untouched all judicial proceedings, unless impeachments could be shewn to be a single anomalous exception. In fact, the precedents contained in the report went equally to a continuation from parliament to parliament, as from session to session; and they were taken indifferently from civil and criminal causes, whether in the appellate or original jurisdiction of the lords, and by whom ever instituted, at the suit of an individual, the crown, or the commons. The resolution of 1673, therefore, must have been designed to include impeachments; and so it was understood, by the best and most authentic interpreters of its meaning, the lords themselves; who, only five years after, grounded themselves immediately upon it, in determining the continuance of impeachments from parliament to parliament.

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In the discussion of the precedent of 1678, it was allowed that the times were times of much ferment; but it was contended that the new resolution grew naturally out of the former report and resolution of 1673, and that the question at that time debated in the house of lords had nothing to do with the popish plot, it referred simply to the case of lord Danby, who had been impeached for crimes totally distinct from the plot, and was decided by a house not particularly inimical to that minister. But the fairest mode would be, not to estimate the character of the parliament by the character of the times, but rather by its constitutional acts, both in its legislative and judicial capacity. In that point of view it was asserted that there was not one important or material privilege of personal freedom, parliamentary independence, or constitutional principle, afterwards enacted at the revolution, which had not been enforced and carried by the parliament of 1678; and that therefore its reputation stood as high as any in the annals of our history. At a subsequent period the question was again mentioned in the house of commons. The managers of lord Danby's impeachment, among other things, reported, that in a conference respecting the impeachment, one of the lords reminded the commons that they had obtained a great point in that parliament, viz. a declaration that impeachments did not abate by a dissolution; when the managers replied, that nothing had been gained, as the point in question "was nothing but what "was agreeable to the ancient "course and methods of parliament."

Two years after, and when another parliament had been dissolved, the lords hesitated not to seal this resolution with some of the noblest blood of their own illustrious order, in the trial, condemnation, and execution, of lord Stafford; refusing even to hear his counsel against it, in arrest of judgment. And whatever may have been the merits of the sentence by which that unfortunate nobleman perished on the scaffold; the regularity of the process against him has never been attempted to be vitiated. No error was assigned on that ground in the bill for reversing his attainder, which under the succeeding monarch was sent down by the lords, and rejected by the commons. Again, after lord Stafford's death, and after a third dissolution, the lords acted judicially on this same rule, by appointing a day to consider the demand made by the commons, for judgment against lord Danby; and they also acted judicially upon it about the same time in another impeachment, which had been brought up at the close of the last parliament against Sir William Scroggs, chief justice of the king's bench, and to which in the *new* parliament they recorded his answer.

Nor does the authority of the precedent stop here. The principle of it, while it yet existed only in the spirit of the report and resolution of 1673, received the approbation of the third branch of the legislature; for in opening the parliament of 1678, the lord chancellor, by command of the king, informed the two houses of the applications made by the impeached lords to be tried on their indictments in the interval of parliament; "but (continued he) his
"majesty

“ majesty thought it fitter to re-
 “ serve them to a more public and
 “ conspicuous trial in parliament,
 “ for which cause *their trials ought*
 “ *now to be hastened.*” After the rule
 was given, the king himself twice
 recognized and enforced it from the
 throne, by recommending to the
 two succeeding parliaments the pro-
 secution of the same impeachments.
 In the estimation of those who truly
 know and value the constitution of
 this country, nothing can be want-
 ing beyond the concurrence of
 king, lords, and commons, on a
 rule of proceeding in parliament;
 but in truth, it had also the sanction
 of all the sages of the law. The
 chancellor, who in the king’s name
 opened the parliament of 1678, was
 Finch lord Daventry, afterwards
 earl of Nottingham, a name of high
 respect in the law: nor did he ex-
 press merely the sentiments of his
 master, of himself, and the other
 ministers of the crown: he spoke
 the deliberate opinion of the twelve
 judges, who at the council table
 had declared, that “ the impeach-
 “ ments being lodged in parliament,
 “ no other prosecution could be
 “ against the lords, *till the prosecu-*
 “ *tion of the commons was deter-*
 “ *mined;*” directly implying, that
 the impeachments had not abated
 by the intervening dissolution. A
 principal member of that venerable
 body, chief justice Scroggs, two
 years after, attested his opinion in
 the strongest manner by his own
 conduct; and in the case of Fitz-
 harris, when some were present on
 the bench who had concurred in
 the opinion relative to the five
 lords, the court not only did not

contradict the fact of the opinion
 then stated to them, and the doc-
 trine drawn from it, but virtually
 admitted the general principle by
 avoiding the question, and deciding
 in that instance on the pleadings
 alone;—that the impeachment, as
 there pleaded, did not apply with
 any certainty to the crimes laid in
 the indictment. The judges too,
 who having twice refused, did
 at last bail lord Danby, in 1683,
 after an imprisonment of five year-
 s, bound him to appear on the first
 day of the next parliament; by
 which proceeding their immediate
 successors understood them to have
affirmed his commitment, and conse-
 quently the validity of the resolu-
 tion of 1678, as indeed lord Danby
 himself had expressly argued in his
 application to the court.

Such was the precedent of 1678,
 so fortified by authorities of every
 description. What, on the con-
 trary, was the boasted precedent of
 1685? This was said to have been
 made on the first day of the first and
 only parliament of James the Second,
 in the moment of adulation and fer-
 vility. If ever there were a time
 dangerous to the liberty of this
 country, that was asserted to have
 been the period: a weak and big-
 gotted prince upon the throne; a
 * packed and garbled house of com-
 mons, almost named by the king, in
 consequence of the violent and ar-
 bitrary destruction of the charters
 of different corporations; and a
 people worn down by their repeat-
 ed struggles with the crown. To
 this it might be added, that to have
 proceeded with the impeachment in
 question, would have been impos-

* On the very day that the precedent of 1685 bears date, the house of commons having offered to stand by the king with their lives and fortunes, against the duke of Argyle’s rebellion, they were told in answer, that “ he could not expect
 “ less from a house of commons so composed as (God be thanked) they were.”

sible, as the principal witnesses had been convicted of perjury. Yet, at such a time, and under such circumstances, was the house of lords ashamed to declare the resolution of 1678 to be contrary to law; for, on the very day when the infamous Jefferies took his seat as a peer, it was reversed without putting any declaration in its place, without enquiry, without examination, *without the knowledge of the commons*, and without daring to look in the face the very resolution about to be reversed; the protest expressly stating, *that it was not even allowed to be read, although repeatedly called for*. Could such a precedent, it was asked, be seriously brought forward as sufficient to overturn established law, destroy every constitutional principle, and trample upon the privileges of the commons?

How did the commons, when the kingdom began again to enjoy free parliaments, treat this precedent? With total disregard. Lord Danby was one of the peers discharged under it. On the revolution he was appointed president of the council, and soon after created marquis of Carmarthen. In the year 1690 however, becoming once more obnoxious to the commons, in a grand committee on the state of the nation, a motion was made for an address to remove him from the king's councils, and menaces of resuming the former impeachment thrown out against him*. "*You may demand judgment against him,*" said Sir John Guise, "*he has nothing to plead but the pardon;*" and though the lord president had many to defend him, some who represented the hardship of reviving an old impeach-

ment, and others who urged his meritorious share in the revolution, and his diligence in the service of his country; yet no man ventured to object his discharge, under the precedent of 1685, as a bar to any proceeding on the impeachment. Why then should the commons of this day look with reverence to a precedent, passed over with silent disdain by their ancestors, and abandoned even by those in whose favour it was made?

As to the supposed precedent of 1690, in the release of the lords Peterborough and Salisbury, it was asserted that it did not apply to the question; or if at all, that it applied the other way. One thing it proved beyond dispute, that the house of lords (and indeed the courts of common law) seemed to pay no more attention than the commons to the precedent of 1685. A new parliament met on the 20th of March 1689, and continued sitting nearly four months, yet all this while the two lords remained close prisoners in the tower, under the impeachment; and neither they, nor any lord on their behalf, (and they afterwards appeared to have many friends in the house) once dreamed of claiming the benefit of that which is now maintained to have been an existing rule of law, binding in its authority, and entitling them to their immediate discharge. They did not venture to petition that they might even be bailed; but, during one of the prorogations which ensued, lord Salisbury had recourse for that purpose to the king's bench. The court however remanded him to the tower, grounding themselves principally on the trial of lord Stafford, as a

* Gray's Debates, vol. x. p. 144.

case of clear and sound law; as well as on the condition of the bail-bond, taken from lord Danby, as involving an affirmation of the same principle. When parliament re-assembled for the dispatch of business, the two lords did petition the house. And what said their petitions? Did they rely on the precedent of 1685? Did they raise a question of law on the abatement of impeachments by a dissolution? No such thing. Lord Salisbury did not even glance at it. He made the length of his imprisonment, and the act of pardon that had passed in the former session, the sole grounds of his application. Lord Peterborough, it is true, did mention it; but how? Incidentally, and mingled up with other topics, addressed to commiseration,—“that he had been kept a prisoner in the tower almost two years, notwithstanding a dissolution, and several prorogations, as also an act of general pardon.” These petitions were delivered and read on the second of October 1690, yet the two lords were not finally discharged till the thirtieth of the same month: on that day the order stood for receiving the report of the committee appointed to search for precedents respecting the continuance of impeachments. This report, it was observed, is meagre, imperfect, confused, in some passages demonstrably erroneous, and contains not even the suggestion of an opinion on the true rule of law. It was read, and many things moved, which do not appear on the journals; till at last a question was put and carried, resolving that “the two lords shall be now discharged.” Now this, it had been contended, must have been done in consequence of the abatement of their impeach-

ments from the operation of the dissolution. On the contrary it was answered, that the only ground of the vote was the general pardon. To omit the inferences resulting from the whole course of antecedent transactions, the protest, it was remarked, could not be read without a full conviction of the assertion. The reasons of dissent assigned were, that the question moved had no relation to the real debate before the house, and was urged upon them, not for the sake only of the two lords mentioned;—that they should have examined the effects of a pardon, where an impeachment was concerned, as well as the difference between an act of grace, and an act of indemnity;—and that they ought in justice first to have heard the house of commons, who were parties. What then was the real debate before the house? It was to receive the report of precedents, and to ascertain the law, and usage of parliament on that subject: and that is the very thing which is now contended to have been done, but it is also the very thing which the protesting lords complain was not done. They complain that another question was urged upon them, and they add, “not for the sake only of the two lords mentioned.” At whom do they glance? At the marquis of Carmarthen, whom Sir John Guise, and other members of the lower house, had recently threatened with his old impeachment. His prosecution had lasted to the fourth parliament, without any objection on his part to the principle of continuance. That point therefore he could not now with any grace advance; but at the moment when the last parliament of Charles the II^d. was suddenly dissolved, he was

at issue with the commons as to the effect of a pardon which he had long before pleaded in bar of their impeachment. Neither could any thing be imagined more ridiculous than the remaining reasons, if the lords had been discharged, because the impeachment had previously abated. To have amused themselves with defining acts of grace, and acts of indemnity, would have been idle, had the debate been wholly taken on a distinct and separate ground: to have examined into the effect of a pardon on an impeachment would have been still more absurd, had the decision supposed that the impeachment had ceased to exist nine months before; and to have heard the commons as parties would have been impossible, since there can be no parties where there is no cause.

The case of Sir Adam Blair and others, was stated to be as little to the purpose as the former case, with which it was contemporary. No attempts were made by the commons to go on with the prosecution in the new parliament, and yet the lords held the parties accused to bail for nearly eight months, which was wholly inconsistent with the notion of an abatement. But in one point of view this case was important, as connected with the former case. Sir Adam Blair, and the persons impeached with him, did not apply to be freed from the obligation of their recognizances, till more than a month after the two earls had been completely set at liberty. Nor did their petitions (when they did come) in any manner allude to that event, or to the operation of the previous dissolution; captain Mole represented that he was a foreigner, and unable to subsist under such restraint;

and the rest contented themselves with humbly shewing, how long they had been in attendance on the orders of the house. Such conduct, and such language, were utterly irreconcilable with the interpretation now put on the discharge of lord Peterborough and lord Salisbury.

The next precedent of 1701 was asserted to be still more unfortunate than the two former. It was the case of the duke of Leeds. This nobleman, it was remarked, seems to have been born for the purpose of illustrating and exemplifying, in his political life, all the doctrines of impeachment. In his person, when he was lord Danby, all the great questions of 1678 were discussed; he was one of the lords discharged under the resolution of 1685; for his sake, when he was marquis of Carmarthen, the precedent of 1690 was understood to have been made; and in 1695 he was again impeached, as duke of Leeds. He put in his answer without delay; but the commons not proceeding, when the session was drawing to a close the lords sent down a message with an intimation to that purport, and an offer to appoint a day for the trial. That very parliament, after sitting between five and six years, had lately passed the triennial bill; and under these circumstances it was obvious that a prorogation and dissolution would be one and the same. The commons answered, that they could not proceed for want of their principal witness, who had withdrawn himself; in consequence of which communication the lords, on the last day of the session (the last day of the parliament, as they must have been conscious) addressed the king to issue a procla-

proclamation for shutting up all the ports. Now to what did—to what could, that address point, but to the production of that witness in the next parliament? The witness however was not found, and the impeachment remained in that state for five years, and through several successive parliaments. At length in 1701 the house of lords took up the case, but by no means declared that the impeachment had been long at an end. On the contrary they discharged it, not as a thing past, not as that which might not have been carried into effect up to the existing moment of time, but as that which was to have no operation in future: “*the commons not prosecuting,*” says the order, “*the impeachment and articles SHALL BE and are hereby dismissed;*”—an irrefragable proof that the impeachment in question abated by the voluntary act of the commons, and not by the operation of a dissolution.

With respect to the last precedent of 1717, in the case of the earl of Oxford, it was asserted that the reasoning upon the protest, which had been signed upon that occasion, was extremely fallacious. Instead of arguing from thence that the doctrine of an abatement by a dissolution was acceded to by both sides of the house, all that fairly could be deduced from it was this, viz. that both sides of the house coincided in the opinion that dissolution and prorogation were the same thing. If therefore the house decided, that prorogation did not put an end to an impeachment, the obvious conclusion would be, that they conceived dissolution to be equally ineffectual.

Two other authorities, one of a more antient and the other of a more

modern date, seem to deserve particular notice, as much reliance was placed upon them by the two great political antagonists, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, who on this occasion united in defence of the constitution. The example which, in the early pages of our history, most forcibly struck the mind of Mr. Pitt, was the case of the duke of Suffolk, prime minister and favourite of Henry VI. He was impeached in 1450 for high treason, and on a subsequent day for high crimes and misdemeanours; both which sets of articles the commons prayed to be recorded and proceeded upon “*during the same parliament, as the matters and causes required.*” But wherefore did they make this express prayer, and why did they think it necessary to support it with a motive drawn from the special nature of the case, if it was the ordinary, legal, and only course of proceeding? They certainly conceived that the lords might, and probably feared that they would, give a day in a future parliament; and they wished at least to secure the answer of the impeached minister on record; well aware that he must admit nearly all the facts charged upon him, and justify himself, as he attempted to do, on the concurrence of some of his colleagues, the sanction of the privy council, or the positive authority of the king. What the issue was in that parliament, is well known. The king, who on the first presentment of the articles to the lords had in vain ordered the consideration of them to be respited till he was otherwise advised, at last, when the duke had been brought to his answer, endeavoured to compromise with the stern justice of parliament for the life of his favourite, and passed upon him an arbitrary and

anomalous sentence of banishment for five years; against which the lords solemnly protested. When the next parliament met, the commons resumed the business; but in the mean time the duke of Suffolk, as he was going into banishment, having been violently put to death, they could not demand judgment against him in a judicial course. They did therefore, what was usual in similar cases, they brought in a bill of attainder and forfeiture, but not in the usual manner. They did not in the preamble ground themselves substantively on his crimes, but directly on the impeachments, and the insufficiency of his answers, *annexing the process as their proof*; and because "judgment was not then had, as justice according to his merits required," they go on, in a language not to be found in any other bill of attainder of the same period, to ordain that by the authority of the present parliament he may be "*adjudged*" a traitor. The lords concurred with the commons; the bill was actually enrolled, but, in a form not common, the royal negative appears to have been afterwards endorsed upon it. This formidable impeachment, however, so alarmed the advisers of the court, who were the friends and connections of the deceased minister; and the king's prerogative, which had been irregularly exerted throughout the question with the commons, was so far implicated; that to get rid of the subject altogether a singular expedient was employed at the commencement of the ensuing parliament; when, from the miscarriage of the duke of York in his march to London, the elections had gone wholly in favour of the court. A pretence was taken from the Kentish rebellion,

which had been suppressed some months before the holding of the last parliament. But now a bill was passed for the attainder of Cade, which was perfectly unnecessary, as he had been already attainted by an act still on the statute-roll; all the indictments, with their dependencies, which had been brought before his commissioners by his authority, and all corruptions of blood in consequence, were set aside,—as they would have otherwise been by operation of law; the same remedy was provided against similar acts in all cases of future rebellion and insurrection, which the very cases themselves would equally well have provided: and lastly (in reference to the concluding part of the recital, that untrue articles and petitions had been forged by Cade) all petitions against the king's intent, and not agreed by him, were ordered to be put in oblivion, *quashed, avoided, and annulled for ever*. This is the only real enactment in the bill; and whatever collateral object it might have in view, is directly levelled at the proposed bill for the attainder of the duke of Suffolk: since that is the only petition on record of the last parliament, which had any reference to *articles*, or which received an unqualified and absolute negative from the king. The authors of this extraordinary measure could not have considered what they were thus anxious to destroy as a mere bill of attainder, which, like every other legislative measure not agreed, must have expired with the session; and it is impossible to look through all the circumstances of this contest, and not be convinced that none of the parties concerned in it entertained a thought of an impeachment abating by a dissolution of parliament.

The

The argument of Mr. Fox, to which allusion has been made, was founded on a fact in the history of parliament, connected with the subject of the present impeachment. This was the explanation originally given to that house, of a clause in the India Bill of 1773; the very bill, by which Mr. Hastings was first appointed governor general of Bengal. Among other regulations of this law, are introduced several provisions for facilitating proceedings in parliament against the delinquents of the East; power is given to the chancellor or speaker of either house of parliament, to issue warrants for taking evidence abroad; and in all such cases it is enacted, by the forty-third section, that no proceedings in parliament shall be discontinued by any prorogation or dissolution. Impeachments here are undoubtedly included. But what was the inducement to this enactment? How is it set forth in the short preamble to it? Is it because impeachments are discontinued by a prorogation or dissolution? No; but because such is the law and custom of parliament with regard to "*proceedings by bill.*" The clause was so worded by the wise jealousy of the late Mr. Dyson, who, bred under speaker Onslow, became eminent for the knowledge which distinguished his great master. He feared, as he informed the house, lest in after-times the enactment, if it were not so guarded, might be construed to have given some new right to the commons in one partial class of impeachments, and thus prejudice and endanger, in its general exercise, the great constitutional privilege of that house; which otherwise, as to the doctrine of continuances, he be-

lieved too firmly established on principle and practice ever to be shaken. Thus the whole legislature, by the act which conferred on Mr. Hastings his high office, gave him notice, that an enquiry into his conduct, if he should be charged with having abused the power entrusted to him, might last beyond the limits of one parliament; and the commons, at a time when no passion can in any degree have warped their judgments, declared prospectively their calm and deliberate opinion of their right so to continue their prosecutions against all state criminals;—an opinion which in some measure received the sanction of the other estates of the realm, by the final passing of the act so worded, and so explained. The managers were not ignorant of this clause. They even consulted upon it, previous to the dissolution, whether they should not apply for the speaker's warrant to India: but on mature consideration they resolved to rest the whole question on the base where their ancestors had placed it;—"the ancient course and methods of parliament."

Such were the outlines of some of the leading arguments brought forward on this occasion, in a debate which lasted, by adjournments, for three days. Mr. Erskine, Mr. Hardinge, and Sir John Scott, with several other gentlemen, principally lawyers, argued for the abatement. On the other side of the question, the lead was taken by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Addington the speaker, who displayed much learning in the more early records of parliament—On a division upon Mr. Erskine's motion, That Sir Peter Burrell do leave

leave the chair, the numbers were ayes 30, noes 143.—Majority 113.

Mr. Bearcroft, though he did not speak, is yet said to have voted on this occasion with the majority; as did also Sir William Scott, and several other professional gentlemen. Mr. Burke's original motion was then put and carried without a division.

On the 14th of February, Mr. Burke made a motion for limiting the impeachment to a single charge more.—But this subject we must for the present postpone, in order to pursue the great question of the constitution to the house of lords. It is enough here to remark, that Mr. Burke's new motion was carried, as well as some other motions of course, necessarily preparatory to the actual resumption of the trial.

When the commons were ready, a message was sent to the lords, who in consequence appointed a committee to search for precedents. They spent a considerable time in preparing their report, which however, having been at length made, lord Portchester, on the 16th of May, moved, "That a message be sent to the commons, to inform them, that the lords were ready to proceed on the trial of Warren Hastings, esq."

Another motion, under the form of an amendment, was made by the earl of Radnor, proposing to leave out all the words in the original motion after the word *that*, and insert the following in their place: "it be referred to the twelve judges as a question, to examine the bond of recognizance entered into by the sureties of Warren Hastings, esq; and to report to the house, on Wednesday next, their opinions on the same." In the debate which succeeded, a line of argument was

pursued nearly similar to that which had been adopted in the house of commons. The lord chancellor, lord Kenyon, and marquis of Lansdowne, with other lords, contended for the abatement; lord Loughborough, the earl of Guildford, and lord Grenville, were the principal speakers against it. The speech of lord Loughborough, in answer to the chancellor's, was particularly elegant and impressive. An union of opinion, no less striking than that of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in the house of commons, took place on this occasion in the upper house, between two great professional and political rivals, earl Camden and earl Mansfield: both of whom authorized lord Loughborough to declare their sentiments, that the motion was conformable to the law of parliament, and consistent with precedent. Lord Camden, who had been present during the early part of the debate, left as the ground of his opinion a written reference to the authority of Selden, (who had been a manager against the duke of Buckingham, minister of Charles the 1st) that a new house of commons might proceed, if they chose it, on an impeachment brought up in a former parliament.

The collection of precedents printed by the house is very voluminous, and highly valuable. The whole is arranged into three classes—impeachments;—criminal cases at the suit of individuals or of the crown;—and such civil cases as seemed to throw light on the matter referred to the committee. All the forms of bail in criminal cases, which appear on the journals of the house, are also added, as well as a copious table of references to the cases in the law books in any-
wise

wife illustrative of the subject. The report itself occupies more than an hundred pages, and is accompanied by a large appendix to each of the three classes of precedents. Lord chancellor Thurlow, it is true, complained that the precedents, of writs of error are defective; and perhaps in all the classes several omissions, of more or less importance, may be discovered; still the compilation, such as it is, does much honour to the diligence and ability employed in the task, and is altogether the purest and most abundant source from which the lawyer, the antiquary, and the

historian, may derive information of every kind, connected with the judicature of the peers in parliament. There is, besides, one table more, which may prove of still more extensive utility to the historian. This is a table of the dates of the writs, the commencement, adjournments, prorogations, and dissolution of every parliament of which any monuments remain on the rolls or the journals, down to the second year of William the III^d; particulars, in all which our best historians, (not excepting that, which professes to be a parliamentary history of England) are too frequently erroneous,

C H A P. III.

Resumed account of Mr. Burke's motion for the limitation of the impeachment. Causes assigned by him for the delay in the progress of the trial. Various adverse motions made, and negatived. Original motion carried without a division. Progress of the trial. Mr. Loveden's motion for the continuation of the session until the impeachment should be concluded. Mr. Hastings's speech at the close of the trial of the year. Observations on the great question decided this session, "That impeachments do not abate by a dissolution of parliament." Dangerous tendency of the opinions, that this decision was according to the principles of the constitution, but contrary to the practice of parliament. Digression to the history of the first impeachments on record in the "Good Parliament" of Edward the Third. Our best modern historians deficient in their accounts of this interesting period. State of political parties in that parliament. Condition of the kingdom under the duke of Lancaster's administration. Preparatory steps and actual impeachments of the duke's party. Return of that party to power, after the dissolution of parliament. Their violent proceedings against Sir Peter de la Mare and their other political opponents. New parliament under the direct influence of the duke of Lancaster. Proceedings of that parliament relative to the impeachments. Authority of Selden. Nature of the proof anciently admitted, shewn from the Paston papers. Argument drawn from it. Accession of Richard the Second.—Conclusion of this important subject.

HAVING conducted the narrative to the final decision, that in all probability settled for ever the right of the commons to continue their impeachments as well after a dissolution as after a prorogation,

we may now revert to the motion of Mr. Burke, which was mentioned in the last chapter, for the limitation of the proceedings on the present impeachment.

Mr. Burke prefaced what he had to

to submit to the house, by some pertinent remarks on the many improper attempts which had lately been made to excite commiseration in behalf of Mr. Hastings, who had been represented as kept unnecessarily under the rod of prosecution for an unusual length of time. He then proceeded to prove that no premeditated delay could be imputable to the managers. Three years, he observed, had indeed elapsed since the commencement of the trial; but of those three years, the proceedings upon the trial had only occupied sixty-seven days, at the average of about four hours in each day; during which period, fifty criminal allegations had been proved. It had been lamented that in such a space of time the managers had only gone through (what were called) four articles. But it should be remembered, that the crimes of the culprit, in consequence of their number, had been divided not as usual, into so many single and separate articles, but rather into so many comprehensive classes. Under each of those classes (in form indeed called articles) were included a number of charges, alone sufficient to have constituted a distinct impeachment; and perhaps, he remarked, in the whole body of charges, taken collectively, as much criminal matter was included, as had occurred in all the impeachments to be met with in the English history. The preliminary discussion in the house of commons had occupied nearly as many days, and many more sitting hours, he believed, than the trial in Westminster-hall.

Among the obstructions with which the managers had contended, he enumerated the prevalence of

Indian interest. This pernicious influence, he observed, had found its way into both houses of parliament, and exerted itself incessantly to work upon the public mind, not only by the weight of its own authority, but by every little art of sophistical misrepresentation.

But of all the obstacles which had impeded the progress of the managers, none had been more perplexing, or more productive of delay, than those that arose from the limitations upon the subject of evidence imposed upon them by the high court before which they pleaded, in compliance with the perpetual objections of the prisoner's counsel. Mr. Burke contended, from incontrovertible authorities, and from the uniform practice of their ancestors, that the tribunal of the upper house ought not to be regulated by the forms of the civil or the common law, or by any customs of inferior courts. That it possessed a law and usage of its own, perfectly distinct, and of superior dignity. That the managers of an impeachment had always claimed, as a privilege, an ignorance of the municipal law; and without considering themselves as bound by any forms, had always acted merely from the facts before them, upon the evident principles of common sense. That they had constantly pleaded in the plainest language, and not in the technical terms of the courts. That, as the privilege of impeachment had been intended for the security of liberty and law, it ought not to be straitened in its operation. That they would betray the constitution itself, if they did not strenuously argue for a law of parliament, distinct from the law of Westminster-hall, paramount to it,

it, and capable of superseding and controuling it in every thing hostile to substantial justice.

Mr. Burke, in support of the preceding positions, entered into a long detail of authorities; and proved, that the managers had been most unreasonably, most illegally (according to the established law of parliament) and most unconstitutionally cramped and fettered in all their proceedings.

He concluded by observing, that it was not his wish to give up the proof of a single charge against Mr. Hastings, all of which the committee of managers were able to substantiate, if the temper of the times, and the criminal impatience of too many persons, would permit them. But, as all mankind must bend to circumstances, in compliance with the unhappy disposition of the times, he meant to propose a motion for the limitation of the impeachment. He then moved: "That in consideration of the length of time, which has already elapsed since carrying up the impeachment now depending against Warren Hastings, esq; it appears to this house to be proper, for the purpose of obtaining substantial justice with as little delay as possible, to proceed to no other parts of the said impeachment than those on which the managers of the prosecution have already closed their evidence, excepting any such parts of the impeachment as relate to the contracts, pensions, and allowances."

Mr. Ryder moved, as an amendment, that the latter part of the motion, which contained the exception, should be omitted. Mr. Jekyl afterwards proposed a second amendment, viz. "that after these words in the original motion, 'in

consideration of the length of time which has already elapsed, since carrying the impeachment now depending against Warren Hastings, esq; it be added, 'the house of commons do resolve to proceed no farther in this business.'"—Mr. Sumner moved the question of adjournment.

The house divided for the adjournment—ayes 26, noes 231. On Mr. Jekyl's amendment—ayes 54, noes 194. On Mr. Ryder's amendment, ayes 79, noes 161.—The original question was then put and carried without a division.

Besides the three gentlemen who made the several motions already related, Mr. Burke was opposed in different stages of the debate by Major Scott, Mr. Wigley, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. J. T. Stanley, member for Wootton Bassett, and one or two others.—He was supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Lushington, chairman of the court of directors.

Mr. Pitt on this occasion was peculiarly eloquent and animated. His speech possessed all his usual perspicuity both of order and expression, with more than his usual spirit and cogency of argument. He took a clear and comprehensive view of the whole merits of the prosecution, pointing out as he went along all the bearings of the charge now proposed on the other charges previously in evidence before the lords. The justificatory plea set up by the party impeached, had ever been state-necessity; but this, he observed, would anticipate and repel that topic of exculpation, by shewing that in three or four instances only, of corrupt and criminal profusion, the late governor general had lavished all that he acquired by

by violence, extortion, and fraud, from Benares, Oude, and Bengal.

This only remaining head of charge was opened by Mr. St. John, on the 23d of May, to which period the delay already noticed in the house of lords necessarily postponed the actual continuation of the trial. In two days more the evidence was all adduced, except to one single point. On this, as it was a matter of account, the managers offered to examine Mr. Wright, the company's auditor of Indian accounts; but though he had often been examined on similar subjects in the course of the proceedings, the counsel for Mr. Hastings now objected, and insisted on the original books. The point, therefore, was reserved till the next sitting day, when it was to be supplied, immediately previous to the speech of the manager who was to sum up the charge.

In this state of the business, on the 27th of May, when the court broke up, Mr. Loveden made a motion relative to the impeachment, which had it been at all feasible, would have met the approbation and support of all parties: it was to the following effect, "That his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue the session until the evidence on the part of the prosecution has been closed, Mr. Hastings's defence heard, and judgment finally given." An amendment of a more practicable tendency was moved by Mr. Fox, who, together with Mr. Burke, did not see in the proposed address that violation of the royal prerogative, which formed the principal objection of Mr. Dundas. Major Scott of course took this occasion to tell his customary tale of the number of criminal charges contained in the articles, and the expences of the

solicitor's bill.—Mr. Fox's amendment was lost by a majority of 83. The original motion was then negatived without a division.

When the court next assembled in Westminster-hall, Sir James St. Clair Erskine, having summed up this branch of the accusation, the managers, saving to the house all their undoubted rights and privileges, declared their intention of resting their prosecution where it then stood. Mr. Hastings then arose, and verbally made a prayer to the lords similar in purport to Mr. Loveden's motion in the house of commons; but if that could not be granted, he requested one day more to address the court before their separation for the year. In the latter alternative he was indulged; and accordingly, on the 2d of June, read for two hours, from a written paper, a general answer to the observations of the managers. He spoke highly of his own merits, and addressed the commons of Great Britain in the language of Lear to his ungrateful children:—" *I gave you all*; and you have rewarded me (added he) by disgrace, accusation, and a life of impeachment." He professed himself ready to go immediately to judgment; but if that could not be, concluded by desiring that, notwithstanding what he had now said, his counsel next year might be at liberty to conduct his defence in any manner which they might think most expedient.—It is well known that they used this liberty, and began the next session with speeches of eight days.

If there was, as must be admitted, some hardship on the individual in the slow progress of the trial this year, the public on the other hand had no common interest in the cause

cause of it. The rule in favour of which the lords determined, and upon which both houses acted, touches the constitution more nearly perhaps than any question which has been agitated in parliament during the present century. That the decision was certainly agreeable to the spirit of the constitution, nay, that a contrary event would have been dangerous if not fatal to it, seems to be generally admitted: but doubts have been nevertheless entertained, whether in reality the greater weight of precedent was not on the other side; and it was probably under the influence of some such conflicting notions, that a proposition was made in the house of commons, to drop the present impeachment, and then by a prospective law establish the principle of continuance in future.

These opinions may be sincere; they may be propagated with no bad design, since they come to us with the sanction of grave men, whose intentions we are not warranted to suspect: like all intermediate opinions, balancing dissent with approbation, they carry with them the recommendation of a specious candour; and the apparent knowledge and love of the constitution, with which the doubts in this instance are accompanied, lend them an additional colour of false authority, to which many good and easy minds, without enquiring, will yield an implicit obedience. In other times, it is possible they might be innocent of any very evil consequences, beyond their immediate and obvious tendency to prejudice the people unfairly against the prosecution still maintained by their representatives, as having become, in its progress, whatever it may

have been in its origin, oppressive and unjust. But at the present moment, it is to be feared, that, should such conclusions be generally adopted, a more malignant use might be made of them by those who are perpetually hunting after defects in the constitution of their country, which they never praise but to recommend some change under pretence of a reform; and who are indefatigably labouring to weaken and subvert the credit of parliament, by the destruction of which alone they can hope to make way for their own anarchical projects of representative government. To adversaries like these, more dexterous than scrupulous, it would certainly afford some advantage of ground, if the fact were allowed, that under the law and usage of parliament a dangerous practice has overpowered the principle of the constitution; and the great privilege of the commons has remained for ages imperfect and palsied in one of its most essential parts, except during one short interval of violence and blood.

It was to meet all perversions on this head, that the summary of the arguments which ultimately prevailed in these debates (more especially such as were drawn from precedents) has been here given with a fullness of detail not compatible in all instances with the general plan of this history. Nor have the common printed reports been alone trusted: some assistance has been derived from private recollection; and care has been taken to consult the records of parliament throughout, and by the guidance of that safe clue, to correct, or occasionally even to supply the statement of those minute but necessary circumstances,

which

which can have been retained with precision by no human memory, or which in speaking to an assembly, who had all the documents on their table, may have been conveyed in a naked reference, or transient allusion. With the same view, it may be perhaps useful, certainly not unamusing, to mount a little higher into antiquity on this subject. We shall there witness a complete triumph on the side of the English constitution: we shall have the satisfaction of finding, that the right of the commons to continue their impeachments from parliament to parliament, is clearly recognized in the first regular records of such proceedings that have descended to posterity.

There are sufficient traces from very early times to shew the agency of the commons in public accusations, though not the exact mode in which it was exercised; but there is no formal entry of an impeachment, till we come down to the roll of a parliament summoned by Edward the Third, in the fiftieth year of his reign. The just severity of the prosecutions then instituted, was so dear to the nation, that the parliament of that year has been distinguished above all others by the title of "The Good Parliament;" and deservedly *, says Walsingham,

* The most satisfactory account of the two last years of Edward the Third, is to be found in the 4th section of Lowth's *Life of William of Wykeham*. The learned and elegant biographer makes happy use of some manuscripts in the libraries of Lambeth and the British Museum, which it were to be wished might be published, especially as all the latter part of Edward the Third's reign is wanting in Kuyghton, and the whole reign in the continuator of Croyland. The continuator of Adam Murimuth and Walsingham, though they are both fuller, have much in common with the only passage quoted by Dr. Lowth from MS. Lambeth, No. 340: as Stowe has whole sentences almost word for word the same as in MS. Har. No. 6217, and in some particular points differing from other authorities. There are some few fragments in Leland's *Collectanea*, of no great moment, but as they confirm the general opinion of Sir Peter de la Mare and his impeachments.

† In two different places, anno 1377, Ed. III. and Ric. II. of his history.

who lived before the genuine impression of their conduct was worn away. This popularity, however, had little effect on their successors in the next and last year of Edward the Third. It is in the disposition of this latter parliament, to reverse all the judicial acts of the former, that the chief strength of the authority lies: for that post must be indeed impregnable, which an open enemy, possessing all means of attack, does not venture to assail. To illustrate the whole force of the reasoning in this respect, it will be proper to lay open a little the state of political parties in these two parliaments; and the rather, because † our general historians of the greatest reputation glide over the affairs of this period with an unimpressive rapidity.

When the Good Parliament met, the prince of Wales, better known by the appellation of the Black Prince, had long been languishing under an incurable disease, and was now hastening to the grave. He had but one child, afterwards the unfortunate Richard the Second, at that time a boy of nine years old; next to whom, in the succession to the throne, stood Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, and her descendants. This princess had married Edmund Mor-

timer, earl of Marche, a powerful nobleman, who seems to have enjoyed the confidence of her heroic uncle, and to have shared with him in the affections of the people; since in the preceding parliament he was one of five lords assigned, at the particular demand of the commons, to confer with them upon the subsidies, in which committee he was joined with the bishops of London and Winchester, two prelates, known to be in the strictest intimacy with the prince. But a sense of common danger now more closely united these two branches of the royal family in a common cause against the duke of Lancaster; who through the influence of Alice Perriers, the king's mistress, had for some time engrossed to himself and his adherents the entire administration of public affairs, and was generally suspected of looking forward to the death of the prince, his only surviving elder brother, now visibly approaching, and that of the king his father, not very remote, as opening a way to his own usurpation of the crown.

The condition of the kingdom under the duke of Lancaster's government, was not such as to conciliate the favour of the commons. Burthened with a war of ruinous expence and inglorious disasters, the nation had not yet recovered, what it had recently suffered from the two other great scourges of mankind, pestilence and famine. A scarcity of money and bullion, which had begun to be felt some time before, grew every day more alarming. Usury rose to such a pitch, that a severe ordinance had been made against it in London. The native merchants were falling into decay, while foreigners drew to themselves not only the external

commerce, but even the retail trade in the cities and boroughs; and yet all foreign articles of consumption advanced rapidly in price. The walled towns were in ruins; riots and armed insurrections prevailed over the country; and the navy was nearly annihilated. The supplies granted by the last parliament for two years had been accompanied with the express conditions, that they should be expended on the war, and if the war did not last above one year, should then cease. Repeated truces had taken place; yet the revenues were squandered, and the treasury exhausted. The distresses of the crown were aggravated by new loans on the most usurious terms, in the profits of which the king's favourites were understood to have shared, by advancing him his own money; while, on the other hand, they purchased the old debts at an enormous discount, and then paid themselves the full value, in exclusion of the fair creditors. To recruit the coffers which they had emptied, they had recourse to many corrupt and vexatious methods of irregular finance, from which too they were themselves believed privately to have benefited. They sold patents of monopolies, charters of privileges, and licences of trade, contrary to the franchises of corporations; protections of the most ample kind, under the great seal, to Lombards and others who owed large sums to English merchants; and licences for the exportation of corn, notwithstanding the late failures of the crops. But the measure of this kind, that seems to have excited most dissatisfaction, was the grant of particular licences for the exportation of wool, and other commodities, in violation of the laws of the staples.

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This had been the subject of a petition in the last parliament from the commons, who represented it as one great cause of the scarcity of money: and the guilt of continuing the practice was now increased, by grafting upon it the condition of paying for every pack of wool an extraordinary tax not laid by parliament; an evasion of the rights of the lords and commons, which was also introduced in a monopoly granted by patent for the sale of sweet wines in London. Against these illegal exactions, the subject might have found some relief in a pure administration of the law; but that also was full of abuses. Improper justices of the peace and sheriffs were made through place-brokers at court; jurors were impannelled who were not of the vicinage; and judges of assize were appointed on the spot of their residence, in the midst of their relations and connections. At the same time vexatious jurisdictions were extended or created. The court of the palace meddled with pleas forbidden by law; the escheators in many instances took illegal inquests, and found false titles for the crown; but as probably these officers were not all equally complaisant to the court, commissions of a new de-

scription were issued, to men of bad character, and every way unqualified, who were styled "approvers for the king:" and upon colourable returns, made in one or other of these ways, ancient proprietors were dispossessed, and grants of their estates corruptly procured by the king's favourites. Nor were any of the superior courts of the metropolis, temporal or spiritual, free from all suspicion of taint—for there, to the scandal of all public decency, sat Alice Perrers on the bench, or by the chair, openly soliciting the favour, or endeavouring to overawe the opinions, of the judges.

This picture is dark, but in the general resemblance unquestionably faithful. There is no need of any other proof than to look around*, say the commons, in one of their strongest petitions; and they ascribe the mischiefs of which they complain, to the weakness of the king's counsels and government. It is true, many of these evils had taken root before the duke of Lancaster's accession to power, some from natural causes, and others from the former bad policy of the commercial code; but many had been sown by him, or had then first sprung up, and all had vegetated more vigorously in the foul air of his administration.

* Rot. Parl. 50 Ed. III. No. 59.—All the circumstances of the state of the country are drawn from the same source, the records of parliament.—Scarcity of money, 47 Ed. III. No. 17 and 18. 50 Ed. III. No. 16.—Usury, *ib.* 158.—State of trade, &c. *ib.* No. 15 and 59.—Riots, *ib.* No. 164.—Terms of the former subsidies, 47 Ed. III. No. 12.—Frauds as to the king's debts, and violation of the laws of the staples, 50 Ed. III. No. 15.—Charters of privileges, licences, protections, &c. &c. *ib.* No. 54, 16, 60, 156.—New impositions on wool, &c. *ib.* No. 17, 33, and 163.—Abuses of the law, *ib.* No. 67, 74, 83, 186, 53, 75.—Palace court, *ib.* No. 91, 181.—Escheators, *ib.* 88.—Approvers, *ib.* No. 55.—Alice Perrers, No. 45.—See also A. Murimuth; MS. Lambeth, No. 340; Walsingham, &c.—Many particulars might have been added; but these seemed to be most connected with the principal points of the subsequent impeachments. Scarcely any intelligible trace of these things is to be found in Cotton's Abridgment, which has hitherto been the general guide of historians.

The collective grievances of the ten preceding years do not equal the bulk, and still less the importance, of the representations with which the king and his ministers were now overwhelmed in parliament: but the decorous moderation and orderly firmness with which the commons proceeded on this trying occasion, both in providing a remedy for the future, and in punishing past delinquency, reflects high honour on the illustrious leaders of the popular cause, and is worthy the regard and imitation of posterity.

The two houses soon discovered what influence prevailed among them. The commons chose * for their speaker sir Peter de la Mare, one of the members for Herefordshire, and steward to the earl of Marche. The lords placed the bishop of London and the earl of Marche respectively at the head of the spiritual and temporal peers, whom they named to treat with the commons on the subsidies.

We shall now follow the track of the two houses on the rolls of parliament. The first business before them was the supply required by the crown. To have refused all aid, would have been indecent; and to have been too liberal, might have endangered the dissolution of parliament in the midst of the subsequent measures. A middle way was taken. The former subsidies, which had been found to be inadequate under the late mismanagement, were continued for three years from the ensuing Michaelmas, when they would otherwise have expired. From doing more at present, the commons excused

themselves, on account of the national distress; but should any urgent business intervene, promised to assist the king beyond all examples of any age or country.

Their next step was to strengthen and purify the government. To this end they addressed the king to augment his privy council with prelates and peers of the realm, to the number of ten or twelve, a certain proportion of whom should be necessary to the validity of any act, and should always reside near the king. The request was granted, and additional provisions afterwards ordained, which plainly glanced at the malversations of the late counsellors: for an oath was settled for the members of the new council, and for the great officers of state, binding them to take no presents; and reports from the council to the king were forbidden to be made but by the whole body, or two members chosen by the common consent of the rest.

Having put this check on the corrupt power of the duke of Lancaster, the commons turned their attention to secure the support of the city of London. Their franchises had been directly infringed by the monopoly of sweet wines. That trade therefore was thrown open again; but the consideration of the illegal tax, of which that monopoly had been made the vehicle, was reserved as the ground of an impeachment against the patentee.

The commons now approached their grand object. Accordingly they presented an address, or as it is called, a request, to the king, which, after renewed professions of loyalty, pointedly attributes the

* The Parliamentary History after Tyrrel, says, this is a mistake of Walsingham;—but that it is not, see A. Murimuth; MS. Lambeth, No. 340; and MS. Lamb. No. 6. in Lowth's Life of W. Wykeham, p. 110; as also Leland's Collect. part i. p. 408.

waste of the royal treasures, and the ruin of the national commerce, to some individuals in the king's private confidence—adjures him, by motives of religion and public duty, to punish the guilty, whose fines alone, they say, will relieve all his wants; and specifies the heads of alleged criminality, in the violation of the law of the staples, and the double fraud relative to the king's debts—but still does not name any of the criminals. A readiness, however, is professed to make a fuller declaration in special, any hour that the king will appoint to hear it. In all likelihood they wished the king to be personally present at their accusations of his evil counsellors; in this, however, they were disappointed. Nothing therefore remained but, without the king, to take that measure to which every step regularly tended from the opening of the parliament: it was done without more delay, and impeachments fell heavy and thick on the partizans of the duke of Lancaster. These prosecutions were avowedly supported by the influence of the prince of Wales, and were entrusted to the sole management of the speaker, Sir Peter de la Mare, a friend and dependent of the earl of Marche. Nor, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of historians, could a man better qualified for the task have been selected; since, with wisdom to conduct, and eloquence to enforce, the great cause committed to his care, he possessed a spirit not to be daunted, and an integrity not to be corrupted.

The first, whom the commons attacked, was Richard Lyons, a merchant of wealth and eminence in London, and farmer of the great

customs. Though he was connected with the duke of Lancaster's party, no effort seems to have been made in his favour. After a short hearing, therefore, a sentence was passed upon him, couched in the harshest language, as well as highly penal in substance, "according to the horribility of his offence." Probably he was sacrificed in the hope of saving others; as probably too, the manager for the commons foresaw it, and for that reason began with him; for the crimes of which he was found guilty against the laws of the staples, and in relation to the king's debts, were the ground-work of some other more important accusations that followed.

Animated by their success, the commons now took higher aim, and at a conference impeached lord Latymer. They went partly on two old charges of peculations committed by himself and his lieutenants, while he commanded in Brittany; and partly on two new charges, that he had been an accomplice in the offences of Lyons, and that he had occasioned the loss of different sorts, as well as by his own proper authority had released spies and other felons imprisoned by the king, which was laid to be an accroachment of royal power. This lord was a member of the privy council, chamberlain to the king, and chief confident of the duke of Lancaster: consequently to impeach him, was felt to be striking at the duke himself. Here then arose, as might be expected, the principal struggle between the opposite parties. Lord Latymer at the outset endeavoured to make it a personal question, by calling for an individual accuser; but the commons resolving to maintain their impeachment in their corporate capacity, he at length gave his answers

On the old part of the charges, there was little contest; but on the third article witnesses were produced and sworn; * many speeches and arguments were made in support both of the prosecution and the defence, in full parliament, and in the house of lords; many farther examinations were had, as well before secret committees, as in open court; and after all it was not without long debates that sentence passed against him on the third article: neither was it † without pressing representations from the rest of his party, that the duke of Lancaster was induced to give way to the removal of the impeached lord from all his offices and the king's counsels for ever. Richard Lyons, on his conviction, had been sent to the tower; but lord Latymer was awarded to the custody of the earl marshal. This may have the appearance of lenity, but perhaps it rather marks the decisive victory of his enemies; for that marshal was the earl of Marche, a principal author of his disgrace. The prisoner however was soon released on bail, on which occasion he gave for his sureties a long list of spiritual and temporal peers, and among them lord Percy, who had originally distinguished himself by his zeal for the prosecutions, but at the close of this parliament appeared in avowed connection with the duke of Lancaster.

In the remainder of their career, the commons found little impediment. They prosecuted William

Elys, a deputy of Lyons, and farmer of a branch of the petty customs; and they obtained judgment against William Peechee, patentee of the monopoly of sweet-wines; against lord Neville, a privy counsellor, and steward of the household; and against Alice Perrers herself; the two last of whom were, like lord Latymer, removed from the king's counsels, and the lady farther prohibited, by a prospective ordinance, from soliciting any suit in any of the king's courts, under pain of an universal forfeiture of property, and perpetual exile. It is probable, though not certain †, that the duke of Lancaster resigned immediately after the conviction of lord Neville, and the new council of twelve was then appointed, of which the earl of Marche was a member, as well as the bishops of London and Winchester. But in the midst of these civil triumphs, no less honourable to his memory than his military exploits, within a fortnight from the date of the judgment against lord Latymer, died the prince of Wales. He lived, however, long enough to accomplish the great object of his anxious cares, in breaking the faction, from which he apprehended danger to his son. His friends, steady in their duty to him and to their country, finished what remained. The house of commons, without loss of time, addressed the king to call the young prince Richard to parliament, that they might see and honour him there as

* Rot. Parl. 50 Ed. III. (No. 29.

† MS. Harl. 6217.

‡ The continuator of A. Murimuth, a cotemporary author, places the appointment of the new council after the conviction of lord Latymer and other great officers of the king, and before the proceedings against Alice Perrers. He expressly says it was done by an ordinance in parliament, at the petition of the commons. Ten entries are lost from the roll just in this part. The appointment of the new council seems to be placed after the impeachment of Alice Perrers in MS. Lambeth, No. 340.

their apparent of the crown; and to this they added a request that he might be created prince of Wales. Nor did they, in the mean while, slacken their prosecutions: they persisted in exhibiting fresh articles to the very last day of the parliament. Such of the impeachments as are to the present purpose, will hereafter require more particular attention; at present it will be best to pursue the thread of the story.

Soon after the parliament was dissolved, the duke of Lancaster returned to court, and with him returned Alice Perrers, and the rest, who again took possession and acquired a more absolute ascendancy than before over the old, defenceless, and afflicted monarch. The new council was suddenly dismissed. Sir Peter de la Mare, by an act of arbitrary authority, was sent a prisoner to * Newark castle; and so far was the duke disposed to carry his violence against him, that it was reported he gave secret orders to have him beheaded in the next wood, but was dissuaded by lord Percy.

The bishop of Winchester, late the confidential friend, and now, with the bishop of London, joint-executor of the Black Prince, was next attacked, and articles were brought against him before the privy council; aiming, though in vain, to retort upon him the dilapidations of the king's treasury. His exalted rank in the church probably saved him from the fate of Sir Peter de la Mare, but his temporalities were seized, and † "he had not where to lay his head," even among the foundations of his own munificence. Neither did the affinity of the earl

of Marche to the royal family altogether shelter him from the storm. He was directed to repair to Calais, in the execution of his office as marshal; but to avoid this banishment, as in effect it was, and suspecting some snare for his liberty or his life, he resigned his staff, and lord Percy immediately obtained it as the reward of his desertion.— Such was the state of parties, when the active preparations for war, which had been long making by the confederated powers of France, Spain, and Scotland, rendered the summoning of a parliament indispensable. Every intrigue, therefore, was employed by the court to ensure a majority of the commons; and the duke of Lancaster is related ‡ to have made this parliament at his pleasure. The whole representation of the counties was changed, except twelve members.

Here, as before, the complexion of the parliament was soon visible. The speaker of the commons was Sir Thomas Hungerford, the friend and steward of the duke of Lancaster, and seven out of eight lords, assigned to confer with the commons, were taken from the bail bond of lord Latymer. An ineffectual effort indeed was tried in the lower house, by one of the old county members, to excite a spirit there in the cause of their late speaker, and to have him brought to a public trial, if he were charged with any crime; but the mover of the question was compelled to desist, under menaces of death. The parliament that bore this, might well bear also to be told, as they were, in derogation of the great

* See MS. Harl. 6217. and Stowe. Others say *Nottingham*.

† Pet. in Parl. 51 Ed. III. No. 85.

‡ MS. Harl. 6217; and Stowe.

charter so often confirmed in this reign, that the king was not willing to lay any charge on his subjects without the consent of the two houses, except in cases of necessity, and for the defence of the kingdom, and then as far only as reason would allow: nor shall we be surprized to find them set the first example of a poll-tax, which soon after, under the succeeding monarch, occasioned one of the most formidable insurrections in our history. No precedent made by such a parliament in favour of the dominant party, before whom they were so prostrated, could have weighed a feather in the scale of justice; but any principle which they may have admitted on the other side, must be of the most incontrovertible authority.

With this clue let us now revert to the impeachments of the former parliament.

Lord Latymer, it has been already observed, was, among other things, impeached on two old charges of peculation in Brittany. The first related to transactions of several years standing. In his answer he expressly says, that he had formerly been *in like manner impeached* before the king himself; he confesses the acquisition of ten thousand pounds, but justifies it; though he subjoins that, as to this sum, he did before submit, and always should be willing to submit himself to the king's mercy. The commons fasten upon this answer, (in which it should be remarked, that he does not directly make a present submission, but refers to that which he had before made) and they demand, not judgment as upon a confession, but *execution* as upon a former

judgment; for (add they) he knew that he had formerly been impeached on the same charge, and had made that very submission, yet now shews no agreement with the king, pardon, or other release. The lords do not object to the principle; on the contrary, they promise that a report shall be made to the king, and right done.

If the former impeachment here mentioned were certainly an accusation of the commons, the case would be clear. But in those days the term was of general use. It seems, however, by the manner in which the commons acted upon it, to have been their suit; and so it was understood by the learned * Selden, who, in abstracting the answer, simply gives it, that he was impeached before; a word which he employs throughout his work in the appropriate sense of modern times.

The second charge was introduced by the commons, with an express recital, that "again another time he had been accused" of certain extortions practised by his lieutenants, for the particulars of which they refer to a bill (so they then called their own articles of impeachment) delivered before in parliament; and they there insert it. The narrative before given, in addition to the plain sense of the expression, must satisfactorily shew that it could not have been in the same parliament, which had then just met. Yet on this head he answers without objection, "as to the bill delivered before in parliament." The whole question then was put on a point of law, Whether he was responsible, and how far, for his lieutenants? On which the lords postpone their

* Judic. in Parl. chap. 3. towards the end.

decision, to consult the judges.— Nothing more appears on the old charges; he was convicted on the third article alone.

That the ground of abatement should not have been even intimated on the trial of a minister, in whose person two hostile parties were contending for the government of the kingdom at least, if not for the crown itself, is sufficiently strong; but what was the conduct of the duke of Lancaster's own parliament? Lord Latymer was then in the plenitude of power, and a marked attention to his case was early manifested. The commons * "thinking it for the good of the realm, as they truly understood," presented a petition, that by award of parliament he might be restored to his former rank and estate. They say that he was condemned (that is, upon the third article) through untrue suggestions, and without due process. At what supposed error they glance, we know not; contrary to usage, they did not chuse to particularize: but this we know, that eager as they were to find fault with all the proceedings of the last parliament against him and his accomplices, they insinuate not a syllable against his being brought to answer on the old charges. Indeed, such as the petition is, it does not appear ever to have received the concurrence of a majority of the lords, who are the best judges of their own process; for the royal assent was given at the prayer of *some* prelates and lords, as well as of the commons. A small number of the peers may have been warped by ambition, but they had not, like the commons, suffered a total change.

They preserved, with becoming firmness, the integrity of their judicial character.

The case of William Elys is still more direct and satisfactory, because, like the prosecution against Mr. Hastings, it was interrupted in the course of the evidence. He was impeached for extortion in taking duties from some merchants of Scotland, contrary to treaty. He admitted his office and his execution of it, but generally denied any extortion. The fact of the money being paid was proved by his own confession, the day before, in the house of commons, and by the testimony of four witnesses examined in open court. He then justified the taking, as having been conditional under a stipulation to repay the money, if the king should determine nothing to be due; and he affirmed that he had repaid it accordingly: in proof of which he produced a full release in the name of John Fauxhide, as general agent for the merchants of Scotland. The powers of John Fauxhide, however, as well as the authenticity of the instrument, were disputed; and the release was delivered to lord Percy, who was commissioned to make inquest of the truth on the next day of the marches on the side of Scotland. Elys in the mean time † was committed to prison, where he lay upwards of three months.

After the dissolution of the parliament, when the duke of Lancaster recovered his power, Elys was liberated; but on what terms? He was bailed, like lord Danby some centuries after, *to the next parliament*; and this condition, as in the instance of lord Danby, can only be

* Pet. in Parl. 51 Ed. III. No. 75.

† For this, and all the following facts of this case, see 51 Ed. III. No. 94.

considered

considered as affirming the commitment, and of course the existence of the impeachment.

When the next parliament assembled, neither of the houses took up the doctrine of abatement. The lords acted upon the impeachment as still pending, for they received lord Percy's return to his commission, which was in favour of Elys. The commons of course did not proceed; they would not, disposed as they were, have proceeded in any event of lord Percy's report. But did they take any notice at all of this impeachment? They did, and in a manner which irrefragably proves that they never dreamed of an abatement having actually been worked by the dissolution.

Though a general act of pardon had passed, out of which the bishop of Winchester alone was excepted, a fear seems to have been entertained that such an act might not operate upon the impeachments of the former parliament. On the last day of the session, therefore, after the royal answers to the petitions had been read, and when all were departing, the speaker, Sir Thomas Hungerford, represented that many persons, men as well as women, had been impeached in the last parliament, adjudged without due process to certain penalties, and foreclosed of that common liberty, which all loyal subjects ought to enjoy; wherefore he prayed the king, in that his year of jubilee, graciously to restore all such to their former rank and degree, notwithstanding the judgments against them. On the part of the king it was asked, if this application was meant for all

who had been impeached, or only for a part of them? This was a very necessary question, since many who stood impeached (Elys for one) had not received judgment. The answer was, for all. The commons were then directed to declare distinctly in writing what and for whom they prayed, and the king's grace was promised to them, subject to the royal pleasure.—Here ended the parliament; but soon after seven petitions were delivered and entered, without any answers: to explain which, there is a remark at the end of them, that no answer was made by the lords in that parliament, nor could be, on account of the time when they were delivered.

This after-piece was a farce manifestly planned* between the duke of Lancaster, who was virtually the king in this parliament, and his steward, the speaker. It as plainly appears to have been wholly contrived for the sake of Alice Perrers; since the petition afterwards delivered in the name of the commons on her behalf, is the only one of the seven, that exactly corresponds in all its circumstances, and for the most part in its very terms, with the speaker's original application. We have reason indeed to suppose, that she had already annulled all the former proceedings against herself in her own way. They are not to be found on the rolls, but instead of them is a chasm of no less than ten † entries at the very place where we might expect to find them, immediately preceding the ordinance against her, which ‡ clearly arose out of the facts appearing on the charges. Still (in whatever mode, and at whatever

* *Rege sic volente* (says Walsingham) *persona abjudicata pristino statui restituitur.*

† From No. 34 to No. 45.

‡ See the substance of the charges in A. Murimuth; MS. Lambeth; Walsingham, &c. &c.

time,

time, these records may have disappeared) it was highly expedient that her return to court should be sanctioned in some manner by parliament. There was little hope, however, of obtaining the concurrence of the lords. If a majority of that house could not be got (and that they could not, we have already seen) to agree in the reversal of the sentence against lord Latymer, a nobleman both of talents and courage, distinguished in the wars of the continent, much less would they be disposed to favour Alice Perrers. It was necessary, therefore, that the affair should so be managed, as not to submit the question to the sense of the lords. Accordingly it was made a request from the commons alone directly to the king; and the specific petitions were delivered at a time, when, as the record itself observes, the lords could not take them into consideration.

If this explanation of the transaction, indicated by its own internal evidence, be just, it much strengthens the authority. Otherwise the fact itself is sufficient, that, the impeachment of Elys being in the state above described, it was thought indispensable in the second parliament to apply for the king's pardon—to what effect? Not to remit the penalties of a sentence, for none had been passed upon him, but to release him from his bail; from which he would long before have been legally discharged, if the impeachment had long before abated.

Another person, for whom a petition was on this occasion present-

ed in the name of the commons, was Adam de Bury: and there are petitions word for word the same in favour of John de Leicester and Walter Spurrier. Their cases, therefore, we may conclude to have been the same; though the proceedings against them are lost. Adam de Bury's case, however, we know. As soon as he had been impeached, the lords sent for him, to answer, but he was not to be found. He had fled into Flanders: the commons waited till the last day of parliament, when they exhibited their articles against him. He seems, after the duke of Lancaster's return to power, to have come back and surrendered himself; for he was now under bail in the new parliament. In consequence the prayer of the commons for him, was, that he and his sureties might be discharged.

This is subject to the same inferences as the petition of Elys: but it happens besides to be the vehicle of a considerable authority, the opinion of Selden. The commons, he observes, delivered their impeachment on the last day of parliament, "to the end, that the particulars of their accusation might remain upon record against him *hereafter* *:"—to what purpose, if they remained a dead letter, extinct for ever in the very moment of their birth? No; he here plainly implies that right of continuation, which he had before directly asserted † in the house of commons against the duke of Buckingham. For it should be remembered, that Selden was not only eminent at the bar, particularly

* Judic. in Parl. chap. 2.

† See Whitelock, p. 10; and Rushworth, vol. i. p. 607: It was probably to one of these that Lord Camden referred. See before, p. 58.—Sir Edward Coke, who spoke immediately before Selden against the duke, grounded himself on the proceedings of the Good Parliament.

skilled in our ancient records, and a man of the most extensive general learning; but an active member of parliament, and a manager of impeachments: above all, he was a person whom the lords themselves, in 1621, the great year of impeachments under James the First, had selected to report to them on the privileges of the baronage, half of which work relates to their criminal jurisdiction, and in which the precedents of the Good Parliament have a conspicuous place.

A similar circumstance of accidental connexion with the chain of modern authorities, gives still greater importance to an entry that follows the seven unanswered petitions, and closes the roll of that year. It is an application of the commons, not to the king, requesting a pardon, but to the lords, praying a judgment of honourable acquittal in favour of sir Hugh Fastolf. The terms of it strongly mark the violent party-spirit of the commons, who, without scruple, directly impute to the proceedings of their predecessors, malice and hatred, slander and defamation.

The particulars of the impeachment are not known, as it is one of those, which have been lost from the records of the former year; but at the end of that parliament, the commons, not being able to bring the cause then to trial, had desired that commissions might issue to take inquests generally on all extortions and other similar wrongs done in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where the property of sir Hugh Fastolf lay, and specially also on the matters in the articles exhibited against him. Seventeen inquests had been accordingly taken, on all which he was acquitted. The commons now come forward, and

pray, that the report of the chief commissioner may be received, and the fame of the party impeached may be cleared. The report was accordingly made by sir John Cavendish, and recorded in full parliament.

This is one of the precedents selected by the committee of lords in 1673, as a foundation for the rule then proposed and declared, that all business before the house in their court of judicature continued in the same state from session to session. But it clearly goes much beyond that rule. It goes the whole length to which the rule was carried in the subsequent resolution of 1678; since it is the case of an impeachment acted upon in a new parliament.

There still remains, however, one observation arising out of this last impeachment and that of Elys, which seems decisive in shewing that the principle of continuation must have existed. It relates to the mode of trial, the proof being taken under a commission, and then reported to the house, who gave judgment agreeably to the report. This was not unfrequent of old in parliamentary causes of every description. It seems indeed to have been the right of the prosecutor (whether the king, the commons, or an individual) so to proceed, whenever the nature of the charge, and the locality of the facts charged, fairly required it. Of this we have the strongest confirmation, in a curious relic, preserved among the very valuable papers of the Paston family. It is a speech of the duke of Norfolk, on occasion of his moving such a commission for the proof of certain articles which he had brought against the duke of Somerset, the short-lived successor of the duke of Suffolk, in the

the favour of Henry the Sixth. After reciting the state and grounds of his accusation *, " I require you (says he, addressing the house of lords) " for as much as the greater part of the deeds committed by the duke of Somerset have been committed in the realm of France, that by the laws of France, process be made thereupon; and that all things which I have delivered, and shall deliver, be seen and understood by persons having knowledge of those laws: and that the deeds committed by him in this realm, be in like manner seen and understood by persons learned in the laws of this land:"—a distinction, which may throw light on the prayer of the commons in their articles against the duke of Suffolk, that proceedings might be had " in the same parliament, as the matters and causes required," all the facts there alleged having been committed, or being capable of proof, in England, and upon the spot. The noble accuser then goes on to move the lords, " that for proof of the charges they would grant commissions to enquire thereof, as by reason and of custom it ought to be done."—Now shew such a custom, and you immediately shew the necessity of allowing the principle of continuation: for what return in those times could have been made to such a commission within the usual term of a single parliament? Down to the reign of Henry the Sixth, the common duration of a session (which was then also the common duration of a parliament) was from fifteen to thirty days; very few sate more than forty days; and the Good Parliament was the first that lasted up-

wards of two months. It would have been a mockery and a denial of justice to have said, in answer to such an application, " Take your commission, but let the proof so obtained be reported before the dissolution of parliament, or there at once abates your prosecution." But no such answer ever was made, no such answer could be made, for the peers and judges, some of whom were always named on such commissions, were necessarily attending in discharge of their duty, as long as the legislature was assembled; it was in the intervals only, that they thus gave facility to justice, and matured causes of state, to receive the judgment of the ensuing parliament.

Such then was the perfection in which our ancestors established the inquisitorial power of the commons, on the memorable occasion, where we first trace its exercise. The Good Parliament retrospectively asserted the principle of continuation in the very outset of their career, on the impeachment of lord Latymer; they asserted it again prospectively at the goal of their labours, in the articles which they exhibited against Adam de Bury; and in some other of their prosecutions, by praying commissions for the trial of the facts, they asserted it under cover of an accustomed practice, that implies it as a necessary and invariable consequence. They did all this without objection at the time: and what they did was in this respect, and this alone, afterwards sanctioned by a packed parliament, which was expressly made for the obliteration of these very proceedings, and with which, for that purpose, every kind of undue influence and unworthy artifice was employed.

* See our volume for 1788, Antiquities, p. 113.

If we pursue this point a single step farther in history, we shall find that the same great men seem also to have vindicated another leading principle in the privilege of impeachment. The commons *, towards the close of the Good Parliament, petitioned that none of the persons then impeached and judged might receive any pardon, and that a law to that effect might be enacted for all similar cases in future. Pardons, however, were obtained by the intervention of the commons in the manner above related, as if the royal prerogative alone were admitted to be not fully competent. Soon after this the king died. On the accession of Richard, power once more changed hands. A pardon was granted to the bishop of Winchester, who before had been singly excepted; if it could be called a pardon, which not so much remitted any offences to him, as solemnly declared his innocence. Sir Peter de la Mare was released from prison, and had his pardon also. A great council was summoned, when the lords appointed a new council of twelve, and at the head of it placed the bishop of London and the earl of Marche, to the great satisfaction of the people, as we are distinctly told by the ancient historians †. Under these auspices, a parliament was not long after called; and the house of commons, to which were now returned all the old members excluded from the last by the intrigues of the duke of Lancaster, immediately chose sir Peter de la Mare for their speaker. The business of the house was by him conducted with the same ability as before, and if possible with greater

moderation. For when the commons petitioned for a council of nine to be named by the lords, in addition to the great officers of state, aiming by this measure to exclude lord Latymer, and one or two others of the duke of Lancaster's principal friends, whom, to reconcile all parties, the great council of the lords had previously placed there; they subjoined †, "That they did not at all desire then to take vengeance of any, who had done amiss in time past, but that in time to come such evil-doers might be duly punished." This may account why they did not attempt to proceed with any of the unfinished prosecutions. It could not have been from any regard to the pardons; for where judgment had been given, they set aside the pardons as mere nullities, without condescending to mention them. They petitioned that § "all the evil counsellors of the late king, that had before been convicted on full evidence, and attainted, might be removed from the king's councils; and that neither they, nor others like them, might ever be admitted near the king's person, nor bear office under him." What was thus done, as well as the impeachment of Alice Perrers in this parliament, it is certain, cannot in strict propriety be called a continuation of the proceedings in the two former parliaments, yet the impression which these measures made on the public clearly shews the general sense of the doctrine lately so disputed. An historian, who lived near the time, mentions the business of this parliament almost in the terms of the resolution adopted

* 50 Ed. III. No. 188, 189. † Walsingham, confirmed shortly by G. Thorn.

† Rot. Parl. 1 Ric. II. No. 20.

§ Ib. No. 49.

by

by the lords in 1673* : “ These former members of the Good Parliament (says he) resumed their proceedings in the same place, where they left them.”

Many other measures were taken by this parliament in the same spirit ; but as they are not connected with the present subject, we pass them by. It is glory sufficient for the distinguished men of that time to have fixed this key-stone of the English constitution. The power of impeachment is alike the security of the people and the prince ; it protects the people, by holding forth a salutary terror to ministers, and by attaching on their responsibility reconciles to public safety the maxim of our constitution, which attributes a sort of divinity to the king, that he can do no wrong : at the same time it is a privilege of the commons, that calls into activity the noblest privilege of the peers, as hereditary judges of the realm, in their original jurisdiction, which alone, circumscribed by no local limits, and fettered by no rules but those of substantial justice, extends with the extent of our empire, and reaches across half the globe every offence of criminals, however powerful, that touches the prosperity, honour, or dignity of the British name. Thus important in every consideration, it ought, even for the sake of the crown itself, to be capable of being carried to its destined end uninterrupted by the act of the crown, whether directly by a pardon, or indirectly by a dissolution ; and after jarring precedents, though of unequal authority, under the family of Stuart, we now

justly reckon it a double victory to the constitution, that the very law which settles the crown on the line of the reigning sovereign, provides against the pleading of a royal pardon in bar of an impeachment ; and that the right of the commons to continue their prosecutions from parliament to parliament seems at length to be for ever ascertained by the late solemn determination : yet we find that in both these respects, we have only re-established that purity of principle, with which this vital energy of our constitution began.

The period, to which this subject has led us, is in itself highly interesting. It is the close of a reign that shines with singular lustre, both in our civil and military annals. It presents to us the Black Prince, the favourite hero of English story, exerting himself in the last moments of his life, not merely to secure a sceptre to his son, but to secure to him also a well-governed and happy people : and in the midst of the very same transactions, we see the origin of a long train of subsequent events, in the connection then formed between the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, who, for his own ruin, and the destruction of his house, was the principal instrument of raising Henry the Fourth to the throne. But undoubtedly the most prominent object of attention is the completion which was given, by these impeachments of the Good Parliament, to all the constitutional struggles of this long reign ; which he must accurately examine in the records of parliament, who would well understand the constitution of his country. Till we come down to

* Walsingham, who after telling us of what members this parliament consisted, goes on thus : “ Hi itaque *resumentes* petitiones suas *eo in loco, quo prius dimiserant*, infriterunt de bannitione illius Alicie Perrers, &c. &c.” He published his *Hypodigma Neultrix* in 1418, within forty years from the time of this parliament. But the passage quoted in this note is from his history, which was written later.

the great contest between the king and parliament, in the time of Charles the First, (and the commons then grounded themselves, in some of their first and best measures *, on the precedents of the Good Parliament) all the rest of our history put together does not afford so much matter for useful observation, as the reigns of Edward the Third, Richard the Second, and the first years of Henry the Fourth. It is much to be wished, that a new narrative were written of the proceedings in parliament during these reigns. The rolls are now in the hands of the public. The historian would not, like former writers, be compelled to draw his intelligence from shallow and deceitful sources. He would have the means of avoiding the gross errors into which they have fallen by following the abridgment, that goes under the name of Sir Robert Cotton; a work short, confused, and in some very memorable instances † directly re-

pugnant to the truth of the record. He must nevertheless call in to his aid all the lights which he can obtain from all the historians who lived nearest to the times; and from them he must gather, where he can, the party-spirit and complexion of the several parliaments. From a neglect of this necessary caution, writers of considerable merit have misled their readers by taking their notions of the constitution indiscriminately from parliaments of the best and worst authority. They make no difference between the two last parliaments of Edward the Third, or between the first parliament of Richard the Second, of so excellent a composition as we have seen it to be, and the last parliament of the same prince, which was packed by intrigues with the sheriffs, and sate in Westminster Hall surrounded by an armed force, with bows bent, and arrows levelled at their breasts.

Had such a work existed, much

* See the speech of Sir Edward Coke, Rushworth, vol. i. p. 607.

† There is a striking proof of this charge in the 17th year of Edward the Third. It is well known that the king had revoked and abrogated, by a proclamation sent round to the sheriffs, a famous statute of the last parliament; yet, it is uniformly observed by our historians, that the commons (17 Ed. III.) so far from taking notice of this arbitrary conduct, consented to a regular repeal: and so the Abridgment represents their petition, p. 39. No. 27.—But the real petition is directly the reverse. It strongly demands the observance of the statute in question, as having been purchased with the valuable consideration of heavy subsidies for two years. It is true, that the last entry but one on the statute roll is a repeal, nearly the same in words as the king's answer to the petition of the commons; and it is said to have been "accorded and assented;"—but by what authority is not said. The nearest preceding entry, which does specify at all, specifies only the accord of *the king and the great men*, and the entry immediately preceding is clearly an act of the king and the lords alone, in their judicial capacity; after which, this repeal follows with an "Item." But what was the consequence? In the next parliament (18 Ed. III.) for the first time, the commons intisted, and with effect, that they might have redress of their grievances before the end of parliament, and that a committee of their house should be appointed to stay and see, that the commons did not remain without remedy. Now, whence arose this marked jealousy at this particular period for the first time? It must have been occasioned by some trick recently played the commons after they were gone; the repeal is the only thing on the roll of the last parliament to which we can fairly apply it. The check thus put on the fraudulent making-up of the statute roll was afterwards enforced at different times in the same reign, and was the cornerstone that gave stability to the power of the commons. Yet here we find in the abridgment—a total silence, as before a complete misrepresentation.

of this chapter might have been spared. Such as the digression has been, the subject and the present crisis seemed to demand it. Never was it so necessary to inspire men with a veneration for the wisdom of their ancestors. While they, who had not the means of information, were contented to admire, it was of little comparative moment to ask why they did so; the constitution was safe in that admiration. Perhaps their attachment was the stronger, as they substituted the impetuous ardour of an honest passion for the slow assent of patient conviction. This may be called prejudice, yet surely it was a prejudice, laudable in its foundation, and useful in its effects to the community; it was rather a fair presumption in favour of a constitution, under which they felt themselves to be happy. There is much greater danger at present of their running into an opposite prejudice, of the most mischievous tendency to society. The busy part of the people, not having leisure for long disquisitions, may take it for granted, that they ought not to admire at all, what they are told they must not admire without an enquiry which they cannot make. At the same time they are flattered into a ready belief of their own superiority over their forefathers. It is for ever rung in their ears, that the present is an enlightened age. All now is one blaze of discovery. To shew our title to wisdom, it is enough that we were born towards the close of the eighteenth century. Into minds so prepared it is then easily instilled, that our boasted constitution is but a clumsy piece of Gothic patch-work; that the great leaders of former times knew nothing, obtained nothing, secured nothing; only oppression was some-

times resisted at the instant with a spirit worthy of imitation for nobler ends. Nay, it is sometimes insisted, that the most splendid achievements of liberty were but so many compromises made by treachery or ignorance; yet what is thus condemned, it is not thought necessary to examine. To resist the effect of these bad arts, every opportunity should be seized to teach the people, that if they loved the constitution of their country without reason, because without knowledge, yet their affection was not against reason. To this end, we have dwelt the longer on the good deeds of a parliament, which was most dear to those who were the best judges of its merits; and of this we are persuaded, that he, who most carefully searches into the monuments of those times, will have least confidence in the new light of modern philosophy. He will leave all exultation on this head to those who, concealing under an arrogant contempt of antiquity their own want of diligence to investigate, or of capacity to understand, shut their eyes to every thing before the Revolution; who, in that last of many great epochs, look to nothing that was done by the illustrious actors in it, nothing that was declared by the legislature, but merely to some latent principle which is now pretended to have been involved in it; and who think it only worthy of being cherished, as it may be the fruitful seed and germ of future revolutions, and not as it is the root of an establishment which, under the blessing of Providence, has struck its spurs deep into the soil, and all the branches of which, we trust, may continue to defy the storms that beat upon it, and threaten soon to assail it with redoubled fury.

C H A P. IV.

War with Tippoo Sultan. General view of our policy towards the Mahomedan powers of India. Our conduct towards Hyder Ally and his son Tippoo Sultan. Immediate cause of the war. Mr. Hippleley's motion on this subject. Debates. Mr. Dundas's resolutions approving the conduct of lord Cornwallis. Unsuccessful attempt to procure an abolition of the slave trade. Mr. Wilberforce's speech. Summary of arguments on both sides. Bill for the relief of protesting Roman Catholics introduced by Mr. Mitford. Mr. Fox objects to it, as including Roman Catholics only of a particular description. The Bench of Bishops support it in the house of lords. Speech of the bishop of St. David's.

THE excursion which we made in the last chapter, into the ancient history of our own constitution, arose out of an enquiry instituted by parliament, into the conduct of our first governor general of Bengal: we now are conducted back, by the train of proceedings in parliament, to another quarter of our extensive empire in the East. The king's speech alluded to hostilities which, in the year 1790, had broken out in the southern extremity of Indostan, and in which the English, the Mahrattas, the nizam of the Deccan, and the nabob of Arcot, were combined against the sultan of Mysore. Our relation of the various events of this war we shall reserve till the year 1792, when it was happily and wisely terminated by the peace of Seringapatam. Here, to make the debates on the justice and expediency of the measure more intelligible, we shall premise a short view of our general policy towards the Mahomedan powers in the neighbourhood of our respective presidencies, and our actual conduct towards Hyder Ally Khan and his son.

The Mahomedan power in Mysore was wholly founded by Hyder. The events which led to his esta-

lishment, as an independent potentate, were nearly coeval with the revolutions in Bengal, which ended in the acquisition of the Dewannee by the company, and in effect gave us the dominion of a rich, fertile, and populous territory. Our aggrandizement sprang out of the weakness of the Mogul empire, which in consequence of successive invasions from the side of Persia, had been broken in pieces; all the viceroys and governors assuming independence in their several provinces and districts, and exhausting their strength in mutual contentions. But the same circumstances, which now favoured us, had long before assisted the great Hindoo power, the confederacy of the Mahrattas, to extend their conquests internally from the northern circars of the nizam, on the coast of Coromandel, to the confines of Agra and Delhi, and across from sea to sea, from the gulf of Cambay to the bay of Bengal. From their geographical situation, in the center of the peninsula, they pressed with a compact and consolidated force against the divided relics of the Mahomedan empire, with which they were surrounded. To the government of Bengal they were peculiarly an object of jealousy and alarm: since

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under

under an old grant from the court of Delhi, they asserted a claim to the receipt of chout, or a tribute of one-fourth part from the 'revenues of that province. This had been enforced by them with an immense army of cavalry, that pillaged all the frontier districts of Bengal, for ten successive years, in the time of Aliverdy Khan. The internal embarrassments of their own government at length obliged them to desist, but the ground of their demand they have never abandoned.

These circumstances seemed to point out an obvious policy. It was our interest to preserve all the continuous soubahdars and nabobs in such a state as to form a barrier against the common enemy, the Mahrattas. To have obtained that security for the peace of our

own possessions, we should have employed all our good offices. Hyder Ally, more especially, was qualified to have been at the head of such a system. He had raised himself on the ruin of an ancient dynasty of Hindoo kings. While he possessed but a small part of Mysore, in the character of regent, the progress of his fortunes was opposed by the Mahrattas. They besieged him in the fortress of Bangalore; but he repulsed them, and after he had become master of the whole kingdom, retaliated upon them the injuries which they had done him. He was daily enlarging his bounds at their expence.

The court of directors clearly saw, and * in their dispatches marked out the track which their servants should follow. But the in-

* There is one dispatch of the directors in 1769, which recapitulates the substance of their former instructions so pointedly, and so clearly lays down the policy which lord Cornwallis pursued, as far as circumstances would allow, in the treaty of Seringapatam, that we shall insert it here.

“ General Letter to Bengal, June 30th, 1769.

Par. 3. “ In several of our letters, since we have been engaged as principals in the politics of India, and particularly during the last two or three years, we have given our opinion, that the most prudent system we could pursue, and the most likely to be attended with a permanent security to our possessions, would be to incline to those few chiefs of Indostan, who yet preserve an independence of the Mahratta power, and are in a condition to struggle with them; for, so long as they are able to keep up that struggle, the acquisitions of the company will run no risk of disturbance.

Par. 4. “ The Rohillas, the Jauts, the nabob of the Decan, the nabob of Oude, and the Mysore chief, have each in their turn kept the Mahrattas in action, and we wish them still to do it; it is therefore with great concern we see the war continuing with Hyder, and a probability of a rupture with Sujah Dowla and Nizam Ally. In such wars, we have every thing to lose and nothing to gain; for, supposing our operations to be attended with the utmost success, and our enemies reduced to our mercy, we can only wish to see them restored to the condition from which they set out, that is to such a degree of force and independence as may enable them still to keep up the contest with the Mahrattas, and with each other.”

For the inveterate enmity of the nabob of Arcot to Hyder Ally, see the ‘ Analysis of India,’ by Mr. R. J. Sullivan, a gentleman whose authority is unquestionable in this respect, as he had been an agent of the nabob. See also our volumes for 1769 and 1782.

fluence of the nabob of Arcot over the presidency of Madras, is well known; and he was the inveterate enemy of the Mysore chief. At once to gratify his ambition, and to emulate the late splendid acquisitions on the banks of the Ganges, the president and council, about the year 1767, entered on a plan of obtaining the soubahdarry of the Deccan for the nabob of Arcot, and of reinstating the royal family of Mysore, under the protection of the same nabob and the English. This was met by a counter-treaty of partition between Hyder and the nizam. A war ensued. Beaten in the field, Hyder still had the address to baffle all our operations, by avoiding a general engagement, cutting off our garrisons, and intercepting our convoys; while his son Tippoo, then a youth of eighteen, at the head of a considerable detachment of horse, surprized the town, and almost carried the fort of Madras. After one campaign, a treaty was concluded with the nizam; and it was made an express stipulation, that he should join in punishing his late ally as a rebel and usurper; while, for a district, formerly wrested by Hyder from the nizam, and now ceded to us by the latter, we agreed to pay chout to the Mahrattas. But we were saved the payment of this chout, for we never were able to get possession of the lands; and the next year the rebel and usurper dictated a peace to us at the gates of Madras.

The disgrace which we had thus suffered seems to have made a deeper impression on our minds than the moderation with which Hyder used his advantage. Nor did the nabob of Arcot cease to employ all his influence to inflame our animosity. The treaty fixed the

rate at which assistance was to be mutually afforded: Hyder often applied, when he was attacked by the Mahrattas, but, the company not being positively bound by the letter of the treaty, no aid was ever given. During ten years of peace he was more and more alienated from us.

The year 1779 opened an extraordinary scene. The Mahrattas were at war both with the English and with the chief of Mysore. They were inclined to an accommodation with us, in the hope of gaining our assistance for the ruin of Hyder. On his part, he proposed a treaty of closer amity with us. We declined both; and such was the infatuated conduct of the presidency of Madras, though disapproved by the supreme government of Bengal, that the nizam at the same time was so exasperated by them, as to project and form the great league between three powers the most rootedly hostile—himself, Hyder Ally, and the different members of the Mahratta confederacy; among whom may be reckoned, on this occasion, the rajah of Berar. We now once more smarted under the vengeance of Hyder. He again invaded the Carnatic, desolating the country before him, and carrying fire, sword, and famine to the gates of Madras. Upon him, therefore, as our most formidable antagonist, all our indignation was turned: and, pressed as Mr. Hastings was in 1780, by the complicated difficulties of the war (so pressed, as to purchase the neutrality of Berar with a large sum of money, which, on whatever pretence it may have been paid, was received under the name of chout from Bengal) he yet urged it as a necessary condition of peace with the Mahrattas, that they should join

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their

their troops with ours, for the extirpation of their confederate and partner of the war. But they rejected the proposition with strong language of disdain: "Would not this," said they, "fix the stamp of infamy upon us for ever? Would any prince, for generations to come, ever after assist or unite with the peshwa?" At the same time they regretted the loss of the former opportunity, "which would not have left a trace of Hyder;" and they hinted farther, "that, as for the sake of appearances a pretence was necessary, they would consult and find out some accusation against him the first opportunity." And subject to this mental reservation, this secret understanding, inimical to Hyder, was the treaty with the Mahrattas ultimately concluded. The governor-general, in a short set of instructions to Mr. Anderson, one of his negociators, recurs no less than three times to the topic of Hyder Ally. This is the burthen of all—"We want nothing of the Mahrattas but their assistance against Hyder." In decency, he admits, they cannot make a positive engagement to this effect: "but prevail upon them," adds he, "to invade his dominions; pretexts will not be wanting when they shall perceive the facility of making conquests upon him."

Hitherto the Mysore chief, while he complained of the treatment which he received from the presidency of Madras, had professed much respect for our other presidencies, and the English nation in general. The supreme government had now declared, if possible, still more violently against him. Nor was there any need of spies

and hircarrahs to penetrate these mysteries of the Durbar. Mr. Hastings himself published them in the East, with his narrative of the insurrection in Benares. The nabob, therefore, could not be ignorant of the plot for his destruction: how the knowledge of it affected him, he did not live to manifest by his actions.

He was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who first assumed the title of Sultan. Young, enterprising, superior to his father in military talents, as inferior to him in the dissimulation of Indian politics, and nursed in conflicts with the English, from whom he had gathered his first laurels, we cannot wonder, if he felt a deeper resentment of our behaviour. He accepted indeed proposals for a pacification, which was expedient for his own affairs at the commencement of his reign: yet it is highly probable, that he waited only for a favourable occasion to distress, if not to destroy us. The hostile disposition evinced by our governors, from the first establishment of his father's power, could not but have fixed a suspicion and dread of us, not to be removed by the wiser and more equitable administration of one man. He had too much reason for the greater part of his life to consider us as the unalterable enemies of his family and throne; it was natural therefore, that after our last intrigues with the Mahrattas, he should draw closer his alliance with the ancient enemies of England.

On the other hand, if our intentions were now upright and sincere, we could only regulate our conduct by that of the Sultan. All who administer public affairs are under the despotic controul of existing circum-

circumstances. He who acts with conscientious integrity, as they direct, does his duty. Some reference may be had to the past, but if we formerly endangered the safety of another, no sense of justice directs us in return to betray our own. We certainly did not seek the pretext of a quarrel. It is said, that we refused to aid the Mahrattas in the invasion of Mysore; and though we had too much room to suspect, yet we did not hastily resent the Sultan's evasion of the article in his treaty, by which he stipulated to liberate all his English prisoners: but it was impossible to overlook his designs, when he publicly sent a splendid embassy to the court of France. The condition of that kingdom at the time, when the revolution was preparing, and almost ready to explode, prevented any unfriendly interference from that quarter; and jealous as Spain then began to be of our new settlements and commerce just opening in the South Seas, by means of our Oriental possessions, yet she alone could not venture to provoke the might of Great Britain. Still it became necessary for us to be vigilant, and to anticipate, where we could, and when in justice we might, the effects of a combination, which other times might call into action injuriously, if not fatally to our interests in the East. We could ill trust the love of peace professed by the national assembly. From the beginning, no secret was made of those views, which soon after, and long before any dispute with this country, were openly declared by the leaders of

the revolution and their adherents; who inveighed, in the reports of their committees, and in popular publications, against the former neglect of India. They brought it as a principal charge against the old government, that, * "under pretence of trade," they had not collected a great force of ships and men, ready at the first signal to pour down upon us from their islands in the Eastern Ocean.

Of the ostensible ground of the war with Tippoo Sultan, we shall now give a summary account.—The Dutch, for 150 years, had been in possession of two forts, Cranganore and Jacottah; which they took from the Portugueze, who had been masters of them nearly as much longer. They are situated between the country of Mysore and Old Cochin, their most valuable settlement in India. Cranganore, from its vicinity to the boundary of the Mysorean kingdom, was deemed by Hyder Ally a place of considerable importance; which induced him, previous to his rupture with the English, in the year 1780, to seize and garrison it, under pretence that it belonged to his tributary, the rajah of Cochin. The Dutch, however, during that war, again contrived to obtain possession of it, Hyder Ally being compelled to withdraw all his garrisons from the Malabar coast. Of the conduct of the Dutch on this occasion, who were at the same time leagued with Hyder and the French against the English, complaints were made by the enraged nabob. Afterwards, by the mediation of the French, the

* See La Croix on the Constitutions of Europe, Engl. Transf. vol. ii. p. 340, and the note. The original was published early in 1791; the translation early in 1792. Brissot too, in his celebrated pamphlet published in May 1793, accuses his opponents for not having used "*the implacable enmity*" of the Eastern Mithridates against this country. Engl. Transf. p. 66.

affair was some way or other compromised. Tippoo, however, in the year 1789, again laid claim to the fort, and resolved to support his claim by the sword. He marched, in the month of June, a formidable army towards Cranganore, with an avowed intention of recovering it. Alarmed at these preparations, the Dutch immediately proposed to sell both the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah to the rajah of Travancore, an ally of the British government. The rajah, depending perhaps upon our assistance, if attacked by Tippoo Sultan, acceded to the proposal of the Dutch; who, by this happy manœuvre, interposed the terrific ægis of British protection between the territory of their restless foe and their own rich but feeble settlement at Cochin. The sultan, irritated that the rajah should make such a purchase without his consent, to whom he insisted the forts in right belonged, and having pretended that some of his rebel subjects had found an asylum in the rajah's dominions, collected a powerful force, and on the 29th of December commenced a sudden attack upon the lines (or boundary) of Travancore. It was impossible that we could behold a proceeding of this kind with indifference. We had no right to decide on the justice of the opposite claims, without the consent of both parties; but even a disputed title, in an acknowledged ally, was enough to warrant us in protecting him by arms against an armed aggression, especially from an ambitious monarch, who at that very time was suspected of plotting the total destruction of the British empire in India.—Such was the origin of our interference upon this occasion.

In consequence of the passage in

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his majesty's speech relating to this subject, Mr. Hippley, on the 22d of December, 1790, moved, that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, should be laid before the house. He stated that the rajah of Travancore, who was our ally, had purchased the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah of the Dutch. Tippoo Sultan objected to the legality of this purchase, asserting in his own right a feudal claim to the forts in question, as sovereign of Mysore. The rajah having peremptorily refused to relinquish the forts, Tippoo marched towards the Travancore lines, (the boundaries of the rajah's territory) and commenced hostilities. Such was the simple statement of the fact. But before we took up the cause of the rajah, he contended, that we ought to consider, whether Tippoo's claim might not be founded upon law, agreeably to the established feudal system of India; and whether the rajah himself had acted in such a manner as to be entitled to our support. Cranganore was situated north of Travancore, and of Cochin. Cochin had been indisputably tributary to Hyder Ally, and he believed to Tippoo. Cranganore was probably in the same predicament; the presumption was certainly in favour of such a supposition, as most of the little rajahships on that part of the coast had been at some time or other tributary to the Mysorean Sultan. The circumstance of Cranganore's having been in the possession of the Dutch, was observed to be of no consequence, as still it might have owed fealty to Tippoo.

The rajah of Travancore had long wished to obtain these forts, and had applied about two years before

before to Sir Archibald Campbell, then governor of Madras, for permission to negotiate a purchase; but Sir A. Campbell expressed his direct disapprobation of the measure. After that gentleman had left India, the rajah wrote to his successor Mr. Hollond, briefly observing that he had completed the purchase of the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah, with the concurrence of the British government. In such a transaction, he conceived, that there appeared, on the part of the rajah, more deceit than honour.

In defence of Tippoo's conduct, he thought likewise it might be fairly argued, that it was impossible for him, as sultan of Myfore, to behold the transfer of these forts to the rajah of Travancore with indifference. In the hands of the Dutch, a mere trading company, Cranganore was of little importance; but in the possession of an active ally of the British government, it assumed a very different aspect.

As he questioned the justice, so had he his doubts upon the policy of the war. The Mahrattas and the nizam were to be our allies. In his opinion, little dependance could be placed on either. Mahratta faith was as proverbial in India as the *Punica fides* had been in ancient Rome. And could we, he exclaimed, so easily forget the general confederacy of 1780 among the native powers; a conspiracy headed by the nizam himself, the object of which was, to exterminate the British nation from India?

On the subject of resources, he remarked, that Tippoo had an army of 150,000 men, a large corps of Europeans, well officered, and an admirable train of artillery. He possessed a revenue of five millions,

and could boast a treasury of at least eight or nine millions. To all this what could we oppose, but an exhausted treasury, and a tottering credit?

Mr. Francis seconded the motion, and argued against the impolicy of extending our territories in India, and of forming alliances with the native princes of that country. He observed, that there existed a mutual jealousy between Tippoo and the nizam, which it was our interest to encourage. But the Mahrattas were the power, which we had most reason to dread. It would therefore be extremely unwise to extirpate Tippoo, if his extirpation depended upon our will, as such a circumstance would give the Mahrattas an extent of territory, and a degree of influence, which might prove highly dangerous to the British interests in India.

Mr. Dundas stated, that Cranganore, Jacottah, and Cochin were places of considerable strength in the hands of the Dutch. That politic people, being alarmed at the warlike preparations of Tippoo, pointing towards the quarter in which these possessions were situated, became desirous of making over the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah to the rajah of Travancore, whom they knew to be our ally; that, by thus in effect throwing themselves under the protection of the British government, they might raise a barrier to Cochin, their most valuable possession on the continent of India. After the purchase was completed, Tippoo Sultan set up a sort of claim to the forts in question by way of obtaining a pretext for his hostile proceedings. But this was not the first time that

the ambitious views of Tippoo had been manifested. In the year 1788 he advanced with a formidable army to the frontiers of Travancore, without the least provocation on the part of the rajah; and was with difficulty induced, notwithstanding the spirited remonstrances of the British government, to retire to his own dominions. He was represented as a restless tyrant, ever bent upon schemes of aggrandizement, and ever viewing us with a jealous and a hostile eye. We had on our part most religiously kept the treaty of Mangalore, but he had continually shewn an inclination to violate it.

Mr. Dundas remarked, that, how numerous soever the troops of our adversary might be, and whatever might be his revenues, we had little to fear on that head, as our army in India was perhaps the finest that had ever appeared in that part of the world; and as, instead of supporting a war against the French, the Dutch, the Mahrattas, all the European and all the native powers, we should contend with only one of them.

Mr. Fox, in supporting the grounds taken by Mr. Hippeley and Mr. Francis, said, that he trusted that a war for conquest would never be undertaken by England, either in India or in Europe.

The motion passed without opposition.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Hippeley moved, that the 35th clause of an act made in the 24th year of his present majesty, which disavowed all schemes for the extension of our territories in India, might be read; and that the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 23d, and 44th resolutions of the house of commons, on the 15th of April 1782, might

be likewise read. He then quoted several extracts from the correspondence of the government of Fort St. George, in the years 1768, 1770, and 1771, tending to prove, that it would be always our best policy to regard the Mahrattas with a distrustful dread, and to preserve at any price the friendship of the sultan of Mysore.

Previously to entering upon the grounds of the war, the members of opposition severely animadverted on the treaties of offensive and defensive alliance, which had been recently concluded with the Mahrattas and the nizam. As Tippoo's invasion of the territory of Travancore was allowed to be the origin of the war, it was remarked, that the defence of the rajah, the reparation due to him, and his future security, ought to have been particularly provided for in those treaties; but that in fact he was not once named in them. Not a single word occurred, which alluded to the cause of the quarrel, or from which it might be inferred, that the interests of the rajah were ever thought of. We could only collect from them, that Tippoo was a common enemy, that having had engagements with the three contracting parties, he had acted with infidelity towards all; and that we ought to deprive him of the means of disturbing the general tranquillity in future.

The question of our interference was stated to be simply this: whether by any act of guarantee, expressed or implied, in the treaty of Mangalore, we were bound to defend the rajah of Travancore in those dominions only, which he possessed at the date of the engagement, or to extend our protection to subsequent acquisitions made by him, without our consent or knowledge.

ledge. Upon the supposition that we were bound to defend him in those dominions only, which he possessed at the date of the engagement (a supposition certainly the most reasonable) there could not exist the least possible occasion for our involving ourselves in the business.

But arguments were not only brought against the necessity of our interference, but against the justice of it. The rajah was said to be the aggressor, and not Tippoo. In support of this opinion, several extracts were quoted from the correspondence of our governors in India, one of which was to the following effect, "That the rajah, by engaging in new connections with the Dutch, and by making conclusive purchases of forts or places in the territories of one of the tributaries of Tippoo Sultan (viz. the rajah of Cochin,) not only without his consent, but even at the time when such tributary was threatened with his resentment, would justly draw Tippoo's resentment upon himself, and by the same transaction forfeit all right to the company's friendship or interference in his favour." That the rajah acted under the consciousness of being engaged in an unjust and dishonourable transaction, appeared from the duplicity which he practised towards the British government; for the court of directors declared that nothing existed on the Madras records to corroborate his assertion of having obtained our consent to the purchase; and Sir Archibald Campbell himself expressly denied, that he had ever given such consent; but observed, that on the contrary he had signified

his entire disapprobation of the measure.

The impolicy of the war was strongly urged. Instead of attempting to annihilate the Mysorean power, it was contended that it would be our greatest wisdom to support and encourage it; and to preserve it as a useful barrier against the more formidable power of the Mahrattas. In this point of view, present success would prove future calamity; and the extirpation of the tyrant, whom we opposed, our own ruin.

But, whatever our inclinations might be in this respect, it was confidently asserted that we were by no means equal to the expences of an Indian war. It was remarked, from the confession of our governors themselves in India, that our revenues were exhausted; that the importance of the places in dispute could not be opposed to the serious consequences of engaging in hostilities; and that it was a contest, which, even if attended with success, could not prove advantageous to our affairs. In the single article of bullocks, it was conceived that we should incur an annual expence of 700,000 l. Under such circumstances, a prudent government, instead of yielding to every slight impulse of resentment, should have listened to an accommodation; instead of inflaming the quarrel, should have laboured to appease it.

In reply it was stated, that an attack had been actually made by Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, which we were bound by the treaty of Mangalore to resent: on that ground alone had we entered into the war. The conduct of the rajah had not been such

as to justify our desertion of him. But even granting that he had been guilty of an error, our Indian governors would by no means have acted prudently, if they had given him up to the vengeance of Tippoo. The pretended claim of that tyrant to the forts, was not the real origin of the war. Had this been the case, he would certainly have remonstrated previously to any hostile preparations; instead of that, he marched with 150,000 men to the lines of Travancore, before he had made the least complaints against the rajah's conduct. His plea of a prior claim, was a mere pretext afterwards set up to give a colour of justice to his ambitious designs against the rajah's dominions. By getting possession of Cranganore and Jacottah, the keys of the rajahship of Travancore, he hoped to obtain the ability of overrunning, at his pleasure, the whole kingdom. It must likewise be evident, that whenever Tippoo should be master of these forts, there would be an end of our own security in the Carnatic.

So far from considering the Mahrattas as our natural enemies, it was said that we ought to regard them as our best and most useful allies. The only Indian prince, who could be a real object of dread, was the enterprising and unprincipled usurper of Mysore.

A peaceful negotiation was asserted to be impossible. It had been attempted at the commencement of the dispute; but Tippoo had twice attacked the lines of Travancore, during the very period in which his messengers were on their way to Madras with letters, breathing pretended professions of peace. Upon the whole, it was contended,

that the war was not less founded in justice than in policy.

Mr. Fox, who spoke with his usual energy against the war, among other things, reprobated in very pointed terms the alliance, which had been entered into with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, for the purpose, as he conceived, of extirpating Tippoo, and plundering his territories. It was singular, he observed, that at a time when the enlightened policy of the nations of Europe had abandoned all offensive alliances, as if ashamed of their having ever existed, we should continue that disgraceful system in India, a country where we professed to maintain, and declared that we would maintain, the greatest moderation. The most striking instance of an offensive alliance formed in Europe, was the family compact of the House of Bourbon: that compact, as far as it was offensive, became annihilated, as soon as a better government was established in France; and he expressed a conviction, that it would never be revived.

Mr. Pitt denied, that the treaties to which Mr. Fox alluded were intended to aim at the extirpation of Tippoo, and the division of his kingdom.—Mr. Francis made a series of motions, tending to censure the principles of the war, and to prevent its farther prosecution, which were all negatived.

On the 22d of March Mr. Dundas read the following resolutions: "That it appears to this house, that the attacks made by Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore, on the 29th of December 1789, the 6th of March, and 15th of April, 1790, were unwarranted and unprovoked infractions of the treaty entered in-

to at Mangalore on the 10th of March 1784."

"That the conduct of the governor general of Bengal, in determining to prosecute with vigour the war against Tippoo Sultan, in consequence of his attack on the territories of the rajah of Travancore, was highly meritorious."

"That the treaties entered into with the Nizam on the 1st of June, and with the Mahrattas on the 7th of July 1790, were wisely calculated to add vigour to the operations of war, and to promote the future tranquillity of India; and that the faith of the British nation was pledged for the due performance of the engagements contained in the said treaties."

The arguments, which had been advanced in the preceding debate, both for and against the war, were a second time brought forward, and urged with new force and ability. The conduct of lord Cornwallis, in making the treaties with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, was warmly supported by Mr. Dundas on every ground of wise and just policy.—The resolutions passed without a division.

In the house of lords, on the 11th of April, lord Portchester entered into a long discussion of the same subject; and reprobated, in the strongest language, the whole proceedings of our government in India, pointing out the injustice and disastrous consequences of the war; a war, which he asserted the barbarous policy of the board of controul had sent forth to desolate the plains of India, and render execrable the British name. His lordship's motions for censuring the war, and for procuring peace upon moderate and equitable terms, were negatived by

a majority of 77. Immediately after the former decision, lord Grenville rose and made the same motions in approbation of the war, as had previously passed in the house of commons; which were carried by a majority of 52.

The attention of the British parliament, which guards with unceasing solicitude the interests of our widely-extended dominions (dominions, from some part or other of which, according to the old boast of the Spanish monarchy, the light of the sun may be said never to be withdrawn) was next attracted from our eastern to our western possessions; from the consideration of the necessity to which we were driven, of prosecuting an active war against a powerful Indian monarch, to the discussion of a milder and more humane question—the propriety of abolishing our traffic in slaves.

So early as the 4th of February, Mr. Wilberforce had moved for the appointment of a committee to receive and examine evidence on this subject; which motion, after a short debate, was put and carried. A considerable body of evidence having been thus taken, on the 18th of April, in a committee of the whole house, Mr. Wilberforce entered into a long and minute discussion of the subject. He commenced with giving an accurate detail of the unfair manner in which slaves were obtained on the coast of Africa. He particularized many acts of the most flagrant cruelties; and exposed all the mean devices and barbarous policy of those unfeeling men who were concerned in this bloody traffic. Different tribes of Indians, he said, were encouraged to make war on each other for the sake

sake of taking prisoners, and of thus providing the market with slaves; the administration of justice in most parts of Africa was converted into an engine of oppression; and every fraud, every violence, was practised, that low cunning and brutal ferocity could suggest. After dwelling for some time upon the many disgraceful actions which were committed in the usual mode of procuring the slaves, he made a variety of remarks upon their unparalleled sufferings under the horrors of the middle passage, and after their arrival at the destined soil of servitude and wretchedness. He next contended, that the abolition of the trade would not operate to the real detriment of our West India islands. He observed that, notwithstanding the barbarous treatment, which the negroes have long experienced, their numbers have not on the whole decreased, but in some islands have been lately on the increase; whence he argued, that, when the planter should be deprived of all prospect of a future market, he would be induced to pay a proper attention to the health, morals, and comfort of his slaves, and by thus considerably augmenting not only their happiness but their numbers, would render continual supplies from Africa unnecessary. He then proceeded to consider the consequences of the abolition in another point of view, in its probable effects on the marine. The Guinea trade, instead of being a nursery for seamen, was, in his idea, their grave. It appeared from the Liverpool and Bristol muster-rolls, that in 350 slave-ships, having on board 12,263 persons, there were lost 2,645 in twelve months. All attempts to meliorate

the condition of the negroes, without the total abolition of slavery, he considered as likely to prove inefficacious and unsafe. Their situation, he thought, could never be much amended by a gradual abolition, or by any laws of regulation, which the West Indian legislatures might choose to adopt. The advantages of the trade, in a commercial point of view, he deemed it almost an unbecoming condescension to discuss; but could its advocates prove (what he knew never could be proved) that it was of considerable importance to this country, either in its immediate operation, or remote effects, "still, should he exclaim, still there is a smell of blood, which all the perfumes of Arabia cannot remove." He concluded by moving, "That the chairman be intrusted to bring in a bill to prevent the farther importation of slaves into the British colonies in the West Indies."

Notwithstanding the strong bias of popular opinion in favour of all sentimental questions; notwithstanding the loss of character, which was hazarded by appearing to defend a traffic, branded with every possible term of opprobrium, and against which, as generally represented, every feeling of the heart recoils; the propriety of continuing the slave trade was very ably supported, on the grounds of justice, policy, and humanity. On the justice of the trade, considered in an abstract point of view, it was remarked, that as a man must have an equal right to sell his liberty and labour as any part of his property, a compact of such a kind, where no compulsion has been used, must be held binding according to the known law of nations. Voluntary stipulations there-fore

fore of this nature were both legal and just. Nor could there be any reason to think otherwise of those compacts, by which prisoners of war and culprits, whose persons were amenable to the laws of their country, were sold to slavery against their wills; as such unhappy people must be acknowledged to be under the power, and at the disposal, of the party who contracted in their names. The converse of this proposition, viz. that as the trade was just, considered in the abstract, so would the abolition of it, in consequence of the long sanction given to it by parliament, be manifestly unjust, was likewise urged. Upon the faith of parliament considerable property was said to be embarked in this trade, the total loss of the greatest part of which would immediately follow its sudden abolition.

Its policy was maintained with equal confidence. In opposition to the remarks of Mr. Wilberforce, it was strongly asserted to be an important nursery for seamen. Lord Rodney's authority was quoted, who had declared, that our being enabled to obtain from the Guinea ships so numerous a body of men injured to the climate, when we wished to send a fleet to the West Indies, upon the breaking out of a war, was a consideration of great weight. It was stated that Liverpool alone could supply the navy with 993 such seamen annually. Nor were the deaths of those, who were engaged in the slave trade, so numerous as had been supposed. Only five men out of a hundred were said to be lost upon an average. A second argument on the point of policy was urged from the consideration of its importance to

the revenue. The exports to Africa were estimated at 800,000*l.* to which might be added the exports and imports of the West Indian trade, to the amount of at least six millions a year; a trade very likely to be materially affected, perhaps completely ruined, by the proposed abolition.

But, although the proposition may at first appear strange, the humanity of the slave trade was a ground strenuously maintained. It was remarked, that, bloody as it was supposed to be, the effusion of blood would be much greater, if our slave-ships were no longer permitted to visit the coasts of Africa. It was this identical traffic, iniquitous and inhuman as it had been called, which snatched many miserable wretches from inevitable death; it being a fact sufficiently known, that it was the general practice of the Africans to sell those prisoners and culprits only, whom otherwise their sanguinary laws and customs compelled them to murder. Considered in this point of view, so far from having sacrificed, this calumniated trade has saved the lives of thousands.

The various evidences, which had been adduced to prove the horrid cruelties practised upon slaves, were represented to be in some instances false, in many partial, and in almost all exaggerated. In addition to the above arguments, considerable stress was laid upon the insufficiency of our abolition to effect a complete annihilation of slavery, as other nations would immediately take up the lucrative traffic, when abandoned by us. Or, granting the abolition to be effectual, the consequences were asserted to be no less than the total ruin of

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our West Indian islands for want of proper hands to cultivate them. At any rate, what, it was asked, could be the immediate operation of such a measure on our colonies, what but the creation of disgust and alarm in the mind of the injured planter, and of a disposition to revolt, to commit acts of rapine and murder, in that of the unenlightened negro?

On the other hand, the injustice of the trade was warmly insisted upon by the advocates of the abolition; but their arguments seemed to turn more upon moral than legal injustice. It was observed, that, as no one nation had a right to violate the happiness of another, to introduce discord and misery, upon any pretence whatever, and as our interference among the natives of Africa was exactly of such a description, that interference must be considered as an act of injustice. Besides, crimes were said to be continually perpetrated, and wars purposely made, to supply us with slaves; and as transactions of this kind were universally allowed to be founded on injustice, would not a similar imputation attach upon those who, by purchasing the slaves when offered for sale, afforded encouragement to such atrocious proceedings?

The ground of its policy was much questioned; but that of its humanity reprobated in the strongest terms. Admitting that a few prisoners of war might be murdered, if not sold to our dealers, still it was asserted, that the worst of deaths would be preferable to a life of slavery. Upon this occasion many instances were quoted, of treatment

towards these wretched people too horrid almost to mention; and a powerful appeal was made from the judgment to the feelings of the house: but such accounts were considered, by the opposite party, as greatly misrepresented, or at best as only capable of proving exceptions to a general line of milder conduct. It was admitted, that other nations might pursue the trade if we abandoned it. Proper regulations, however, might in some measure prevent them; but at the worst we should have the consolation of reflecting, that the guilt would not rest on our heads. As a complete answer to the objection, that the intended abolition would prove the ruin of our colonies, it was confidently asserted that the stock of slaves, which they at present contained, if well managed, and mildly treated, would be fully competent so all the requisite labour, and furnish a sufficient supply for future exigences.—Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a majority of 75.

If the cause of liberty was supposed to have suffered by the preceding decision on the slave trade, that of toleration was patronized and supported by the house in a manner which sufficiently exculpated the views, and reflected honour on the liberality of the church party. In our volume for 1790* we remarked, that the dissenters, in their last application to parliament for the repeal of the test laws, had included the case of their brethren (as they called them) who embraced the catholic religion; thus attempting to make one common cause with the members of that persuasion. We likewise hinted, that this ap-

plication was rejected principally upon the ground of political expediency, and not from any inclination to controul the freedom of religious opinion. The proceedings of the present session sufficiently evinced the truth of our interpretation in this instance. A bill was introduced, and unanimously carried, for the relief of catholics, who, by ceasing to be formidable to the state in a political point of view, had ceased to become proper objects of legal penalties and disabilities.

On February 21st, Mr. Mitford moved for a committee of the whole house, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon condition and under certain restrictions, persons called protesting catholic dissenters, from certain penalties and disabilities, to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject." He prefaced his motion, by observing, that it was well known there was great severity in the laws now subsisting against Roman catholics, but that the extent of such severity was not equally known. In Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, no less than seventy pages were occupied with an enumeration of the penal statutes still in force against them. The present reign was the only one (except the short one of James the Second) since the reign of queen Elizabeth, in which some additional severity had not been enacted against this description of people. He remarked, however, that the extreme rigour of the statutes in question during the reign of Elizabeth could not be much a subject of wonder, when it was considered that the Pope had excommunicated that queen, and

absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wyndham. He stated two principles, which he conceived were generally supposed to justify the enacting of penal statutes against persons of any particular religious persuasions: one was the ground, that their opinions were in themselves false and erroneous; the other, that the consequences deducible from such opinions, were liable to make them bad citizens, and dangerous subjects. In the first instance, he thought that the principle of action might fairly be termed a zeal for persecution; in the latter, he acknowledged it to be of a very different description. In all cases of danger, he thought that we should consider, 1st, the will of those from whom danger was apprehended; and 2dly, the power which they possessed, to execute whatever it might be their will to execute, if they could. In this point of view, he did not conceive that the conduct of the Roman catholics had been such as to warrant the severity with which they had been treated in the last century. At any rate, it was impossible to deem them formidable at the present period, when the power of the pope was considered as a mere spectre, capable of frightening only in the dark, and vanishing before the light of reason and knowledge.

Mr. Stanley, member for Lancashire, observed, that he had for many years resided in a country, where the Roman catholics were extremely numerous. From the opportunities, therefore, which his local situation afforded him of examining their conduct, he was thoroughly convinced, that there did not

not exist more loyal subjects, or persons more attached to the family on the throne, in any part of the kingdom.

Mr. Fox thought the proposed bill too confined in its views; he wished it to go farther, and to establish complete toleration. His own idea upon the subject of toleration was, that the state had no right to enquire into the opinions of people, either political or religious; it had a right only to take cognizance of their actions. Such persecution and oppression as existed in England did not exist in any other country. In all the king of Prussia's dominions universal toleration prevailed; in the united states of Holland, in the united states of America, and in France, there was likewise to be found universal toleration. What could be the reason of this? Would it be said, that Prussia was too little monarchical for a monarchy; or Holland too little aristocratical for an aristocracy; or that liberty was not sufficiently extended to satisfy the friends of freedom in America or in France? Yet, although toleration fully obtained in a monarchical and in an aristocratical government, as well as in two democracies, under our boasted constitution it was narrowed and confined in shackles disgraceful to humanity.

In a committee of the whole house on the 1st of March, Mr. Mitford moved for leave to bring in his proposed bill. He wished not for the general repeal of the penal statutes in question; but merely for an exemption from their operation in favour of a few; an exemption, which he trusted could give no possible cause for alarms. His intention was not to admit Roman catholics of any description to

situations of trust, or places under government; he only hoped to have them considered as men of honour and loyalty.

Mr. Fox confessed, that the alarm against popery in the last century was in some degree founded in reason; but that an improper mode was taken to suppress the object of that alarm. But no ground for similar apprehensions existed at the present moment, or was likely to exist in future. It seemed, therefore, to him perfectly reasonable, that we should expunge from our statute books those sanguinary laws, which could not now be defended, even upon the hackneyed plea of state necessity. The papists, he thought, without distinction entitled to ample relief; they had all behaved well, and deserved encouragement. He concluded his speech with an admonition to persons in power, quoting the old proverb, "As you are stout be merciful;" and from thence recommending to them, in proportion to the superiority of their strength, neither to tyrannize over the few, nor to trample upon the weak, but to take care that their proceedings never swerved from the dictates of humanity and justice.

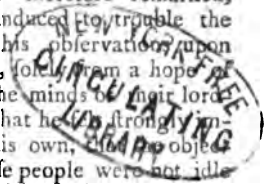
Mr. Burke contended, that the penal statutes against Roman catholics should be considered more in a political than a religious point of view. As a proof of this assertion, he pointed out the preamble of the 27th of Elizabeth, which, instead of assigning any religious purpose as the ground-work of the proceeding, expressly declared, that the act was passed solely for the suppression of a dangerous faction in the state. He agreed, however, that as the motive which could alone be plead-

ed in justification of such statutes, no longer existed, a repeal of them was both reasonable and proper. It was the duty of government to make the people happy; but this, he remarked, could not be the case, while every justice & the peace was made an inquisitor, and a man, who worshipped God in his own way, liable to be condemned for high treason.—The motion was put and carried without opposition.

After the bill had been brought in, and had passed the house of commons, upon the second reading of it in the house of lords, on the 31st of May, a debate commenced upon the propriety of several clauses, which were afterwards amended in a committee. The bench of bishops took a distinguished and honourable part in this debate. The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of St. David's, the bishop of Peterborough, and the bishop of Salisbury, spoke upon the occasion. The general principle of the bill was admitted by them to be just and humane; and consequently entitled to their cordial support. The bishop of St. David's spoke much at length. His lordship's principal objection to it was, that the form of the oath of allegiance, which it enjoined, was such as would most probably offend the feelings of those, whom the bill itself was intended to

relieve. He did not object, because the bill gave too much toleration; but because it would not in fact give that degree of it which it professed to hold forth. The doctrine, that princes excommunicated by the see of Rome might be deposed and murdered by their subjects, was declared by the oath to be impious, heretical, and damnable. The catholics felt not the least disinclination to express their disapprobation of such a doctrine; but from scruples, founded on a tender regard for the memory of their progenitors, they could not bring themselves to brand it with the harsh terms, which the oath prescribed. The reverend bishop therefore remarked, that he was induced not to trouble the house with his observations upon this occasion, lest from a hope of impressing the minds of their lordships with what he was strongly impressed upon his own, his objections of these people were not idle cavils, but fair, honest and conscientious scruples.

In a committee of the whole house on this bill, June 4th, the oath, as it at first stood, was upon the bishop's motion expunged, and the same oath, which was taken by the Roman catholics in Ireland in the year 1774, with some very slight alterations, substituted for it.



C H A P. V.

Two messages from the king; one relative to the government of Canada, and the other to the war between Russia and the Porte. State of the question relative to the cession of Oczakow demanded by the empress. Debates on this subject in parliament. Renewed on different days by several motions made on the part of opposition. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox introduce the praises of the French revolution. Mr. Burke rises in great emotion immediately after Mr. Fox, but is stopped by a call for the question. Debates on the same message in the house of lords. Message respecting Canada taken into consideration in the house of commons. Mr. Pitt fully opens the outlines of his intended bill, forming a new constitution for the province. Mr. Fox appears to acquiesce in the principle of the proposed measure. Quebec bill not opposed till the farther consideration of the report. Re-commitment moved by Mr. Hussy. Seconded by Mr. Fox, who objects to most of the leading principles of the bill: he expresses a satisfaction at the present diffusion of knowledge and liberty in the world, and alludes to Mr. Burke's book on the affairs of France. Answered by Mr. Pitt, who agrees to the re-commitment. Co-incidence of the declarations relative to the French revolution, made by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox in the debates on the armament against Russia. Mr. Burke shows no disposition to introduce the subject previous to Mr. Fox's remarkable panegyric. Great alarm of opposition at the prospect of the discussion by Mr. Burke. Motion to adjourn the re-commitment of the Quebec bill till after the Easter recess. A member of opposition declares his intention of calling any person to order, who on this question shall involve general principles of government, and the constitutions of other countries. Mr. Fox admits that he had so alluded in his former speech on this bill, and re-asserts his opinions. Mr. Burke professes a sense of public duty in stating his principles, when the occasion shall present itself again. General expectation of this discussion. Easter recess.

IN the course of this busy session two messages were delivered from his majesty, which as they gave rise to many warm and important debates, affecting, and yet likely to affect, the politics of this country, and all Europe, will form the contents of this and the following chapter. The first in order of time related to the government of Canada, the regulation of which province had confessedly been long under the consideration of the king's ministers, and had been cursorily brought to the notice of the house in former sessions. The Quebec

bill, which arose out of this message, proceeded regularly through the house for six weeks unopposed. It is principally interesting, as in its latter stages it gave occasion to the public declaration of a breach between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, which was the fore-runner of a more serious, because much more extensive schism in the party of opposition. But as the immediate origin of this dispute in parliament, whatever may have been the remote and predispont cause, is to be found in the debates on the other message, we must here depart a little from that

that order, which we in general prefer as the most simple, of taking up each subject chronologically as it began, and pursuing it to a conclusion.

The Quebec bill was still in its silent progress through the house, when the other message was delivered, on the 28th of March. It imported that, "as his majesty's endeavours, in conjunction with his allies, to bring about a pacification between Russia and the Porte had proved ineffectual, his majesty had judged it requisite, for the purpose of adding weight to his representations, to make some farther augmentation to his naval force."

The state of the question was as follows.—The empress had by conquest wrested a very considerable tract of country from the Turks, who, driven to extremities, were desirous of peace. It was asserted that Great Britain and Prussia, who acted as mediators on this occasion, insisted that the empress should resign the whole of her newly acquired territories; a resignation which she was willing to make, excepting as far as related to the town of Oczakow and its dependencies, the country of the Oczakow Tartars, between the Neister and the Bog. The possession of this conquest she seemed at all hazards determined to retain, and it certainly was of much importance to her. That part of Russia, which approaches nearest to the district of Oczakow was said to be particularly weak and vulnerable; whence at the commencement of hostilities the Turks, and their tributary Tartars, had it in their power to over-run and plunder at pleasure so unguarded a part of the Russian dominions. A predatory incursion of this kind into New Servia, at the

beginning of a former war, is related in the Memoirs of Baron de Tott. The invaders, when a force sufficient to avenge their ravages was collected, used to retire, and were always sure of immediate protection under the guns of Oczakow. This mischief, however, was in a great measure checked by the acquisitions of Russia under the treaty of peace in 1774, which made her mistress of Cherson and the whole country continuous with New Servia, between the Dnieper and the Bog, as well as of the town and fortress of Kinburn, on the Eastern bank of the Dnieper, opposite to Oczakow:—not to mention her subsequent seizure of the Crimea and Cuban in 1784. Still Oczakow was a post which, situated at the mouth of the Dnieper, and superior to Kinburn as a naval station, gave the enemy an opportunity of cutting off entirely the communication of Cherson, and all the interior dominions of Russia on that river with the Black Sea, and of annoying all the commerce of her new possessions in the Crimea. Her armies could not advance toward Bessarabia without danger of having all their supplies intercepted. Much time therefore was lost, and no inconsiderable waste of men and money incurred, before the empress could obtain security in this quarter, so as to carry war into the heart of the Ottoman empire.

It is true, that this fortress had been in the hands of the empress from the latter end of 1738, and that Great Britain had shewn no very anxious alarm on that account; but it was a very different question, whether, under a treaty of peace, it should be permitted to remain, and be united to Russia. She had in fact obtained

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by the last treaty every thing that was really essential to ensure her tranquillity, if indeed she could ever have entertained any serious apprehensions, in the present wane of the Ottoman crescent. What she now demanded pointed only to offensive measures in future, perhaps at a season when the great neighbouring states might be less at liberty to watch and controul her. We* have always considered Oczakow as a principal key of the Turkish provinces. The change which the cession of this post would make in the relative situation of the two powers, should hostilities again break forth, may be estimated from the history of its reduction in 1788. Though the empress, the year before, had carried an army in her train to Cherfon, and in very few months after had increased it to seventy thousand men, with a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon for this very siege, yet it was not till nearly a year and a half from the date of the first hostilities, and after the credit of Russia had been strained in raising supplies, that Oczakow ultimately fell. And it was then only taken by an accident, in a last effort of despair.

The successor of the great Frederick had early shewn a prudent and just jealousy of the ambitious Catharine, and had endeavoured to counteract her views of aggrandizement. His measures for this purpose have been already in part narrated in † our former volumes, and will be resumed in the eighth chapter of our present volume. Here

it will be sufficient to observe, that he had in particular re-animated Poland. He had driven from her diets the influence of his great northern rival. Under his protection she had taken steps to re-assert her independence: she had dared to require the evacuation of her territories by the Russian armies; and had begun in consequence to assume again her rank among the nations of Europe. To crown all, at the date of this message, the court of Berlin had approved the scheme of that constitution, which in little more than a month from this period was carried into effect by the virtuous but unfortunate Stanislaus, and which, (the very antithesis of the new French constitution) bettered the political condition of every man in the kingdom, from the prince to the peasant, without bloodshed, in a single day.

To all, or nearly all these measures, which had been already put in execution, Great Britain had given her countenance. We had also, in concert with Prussia and Holland, offered to ‡ mediate a peace in the East of Europe, soon after the fall of Oczakow. We interposed to keep Denmark from assisting Russia against Sweden; and this was done with a determination, avowed to the world, of supporting the balance of power in the North. In the following summer, we made a new treaty with Prussia; a treaty of more than defensive alliance, of strict and perpetual union, to protect not only the interests of the two contracting powers, but "the

* See our volume for 1769, p. 17.

† See our volume for 1789, from p. 55 to p. 67; and State Papers for the same year, p. 341.

‡ See declaration from Mr. Elliott to count Bernstoff, April 23, 1789.—Annual Reg. 1789. State Papers, p. 336.



tranquillity

tranquillity of Europe," and "the public security." The meaning of these terms was clear from the time when it was negotiated, and the circumstances out of which it arose; yet neither this treaty nor the memorial of Mr. Elliott, had drawn down any censure or adverse comment. We had now a second time pressed our mediation on Russia, and a second time in vain.

On the other hand, Russia had not only persisted in declining our interference; she had also refused to renew any commercial treaty with us. At the same time she made one with France, and another with Spain: in addition to which, she entered, with those two kingdoms and Austria, into a quadruple alliance, plainly pointed against Great Britain. This was her conduct towards us and our allies: while to Poland she had given notice, so early as 1789, that she should consider the new arrangements of the republic as a violation of her treaty and guarantee. She had thus laid in her claim to a ground of hostility against that unfortunate country, at a more convenient opportunity.

Such was the object in dispute, and such the political map of Europe, as far as it is connected with this message.—It was taken into consideration the day after it was delivered.

The minister moved an address to his majesty after the usual form. He supported the measure, which was the object of the address, upon the ground, that we had a direct and important interest in the war between Russia and the Porte; and that as our endeavours to effect a pacification had hitherto proved unsuccessful, we were under the necessity of arming, in order to give

greater weight to our representations.

He conceived, that having entered into defensive alliances, which were admitted to be wise and politic, we ought to adhere to them, and, if possible, to prevent any changes in the general state of affairs, which might render them nugatory. Prussia was our ally; any event, therefore, which might affect that power, and diminish its influence on the continent, would be injurious to ourselves, as far as our mutual interests were united. The progress of the Russian arms against the Porte, gave sufficient cause for alarm; for should success still attend them, and the power of the Porte be farther humbled by its aspiring rival, Prussia would instantly feel it; and not Prussia alone, but all Europe itself, which might prove in danger of being shaken to its very foundation.

Mr. Fox, after some general animadversions on the doctrine of ministerial confidence, expressed his conviction, that Prussia could not be endangered by any progress, which the Russian arms might make in Turkey. The real state of the dispute between the empress and ourselves, he considered to be simply this: the empress offered to cede all her conquests between the Neister and the Danube, and proposed only to retain those, which were situated between the Neister and the Don; but we insisted, that she should surrender all her conquests without a single exception. Our only ground therefore of quarrel, was her unwillingness to resign the tract of country above mentioned; which, although in general barren and unprofitable, was yet particularly desirable to her, as it contained a place of much value

value in her estimation, the town of Oczakow. But he remarked, that Oczakow was taken in the year 1788, subsequent to which period we had been informed by his majesty from the throne, that there was every prospect of a continuance of peace. He accused ministers of not having followed up their system of defensive alliance with consistency. In the negotiations at Reichenbach, when they found the emperor disposed to peace, they had neglected the opportunity of securing the empress by the same means and with the same arguments, which might then have been easily effected. An alliance with Russia appeared to him the most natural and the most advantageous, which we could possibly form.

The minister contended in reply, that the aggrandizement of Russia and the depression of Turkey would materially affect both our political and commercial interests. To the question, Why had we not armed sooner? he answered, that during our dispute with Spain we had neither been so free to act as now, nor was the necessity then so urgent, notwithstanding the previous capture of Oczakow. He considered the accusation against ministers, of their not having taken pains to include the empress in the negotiations at Reichenbach, as trivial and unfounded, for when the emperor manifested a favourable disposition, it was thought unwise to suspend the negotiations with him at the risk of their being entirely broken off, in order to wait for the concurrence of the empress.

Mr. Burke observed, that the attempt to bring the Turkish empire into the consideration of the balance

of power in Europe was extremely new, and contrary to all former political systems. He pointed out in strong terms, the impolicy and danger of our espousing the Ottoman cause. But the question seemed not to be, Whether Russia should or should not dismember the Turkish empire? it was merely this, Whether she should possess herself of Oczakow or not. When the empress consented to cede all her conquests between the Neister and the Danube, she condescended in his idea to do more than could well be expected from one in the career of victory. He remarked, that the alliance, which we had made with Prussia and Holland, was never before supposed to have been formed for the purpose of preserving the balance of power. But what would be the consequence of our interference? We were, it appeared, to plunge ourselves into an immoderate expence, in order to bring Christian nations under the yoke of savage and inhuman infidels. If we acted in this wanton manner against the empress of Russia, might we not reasonably suppose, that her resentment would burst forth against us, when we the least expected it, when its effects would be more alarming, and when another armament would be requisite to repel her threatened vengeance? The address was carried by a majority of 93 only.—Ayes 228—noes 135.

The opposition having divided in such considerable numbers upon the preceding question, Mr. Grey, on the 12th of April, moved:

1. "That it is, at all times, and particularly under the present circumstances, the interest of this country to preserve peace."

2. "That it is neither reasonable nor just to take up arms for the purpose

pose of dictating terms of peace between nations engaged in hostilities, without any reference either to the cause of the disputes or the circumstances of the war."

3. "That the refusal of an offer of mediation is no just cause for war."

4. "That during the progress of the war between Russia and the Porte, and since the taking of Oczakow, this house has received repeated assurances from the throne, that the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace."

5. "That, convinced of the truth of the assurances which we have received from the throne, this house has hitherto considered the interests of Great Britain as not likely to be affected by the progress of the Russian arms on the borders of the Black Sea."

6. "That we are not bound by any treaty to furnish assistance to any of our allies, except in the case of an attack upon them."

7. "That none of the possessions of this country, or of any of its allies, appear to be threatened with an hostile attack from any foreign nation."

8. "That the expence of an armament must be burdensome to the country, and is, under the present circumstances, as far as this house is informed, highly inexpedient and unnecessary."

A nation's right to attack, Mr. Grey observed, could only be reasonably founded on a principle of self-defence; no war, therefore, should be justified upon the bare ground of political expediency. To redeem a right, to provide against danger, and to repel an attack,

were the only good reasons, which could be assigned in extenuation of an offensive war. In the instance of arming against Russia, he maintained, that we had nothing of this kind to offer in excuse for our conduct. We had no danger ourselves to dread, nor had any attack been made upon our ally. But if ministers conceived that Europe was in general endangered, the house should be informed, before the country was plunged into a war, how the simple possession of the town of Oczakow by the Russians, could make the balance of Europe totter on its beam.

In support of Mr. Grey's arguments it was remarked, that the court of Berlin had never been thought supine or inattentive to its interests; yet that the late king of Prussia had guaranteed places of infinitely more importance to the empress than Oczakow. So far from considering Russia as increasing in strength and power by her conquests to the south, a conviction was declared, that every accession of territory to her in that quarter was an accession of weakness: and that therefore the true policy to be adopted, the true method to prevent her disturbing the tranquillity of Europe, would be to permit her to pursue her present schemes. But was the idea to be carried to its utmost extent, was the empress to realize all her imputed views of ambition, was she to get possession of Constantinople itself, and expel the Turks from all their European provinces; still he contended, that mankind, so far from being injured, would be considerably benefited by it.

Many severe animadversions were likewise made in the course of this debate,

debate, upon that unlimited confidence, which ministers were supposed to claim as their due. The unreasonableness of such a claim was pointed out, and its dangerous tendency exposed in the warmest terms, in language which almost bordered on personality.

The members of the cabinet themselves studiously avoided all kind of discussion. It was nevertheless asserted, by those who supported their measures, that the possession of Oczakow by the empress would facilitate not only the acquisition of Constantinople, but of all Lower Egypt and Alexandria, which would give to Russia the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and render her a formidable rival to us, both as a maritime and commercial power. The question was stated to be, not, Of what intrinsic importance the Turkish empire might be in itself, individually considered? but rather, How would a defalcation of it in favour of Russia operate on the general safety of Europe, and the particular interests of Great Britain? But the empress was not only charged with designs upon the Porte; her ambitious views were supposed to comprehend the extinction of all the northern powers.

Mr. Dundas remarked, that ministers thought it their duty to preserve a total silence upon the subject before the house, while a negotiation was pending.—The motion was lost by a majority of only 80.

In this day's debate Mr. Sheridan, whose silence during the former part of the session had been matter of some speculation, bore away the palm of opposition. He was uncommonly brilliant, eloquent, and severe. Nor did he on this occasion less display the statesman than the

orator. He took a wide range over the system of Europe, and in concluding adverted to the French revolution; on which subject he expressed, in very strong language, his immutable adherence to the opinions formerly declared by him, and intimated his wish for the preservation of peace with the new government of that nation.

The diminution of the minister's majority upon the last division, occasioned another discussion of the same subject on the 15th of April, when Mr. Baker moved, "That it is at all times the right and duty of this house, before they consent to lay any burdens on their constituents, to enquire into the justice and necessity of the object, in the prosecution of which such burdens are to be incurred."

"That no information has been given to this house, which can satisfy us, that the expences to be incurred by the present armament are necessary to support the interest of these kingdoms, or will contribute to the great and important object of restoring the tranquillity of Europe on a secure and lasting foundation."

Much the same mode of reasoning, as had been adopted upon the former occasions, was again urged with equal force, and in a tone of triumphant anticipation. The opposition declared; that they did not wish to enquire into the secrets of the pending negotiation; but simply to be informed what were its views. It was the object only of the negotiation, which they required to be divulged; and not the means, by which that object was pursued.

The minister observed, that notwithstanding the many calls which had been made upon him, and the many harsh epithets which had been applied

applied to his silence, his sense of duty to his sovereign and his country should still remain the rule of his conduct. He meant, therefore, to enter into no detail of the pending negotiation; to offer no explanation inconsistent with his official duties. He contended, that sufficient information had been given for the simple act of voting the armament, his majesty having expressly stated in the message, that such a measure was necessary to give effect to the negotiations, in which he was engaged, for laying the foundation of a solid and lasting peace. He confessed, however, that the house was not pledged to support a war without farther explanation. The house might give confidence to the servants of the crown, pending a negotiation; but that was substantially different from pledging itself to support a war, should the negotiation prove unsuccessful. That, which was a sufficient cause for an armament, might not be a sufficient cause for a war.

The debate was concluded by Mr. Fox, who spoke with more than his usual force and fire. Among other things he recalled the attention of the house to what had been previously stated as the utmost wish of opposition, that ministers would explain only the object of the negotiation, without entering into the particular means which were employed in its prosecution. Of the former, the house claimed an indisputable right to judge; the latter it confided to the executive power. In the present instance, too much, he conceived, had been disclosed for confidence, and too little for conviction. He maintained, in opposition to the minister, that nothing could justify an armament, which

would not justify a war. Mr. Fox, in the course of his speech, alluded to the French revolution, which he introduced more particularly toward the conclusion, in a manner similar to that of Mr. Sheridan, in the former debate. He was more explicit than Mr. Sheridan as to the points, which were the objects of his admiration; and he uttered a commendious but splendid panegyric on the new constitution of that country.

As soon as Mr. Fox sat down, Mr. Burke rose, in much visible emotion; but the cry of "Question!" having been begun from the opposition benches, and caught by many on all sides in the house (for it was then after three in the morning), he unwillingly gave way to the division.

The motion was negatived by a majority of 92.

This important question was discussed for the last time in this session, on the 25th of May. It was brought on by a motion of Mr. T. Grenville, proposing an address to his majesty, which after asserting the right of parliament to advise the crown in the exercise of the prerogative of making war and peace, proceeded indirectly to censure the conduct and supposed views of ministers, and advised against all subsequent proceedings of an hostile nature. Mr. Grenville, in a speech of much erudition and ability, made a variety of remarks upon the right, which that house possessed, of giving advice on these subjects, and produced many precedents of its exercise from our earliest records of parliament: especially from the reign of Edward the Third, who called no less than sixteen parliaments, or great councils, for the express purpose of submitting his negotiations and

and treaties to their consideration. Precedents also were cited from more modern times, and in the present century, under the reigning family. The next point made was against the terms of the vote of credit, which was general and unlimited. It was explained, that a vote of this kind having passed in the year 1717, such were the abuses of it, and so large were the sums squandered in consequence, as to give rise to a settled rule, now for the first time infringed, that a vote of credit should only be asked and granted for a certain and specific sum. The third branch of his argument related to the grounds of the present armament, one principal object of which, he hinted, might be, to put Dantzick and Thorn into the possession of the king of Prussia, contrary to the faith of former treaties.

Mr. Pitt acceded to the doctrine, that the house of commons had an undoubted right to advise the crown; but argued against the expediency of using that right, as in the present instance, while a negotiation was actually pending. The vote of credit, which the house had already passed, could not with much propriety be called a general vote of credit, as it put less in the power of ministers, than if a vote had been given for the specific sum of a million, which was known to be the usual practice of the house upon such occasions. In one case, ministers would have had the million exclusive of what might have been spared from the supply of ways and means; in the other, they really possessed nothing more than that with which the supply of ways and means alone furnished them. He positively denied any intention on

the part of ministers, of attempting to procure for Prussia any acquisition of territory.

This address was lost by a majority of 94.

In the house of lords the same subject was argued on the 29th of March, the 1st of April, and 9th of May. On the 29th of March, ministers moved an address to his majesty, thanking him for his communication, &c. In the course of this debate, which turned upon the topics already given, they declared, that the proposed war was a war of expediency only, and not necessarily occasioned by any treaty of alliance with Prussia, or with any other power. The address was carried by a majority of 63. Contents 97, non-contents 34.

The motion, on the 1st of April, was made by earl Fitzwilliam; the principal objects of which were, to disavow the necessity of our interference between Russia and the Porte, as arising from any possible construction of the Prussian treaty; and to declare, that there existed no reasonable ground whatever for any hostile preparation against Russia. In support of the motion, it was asserted, that if only a distant prospect of danger to the interests of Prussia were to be considered as a sufficient cause for our engaging in a war, and commencing hostilities, the Prussian treaty, which had been termed a defensive treaty, would be converted into an offensive one. To this observation a former answer was given, that the war would be solely a war of expediency. The general arguments advanced by the opposition were similar to those which had been so successfully urged in the house of commons to the diminution of the minister's

minister's majority, and the complete embarrassment of the cabinet. The previous question was moved and carried.—Contents 94, non-contents 34.

Earl Fitzwilliam took up the question again on the 9th of May, and argued chiefly upon the ground, that a war with Russia would materially injure our commercial interests. His lordship entered into a minute detail of the nature and importance of our Russian trade, which he asserted to be greatly in favour of this country. The imports, his lordship estimated at one million and a half, and the exports at nearly 400,000l; but as the imports consisted chiefly of raw materials, which were absolutely necessary for our manufactures, he considered the advantage to be clearly on our side. The principal articles of importation were tallow, bar-iron, hemp and deals, an exact account of the value of which his lordship very accurately stated to the house.

Lord Grenville, on the other hand, contended, that information of such a kind as that, upon which lord Fitzwilliam had reasoned (an information, which was alone collected from the custom-house accounts) might be in many cases fallacious; at least as to the consequences built upon it; and if not fallacious, was almost always in the eye of the house imperfect, from the partial manner in which it was usually stated. He asserted, that admitting the importance of the raw materials imported from Russia, a war with that country would not deprive us of them, as we might be able to obtain the same commodities, perhaps upon more advantageous terms, from Poland through the medium of Prussia. "But the in-

terests of Great Britain," subjoined his lordship, "require us to consider the balance of power, as well as the balance of trade; and to sacrifice, if necessary, some small commercial conveniences, for the preservation of that political prosperity, without the enjoyment of which, commerce itself would be annihilated."—When the house divided, there appeared for the motion 29, against it 96.

Towards the conclusion of the session it was proposed in the house of lords, to "address his majesty not to prorogue parliament, until the answer should arrive to the last message sent to Petersburg concerning the negotiation pending between Great Britain and Russia."—This motion was negatived without a division.

The administration of Mr. Pitt had never encountered so rude a shock as from this discussion. Yet it is probable, that had he been at liberty to divulge all which he then knew of the danger hanging over the North, and which subsequent events have unfolded to the world, his conduct might have been viewed in a very different light: at least, we have reason so to suppose from the recent language of his most violent opponents, who, when it was too late, would have urged an actual war in defence of Poland. But while he acted from his knowledge, parliament and the people were under the necessity of judging from their own. Their sense was intelligibly declared against him: he acknowledged, and obeyed it.

It is said that a messenger having been sent to the court of Berlin, to notify the delivery of the king's message to parliament, he was after the first debate recalled by another messenger, who proceeded forward with dispatches

dispatches of a very different tendency from those which were originally intended. From that moment we lost all weight in the Northern balance of power. The consequences to the affairs of that quarter we shall hereafter be called to relate.—We now turn to the history of the Quebec bill.

So early as the 4th of March the minister moved for leave to bring in this bill. On this occasion he opened all the several heads of his plan with a detail unusually full. Scarcely a regulation of the most minute kind was left unexplained.

It was proposed to divide the country into two provinces, and subject it to two distinct governments. The legislature was to consist of a council and house of assembly for each division; the assembly to be constituted in the usual manner, but the members of the council to be members for life, a power being at the same time reserved to his majesty, of annexing to certain honours an hereditary right of sitting in the council. All laws and ordinances were to remain in force, until altered by the new legislatures. The Habeas Corpus act, which had already been established by an ordinance of the province, was to be continued as a fundamental principle of the constitution. A provision was to be made for the protestant clergy, in both divisions, by an allotment of lands in proportion to those which had been already granted. The tenures, which had been a subject of dispute, were to be settled, in Lower Canada, by the local legislature; but in Upper Canada, as the settlers were principally British, or British colonists, the tenures were intended to be soccage tenures. A new re-

medy was also given in causes of appeal. The judgment of the privy council was no longer to be final. There was now to be a last resort to the house of lords. Above all, to prevent any such discontents as had occasioned the separation of the united states of America from the mother country, it was provided, that the British parliament should impose no taxes but what were necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and that even those should be levied and disposed by the legislature of each division.

There was certainly nothing of an over-strained tone in this system. On the contrary, the influence of the crown was taken below the standard of the constitution in our other colonies. An hereditary aristocracy, mixed with an aristocracy holding seats for life, would certainly be less dependent on the king than counsellors named and removed at pleasure, as in our West India islands, and in the royal governments of North America before the separation of the united states. Nor was it an innovation more favourable to the prerogative, than an appeal now was to lie from the king in his privy council, to the king in the great council of the peers in parliament. At the same time the legislature put bounds to its own supremacy in regard to taxation, and voluntarily renounced for ever a principle which had been asserted as just and necessary, at the price of a long and burthensome war.

On this opening of the measure, no objection to the principle of a single regulation was even intimated. Mr. Fox alone spoke, and very shortly. He seemed to imply

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at least his acquiescence, if not his approbation; though, as he justly said, he could not decidedly approve, what he had not yet seen. He did see the bill. It was read without a remark; it was read a second time, which is the customary stage of opposing the principle, but the principle was not opposed. The blanks were filled up in the committee, yet neither the paucity of members, named for the assemblies, nor the large proportion of land allotted to the church, excited any hostile observation. On the 25th of March the report was made from the committee, and counsel were heard, as a petition had been presented against the bill. Mr. Limburner, the agent from the province, was also heard in part, and delivered in the whole of his notes, when the minister moved, that the farther consideration of the report should be postponed. A conversation ensued, in the course of which Mr. Fox suggested the propriety of a re-commitment, but declared that it was not his intention to press it on the house; and the minister's motion was carried without a division, or a debate.

Such was the calm that ushered in a measure, destined in its progress to be attended with so much storm and tempest. Indeed it seemed not unlikely, that in one more such desultory conversation would have ended the whole discussion of the Quebec bill. But the other message, of which an account has already been given, happened

in the interval; and the first division of the minority upon it running so unexpectedly high, their general spirit of attack against the minister was proportionably exalted. The Quebec bill was then before the house. There was already a petition against it, and more could easily be obtained. Some were offended because they had not been consulted, and others were alarmed because they had little to hope and something to fear from the operation of any new law on a trade already lucrative. To cherish the particular discontents of these bodies of men, and add them to the general dissatisfaction caused by the armament against Russia, was an obvious policy and a cheap gain. Accordingly a strong language of opposition was now taken up for the first time against the Quebec bill.

When the consideration of the report was to have been resumed on the 8th of April, Mr. Hussey, after presenting a new petition, moved the re-commitment. Mr. Fox seconded, and enforced the motion of Mr. Hussey. In breaking ground, he took post on the political philosophy of the day. He expressed his hope, that, * in promulgating the scheme of a new constitution, the house would keep in view those enlightened principles of freedom, which had already made a rapid progress over a considerable portion of the globe, and were every day hastening more and more to become universal.

He objected to the proposed plan of dividing Canada into two

* This sentence, and one or two others, containing allusions or strong expressions of a similar tendency, are supplied from the Parliamentary Chronicle. The speech, as given in the Parliamentary Register, is very nearly the same, except these omissions.—There is nothing on the Quebec Bill, in Stockdale's Debates, before the 6th of May.

provinces.

provinces. The reason which had been assigned for this division appeared to him strongly to militate against it. It had been remarked that thus the French and English Canadians would be completely distinguished from each other. But he considered such a measure as big with mischief; and maintained that the wisest policy would be to form the two descriptions of people into one body, and endeavour to annihilate all national distinctions.

He next objected to the proposed mode of representation. The number of which the two assemblies was to consist, the one of sixteen, the other of thirty members, he thought much too small. A country, like France, three or four times larger than Great Britain, might require a proportionably greater number of representatives; but the reverse therefore did not equally follow. Nor did he approve of the clause which permitted the same assemblies to remain undissolved for the period of seven years. Why we should adopt a septennial bill, in preference to an annual or triennial one, he confessed to be beyond his comprehension. By a septennial bill Canada would probably be deprived of several of the few representatives that were allowed it; for as most of its more respectable citizens were persons engaged in trade, it was not likely that they should be able to attend their legislative duties for so long a period.

But although the assemblies would consist of so small a number, the legislative councils in both provinces were in this respect to be unlimited. Instead of being hereditary coun-

cils, or councils named by the king, as in our West Indian islands, or chosen by electors, as in the united states of North America, they were to be compounded of the former two. For his own part, he should have preferred to all other forms that of a council freely and frequently elected. On no terms would he have had hereditary counsellors. He meant not to discuss the general proposition of what utility hereditary powers and hereditary honours might be, abstractedly considered; but he confessed, that he saw nothing so good in them as to make him wish for their introduction among a people to whom they were at present unknown. In kingdoms where they already formed a part of the constitution, he did not think it prudent to destroy them; but to give them birth in countries where they had no previous existence, appeared to him extremely unwise. He could not account for such a proceeding, unless it was from a wish, that, as Canada had formerly been a French colony, an opportunity might be afforded of reviving those titles and honours, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and of awakening in the West that spirit of chivalry which had so completely fallen into disgrace in a neighbouring kingdom. He asked, if those red and blue ribbands, which had lost their lustre in the old world, were to shine forth again in the new? It seemed to him peculiarly absurd to introduce hereditary honours in America, where those artificial distinctions sink in the nostrils of the natives.

He disapproved of giving the clergy so large a portion of the lands as one seventh. Nor did he think

think the bill less exceptionable as far as it related to the regulation of appeals, the trial by jury, and to the Habeas Corpus act. The two last provisions should have been made integrant parts of it, and not have been left to a mere ordinance of the province: and from the regulation of appeals the stage of the king in council should be struck out, and the appeal at once be given to the house of lords. He hinted again, towards the conclusion of his speech, that the governments established in the united states of North America would have furnished better models. As the love of liberty was gaining ground, in consequence of the diffusion of literature and knowledge through the world, he thought that a constitution should be formed for Canada as consistent as possible with the genuine principles of freedom. This bill, in his opinion, would not establish such a government, and that was his chief reason for opposing it.

Mr. Pitt replied to the observations of Mr. Fox; but at the same time assented to the re-commitment of the bill, which he was anxious to have fully discussed. The division into two provinces he considered to be a fundamental part of it, as being the most likely method to produce that coalition of French and English parties, which he admitted with Mr. Fox to be extremely desirable. If there were only to be one house of assembly, and the two parties, as might be sometimes expected, prove equal, or nearly equal, in numbers, a perpetual scene of factious altercation would succeed, and the breach become wider. On the other hand, by the establishment of two distinct assemblies, all cause of complaint

would be removed; while the French subjects, being left to their own free choice, and not influenced by the pride of party, would most probably adopt the English laws, from an unprejudiced observation of their superior utility.

He conceived that the number of which the assemblies would consist, according to the present population of Canada, could not with propriety be augmented; but that, when the population was actually increased, there would not be the least objection to any reasonable addition.

With regard to the duration of the assemblies, he thought the space of seven years preferable to a shorter period; particularly as the governor would have less influence in the Canadian councils and assemblies than in those of our West India colonies.

He entirely differed from Mr. Fox in his idea of the legislative council, who seemed to wish that it might be made elective, according to the plan which had lately been pursued in America. Whether France and America had chosen well for themselves, under the peculiar circumstances of the respective countries, he meant not to enquire; but he found no difficulty in declaring, that he was convinced our own constitution was the best for us. The word *republicanism* he wished not to use in an obnoxious sense, but he was fully persuaded, that none of those republican principles, which Mr. Fox had described as resulting from a greater extension of light and learning, and which were supposed to give unparalleled splendour to the constitutions of France and America, would improve the British constitution. An
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aristocratical principle being one necessary part of a mixed government, he thought it proper that there should be such a council in Canada as was provided by the bill, and which might in some degree answer to our house of lords.

As to the allotment of one seventh part of the lands for the maintenance of the clergy, he remarked, that this proportion (a proportion much less than one tenth of the produce of the lands) had almost become an established custom in England, where land was given in commutation for tythes. But this, as well as every other part of the bill, if necessary, might become a subject of future revision.

It is unjust to lean too much on particular words and phrases attributed to the members of either house. Our public reports of proceedings in parliament are not sufficiently accurate for such a purpose. But the general tenor and complexion of Mr. Fox's speech cannot be mistaken. Yet if he spoke as he felt, and was restrained by no considerations of prudence, his arguments were neither irregular nor impertinent. Perhaps, when the minds of all men were fermenting with the awful lesson of the French revolution, and the fundamental principles of all government and civil order involved in the opposite opinions of that event, it was almost impossible but these topics, more or less, must colour the debates on this occasion. It was a question of exercising the highest power of legislation over a country first conquered, and afterwards ceded by treaty; it asserted,

therefore, the right of conquest, and the power of cession, under the law of nations, the authority of which is strenuously denied by the great teachers of the Rights of Man, and the whole body of which on this very question has been indecently called * "an avowed code of mitigated rapine, and systematized murder." A new constitution was to be formed; of course this led to abstract principles, and first maxims of government. That constitution was to be given to a people living in America, but originally colonists from France; consequently nothing was more natural than to look to the constitutions both of the states in whose neighbourhood they are placed, and of the nation from whom they are descended.

The same remark, however, will not apply to the debates on the other message, in which it seemed, notwithstanding, as if all incidental opportunities of introducing the French revolution were studiously sought, and eagerly seized. This certainly has more the appearance of some premeditated design. It might be done to familiarize parliament and the country, in their present temper, to these declarations. The leaders of the minority certainly now thought the road to power lay open before them. And had they succeeded, it would undoubtedly have been the best answer to all future attacks on this score to have been able to say— "These sentiments we have never disguised; we explicitly avowed them in the very moment of your

* See the "Parallel between the Conduct of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Fox," page 13.

returning confidence." Possibly (and it was so reported) the more immediate followers of Mr. Fox, whose sentiments on this subject were in unison with his, demanded some such step, as necessary to manifest their independence of the duke of Portland and his friends, who coincided in general with the doctrines of Mr. Burke.—It has also been said (not quite consistently with the other report) that Mr. Sheridan, having been much censured by some of his political friends for his indiscretion on this very head in the last session, had, in disgust, withdrawn all active support of his great talents from opposition; and that now, as the price of his return, he insisted on being countenanced in a short but explicit avowal of his opinions. But whatever may have been the cause, the fact itself is striking.

From the Friday, when the recommitment of the Quebec bill was moved and carried, nothing deserving the name of a debate took place, till the Tuesday following, when Mr. Grey made his motion for a committee on the state of the nation. It has been already seen, that Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the affairs of France: it will be now necessary to state a little more particularly what he said. All discussion on the merits of the French revolution he professed to waive; but he affirmed, in a very emphatical manner, his adherence to his known opinions. They still remained fixed, he said, and would continue immortally the same. He held forth the ancient government of France as characterized by a busy restless spirit of intrigue; he considered the enmity between the two countries as now wholly past away; and he

recommended the preservation of peace on our part. "He hoped that what had happened in France would prove an useful lesson here, and that we should have leisure to improve by studying it."—In some reports he is farther represented to have charged ministers with "being eager to cultivate all the vices of the old French system, and despise all the virtues of the new."

Mr. Burke had not been present at Mr. Fox's speech on the Quebec bill; he must, however, have known the substance of it, as it had early attracted general notice; nor did it require his sagacity to discover the transient sarcasm at his beautiful and affecting lamentation over the departed genius of chivalry. Mr. Sheridan's speech in this debate he did hear; and it was the second time, within four days, that the topic had been brought forward. Yet he shewed no disposition to precipitate himself and the house into it, though an occasion, if he had chosen to take it, was now fairly offered.

On the succeeding Friday Mr. Baker made a motion similar to that of Mr. Grey. Mr. Fox on that night not only trod in the footsteps of Mr. Sheridan, but he proceeded to still greater lengths. He was more direct and full. His whole system of external politics, he acknowledged, had suffered a change with the change of the French constitution. He had formerly been anxious for maintaining the balance of power, but now he owned himself to be very indifferent about it: not because our ancient rival and enemy might seem too poor or too weak, to give us any immediate disturbance, but "because she had erected a government, from which neither

* Parliamentary Register.

“insult nor injury could be dreaded by her neighbours.” He praised that government, in its internal relation, as good, because it aimed to make those who were subject to it happy; and observing that he knew different opinions were entertained upon the point by different men, he added, that he for one admired the new constitution of France, considered altogether, as “the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country.”

Mr. Fox has since said, that he meant to approve only the revolution,—the destruction of the absolute monarchy. Perhaps it might be difficult to reconcile the metaphor, in which all reports at the time agreed, with this correction: but the correction he did make, and had a right to make it. Still, while the panegyric remained full, unequivocal and absolute, pushed as it was many degrees beyond the greatest length to which any member had hitherto gone in that assembly, it must have excited proportionably strong sensations in those who, seeing nothing but injustice in the original work of demolition, thought it only aggravated to the highest pitch by the weakness and wickedness, apparent to them in the plan of the edifice that was substituted. Mr. Burke felt it accordingly, and made an effort to give immediate utterance to his feelings; but the manner in which he was stopped has been already related. Mr. Fox is known since to have regretted the injudicious zeal of those who would not suffer Mr. Burke to an-

swer him on the spot. The contention, he has said, might have been fiercer and hotter, but the remembrance of it would not have settled so deep, and rankled so long in the heart.

From this moment a rupture between these two illustrious friends was distinctly foreseen. The very next morning the party, with whom they both acted, shewed signs of great alarm. All within was in commotion. Every influence, that promised most success, was employed to prevent by persuasion, the renewal of that, which had been suppressed in the first instance by clamour. Some, even of those who agreed with the opinions of Mr. Fox, threw forth whatever they could of a conciliatory kind to Mr. Burke and his connections. They professed, and appeared, to be sincerely afflicted at the consequences likely to flow from the expected discussion. They did not hesitate to accuse Mr. Fox of imprudence for declaring that, which if he had not declared, the same men would probably have condemned him for pusillanimity. On the other hand, many, who abhorred the French revolution little less than Mr. Burke himself, yet were decided on the expediency of passing over for the present the dangerous sentiments, as they thought them, which they had recently heard. They did not hold it necessary to separate from their great leader on account of mere speculations, hitched into a digression, whatever might be the mischief of their tendency, and in whatever terms of pernicious eloquence they were conveyed. They considered it as more just to

* The terms of this panegyric are taken from Mr. Burke's “Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,” as the best authority, and hitherto uncontradicted.

wait until the direct collision of these principles with the public weal of the state should force forward some measure that might be made a test, not of opinions, but of conduct. In the mean time they were willing to flatter themselves that the train of events still proceeding in France might develop the atrocious effects of those doctrines in so convincing a manner, as sufficiently to prove the radical fallacy or iniquity of the whole system to a man like Mr. Fox, who was understood even then to admire only in the gross, and disapprove in the detail.

In these reasons, it is not improbable that without being conscious of it to themselves, they may have been influenced in some degree by feeling how much it would cost them at once to disentangle themselves from the ties of friendship and the trammels of party. Mr. Burke had more fortitude. Though he had always been the champion of party, in the pure and genuine sense of the word; and had a longer and more intimate friendship with Mr. Fox than most others of the same connection, yet he now heard, or believed he heard, the imperious call of a public duty, more sacred than all the dearest and strongest bonds of personal and political attachment. He had from the first regarded what was passing in France as calculated to act in the rebound upon this kingdom. The publica-

tion of his "Reflexions" for a time checked, but not stopped, the progress of the affiliated societies, here. They were stunned with the blow discharged at them*, but they soon recovered, and again raised their heads higher than ever. They now renewed their exertions with redoubled vigour. They applauded and circulated with much activity Mr. Paine's "Rights of Man," and other similar pamphlets. The newspapers teemed with addresses, votes, and resolutions, and every mail was laden with fresh congratulations and incitements to the Jacobin societies in France. Bold and eager, they wanted now only the sanction of some more distinguished name than they yet possessed to lead them. Mr. Burke knew the great and just authority of his friend's name; he knew to what purposes his friend's panegyric on France might be abused, beyond the intentions of him who made it. He believed it therefore highly important to his country, that the intrinsic value of that panegyric should be brought to trial in the place where it was uttered; the more so, perhaps, as he must have been assured that his friend could not (as he did not) maintain it in its unqualified extent. Neither was he at liberty, like others, to pass over for the present what it might be painful to encounter. He stood already committed in the face of the house and his country. Had he still been silent, after this third

* This fact appears strongly marked on the face of the correspondence published by the Revolution Society. From the month of November, 1790, when Mr. Burke's pamphlet came out, there is a striking chasm till the middle of March following. They then apologize to some of the Jacobin societies of France for their long silence, because they could not get a sufficient attendance of members before. Nearly half their share of the volume bears date in March and April, 1791.—It is remarkable too, that the secret committee of the house of commons, which sat in 1794, trace the plot divulged in their second report from this very period, and begin their extracts from the books of the Constitutional Society on the 3d of March 1791. See Appendix C.

introduction of the subject in the space of one week, they who triumphantly thanked him for provoking the discussion, would have sounded a louder note of triumph on his shrinking from that discussion. He could not be wanting to himself, without injury to the public cause, which he had undertaken. He had therefore no choice. He had no way of escaping from his duty. Yet in discharging it, he must be aware that he could not but lose his friend, whatever professions might be made to the contrary: he could not expect to be followed even by those among his own party, who thought with him; for they had pronounced what he was going to do inexpedient: nor could he look for the support of ministers; for he neither was, nor sought to be of their party. Besides, they had clear reasons of sound prudence for keeping a guarded reserve upon the subject, which he was not equally bound to keep, as an individual member of parliament, not implicating the government of the country by his conduct.

His resolution was fixed. The only remaining consideration was, how it was to be executed. He did not think the time yet come for a direct question on the matter; and to have brought it prematurely forward in that shape, and then to have failed in it, might have had a fatal effect on public opinion. The Quebec bill afforded a fair and regular occasion of discussing incidentally the principles of all constitutions, especially the American, the French, and the English; and as it was to be in a committee, he could speak as often as he pleased, in explanation or defence of himself: he could (as he

says) bring the questions from generalities to facts.

He now went to some of the members of administration, and acquainting them with enough of his purpose to satisfy them, that what he meant to say was strictly in order, he desired their protection so far as to secure him from being again silenced by clamour. To his friend himself he was more explicit. For when, on the day appointed for the re-commitment of the Quebec bill, Mr. Fox, for the last time, paid him a visit, accompanied by a common friend, he talked over with them the plan of all which he intended to say, opened the different branches of his argument, and explained the limitations which he meant to impose on himself. Mr. Fox, on his part, treated him with confidence, and mentioned to him a political circumstance of some delicacy. What it precisely was, Mr. Burke declined telling, even in the heat of altercation. But from the tenor of the charge which he seems most anxious to refute, and from some intimations in one of Mr. Fox's answers, we may form a reasonable conjecture.

The king, it seems, was represented to have used some expressions favourable to Mr. Fox. In order, therefore, to secure himself in his situation, the minister was asserted to have given out the watch-word, that Mr. Fox was by principle a republican; and it was supposed, that in pursuance of this plan, he instigated Mr. Burke to the discussion. Mr. Burke undeceived his friend, by relating the fact as it was. Still it was requested by Mr. Fox, that at least the discussion might not take place on the re-commitment of the Quebec bill; but

but Mr. Burke had made his choice with too much deliberation to forego an opportunity, which he could not hope to find again in any other business then before parliament, or likely to come before it. The effect of this interview, on the whole, was (as is not unusual in such cases) directly contrary to the purpose of it. Mr. Fox seems to have been hurt, that the entreaties of friendship could not prevail over a sense of public duty; and Mr. Burke probably valued that friendship a little the less, when it imputed to him the folly, or the guilt, of being either an instrument or an accomplice in a premeditated plot for the ruin of the man whom he loved.

They walked, however, to Westminster together, and together entered the house, where they found that Mr. Sheridan in the mean time had moved to postpone the re-commitment till after the holidays. In supporting his motion, he declared that his objections were not to any particular regulations; they were fundamental, they went to the principle of the bill itself. He seems to have been understood by the minister as announcing an opposition founded on abstract principles of government; something in the tone already given by Mr. Fox, that the bill was not sufficiently accommodated to the new lights and modern philosophy of liberty. But this was afterwards denied by Mr. Sheridan, who trusted also that when the bill did come under consideration, every other discussion but that arising from the subject of the bill itself, would be averted. Mr. Taylor caught up the intimation, and carried it a little further. He observed, that the business had been improperly treated, as involving the

consideration of general principles of government, and the constitutions of other countries: on which ground insinuations had been thrown out against some members of the opposition party. But he gave notice, that if the minister, or any other right honourable gentleman, should wander from the proper discussion of the subject, he should call him to order, and take the sense of the house upon the occasion.

Here was a palpable allusion to Mr. Burke. Yet he did not rise to answer. Mr. Fox took the opportunity of explaining what he had said on the former question relative to the Quebec bill. After lamenting that he had been misunderstood before, he admitted, that in forming a government for a colony, some attention must be paid to the general principles of all governments. In the course of this session, he said, he had taken opportunities of alluding, perhaps much too often, to the French revolution, and to shew, whether right or wrong, that his opinion on the whole, was much in its favour; but on this bill he had only introduced one levity, silly enough perhaps, and not worth recollection, that had any relation to the French revolution; he meant an allusion to the extinction of nobility in France, and its revival in Canada. Certainly he had spoken much on the government of the American states, because they were in the neighbourhood of Canada, and were connected with that province. Having then observed that the prudence of concealing his opinions, was a quality which his dearest friends had not very often imputed to him, and that he thought the public had a right to the opi-
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nions of public men on public measures, he declared, that he never had stated any republican principles, with regard to this country, in or out of parliament: and among other things he said, that when the Quebec bill came again to be discussed, from the great respect which he entertained for some of his friends, he should be extremely sorry to differ from them; but he should never be backward in delivering his opinion, and he did not wish to recede from any thing which he had formerly advanced.

Mr. Fox having thus come forward to meet what he could not avoid, drew some remarks from Mr. Powys, who complained that the debate had turned irregularly both on retrospect and anticipation, and hinted that Mr. Fox should have imitated the example of Mr. Burke, in writing, rather than speaking there, of the French revolution. Mr. Dundas then took notice of a phrase used by Mr. Taylor, who explained: after which the conversation was closed by Mr. Burke. He in a very affecting manner assured the house, that nothing depressed him more, nothing had ever more afflicted him in body and mind, than the thought of meeting his friend as an adversary and antagonist. After noticing the anticipation which had been suggested, and the observations which had been made, but to which he trusted that he had given no just cause, he declared his sentiments, that in framing a new constitution, it was necessary to refer to principles of government and examples of other constitutions, because it was a material part of every poli-

tical question, to see how far such and such principles have been adopted, and how they have succeeded in other places. His opinions on government, he presumed not to be unknown; and the more he considered the French constitution, the more sorry he was to see it. Once in the preceding session he had thought himself under the necessity of speaking very fully upon the subject; but since that time, he had never mentioned it either directly or indirectly; no man therefore could charge him with having provoked the conversation that had passed. He signified, however, his intention of giving his judgment on certain principles of government at the proper moment, in the future progress of the Quebec bill. He alluded with much candour to Mr. Fox's recent panegyric on France, as well as his own ineffectual attempt to rise in answer to it, acquitting his friend from all design of personal offence in it; and he finished by saying, that should he and his friend differ, he desired it to be recollected, that however dear he considered his friendship, there was something still dearer in his mind, the love of his country: nor was he stimulated by ministers to take the part which he should take; for whatever they knew of his political sentiments, they had learned from him, not he from them.

Mr. Fox had thus openly given a challenge, which was accepted by Mr. Burke; and a determination of calling the latter to order was likewise avowed. Public expectation was big with the event.

CHAP. VI.

Transactions during the recess. Re-commitment of the Quebec bill. Question put that the bill be read paragraph by paragraph. Mr. Burke immediately rises, and speaks to its general principle. States the nature of the act, which the house is going to do, and their authority to do it. Considers the constitutions most proper for the government of a province in America colonized from France. Touches on the constitution of the United States in North America. Proceeds to discuss the new French constitution. After some time, is called to order from the opposition bench. Long and violent altercation on the point of order. Mr. Burke attacked by the opposition. Lord Sheffield's motion to declare Mr. Burke's speech disorderly. Mr. Fox, in speaking on this motion, goes into a personal accusation against Mr. Burke of political inconsistency. Mr. Burke's defence. Mr. Fox rises to reply in great agitation of mind. Mr. Burke complains of having received a scold and a deeper wound under the mask of friendship. Mr. Pitt proposes the withdrawing of lord Sheffield's motion. Debate resumed on the 11th of May. Mr. Fox declares his attachment to aristocracy. Mr. Burke considers himself as abjured by his party. Reflections on this dispute. Probable policy of Mr. Fox. Real cause of this division, and the subsequent separation of the party.

DURING the recess, some common friends tried one or two more unavailing experiments on Mr. Burke's affections: others, despairing to shake his resolution, inveighed against him with very little reserve. The daily prints in the interest of the opposition-party opened all their sluices upon him. The plot for the exclusion of Mr. Fox from power was bruited about, notwithstanding it had already been in effect denied and refuted by Mr. Burke; while, on the other hand, the papers favourable to the minister re-echoed another and more criminal plot, in which they held up Mr. Burke, not much more honourably, in the character of a king's evidence, who had impeached his accomplices. The pencil too was called in to the

aid of the pen, and paragraphs were embodied in caricatures. In the mean time, however, Mr. Fox enjoyed one solid advantage from that, which had passed immediately before the holidays, as the explanation which he thought right to give of his former speeches was left unaccompanied by a single adverse remark of Mr. Burke or Mr. Pitt, to impress itself on the minds of all by its own weight. * Accordingly his party represented him as having removed every imputation against him. Mr. Burke therefore must have felt so much the less delicacy in bringing the subject forward, as it could no longer prove a personal injury to his friend.

When the house re-assembled, they proceeded on the 6th of May to the

* See Argus, 22d April, 1791; "Appeal to Old Whigs," p. 23.

re-commitment of the Quebec bill, so much expected and dreaded. The chairman took the chair, and began by putting the usual question, "Whether the bill should be read paragraph by paragraph?" This is one stage (though rather a late stage, according to the ordinary forms of the house) for debating the general principle; and Mr. Sheridan, as we have seen, had actually given notice that his objection would go not to the particular clauses, but to the general principle.

On the question being put, Mr. Burke immediately rose. He remarked that, as the house was about to appoint a legislature for a distant people, it ought first previously to be convinced, that it was in itself competent to the assumption of such a power. A body of rights, commonly called the 'Rights of Man,' had been lately imported from a neighbouring country, and held up by certain persons in this kingdom as paramount to all other rights. A principal article in this new code was, "That all men are born free, equal in respect of rights, and continue so in society." If such a doctrine were to be admitted, the power of the house could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada, and recommend to them the free choice of a government for themselves. But he rather chose to argue from another code, on which mankind in all ages had hitherto acted—from the law of nations. On this alone he conceived the competence of the house to rest; from this we learnt, that we possessed a right of legislating for Canada, founded upon a claim of sovereignty over that country, which

was at first obtained by conquest, but afterwards confirmed and acknowledged by the cession of its former government, and established by a long uninterrupted possession.

The competence of the house therefore being admitted, the next point to be considered was, after what model the proposed constitution was to be formed. In Canada there were well known to be many ancient French inhabitants, and many new American settlers, who had migrated from the United States. It might, on this account, be proper to enquire, whether the constitutions of America or France possessed any thing superior to our own constitution; any thing which, if unprovided by the bill, might make those people contemplate with regret the happier situation of their former countrymen.

The Americans, he believed, had formed a constitution for themselves well adapted to their peculiar circumstances. They had in some degree received a republican education, as their ancient government partly partook of republicanism, restrained in its principles and vices by the beneficence of an over-ruling monarchy. The formation of their constitution was preceded by a long war, in the course of which, by military discipline, they had learned order, submission to command, and a regard for great men. They were trained to government by war; not by plots, murders, and assassinations. Another circumstance of considerable weight was, that they did not possess among them even the materials of monarchy and aristocracy. They acted, however, too wisely to let up so absurd an idea, as that the nation should govern

govern the nation; but formed a constitution as monarchical and aristocratical as their situation would permit: they formed one upon the admirable model of the British constitution, reduced to its primary principles. Yet he would not say, 'Give this constitution to the people of Canada;' for if the bare imitation of the British constitution was so good, why not give them, if possible, the thing itself? Why mock them with the shadow of a shadow, when their situation, in being still under a mild and liberal monarchy, rendered them capable of enjoying the substance? Nothing therefore seemed to be apprehended from the discontent of the American inhabitants.

The ancient Canadians were the next objects of consideration, and from their numbers entitled to the greatest attention. He asked, should we give them, as being Frenchmen, the new constitution of France?—a constitution founded on principles diametrically opposite to our own, as different from it as folly from wisdom, as vice from virtue; a constitution founded on what was called the rights of man? The authors of it had told us, and their partizans, the societies here, had told us, that it was a great monument erected for the instruction of mankind. This was certainly done not without a view to imitation. But before we proceeded to give it to our colonies, he thought that we should do well to consider what would probably be the practical consequences of such a step; to consider what had already been the effects of a similar experiment on the French West Indian colonies, where the new principles of Parisian politics had been introduced and propagated with ardour; that we might be enabled to form

some idea of the blessings which we were about to confer. The mode of reasoning from effects to causes was the old-fashioned way. It had been adopted in experimental philosophy, and might with equal propriety be applied to the philosophy of the human mind. He should therefore use it now.

The French West Indies, notwithstanding three disastrous wars, were most happy and flourishing, till the fatal moment in which the rights of man arrived. Scarcely was this precious doctrine received among them, when Pandora's box, replete with all mortal evils, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks rose against whites, whites against blacks, and each against the other in murderous hostility; subordination was destroyed, the cords of society torn asunder, and every man appeared to thirst for the blood of his neighbour. The mother country, not receiving any great degree of pleasure in contemplating this image of herself reflected in her child, sent out a body of troops, well instructed likewise in the new principles, to restore order and tranquillity. These troops, immediately upon their arrival, felt themselves bound to become parties in the general rebellion, and, like most of their brethren at home, began the assertion of their free-born rights, by murdering their general. In proof of these facts, he read the account given on the 25th of April in the national assembly itself. Should such an example, he asked, induce us to ship off for Canada a cargo of the rights of man?

But, lest it should be objected, that the disorders of the French West

West Indies originated in local causes, he proceeded to point out the deplorable condition of France itself. The national assembly had boasted that they would establish a fabric of government, which time could not destroy, and the latest posterity would admire. This boast had been echoed by the clubs of this country, the Unitarians, the Revolution Society, the Constitutional Society, and the Club of the 14th of July. The assembly had now continued nearly two years in possession of the absolute authority which they usurped; yet they did not appear to have advanced a single step in settling any thing like a government; but to have contented themselves with enjoying the democratic satisfaction of heaping every disgrace on fallen royalty. The constitution must be expected now, if ever, to be nearly complete: to try whether it was good in its effects, he should have recourse to the last accounts of the assembly itself.

They had a king such as they wished, a king who was no king; over whom the marquis de la Fayette, chief gaoler of Paris, mounted guard. The royal prisoner having wished to taste the freshness of the country air, had obtained a day-rule to take a journey of about five miles from Paris. But scarcely had he left the city, before his suspicious governors, recollecting that a temporary release from confinement might afford him the means of escape, sent a tumultuous rabble after him; who, surrounding his carriage, commanded him to stop, while one of the grenadiers belonging to his faithful and loyal body guard, presented a bayonet to the breast —

Mr. Burke was here called to order from the opposition bench. The moment was singularly chosen. The regularity of discussing the new constitution of France in this debate seemed to have been admitted, by his being suffered to proceed so long without objection; and if there was any part of his speech, which by no possibility could be distorted into a personal application to Mr. Fox, it was precisely this, where he was interrupted, since the fact had happened subsequently to Mr. Fox's praise of the French revolution, in the debate on the Russian armament. A very long and extraordinary altercation ensued, in which various members on both sides of the house took part. Mr. Fox, among other observations, called that day a day of privilege, when any gentleman might select his mark, and with Mr. Burke abuse the government of every other country, as much as he pleased, and that in the grossest terms;—the constitutions of Zoroaster, Bramah, or Confucius, according to his fancy. He concluded by saying, that his friend was not out of order. Mr. Burke considered this as irony, but justified what he did on the same grounds as in the conversation before the holidays; and he added, that there was certainly no more impropriety in alluding to the French revolution, on the question then before the house, than there was in bringing it forward on the armament against Russia, or * in a question of finance. He afterwards declared, that he was astonished at the treatment which he received, as he had not made the least personal reflection upon any gentleman whatever. He was fully

* This had just before been done in the house of lords.

convinced,

convinced; that no member of that house wished to alter the constitution. He nevertheless thought it his duty to discountenance certain doctrines which were supposed to exist in this country, and which were intended fundamentally to subvert it.

Mr. Burke endeavoured no less than seven times to explain, why he thought himself in order; but the greater part of those with whom he had hitherto acted seemed to wish, by repeated interruptions, totally to silence him. He was in some degree protected by the minister, and two or three other members on the same side. Mr. Martin, in particular, thought him regular; and reminded Mr. Fox of some words of his own in the conversation before the recess. But none of Mr. Burke's own former party supported him. The few, who were most connected with him by personal attachment, and who agreed with him in their general principles respecting the French revolution, were too sensibly affected to interfere. So distressing was the scene, that the ministers, far from seeking to advance their own party-interests by widening the breach, actually pressed several respectable members, who were thought most likely to have weight both with Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, to interpose their good offices. But the task was too hazardous and too delicate. This was not a difference arising from a private misunderstanding, which would have admitted of easy accommodation in two such minds; but the violent rent of an old friendship torn asunder by the force of great public principles. There was no hope of reconciling, and

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much danger of enflaming; an effect, which seemed to have followed all the ill-judged attempts to stifle this debate, from the moment that Mr. Burke arose to answer on the spot the memorable panegyric on the French revolution, introduced by Mr. Fox into the discussion of the armament against Russia. At length lord Sheffield moved, "That dissentions on the French constitution are not regular or orderly on the question 'That the clauses of the Quebec bill be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.'"—This motion was seconded by Mr. Fox.

The minister, who had before been called upon for his opinion, both by Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan, now shortly drew a distinction between a question of order and a question of discretion. In point of discretion, he wished the French revolution not to be discussed. But he bore testimony to Mr. Burke's motives, which he called trace to no other source than a pure regard for the constitution of his country; and he thought him fully in order, as the bill went to give a constitution to a people at once American, French, and English.

Mr. Fox then began a speech, which, though introduced on the question of order, professed the melancholy task of refuting what he called charges brought wantonly and unprovoked against him. At the same time he declared, that if, after five-and-twenty years, he was to lose the friendship of the man who had first and best taught him to feel, it would hurt him to the end of his life. He then passed to the notion of a plot against him, and said that Mr. Burke had come down to the house not to debate the clauses of the bill then before the committee, but to fortify

fortify misrepresentations of something, which he (Mr. Fox) had said in a former debate. This he considered as an evident eagerness to seek a difference of opinion, and an anxiety to discover a cause of dispute. If Mr. Burke's intention had been to preserve the constitution from any danger, with which he thought the conduct and political sentiments of certain societies threatened it, he would probably have given notice of a particular day for the purpose, or taken any other occasion of doing it, than that which had furnished the means of gross calumny against his nearest and dearest friend.

On the subject of the French revolution he knew, that their different opinions were wide as the poles asunder. Still however he adhered to his original sentiments; nor would he ever retract one syllable which he had said upon it. He repeated, that he thought it, upon the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind. But when he spoke upon this subject, he wished to be understood as alluding to the revolution and not to the constitution of France, which remained to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumstances. The old despotism was annihilated; the new system had the good of the people for its object; and this was the point on which he rested. With respect to the effect of the example of France on ourselves, when any man could prove that this country was in the precise situation of France at the time of her revolution, then, and not till then, would he declare, disregarding all the obloquy which might be heaped on such a declaration, that the French revolution

was an object of imitation for Great Britain.

His political opinions he never wished to conceal; but he by no means approved of having a day fixed to catechize him. At the same time he hinted to Mr. Burke, that neither his pen nor his tongue derived honour from a discussion of great events without information. If the committee should decide, that Mr. Burke might pursue his argument on the French constitution, he resolved to leave the house. He nevertheless meant not to shrink from the contest; but, whenever a proper period for discussion came, feeble as his powers were, compared to those of his friend and master, he would be ready to maintain the principles, which he had asserted, even against such superior eloquence; to maintain, that the rights of man, how much soever ridiculed as chimerical and visionary, those original rights, which no prescription could supersede, no accident remove, were in fact the basis of every rational constitution, and even of the constitution of Great Britain. Should he himself conquer, the glory of the day would still belong to the conquered; for (as he had said without a compliment, in the last session) he had learned more from Mr. Burke than from all books and all men. All his political knowledge was drawn from Mr. Burke's writings, speeches, and familiar conversation. During the American war, they had rejoiced together at the successes of a Washington, and sympathized almost in tears for the fall of a Montgomery. His friend then said, that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people; he had since learned to do it, and to crowd it with all

all the technical epithets, such as false, malicious, wicked, and so forth, which disgraced our statute books. To deny that the British constitution was founded upon the rights of man, he considered as nothing more nor less than an attempt to libel that constitution; and no book which Mr. Burke could cite, no words which he might use in debate, however ingenious, eloquent, and able, as all his writings and speeches undoubtedly were, should ever induce him to change or abandon this opinion. These topics were enlarged and impressed with Mr. Fox's known force.

Mr. Burke commenced his reply in a grave and governed tone of voice, observing, that although he had himself been repeatedly called to order, he had nevertheless heard Mr. Fox with perfect composure, and without the least interruption. He hoped that the temper, which was essentially requisite on an emergency of this important kind, would attend him through this painful contention; yet he trusted that if in the warmth of his observations, an expression should drop which might imply severity, it would be imputed to his zeal, and to the anxiety of his mind, agitated as it was, and not to any intention of personal reproach to any individual whatsoever. The speech, he remarked, to which he was to reply, was perhaps one of the most disorderly ever delivered in that house. His public conduct, words, and writings, had not only been misrepresented and arraigned in the severest terms, but confidential conversations had been unfairly brought forward for the purpose of attempting to prove his political inconsistency. Such were the instances of kindness, which he had

received from one, whom he always considered as his warmest friend; but who after an intimacy of more than two-and-twenty years, had at last thought proper, without the least provocation, to commence a personal attack upon him. He could not conceive that the manner, in which Mr. Fox had accused him of having spoken without information, and unsupported by facts, appeared to manifest any great degree of tenderness towards him. On the subject however of the French revolution, uninformed as he might be supposed to be, he had not the least objection to meet that right honourable gentleman hand to hand, and foot to foot, in a fair and temperate discussion.

But this it seemed was not the principal ground of quarrel; he was accused of having attempted to bring forward a discussion of French principles, in order to fix a stigma upon certain republican opinions, which Mr. Fox was said to have advanced in a former debate. This charge he denied in the most positive terms; and solemnly declared, that he had made no reference whatever to any of Mr. Fox's speeches; but that he had argued, as on every other occasion, in a plain and simple manner. Mr. Fox himself was no stranger to the subject, which he had proposed to introduce in that night's debate. He had previously to the last conversation on the Canada bill opened to Mr. Fox very fully and particularly the plan of the speech in which he had now been interrupted; he had explained how far he intended to go, and what limits he meant to impose upon himself, and had shewn him all the books, pamphlets, and reports, which his friend had now sup-
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posed him not to have read. This he had done at his own house, from whence they had walked down together to that house, conversing upon the subject the whole way. Mr. Fox had then indeed disagreed with him in opinion, but entered into no quarrel with him. He had rather been treated with confidence, and some private circumstances of a political complexion had been mentioned to him, to which, notwithstanding what had since happened, he felt no inclination to allude.

For a variety of reasons he confessed that he wished to introduce the subject of the French constitution, which he thought that he might have done perfectly in order. In the first place, he felt desirous of pointing out the danger of perpetually extolling that preposterous edifice upon all occasions, and in the highest strain. Mr. Fox had himself termed it "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time, or country." A second motive, which had indeed some little influence over him, was of a more personal nature. He had been accused both of writing and speaking of the late proceedings in France rashly, unadvisedly, and wantonly. This charge he was certainly anxious to refute; but at the very time, when he was about to produce facts in corroboration of his assertions, blended with private information and respectable authorities, he was stopped in the most unfair and disorderly manner. Had he been permitted to continue his speech, he would have shewn, that the issue of all that has been done, and of all that was then doing in France, could never serve the cause of liberty, but would inevitably tend to

promote that of tyranny, oppression, injustice, and anarchy.

But what principally weighed with him, and determined him in his conduct, was the danger that threatened our own government, from practices, which were notorious to all the world. Were there not clubs in every quarter, who met and voted resolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correspond, not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Did they not preach in their pulpits doctrines which were dangerous, and celebrate at their anniversary meetings proceedings incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution? Did they not every where circulate, at a great expence, the most infamous libels on that constitution? At present he said that he apprehended no immediate danger. The king was in full power, possessed of all his functions; his ministers were responsible for their conduct; the country was blest with an opposition of strong force; and the common people themselves seemed to be united with the gentlemen in a column of prudence. Nevertheless he maintained, there was still sufficient cause for jealousy and circumspection. In France there were 300,000 in arms, who at a favourable moment might be happy to yield assistance; besides, a time of scarcity and tumult might come, when the greatest danger was to be dreaded from a class of people, whom we might now term low intriguers, and contemptible clubbists.

He again adverted to the unkindness with which Mr. Fox had treated him, who had ripped up the whole course and tenour of his public and private life, with a considerable degree of asperity. The right honourable

nourable gentleman, after having fatigued him with skirmishes of order, which were wonderfully managed by the light infantry of opposition, then brought down upon him the whole strength and heavy artillery of his own judgment, eloquence, and abilities, to overwhelm him at once. In carrying on the attack against him, the right honourable gentleman had been supported by a corps of well-disciplined troops—

Here Mr. Burke was called to order by Mr. Grey. Mr. Burke refused to apologize; but in his subsequent speech, he observed, that the expression "well-disciplined" had nothing offensive in it, as being applicable to any body of men who acted upon a method and in concert.

It is probable that a little incident which happened in the course of Mr. Burke's reply contributed to draw from him the expressions considered as disorderly by Mr. Grey. In his speech Mr. Fox had intimated an intention of leaving the house, if the committee should suffer Mr. Burke to proceed. While the latter gentleman was speaking, the former, being perhaps now resolved on a rejoinder, accidentally went towards the lobby for some trifling refreshment, with which he soon after returned to his place. But in the mean time about twenty or thirty gentlemen, of those most personally attached to him, mistaking his departure for the execution of his declared intention, rose from their seats, and followed him out of the house.

After the interruption of Mr. Grey's call to order, Mr. Burke proceeded to remark, that he had frequently differed from Mr. Fox in former instances, particularly on the subject of a parliamentary re-

form, of the dissenters bill, and of the royal marriage act; but that no one difference of opinion had ever before for a single moment interrupted their friendship. It certainly was indiscreet at his time of life to provoke enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risque all; and as public duty and public prudence taught him, with his last breath exclaim, "Fly from the French constitution!"

Mr. Fox whispered, that there was no loss of friendship.

Mr. Burke replied, that he was sorry there was. He knew the price of his conduct: he had notwithstanding done his duty, and lost his friend. Afterwards, addressing himself to the two right honourable gentlemen, who were the great rivals in that house, he expressed a hope, that, whether they hereafter moved in the political hemisphere as two flaming meteors, or walked together like brethren hand in hand, they would preserve and cherish the British constitution; that they would guard it against innovation, and protect it from the pestilential breath of French philosophy. He then (in allusion to the mode of reasoning under which he had introduced the topic of the French constitution) broke into a rapturous apostrophe to the immeasurable and unspeakable power of the Deity, to whom alone, as a being of infinite perfection, belongs the omniscience, which sees all things in their first cause; while to us poor weak incapable mortals, there is no rule of conduct so safe as experience. In conclusion he moved an amendment, tending to shew, by the insertion of some words in lord Sheffield's motion,

tion, the principle of order which he had throughout asserted.

Mr. Fox rose from his seat under great agitation of mind; tears for some time impeded his utterance: but after the conflict of contending passions had a little subsided, he commenced a rejoinder as much distinguished for the sarcastic severity of the insinuations, as for the excessive, and apparently sincere, tenderness of the professions with which it abounded. He confessed that he owed many great obligations to Mr. Burke; and found, that notwithstanding all that gentleman's harshness, he must still love him. If he had given offence by any impudent or intemperate language, he hoped, that his right honourable friend would recollect their past friendship, and forget it. It was true that they had formerly differed in their sentiments upon other occasions, without the least interruption of their intimacy. They had differed on the question of the Middlesex election, of the jury-bill, and many other instances; they had even differed in their opinions of the French revolution; for when Mr. Burke's book upon that subject was published, he had condemned the work, and every doctrine which it contained, both publicly and privately. But he could not help feeling that his right honourable friend now appeared to display something more than a mere difference of opinion; he seemed to discover a secret wish and disposition essentially to injure him; at least his conduct had that tendency: besides, as he had before remarked, he possessed himself a kind of natural antipathy to the idea of being catechized in his political principles by any man.

As to his private sentiments of the British constitution, he said, that, although he thought it imperfect and defective in theory, it was admirably adapted to this country in point of practice. Its great excellence was its corrective capacity, by which it adopted improvement; and this was the boast of my lord Coke. He had given his support to the right honourable gentleman's reform bill; was it now expected of him to declare, that he conceived the constitution would have been better without? As an avowed enemy to all tests whatever, he objected to the plan of putting every man's political opinions to the test, by obliging him to abjure every other constitution but our own. Granting that he had been indiscreet, and even warm in the terms of his opinion on the French revolution, surely it did not deserve the severe and pointed epithets which had been heaped upon him that day—

Mr. Burke said, loud enough to be heard, that he did not recollect his having used any.

Mr. Fox then observed, that if they were out of his right honourable friend's recollection, they were out of his own; from that moment they were completely obliterated and forgotten.—He then pursued his argument, and re-asserted the misinformation of Mr. Burke on the affairs of France, but believed him to have advanced what he thought the truth. Mr. Fox, however, confessed himself not to have read what had lately been written on the French and English constitutions, to which Mr. Burke alluded—the works of Mr. Mackintosh and Mr. Paine. But understanding his friend to object in principle to such free discussions, he declared

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declared generally in favour of all such discussions, as useful to political and moral truth; neither would he arraign any man for proposing to incorporate into the constitution of this country, what he approved in the system of another nation.

Every constitution, he said, to be good, must be adapted. It was presumption, it was bigotry and intolerance, beyond all precedents civil or religious, to accuse of folly and vice a whole people, because they dared to think for themselves. In the year 1780 it had been the opinion of that house, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." To this resolution his right honourable friend had subscribed; and would he now refuse to the French the same right which he himself had exercised? For, if the influence of the British crown was thought dangerous, what in the eyes of reflecting Frenchmen must have appeared the influence of the crown of France?—He would not have alluded to Mr. Burke's conduct in the year 1780, unless he had been convinced that it redounded to that gentleman's honour, and to the glory of his character; for where could he find an incident which did not? It was not for the pleasure of drawing a malicious contrast that this circumstance had been brought forward.

He proceeded to observe, that his right honourable friend had professed an enthusiastic attachment to our own monarchical constitution. Did he remember that in the year 1783, when his majesty in a speech from the throne lamented the loss which America had sustained in being deprived of the advantages resulting from a monarchical government, how he

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had ridiculed that speech; and compared it to a man's opening the door after he had left a room, and saying, "At our parting pray let me recommend a monarchy to you?"

In applying this to the defence of the French revolution, Mr. Fox thought that event such an acquisition to the cause of freedom, from the dominion of France over the manners of other nations, as to justify his former panegyric; and he apologized for the excesses of the French people in its progress, by remarking that it was natural for them to be guilty of many extravagant and absurd actions, from the apprehension of a sudden return of that despotism which they had destroyed; experiencing the sensations ludicrously described by our great dramatic poet, when he makes Falstaff exclaim, "I fear this gunpowder Percy, although he be dead." If a shade was wanted to contrast the splendor of our own constitution, it was to be found not in the new system, but in the ancient despotism of France. He and his friends, however, loved our own constitution on grounds independent of all external circumstances. Yet, he said, they thought the French revolution would do good to England. It might teach ministers not to endanger the just influence of the crown by over-straining it; and the people of England, if they should be disposed rashly to give way to innovations, might receive a warning from the confusions which had occasioned so much lamentation, and which were sufficiently great to deter others from lightly incurring similar calamities, though they were trifling in comparison of the benefits to which they have

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led. His admiration of that event (and he here again repeated it) had been misrepresented abroad; it had been said, that every man must wish to imitate what he admired. But this he denied to be conclusive reasoning. There was, however, one article of their detail, in which he was desirous of imitating the French; it was a measure in which he had been uniform throughout his political life, and in which he and Mr. Burke agreed—that of universal toleration.

Referring Mr. Burke's sublime apostrophe to the Deity, the sound philosophy of which Mr. Fox admitted, he asked, what experience we could have had of the French constitution? It was, at least, a new experiment, though perhaps not a good experiment: and he, for his part, suspected that it was not the best; because, if all the wisest men of all ages could be collected together for the purpose, they would not be able to make a new constitution of original excellence.

As to the course which the debate had taken, he should have been surprized at hearing the gentlemen around him called a "well-disciplined corps," could he be surprized at any thing, after the rest which he had previously heard that night? He had not requested a single individual to call Mr. Burke to order; on the contrary, he had earnestly entreated all around him not to interrupt the debate. Did his friend mean to object altogether to party as wrong? Surely that could not be his opinion, though Mr. Fox said, he hardly knew his opinion on any thing. He justified and praised the principle of party-connexion, and gloried in that to which he himself belonged. His

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friend, who had so long been a member of it, knew that no unbecoming influence was exercised on the minds of those who acted in it; though, perhaps, they might think that intreaties and solicitations ought to have as much power over a friend, as a hint or a nod from the other side of the house; yet it was never suggested that connexion ought to stand in the way of duty: and if, for the discharge of his conscience, Mr. Burke thought it necessary to expose what he saw alarming there, or in the nation at large, without regard to friendship or favour, to this or that side of the house, he ought to do it, though he stood alone.

After enforcing in various ways all the topics of argument already stated, he observed, towards the conclusion, that he could not help saying again, that he had been unjustly and unfairly treated; but he would not suffer that to step between him and his friend. It was his intention to keep out of the right honourable gentleman's way, until time and reflection had altered his sentiments upon the subject of their difference; when he doubted not but their common friends would endeavour to re-unite them. An appeal was also made by him to Mr. Burke's own bosom: he trusted that the quickness of temper, which led his friend to momentary heat, would equally lead him to the dispositions so much more congenial to his nature; and he hoped, that in reviewing the cause of the present dispute, it would be recollected, that they had been engaged together in a systematic opposition to ministry since the year 1784, at which period Mr. Burke moved a representation to the crown, sufficient alone to make the

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the fame of any other man. This paper he connected with the principles of the Whig party, whose profession it was to assert the doctrines of the revolution in 1688; and who saw, in the commencement of the present reign, a disposition to depart from the conduct, which had made the last two reigns so glorious, and to make more use of the prerogative. On this constitutional point, he said, it was that in 1784 they were at issue; and the event of that contest displayed a power that demanded a reform. He drew from thence another argument, that our constitution is not perfect; and again acknowledging the great favours which he had received from Mr. Burke, during so many years of his life, he concluded with a quotation, expressing how much keener is the anguish to be treated with unkindness by one who has obliged you, than one whom you have obliged.

In the course of this speech, Mr. Fox appeared to consider it as a kind of charge made upon him by Mr. Burke, that their intercourse had much lessened within the last five years. But, in truth, the circumstance was only mentioned by the latter incidentally, in speaking of their habits of intimacy, which the former had introduced into the debate. Mr. Fox explained, that it had happened from accident alone, and not from any diminution of affection.

Mr. Burke now rose again, with a firmness which seemed the result of much internal effort, and commented upon what had fallen from Mr. Fox. He began with remarking, that the tenderness which had been displayed in the beginning and conclusion of that gentleman's

speech, was quite obliterated by what had occurred in the middle part. He regretted, in a tone and manner of earnestness and fervency, the proceedings of that evening, which he feared might long be remembered by their enemies to the prejudice of both. He was unfortunate to suffer the lash of Mr. Fox, but he must encounter it.

Under the mask of kindness a new attack was made upon his character and conduct in the most hostile manner, and his very jests brought up in judgment against him. Mr. Burke confessed, that he did not think the careless expressions and playful triflings of his unguarded hours would have been recorded, mustered up in the form of accusations, and not only have had a serious meaning imposed upon them, which they were never intended to bear, but one totally inconsistent with any fair and candid interpretation.— Could his most inveterate enemy have acted more unkindly towards him? The event of that night's debate, in which he had been interrupted without being suffered to explain, in which he had been accused without being heard in his defence, made him at a loss to understand what was either party or friendship.

His arguments had been misrepresented. He had never affirmed, that the English, like every other constitution, might not in some points be amended. He had never maintained, that to praise our own constitution, the best way was to abuse all others. The tendency of all that had been said, was to represent him as a wild inconsistent man, only for attaching bad epithets to a bad subject.

With the view of shewing his inconsistency,

consistency, allusions had been made to his conduct respecting his economical reform in 1780, the American war, and the questions of 1784; but none of these applied. If he thought, in 1780, that the influence of the crown ought to be reduced to a limited standard, and with which Mr. Fox himself, at the time, seemed to be satisfied, it did not follow that the French were right in reducing it with them to nothing. He was favourable to the Americans, because he supposed they were fighting not to acquire absolute speculative liberty, but to keep what they had under the English constitution; and as to his representation to the crown in 1784, he looked back to it with self-gratification, still thinking the same. Yet he knew not how to devise a legislative cure for the wound then inflicted, as it came from the people, who were induced to decide for the crown, against the independence of their own representatives.

The inconsistency of his book with his former writings and speeches, had been insinuated and assumed, but he challenged the proof by specific instances; and he also asserted, that there was not one step of his conduct, nor one syllable of his book, contrary to the principles of those men with whom our glorious revolution originated, and to whose principles, as a Whig, he declared an inviolable attachment. He was an old man, and seeing what was attempted to be introduced instead of the ancient temple of our constitution, could weep over the foundation of the new.

He again stated, still more particularly, the endeavours used in this country to supplant our own by the introduction of the new French constitution; but he did not

believe Mr. Fox at present had that wish, and he did believe him to have delivered his opinions abstractedly from any reference to this country: yet their effect might be different on those who heard them, and still more on others through misapprehension or misrepresentations.

He replied to the grounds on which Mr. Fox explained his panegyric. The lesson to kings, he was afraid, would be of another kind. He had heard Mr. Fox own the king of France to be the best intentioned sovereign in Europe. His good-nature and love of his people had ruined him. He had conceded every thing, till he was now in a jail. The example of the confusions, on the other hand, would have very little operation, when it was mentioned with tardy and qualified censure, while the praises of the revolution were trumpeted with the loudest blasts through the nation.

He observed, that Mr. Fox himself had termed the new French system a most stupendous and glorious fabric of human integrity. He had really conceived, that the right honourable gentleman possessed a better taste in architecture, than to bestow so magnificent an epithet upon a building composed of untempered mortar. He considered it as the work of Goths and Vandals, where every thing was disjointed and inverted.

As to the church in particular, it had been said, that the French had abolished all tests, and given a complete unequivocal toleration. So far from it, Mr. Burke insisted that they had established the most diabolical intolerance that ever existed on the face of the earth, and created a new test, not for the sake of security, but as the means of cruelty, oppression, and injustice, in order

order to afford an opportunity of depriving many thousand individuals of their bread. The clergy were forced to take this test, or starve; and yet France was the country where there was said to be no test at all! He drew a striking picture of the persecutions to which the religions of both sexes, and the pious few of the laity, were exposed, throughout France: and he particularly instanced the unmanly and brutal severity inflicted on the sisterhood of the charity of St. Lazarus, an order of nuns, who from the force of pious zeal dedicated themselves to the most irksome of duties, that of spending their lives in the drudgery of a loathsome hospital. Those meritorious women were seized, dragged out, stripped, publicly scourged, and turned adrift to get their bread as they could, where it was a crime for any hospitable roof to shelter them; and all this was for receiving the sacrament from a priest who had not taken the test!—The assembly knew of this abominable tyranny, outraging at once piety, charity, and decency, yet they had not punished, nor even censured it.

But the new constitution of France was said to be an experiment. He thought, we had seen enough of it to judge of its practical effects. The new sovereigns of that country, he greatly apprehended, would proceed from tyranny to tyranny, from oppression to oppression, till the whole system terminated in the complete ruin of that miserable and deluded people.

Mr. Burke again expressed his sorrow for the occurrences of that day; yet if the good were to many, he said that he would willingly take the evil to himself. He sincerely hoped, that no member of that house would

ever barter the constitution of his country, that eternal jewel of his soul, for a wild and visionary system, which could only lead to confusion and disorder.

Mr. Pitt, after having made some remarks upon the singular situation, in which the house then stood with respect to the question before it; and having declared his own opinion to be, that Mr. Burke had not been, even in the first instance, at all out of order, suggested the propriety of withdrawing the motion which had been made by lord Sheffield.

Mr. Pitt conceived that the constitution could be in no immediate danger; but professed, that if hereafter there should appear to be a more serious ground of apprehension, and that ground should be distinctly stated by Mr. Burke, he should be eager to give that gentleman his warmest and most effectual support. He thought Mr. Burke entitled to the gratitude of his country for having on that day in so able and eloquent a manner expressed his sense of the degree of danger which already existed; and assured him, that he would himself most cordially co-operate with him in taking every possible means to preserve what he esteemed the most perfect constitution in the world, and to deliver it down to posterity as the best security for the prosperity, freedom, and happiness of the British people.

The house adjourned to the 11th of May; on which day the clauses of the bill were debated. Nothing very material occurred till the clause relating to the legislative council was read, when Mr. Fox rose to object to it. He took this opportunity of entering into a declaration of his political opinions.

There could be no good and complete system of government, he said, without a due mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy: and however unfavourably one gentleman might construe his sentiments, yet he considered our own aristocracy as the proper poise of the constitution, the balance that equalized and meliorated the powers of the two other extremes, and gave firmness and stability to the whole. He nevertheless did not think it wise, in an infant government, where no previous materials of such an aristocracy existed, to make that branch of the legislature hereditary. Property was and had ever been esteemed to be the true foundation of aristocracy, and upon that he proposed to build the aristocracy of Canada, since an act of parliament could not give nobility like an English peerage. He thought it best to make the council elective, with a higher qualification both for the electors and the elected, after the model of the American constitutions, where the three powers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, were judiciously blended, although under different names. He spoke at much length on these topics.

This declaration seemed to give great satisfaction to the minister, who remarked, however, that a different impression respecting Mr. Fox's sentiments had been made both in that house and abroad, by the debate of the former night. Believing him now to be truly sincere, he congratulated himself, that he might expect to have, he might be sure of having, the aid of such eloquence and talents to resist any attempt at any time to impair or de-

stroy any part of that edifice, which for its beauty and perfection was the admiration of the whole world, and the inestimable blessing of this country. He spoke in the most animated terms of the principle of aristocracy in a mixed government; but combated the amendment suggested by Mr. Fox.

Mr. Burke desired the protection of the house to the situation in which he stood. He found, that a sentence of banishment from his party had been pronounced against him. The house he hoped would not consider him as a bad man, although he had been banished by one party, and was too old to seek another. Being thus, without any just cause, separated from his former friends, he confessed that he severely felt his loss; but that, what he felt like a man, he would bear like a man. He trusted at least, that he should meet a fair and open hostility, to which he would oppose himself with manly firmness, for the very short period that he should continue a member of that house.

He then once more asserted the purity of his motives; and complained of the imputations thrown upon his conduct. And as to the charge of abusing republics, in order to recommend monarchy, he affirmed that he had never abused any republic, ancient or modern, but he had not termed France a republic: no, it was an anomaly in government; he knew not by what name to call it, nor in what language to describe it. It was a compound (and he recited the verses from Milton) of the sublimely obscure and tremendous figure of Death, having the likeness of a kingly crown upon the seeming

* This seems to allude to the paragraph, which see in p. 2, of the "Appeal."

head, with the cry of hell-hounds, that bark unceasingly round the waist of Sin. It was a shapeless monster, born of Hell and Chaos.

On the subject of the clause, he agreed with the minister. In a monarchy, he contended, that the aristocracy must ever be nearer to the crown than to the democracy, because it originated in the crown as the fountain of honour; but in those governments which partook not of any thing monarchical, the aristocracy there necessarily sprang out of the democracy. He denied property to be the sole foundation of aristocracy. He pointedly condemned a close, and praised an open, aristocracy. The power of rewarding virtue and talents by a peerage, he considered as a royal prerogative of the most beneficial kind. He entered into an accurate analysis of the house of lords; and finally objected to the council proposed by Mr. Fox, which he thought in fact to be of a democratical constitution. Neither did he find any recommendation of it from experience; and in proof of this, he went at length into the constitutions of the American colonies before their independence, shewing that all equally rebelled.

He afterwards recurred to his own situation; and defining with much nicety the distinction between a faction and a party, declared, that he might be of a faction, but could not be of a party with those who continued to reprobate the principles of his book. Then, having touched on some other points personal to himself, he closed his speech by observing, that at a time when open and avowed attempts were made to circulate pamphlets and disseminate doctrines subversive of the prerogative, and consequently dangerous

to the constitution, it was unwarrantable for any good subject to be day after day holding out a parade of democracy, in order to set the unthinking many raging against the crown. He conceived that there then existed a run against monarchy; but this had been rashly represented as the mere idle coinage of his own brain; he trusted however, that the house would not rest too securely upon such a representation, but take care in time to guard against the impending danger. In saying what he had upon the subject, he was conscious that he had done his duty; and hoped that he had in some measure averted, what might otherwise have effected the downfall of our justly-boasted constitution—supported by such reflections, he was not deprived of consolation, although excluded from his party; a gloomy solitude might reign around him, but all was unclouded sunshine within.

Mr. Fox again rose, and began by saying, that he had before been careful not to intermix any remarks on French affairs; but his opinions remained unaltered. Among other things, he declared, that he thought the constitution was more liable to be ruined by an increase of the power of the crown, than by an increase of the power of the people. As to Mr. Burke's observation of his being excluded from the party, Mr. Fox asserted, that, if that gentleman was so excluded, it was his own choice; for that if he would repent, he might be assured that his friends would ever be ready to receive him, to respect and love him. He nevertheless at the same time insinuated that Mr. Burke had misused the functions and privileges of the house, by holding long discourses,

personal to himself, and relative to imaginary plots which had no foundation in fact, and by thus preventing a committee from doing its duty in examining the clauses of an important bill. He hinted likewise that the right honourable gentleman's vanity misled him, when he supposed that the discussion of personal topics in that house would have the least influence on public opinion.

Mr. Burke, in reply, did not take any notice of these fresh attacks upon him, of being represented as a vain man, a troublesome member of the house, and a dreamer of visionary dangers; but simply remarked, that having passed his youth without encountering any party disgrace, he had been so unfortunate indeed as to incur it in his age; nevertheless he wished it to be understood, that he solicited not the friendship of any man, or of any party in that house. If he consented to accept the return of old friendship from those with whom he had acted till now, he would enjoy it from their esteem, not from their weakness; from their justice, not from their humanity. It was proposed to him to repent, as the condition of being again respected and loved; but he would never, with contrition and penitence, court a reconciliation to which, as a preliminary, he must make a sacrifice of those principles of the constitution, in which he had been educated, and which through life he had approved, admired, and defended.

Thus ended a friendship which had lasted for more than the fourth part of a century, between two men, of whom posterity will only doubt which to place highest among the most splendid examples of human talents. We could have wished,

had it been possible, to have given the several speeches at full length; but it is hoped that the general cast and complexion of the dispute have been preserved with fidelity. To that end all the accounts which could be obtained have been compared, and all again tried by the test of Mr. Burke's "Appeal," which contains much of the substance of these debates, and stands yet uncontradicted in point of fact; and with reluctance it must be added, that some of the reports, commonly esteemed of good authority, required the caution of such a check in every part. Neither has diligence been spared (it may be thought perhaps that too much has rather been used) in bringing together every thing which could tend to illustrate the immediate rise and progress of this dissension, previous to the re-commitment of the Quebec bill. The subject seemed to demand it. It was due in justice to an individual, who has been sometimes charged with a design to injure his friend, and sometimes represented as led astray by a blind intemperance; but who has himself constantly asserted, that he was discharging, under a severe affliction of body and mind, a necessary duty to his country, paramount to all considerations of private friendship, by giving an early warning of a public danger, the origin of which, a secret committee of the house of commons has since referred to this very point of time. It was also due to the public. For the reception which Mr. Burke's opinions have found on the affairs of France, and their connection with this kingdom, has given the whole nation an interest in his credit, and the purity of his motives in this respect. That they were pure, the internal evidence of the whole trans-
action,

action, fairly reviewed, and the testimony of the minister to a part within his knowledge, appear to establish beyond a doubt.

On the other hand, tho' the charge against his consistency, brought by Mr. Fox, was wholly irregular, both as to the question of order, or the merits of the French revolution, and was a clear and direct personal attack upon him, we do not think that it arose from a want of friendship; for we believe the professions of Mr. Fox to have been affectionately sincere. Neither do we think that it was an ebullition of that temper in Mr. Fox, which he himself confessed to be warm; for it was so circumstantial, and descended to such minute points of considerable antiquity, as to carry with it every appearance of having been premeditated. It seems to have been extorted from him against all the feelings of his heart, by the exigency of his situation. He probably feared lest the schism, which was now actually begun, might spread farther. He wished therefore to erect the barrier of supposed consistency to stop the secession of others, and to strengthen it by the terror of punishment to all who should pass it. He endeavoured to establish a bond of indissoluble union against the ministry of Mr. Pitt, on the principle of the contest in 1784, and to set that above all other principles. This policy, however, has been ineffectual. A separation followed, where Mr. Burke had made a crack. But in truth the real cause of disunion is not to be found in any occurrence of this session, nor even in the affairs of

France; these were only occasions, which forced into notice a division before existing, and arising from a real difference of principle. "The political friends, with whom Mr. Burke set out in life," as he said in the last debate, "were most of them gone where he must soon follow, and another party had succeeded them, with whom he had acted." Mr. Burke, and the few who remained with him, so far from being inconsistent, adhered rigidly to their old principles, and applied them to the French revolution, while their new associates, now forming a majority of the party under Mr. Fox, floated down the current of the popular tide. This is the clue to the separation very candidly and truly given by a writer full of acrimony against Mr. Burke, and a professed champion on the other side. He describes the judgment of Mr. Burke on French affairs, as fettered by system*. "The oracle of a great aristocracy," says he, "it had been necessary for you to form a *†* creed; and you had neglected the progress of the human mind subsequent to its adoption:" while he tells us that Mr. Fox, on the other hand, came to the subject "unshackled by the chains of system, at liberty to remark and follow the progress of opinion, and meriting the singular praise of being *more near* the level of his age than any *professed statesman* in Europe." The history of this progress of opinion in the party would be curious and instructive—but we must pursue our narrative of the proceedings in parliament.

* Parallel between the Conduct of Mr. Burke and that of Mr. Fox, p. 8.

† Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents, 1770.

C H A P. VII.

Question as to the rights of juries in cases of libel, a disputed point of long standing. Warmly agitated in the year 1771. Bill then moved by Mr. Dowdeswell: drawn by Mr. Burke. Mr. Fox now takes up the business. He moves for a grand committee on courts of justice. Mr. Erskine seconds the motion. At the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox withdraws his motion, and obtains leave to bring in a bill for the removal of all doubts respecting the rights and functions of jury. First reading of the bill. Its preamble rejected at the second reading. The consideration of the bill in the house of lords postponed on the motion of the lord chancellor. Finance committee. Budget. Mr. Sheridan moves forty resolutions relative to the public income and expenditure in a committee of the whole house. Report of the committee. India budget. Sir Gilbert Elliot moves for a repeal of the test act, in favour of the church of Scotland. Royal burghs of Scotland. Sierra Leona bill. King's speech. Prorogation of parliament.

IN the last chapter, we saw that Mr. Fox, while charging Mr. Burke with inconsistency, alluded to their former difference of opinion on the rights of juries: but by a singular coincidence of events, in the very next business that occupied the attention of the house, he was to build no little share of his own glory on his own inconsistency relative to this subject. He was himself to bring forward a bill * very similar

* That our readers may the better compare the two bills, we shall give them here in opposite columns. The former is taken from one of the daily papers of January the 18th, 1771, and is also to be found in the Appendix to the Life of Lord Chatham; the latter is transcribed from the statute-book, as it ultimately passed the following year.

Jury Bill of 1771.

I. Whereas doubts and controversies have arisen, concerning the right of jurors to try the whole matter charged in indictments and informations for seditious and other libels; for settling and clearing the same in time to come, be it enacted, &c. that from and after, &c. the jurors who shall be duly impanelled and sworn to try the issue between the king and the defendant, upon any indictment or information for a seditious libel, or a libel under any other denomination or description, shall, to all intents and purposes, be held and reputed, in law and in right, competent to try every part

Jury Bill of 1791.

I. Whereas doubts have arisen, whether, on the trial of an indictment or information for the making or publishing any libel, where an issue or issues are joined between the king and the defendant or defendants on the plea of not guilty pleaded, it be competent to the jury impanelled to try the same to give their verdict upon the whole matter in issue; be it therefore declared and enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of

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similar to that on which he had many years before opposed his late friend.

The rights of juries, in cases of libel to try the whole issue, was a question of long standing. The doctrine which prevailed in our courts of justice had certainly taken root there long before the time of

lord Mansfield. But while he presided in the king's bench, the trial of Mr. Almon, for the republication of Junius's Letter to the King, happening in a juncture of public ferment, gave rise to several warm debates in both houses of parliament; lord Camden, in the upper, and serjeant Glynn and Mr. Dun-

Jury Bill of 1771, (*continued.*)

part of the matter laid or charged in the said indictment or information, comprehending the criminal intention of the defendant, and evil tendency of the libel charged, as well as the mere fact of the publication thereof; and the application by innuendo of blanks, initial letters, pictures, and other devices, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. Provided that nothing in the act be construed to prevent or restrain the judges or justices, before whom such issues shall be tried, from instructing the jurors concerning the law upon the matter so in issue, as fully as may be done in other misdemeanors, where the jurors do and ought to try the whole matter; nor to restrain the jurors from finding the matter special, if the law to them shall seem difficult and doubtful.

III. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the defendant, after verdict found, the right of laying such evidence before the court in which such verdict was found, as may tend to mitigation or extenuation of his said offence, as has been usually practised before this act.

Jury Bill of 1791, (*continued.*)

of the same, that on every such trial, the jury sworn to try the issue may give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty, upon the whole matter put in issue upon such indictment or information, and shall not be required or directed, by the court or judge before whom such indictment or information shall be tried, to find the defendant or defendants guilty, merely on the proof of the publication by such defendant or defendants of the paper charged to be a libel, and of the sense ascribed to the same on such indictment or information.

II. Provided always, that on every such trial the court or judge, before whom such indictment or information shall be tried, shall, according to their or his discretion, give their or his opinion and directions to the jury on the matter in issue between the king and the defendant or defendants, in like manner as in other criminal cases.

III. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent the jury from finding a special verdict in their discretion, as in other criminal cases.

IV. Provided also, that in case the jury shall find the defendant or defendants guilty, it shall and may be lawful for the said defendant or defendants to move in arrest of judgment on such ground, and in such manner, as by law he or they might have done before the passing of this act, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

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ning in the lower house, particularly distinguishing themselves on the popular side. At length, Mr. Dowdeswell, who led the friends of the marquis of Rockingham in the house of commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill for settling doubts in this respect. The bill was actually drawn by Mr. Burke. But it was strongly attacked in the newspapers by an anonymous writer, supposed to be Mr. Horne Tooke; it received but a hollow support from the friends of lord Shelburne, and the leave to introduce it was directly opposed by the party of Mr. George Grenville. Mr. Dowdeswell's motion was in consequence lost. Mr. Fox, in these discussions, took part with the majority. What he said has not been preserved, but some vestiges of one of his speeches appear in an answer of Mr. Burke.

There is a sort of understood rule in parliament, that when a member has once been in possession of any question, it is not to be taken up by any other member, unless the original mover consents or declares that he does not intend to renew it. But a silence of twenty years might perhaps be considered as a virtual dereliction. However it happened, Mr. Fox, it is said, did not consult with Mr. Burke on this occasion, though he mentioned his purpose of agitating the subject so early as February, two months prior to any symptom of a public breach between him and his friend.

On the 20th of May, he moved for a grand committee on courts of justice. He entered into a long and argumentative speech on the doctrine of libels, in which he contended, that the jury ought not only to find the publication, and the innuendos, but to decide upon the

intention; that they were judges as well of law as of fact.

From libels he adverted to the proceedings of the court of king's bench in cases of *quo warranto*.—He thought, that there ought to be a statute regulating the conduct of that court with regard to the granting of informations, and enabling it to give double costs in cases of frivolous applications.

Mr. Erskine, who seconded the motion, supported it with much eloquence and ability. To diminish the privileges of juries, was in his idea to throw away the only security which the people possessed against the overwhelming prerogatives of the crown. In civil cases, he remarked, it was the undoubted province of the judge to decide upon the question of law, matters of property being too intricate for the decision of a jury; but this rule ought never to obtain in criminal cases, where the guilt, consisting in the intention, seemed a point peculiarly adapted to the consideration of a jury, and could only be properly ascertained by their verdict.

The attorney general coincided in opinion with Mr. Fox. He nevertheless excused the judges from the charge of having acted with impropriety in countenancing a contrary doctrine, conceiving that they were in some degree bound to follow the uninterrupted course of precedents, and to be determined by what had been the uniform practice of their predecessors.

Mr. Pitt supported the same argument. He declared, that, although he should with great diffidence set up his own opinion against the established practice of the judges, yet he could not but confess that it went directly against that practice;

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for he saw no reason why, on the trial of a crime, the whole consideration of the case might not precisely go to the unfettered judgment of twelve men, who were sworn to give their verdict honestly and conscientiously. He objected however to the going into a committee; but recommended the plan of settling the whole business by a short separate bill.

Mr. Fox adopted the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, and withdrawing his former motion, moved "For leave to bring in a bill to remove all doubts respecting the rights and functions of juries in trial of criminal causes." He also moved "For leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of the 9th year of queen Anne, chap. 20, relative to quo warranto." Both motions passed unanimously.

The bill was read a first time on the 25th of May, when Mr. Mitford and the solicitor general expressed a wish, that so important a bill might not be hurried through the house.

Mr. Erskine argued for the necessity of a parliamentary interference in the present instance; observing, that when a practice erroneous in its principle had long obtained, as in the case under consideration, it was not by the authority of a judge, but of the legislature, that it ought to be corrected.

On the second reading of the bill, May 31st, objections were made to the preamble, which stated, "that in all criminal prosecutions by indictment or information, the jury have always had, and by the law of England were intended to have, a jurisdiction over the whole matter in issue." After some debate, the whole paragraph was omitted, upon

the ground, that it was best to avoid any general proposition in the preamble, which was not necessary to introduce the enactment of the bill.

It was debated in the house of lords, on the 8th of June, when the chancellor opposed its farther progress in that session. His lordship said, that although its principle met with the concurrence of all those noble and learned friends, with whom he had conversed on the subject, yet in consideration of the advanced state of the session, and the importance of the bill, he should move, "That instead of being read a second time on that day, it should be read a second time that day month."

Lord Camden declared himself a friend to the bill, not because it tended to alter the law of the land, but because it established it. He contended, that the jury already did possess, and always had possessed, a legal right to form their verdict on the whole case, law, fact, and intention, how much so ever this right might have been discountenanced by the judges.

Lord Loughborough pursued a similar line of argument. He considered the bill as a declaratory bill, the object of which was, not to make that law, which was previously supposed to be of a different description, but to declare and explain, what was understood to be at that instant the existing law of the land. The bill, he said, was agreeable to the direction, which as a judge he had himself always given in cases of libels. He wished therefore to be ranked among its warmest advocates; nevertheless, since they were arrived at a period of the session, when it was impossible for them to proceed with it consistently with the respect

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respect which was due to themselves, to the subject itself, to the rights and to the tranquillity of England, he concurred in the prudent proposal of deferring it.

Lord Grenville supported the same side of the question. He thought that it would be unwise and indecorous for their lordships to proceed in such a bill without the assistance of the judges, from whom a declaration of what was understood to be the existing law upon the subject would come with more weight and authority, than from any other quarter.

The marquis of Lansdowne spoke much in favour of the liberty of the press; but against its licentiousness. He paid some very high compliments to the distinguished abilities, profound knowledge, and inflexible integrity, of the judges.— His lordship professed himself to be a zealous friend to the bill; and argued against the proposed delay.

The lord chancellor's motion was carried, and the bill of course postponed.

A committee was appointed, on the 8th of April, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, to enquire into the state of the public income and expenditure*. The report of this committee, and at the same time the several accounts relative to the public income and expenditure, were referred to the consideration of a committee of ways and means, on the 18th of May.

Mr. Pitt said, that he should lay before the committee, as shortly and distinctly as possible, the articles of expenditure, and of ways and means, of the year. He thought it however proper to separate from them those articles, which had been al-

ready provided for in the armament budget, and which amounted to the sum of 3,133,000*l*.

EXPENDITURE.

	<i>£</i> .
Navy - - -	2,131,000
Army - - -	1,853,000
Ordnance - - -	443,000
Deficiency of land and malt tax - - -	400,000
Deficiency of grants - - -	207,000
Miscellaneous services - - -	694,000
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Sum total of the supplies	5,728,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt tax - - -	2,750,000
Surplus of last year - - -	303,221
Lottery - - -	306,250
Surplus of the permanent taxes, after having deducted the interest and charges of the public debts, civil list, &c.	2,110,000
Outstanding balance of accounts - - -	154,000
Probable increase of receipts on tobacco, land-tax arrears, and hemp duty - - -	120,000
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	5,743,471
Deduct three-quarters of a year's annuity, due to the duke of Clarence - - -	9,000
	<hr/>
Sum total of ways and means - - -	<i>£</i> 5,734,471

Mr. Pitt remarked, that the ways and means exceeded the supplies by a few thousand pounds only. He did not think it necessary to detain the committee by entering into a discussion of the state of the finances, particularly when he considered the

* See State Papers, .p. 200*.

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very able and accurate report, which they had received from the finance committee.

Mr. Sheridan admitted that the day was at last arrived, when he could agree with Mr. Pitt, that the report of the committee of finance was as fair a report as could be expected. There were nevertheless certain omissions on both sides the account, which would not have happened, had he himself been a member of the committee. It was not however his intention to discuss the report at that time; but he would soon name a particular day for the purpose.

On the 3d of June the house resolved itself into a committee on the report of the select committee appointed to examine the several papers relative to the public income and expenditure, when Mr. Sheridan brought forward some resolutions on the subject of the finances, of which he had given a previous notice. In the commencement of his speech he severely censured the general inattention of the house to all revenue concerns. It was not, he remarked, a little extraordinary, when a select committee, which had been appointed to examine and revise the report of the committee of 1786, had made an estimate of the probable expence of the future peace establishment, exceeding the estimate of the committee of 1786 by half a million, that the house should have received that estimate without asking a single question respecting the cause of the increase. He then drew a comparison between the report of 1786 and that of 1791, in order to shew, that the expenditure had exceeded the revenue. He then read the following resolutions,

which he submitted to the consideration of the committee:

1. Resolved, That it appears, that the select committee of 1786 proceeded upon a supposition, that the annual and permanent taxes then subsisting were likely to produce annually the sum of 15,397,471 l.

2. That the select committee of 1786 state, that a farther considerable increase in the then subsisting taxes beyond their estimate might be expected, if the due collection thereof could be secured by measures adequate to the purpose, and such as would probably afford an ample provision for any deficiencies which might at any time be found in certain extraordinary resources, before enumerated by the select committee.

3. That it appears, by the report of the select committee of 1791, that the produce of the said taxes, from the 5th January 1786 to the 5th January 1787, amounted only to the sum of 14,405,702 l. being 991,769 l. less than the sum estimated;

That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first two years (viz. 1786 and 1787) amounted only to 14,864,834 l. being 532,637 l. less than the sum estimated;

That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first three years (viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788) amounted only to 15,037,263 l. being 360,208 l. less than the committee estimated;

That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first four years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789) amounted only to 15,222,708 l. being 174,763 l. less than the committee estimated;

And

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And that the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of five years (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) has amounted to 25,448,479 l. leaving an exceeding of 51,008 l. beyond the estimate of the said select committee.

4. That in this calculation the select committee of 1791 have not adverted to all the additional impositions which ought to have been deducted from their estimate.

5. That the total net produce of the public income, upon an average of the last five years (viz. from 6th January 1786 to 5th January 1791, both inclusive) has amounted annually, including a fifty-third weekly payment, to a sum not exceeding the sum of 15,618,775 l.

6. That the average expenditure during the same period, including the sums paid to the American loyalists, and on account of other temporary miscellaneous services, and the sums issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt; and adding the estimated expence of the militia for the years 1789 and 1790; but exclusive of the expence of the armament in 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt since 1786; has amounted annually to a sum exceeding the sum of 16,855,109 l.

7. That the average excess of expenditure beyond the average income, during the above period, has amounted annually to a sum exceeding 1,236,334 l.

8. That the total net produce of the public income, upon an average of the last three years (viz. from 6th January 1788, to 5th January 1791, both inclusive) has amounted annually, including a fifty-third weekly payment, to the sum of 26,030,286 l.

9. That the average expenditure during the same period, including the sums paid to the American loyalists, and on account of other temporary miscellaneous services, and the sums issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt; and adding the estimated expence of the militia, for the years 1789 and 1790; but exclusive of the expence of the armament in 1790, and of any addition to the navy debt since 1786; has amounted annually to a sum exceeding 16,978,073 l.

10. That the average excess of expenditure, beyond the average income, during the above period, has amounted annually to 947,787 l.

11. That the expence of the armament in the year 1790, separately provided for, and not included in the above accounts, has amounted to a sum exceeding three millions.

12. That it appears that the addition to the navy debt, since 31st December 1785, is estimated by the select committee at 457,950 l. and that, by an account delivered to the house since the report of the committee, this debt appears to have been farther increased.

13. That the total amount of the exceeding of expenditure in the five years before stated, exclusive of this addition to the navy debt, and of the expence of the armament in 1790, amounts to the sum of 6,181,670 l.

14. That the extraordinary resources, by which this deficiency has been supplied during the above period, have amounted to the sum of 6,191,805 l. and have arisen from the following articles; viz.

From respited duties paid	
in by the East India	£.
company	522,500
	From

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From arrears of land-tax granted prior to 1786	£. 131,467
Ditto malt	14,875
From sums remaining in the Exchequer on 5th January 1786	1,172,119
From imprest monies, and monies repaid	820,165
From money repaid on account of advance for foreign secret service	34,000
From sale of French prizes	3,000
From army savings and Chelsea pensioners	1,091,147
From profit on the annual lottery	1,212,692
Raised by way of tonnage	1,002,140
Ditto by granting short annuities	187,000
	£. 6,191,105

public income and expenditure during the last five years, and also to report to the house what may be expected to be the annual amount in future, state the expected expenditure, upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,969,178 l. a sum exceeding the permanent peace establishment, as stated by the committee of 1786, by 490,997 l.

18. That in the report of the select committee in 1786, the accounts are stated to have been prepared on a calculation of a permanent peace establishment towards the end of the year 1790.

19. That the select committee of 1791 state no time when their estimate of a permanent peace establishment may be expected to commence.

20. That the expence of the present year, according to the services already voted, and exclusive of any extra expence for the present armament, will amount to the sum of 16,833,920 l. or more; exceeding the permanent peace establishment of the select committee of 1786, by the sum of 1,355,739 l. and the enlarged estimate of the committee of 1791, by the sum of 864,742 l.

21. That the select committee of 1786 calculate the amount of the permanent peace establishment, under the five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, at 3,913,274 l. viz.

Navy	1,800,000
Army	1,600,000
Ordnance	348,000
Militia	91,000
Miscellaneous services	74,274

£. 3,913,274
22. That

15. That from the nature of the articles which have composed these extraordinary aids, no similar assistance, to any considerable amount, can be expected in future, excepting from the article of a lottery, should the legislature continue to think it right to avail itself of that expedient.

16. That the select committee, appointed in 1786, to examine and state the accounts relating to the public income and expenditure, and to report what might be expected to be the annual amount of the said income and expenditure in future, have stated the expected future expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,478,181 l.

17. That the select committee, appointed in the present year 1791, to examine into the amount of the

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22. That the select committee of 1791 calculate the amount of the permanent peace establishment, under the same five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, at 4,347,569*l.* viz.

Navy	-	-	2,000,000
Army	-	-	1,748,842
Ordnance	-	-	375,000
Militia	-	-	95,311
Miscellaneous services			128,416

£. 4,347,569

exceeding, in these five articles, the estimate of 1786, by the sum of 434,295*l.*

23. That the select committee of 1791 do not appear to have thought it within their province to enquire into, or to state any ground or necessity for such increase.

24. That the sums voted for the service of the present year under the above heads, but including no provision for the present armament, are as follow :

Navy	-	-	2,131,000
Army	-	-	1,853,000
Ordnance	-	-	443,000
Militia	-	-	95,311

Miscellaneous services, including the sums to the American loyalists, and other allowances

- - - 690,000

£. 5,212,311

exceeding the estimate of 1786 by the sum of 1,299,037*l.* and the estimate of 1791, by 864,742*l.* but deducting the sum of 306,000*l.* of the sum voted to the loyalists, as being to be defrayed by the profits of the lottery, then exceeding the estimate of 1786 by the sum of 997,037*l.*

and the estimate of 1791, by the sum of 558,742*l.*

25. That the select committee, estimating upon an average of the three last years, and adverting to the additional week's receipt in 1790, have calculated the future probable annual income at the sum of 16,030,286*l.* exclusive of the profits on a lottery.

26. That the receipt of each of the two last years appears to have considerably exceeded that sum.

27. That in the receipt of the latter year, the great increase appears to have arisen under the head of excise; and that, in the articles of spirits and spirit licences alone, the exceeding in the receipt of the year 1790, over the receipt of the year 1786, amounts to the sum of 599,355*l.*

28. That it appears to have been highly proper in the select committee to calculate, upon an average of three years at least, the future expected income; at the same time it appears to this committee, that, on a review of the whole of the accounts, the future income may reasonably be expected to amount to the sum estimated by the select committee.

29. That upon this estimate, it appears that our future income is calculated as likely to exceed our future expenditure by the amount of 61,108*l.* per annum.

Income	-	-	16,030,286
Expenditure	-	-	15,969,178

Balance - - - £. 61,108

30. That this balance is wholly inadequate to provide for those extraordinary expences which are actually foreseen and admitted by the select committee; for, though the

the select committee state, that they do not conceive that "it falls within their province to consider what other extraordinary expences, not included in any estimate before them, may occur in a course of years;" yet they further state, that "the only article of this nature, which has been brought distinctly under their view, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and interest of the American and East Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by instalments:" and it further appears, that this article, so distinctly brought to the view of the select committee, is stated by them to have amounted, on 10th of October 1790, to 1,546,062l. exclusive of the interest payable on such part of it as remains undischarged, and exclusive also of further annual payments and pensions to American loyalists, amounting to 54,211l. per annum.

31. That besides this article, so stated by the committee, it appears from the ordnance estimate, inserted in their appendix, that the estimate of the future annual expence of that office is, "exclusive of such sums as are contained in the estimate of the board of land and sea officers, additional works for security of his majesty's dock-yards, and of any other fortifications, or other new works, to be carried on in the West Indies, North America, or elsewhere."

32. That to meet these heavy articles of inevitable extra expence, or the expence attending the present armament, or for any future exceeding under the head of "miscellanies," beyond the sum last estimated, the select committee refer us to no extra resource than can be relied on, but that of a lottery,

33. That admitting the future income to meet the estimated expence, or even so to increase, as with the aid of a lottery to satisfy the above certain extra demands, in the course of the five years next ensuing, yet will the public income remain wholly unequal to afford the smallest aid to any new and unforeseen demand that may arise, either for any armament or any other unforeseen contingency within that period, or to spare the smallest surplus towards the reduction of the unfunded debt, already increased to a degree, and continued at an amount, wholly unprecedented in time of peace, in the annals of this country.

34. That the experience of the three last years, in the course of which the unexpected and heavy expence of two armaments has been incurred and satisfied, while a third remains to be provided for, would render it highly improvident in this committee not to advert to the probability of similar events recurring.

35. That the sum stated by the select committee to have been actually applied to the discharge of the public debt, amounts to 4,750,000l. from which it is admitted that there should be deducted the tontine million increased on the navy debt; and other articles of debt contracted, to the amount of 1,602,589l. leaving a balance of 3,147,411l.

36. That in the account of the debt contracted, no allowance is made for such part of the old navy debt as now bears interest, and which must be considered as additional debt; nor are the short annuities granted in 1789 admitted, although the instalment repaid, instead of being paid over to the commissioners

for reducing the national debt, was applied to the services of last year;

37. That the annual interest of the capital stock, stated to have been purchased by the commissioners for reducing the national debt, up to the 1st of February 1791, amounts to the sum of 203,170 l. from which is to be deducted the increased annual charge for the interest of the tontine loan, viz. 42,262 l. leaving the sum in favour of the commissioners 160,908 l.; and if from this sum a further reduction is made for the increase of interest on the navy debt, stated, since the report of the select committee, to amount to 49,888 l. that sum will be reduced to 111,020 l.

38. That the permanent addition to the peace establishment, stated by the select committee of 1791, as to remain on the five articles before enumerated, amounts to 434,295 l.; so that while an annuity to the amount of 111,020 l. has been redeemed by the commissioners on behalf of the public, in the form of re-purchasing debt, an annuity of four times that amount is proposed to be entailed on the nation, in the form of increased establishment.

39. That upon due consideration of the report made this day from the committee of the whole house, to whom the consideration of the report from the select committee of 1791 was referred, and also upon consideration of the two reports of 1791 and 1786, and of the several accounts before the house relative to the public income and expenditure, it appears proper and necessary to declare, that the great increases proposed to the permanent peace establishment in the report of 1791, ought not to be considered as receiving countenance or approbation

from the house of commons, until the causes of the same shall be explained, and the necessity of them made manifest.

The committee was adjourned to the 6th, when the subject was resumed. Mr. Sheridan said, that he had endeavoured to shew, how difficult a finance committee should be, when they wished to prove, what would be the probable amount of our future revenue and expenditure. The committee of 1786 fell short in their calculations by about 900,000 l.; and all the accounts which Mr. Pitt had laid before the public, year after year, he conceived to be fallacious. He remarked, that the committee of 1786, with a great degree of confidence, had laid down a peace establishment, which was to have taken place at the end of the year 1790; but that the committee of 1791 had added between 4 and 500,000 l. to that peace establishment, without alledging a single reason for so considerable an increase.

Mr. Pitt observed, that it would be unreasonable, because the committees of 1786 and of 1791 had differed respecting the amount of the peace establishment, to place no confidence in any estimate whatever. It was not he thought extraordinary, that the committee of 1791, perceiving several particulars, in which the committee of 1786 had failed, should have made provision for that failure in future; nor was such trifling mistakes to be wondered at, as the committee of 1786 was the first in the history of this country, which had been appointed to ascertain the whole of the peace establishment.

Mr. Sheridan's first resolution was then put, and passed with an amendment.

ment. The second was negatived. The third and fourth passed with amendments.

On the following day the committee took under its consideration Mr. Sheridan's remaining resolutions, of which the 16th passed without any alteration; the 11th, 17th, 20th, 23d, 25th, and 30th passed with various amendments; the rest were either negatived, or withdrawn.

On the 8th the following report, containing the resolutions of Mr. Sheridan, which had passed according to the above statement, with several others, moved in addition by Mr. Pitt and his friends, was received by the committee, and agreed to.

“ Resolved, That it appears that the select committee of 1786 proceeded upon a supposition that the annual and permanent taxes then subsisting were likely to produce annually the sum of 15,397,471 l. viz. the land tax 1,967,650 l. the malt duty 632,350 l. and the permanent taxes 12,797,471 l.

“ Resolved, That it appears, by the report of the select committee of 1791, that the produce of the said permanent taxes, in the year 1786, was 11,836,531 l., being less by 960,940 l. than the sum estimated—in the year 1787, 12,754,795 l., being less by 42,676 l. than the said sum—in the year 1788, 12,812,952 l., being more by 15,481 l. than the said sum—in the year 1789, 13,209,871 l., being more by 412,400 l. than the said sum—and in the year 1790, 13,782,393 l., being more by 984,922 l. than the said sum, including 193,000 l. being the amount of one fifty-third weekly payment.

“ That the produce of the said

taxes, upon an average of the first two years (viz. 1786 and 1787) amounted to 12,295,663 l., being 501,808 l. less than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first three years, (viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788) amounted to 12,468,092 l., being 329,379 l. less than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the first four years, (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789) amounted to 12,653,537 l., being 143,934 l. less than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of five years, (viz. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) amounted to 12,879,308 l. being 81,837 l. more than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the last four years, (viz. 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790) amounted to 13,140,002 l., being 342,531 l. more than the sum estimated.

“ That the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the last three years (viz. 1788, 1789, and 1790) amounted to 13,268,405 l., being 470,934 l. more than the sum estimated.

“ And that the produce of the said taxes, upon an average of the last two years, (viz. 1789 and 1790) amounted to 13,496,132 l., being 698,661 l. more than the sum estimated.

“ Resolved, That in this calculation, the select committee of 1791 have adverted to all the additional impositions which ought to have been deducted from their estimate, except tobacco licences, which amount in the whole to 81,753 l.;

and

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and that they have made no allowance for the diminution arising from the exemptions allowed in the horse tax, or for the repeal of the tax upon linens and stuffs.

“ Resolved, That no complete account can yet be given of the produce of the land and malt taxes for the last five years;

“ That the net produce of the land tax appears liable to no material variation from year to year, and may be stated at 1,972,000*l.*, being 5,000*l.* more than the sum estimated;

“ That the net produce of the malt tax in the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, appears to have been upon an average 597,171*l.* being 35,179*l.* less than the sum estimated.

“ Resolved, That it appears, by the report of the select committee of 1791, that the total amount of the interest and charges of the public debt, and of the sums issued for the reduction thereof, of the charges upon the aggregate and consolidated fund, and of the sums granted for the supplies (including the deficiencies of land and malt, the deficiency of grants for the year 1785, and the amount of the prizes in the lotteries of the several years, with the charges attending them) has been, during the last five years, 88,116,916*l.*; and that the whole of the above charges (except the sum of 207,000*l.*, which remained to be provided for in the present year, under the head of deficiency of grants) has been defrayed by the produce within the said five years of the permanent taxes, by the annual aids on land and malt, and by the sums arising from extraordinary resources, with the addition of a loan of one million raised

by fontine, and of 187,000*l.* raised by short annuities.

“ Resolved, That, over and above the sums granted for the supplies, there appears to have been an increase in the navy debt within the said period, which is stated at 457,950*l.* and an arrear incurred in the ordnance, under the head of Unprovided, to the amount of 61,909*l.*; and that the deficiency of grants of the year 1790 exceeds that of the year 1785 by the sum of 80,590*l.*

“ Resolved, That the sum voted for defraying the expence of the armament of 1790, and for the charge of 6,000 additional seamen for the service of the present year (amounting to 3,133,000*l.*) is not included in the above account; but that a separate provision has been made for discharging the same, independent of the future income of the country, as estimated by the committee of 1791.

“ Resolved, That the select committee appointed in 1786 to examine and state the accounts relating to the public income and expenditure, and to report what might be expected to be the annual amount of the said income and expenditure in future, have stated the expected future expenditure upon a permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,478,181*l.*

“ Resolved, That the select committee, appointed in the present year 1791 to examine into the amount of the public income and expenditure during the last five years, and also to report to the house what may be expected to be the annual amount in future, state the expected expenditure, upon a permanent

permanent peace establishment, including the annual million to be paid to the commissioners, at the sum of 15,969,178*l.* which is exclusive of the sum of 12,000*l.* since charged on the consolidated fund for the payment of an annuity to his royal highness the duke of Clarence; and that the above sum exceeds the permanent peace establishment, as stated by the committee of 1786, by 490,997*l.* of which 42,203*l.* is on account of the increase in the interest and charges of the national debt; 2,000*l.* on account of the interest on exchequer bills; 14,499*l.* on the difference in the charges on the aggregate and consolidated funds, and of the produce of the appropriated duties; 200,000*l.* in the navy; 1,148,842*l.* in the army; 27,000*l.* in the ordnance; 4,311*l.* in the militia; and 54,142*l.* in the miscellaneous services.

“ Resolved, That the exceeding in the estimate stated by the committee of 1791, on the five heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and miscellaneous services, above the estimate stated by the committee of 1786, on the same five heads, amounts to the sum of 434,295*l.*

“ Resolved, That the select committee of 1791 do not appear to have thought it their duty to inquire into, or to state any opinion respecting the ground or necessity for such increase, under the above heads of service, the estimates and accounts of which come annually under the revision of parliament.

“ Resolved, That the expence of the present year, according to the services already voted, and exclusive of any extra expence for the present armament, will amount to about the sum of 16,833,920*l.* exceeding

the permanent peace establishment of the select committee of 1786 by the sum of 1,355,739*l.*—and the enlarged estimate of the committee of 1791 by the sum of 864,742*l.*; but that there is included in the above sum of 864,742*l.* an excess of 131,405*l.* upon the navy, which is more than accounted for by the sum voted for the repairs of frigates in merchants yards, which expence will not recur again—and an excess of 107,484*l.* upon the army, which is more than accounted for by no allowance being made in the grants of this year for army savings, similar to that which is made in the estimates of 1786 and 1791, and by an advance of 71,569*l.* on account of troops serving in India, which is to be repaid by the East India company—and an excess of 68,676*l.* upon the ordnance, of which 61,507*l.* arises from the discharge of ordnance unprovided, and also, an excess of 557,177*l.* under the head of miscellaneous services, of which 432,444*l.* is on account of American sufferers, an article of expence expressly excluded from the estimates above mentioned, and the remainder on account of various miscellaneous services peculiar to the present year.

“ Resolved, That the select committee, estimating upon an average of the three last years, and advertising to the additional week's receipt in 1790, have calculated the future probable annual income at the sum of 16,030,286*l.* which exceeds the future expenditure, as estimated by the said committee, by a sum of 61,108*l.*—that the above income is calculated upon a revenue which appears to have been progressively increasing, and is exclusive of any addition to be expected from the

amount of the taxes of 1789, or from the increased produce of the duties on tobacco—and likewise exclusive of the profits of the lottery, which amounted in the present year nearly to 300,000*l.* and of any sums to arise from any incidental or extraordinary resources.

“Resolved, That the money remaining due upon the principal and interest of the American and East Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by instalments, is stated to have amounted, on 10th October 1790, to 1,546,062*l.* exclusive of the interest payable on such part of it as remains undischarged, and exclusive also of farther annual payments and pensions to American loyalists, amounting to 54,211*l.* per annum.

“Resolved, That, besides this article so stated by the committee, it appears, from the ordinance estimate inserted in the appendix, that the estimate of their future annual expence of that office is exclusive of such sums as are contained in the estimate of the board of land and sea officers for additional works for security of his majesty’s dock-yards, and of any other fortifications, or other new works, to be carried on in the West Indies, North America, or elsewhere.

“Resolved, That during the last five years, the sum of 5,424,592*l.* including 674,592*l.* arising from annuities expired or unclaimed, and from dividends on stock bought, has been applied to the reduction of the national debt; that the sums by which the debt has been increased within the same period, appear, by the report of the select committee, to have amounted to 1,602,589*l.* leaving a balance of

3,822,003*l.*; and that the annual interest on the stock bought, and the present amount of the annuities expired or unclaimed, appears to be 254,804*l.*: in addition to the million annually charged on the consolidated fund.”

When the report of these resolutions was made to the house, Mr. Sheridan moved his own resolutions, in order to have them entered upon the journals; and the minister put the previous question on each of them, except the last. This mode of negating rid of them, instead of negating them, was considered by Mr. Sheridan as an implied admission of his facts. When he came to the last, which was a resolution of inference, he altered the preamble a little, so as to make it apply to the minister’s resolutions, that day received by the house; and in that shape it was moved and negatived.

There was of course much debate, and much conversation on the different points contained in the opposite sets of resolutions, during the various days which this subject occupied. We have however conceived it unnecessary to preserve in any degree all that was said, as the merits of the question between the two contending parties may best be collected from the facts and inferences proposed on the one side, and those carried on the other, in the form of resolutions of the house. It was the undoubted object of Mr. Sheridan, by taking the method which he pursued, to have his sentiments clearly and explicitly stated on record, and the minister professed fairly to join issue. But the events that followed on the continent, and ultimately drew Great Britain into the present war, have now put an end altogether to this

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this dispute, which related chiefly to the balance of our permanent income and expenditure in a time of peace, and the probable diminution of the national debt, under the plan of Mr. Pitt, without new taxes.

While the finances of our own country were undergoing this full and accurate discussion, another subject of the same kind was, according to a late wise regulation, brought forward by Mr. Dundas, who opened the Indian budget on the 24th of May. After much correspondence with the several presidencies, he was at length, for the first time, enabled to state the revenues of our Oriental possessions from something like a regular account. Hitherto he had been obliged to make out rather an estimate than an account, from a number of detached accounts sent home by the several presidencies. He was now furnish-

ed with accounts from each, shewing the whole receipt and expenditure for three years, on which he could strike an average, and also with a comparison of the estimated and actual receipt and expenditure for the last year, which might serve as a test of the reliance to be placed on those estimates; whence alone the balance of the current year must always of necessity be calculated. This mode of keeping the company's accounts was certainly a great improvement in the administration of their affairs; and the prospect which this clearer insight into their real situation afforded, was proportionably pleasing. Mr. Dundas laid before the house, with very few accompanying observations, a variety of papers, which contained the following general information relative to the Indian finances.

ACTUAL REVENUES of 1789-90.

		Sterling.	
Bengal	- current rupees	5,62,06,561	- £.5,620,656
Madras	- pagodas	31,39,519	- 1,255,808
Bombay	- rupees	14,42,405	- 167,319
Total Revenues		-	<u><u>7,043,783</u></u>

ACTUAL CHARGES of 1789-90.

Bengal	- current rupees	3,12,01,486	- £.3,120,149
Madras	- pagodas	43,47,537	- 1,739,015
Bombay	- rupees	48,02,685	- 557,110
			<u><u>£.5,416,274</u></u>

Total

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Total revenues, as above	-	-	7,043,783
Actual charges, as above	-	-	5,416,274
			<hr/>
			1,627,509
Expences of Bencoolen and Pinang	-		43,944
			<hr/>
Net revenues	-	-	1,587,765
Add the amount of import sales, and of certificates			263,940
			<hr/>
			1,847,505
Deduct interest on the debt	-	-	438,426
			<hr/>
Surplus revenue	-	-	£. 1,409,079
			<hr/> <hr/>

Mr. Dundas expressed a conviction, that the day was much nearer, when the resources of India would furnish assistance to this country, than when this country would be obliged to lend her aid and support to India.

He candidly mentioned one fact, which it seems a debt of justice to Mr. Fox to notice. In the month of November 1783, when the latter gentleman moved his celebrated India bill, he estimated the debts of the company at nearly ten millions, while the company themselves rated their debts at only four millions; but in truth Mr. Dundas said, before the year 1785, they actually did owe above ten millions.

An inclination was shewn by several members to controvert some parts of the statement made by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Benfield in particular gave notice of a motion on the subject. He meant to have proposed the institution of a committee to examine the papers and accounts; but he afterwards waived it, in consequence of the late period of the session, which, he thought, would hardly allow time for a report. The

principal objections to the Indian budget were, that the expences of the existing war with Tippoo Sultan did not appear, and that no consideration was had of the company's circumstances at home, and no account given of the encrease or decrease of their debts and property here, without which the true situation of their affairs could not be seen. This latter objection was admitted; but it was answered that the account of the territorial revenues was the only subject of that day, and not the commercial concerns or general condition of the company. Mr. Dundas moved, and carried without a division, nineteen resolutions, to the effect of the statement which has been given above.

Towards the conclusion of the session sir Gilbert Elliot endeavoured to obtain an exemption from the test act in favour of the members of the Scottish church.—His motion was negatived by a majority of 87.

On the 27th of May Mr. Sheridan brought forward his promised motion, relative to the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland; in the consideration of which subject, the house resolved

to proceed early in the next session.

The last legislative measure which passed the house, was a bill creating the establishment of a company at Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of cultivating West Indian and other tropical productions. A settlement had been attempted on the same spot some few years before; and a small district was purchased from one of the native princes; but the project had entirely failed, and not a trace of the settlers remained. This miscarriage however did not prevent some adventurers, of humane and benevolent intentions, from reviving the scheme on a larger scale, and with a greater capital. Their object was to abolish the slave trade, by promoting the gradual civilization of Africa, and encouraging a commerce there in the articles of coffee, cotton, and sugar; which Mr. Devaynes, who had long resided there, asserted, from his own knowledge, to grow almost spontaneously in many parts not far from Sierra Leone. At the same time they thought it prudent to limit their risk to their respective shares, without involving their whole for-

tunes; and in this view the bill was necessary to them. It was opposed, but feebly and ineffectually, by some few of the West Indian interest in the house; and passed on the 30th of May, by a considerable majority. The design was undoubtedly good and laudable, but the success does not promise to be equal: at best it still hangs in suspense.

The session was at length concluded on the 10th of June, by a speech from the throne; in which his majesty expressed his particular acknowledgments for the measures which had been adopted in defraying the expences of the year, in such a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens; and likewise for the provisions which had been made for the good government of Canada. His majesty assured parliament, that he was not yet enabled to acquaint them with the result of the steps which he had taken to re-establish peace between Russia and the Porte; but hoped, that this important object might be effectuated in such a manner as not to disturb the general tranquillity of Europe.—Parliament was then prorogued to the 16th of August.

C H A P. VIII.

*General pacification of the North during the years 1790 and 1791. Some particulars of the death and character of the Emperor Joseph the Second. Haughty memorial from the Hungarian nobility, a few weeks before the death of the Emperor. Their requisitions in general granted; hesitation as to the restitution of the royal crown of Hungary; which, however, is restored a few days before the death of the Emperor, and received with an extravagance of joy. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who succeeds to the Austrian hereditary dominions, arrives at Vienna. Critical state of Germany. Difficulties and embarrassments of Leopold, through the misconduct of his predecessor. States liable to be more immediately prejudiced or endangered by a partition of the Ottoman dominions. Great objects in view with the Prussian alliance, to bring Austria to a separate peace with the Porte. Obstinacy of Joseph, on this head, had been on the point of drawing on an immediate war. Leopold under a necessity of appearing for some time to persevere in the same system. King of Prussia's conduct with respect to Poland. Leopold shackled, in his conduct with Prussia, by many peculiar circumstances, from which his predecessor had been free. Offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and the Porte increases Leopold's difficulties. Campaign opened on the Danube. Orsova taken: Giurgewo besieged, and Widdin menaced. Gen. Thurn defeated and killed, and the siege of Giurgewo precipitately abandoned. Armistice on the Danube. Congress at Reichenbach, and conventional treaty concluded between the Kings of Hungary and Prussia, under the mediation and guarantee of Great Britain and Holland. Some particulars of this treaty, which relieves Leopold from all his difficulties. Death of the celebrated Marshal Laudohn. Intermarriages between the royal houses of Austria and Naples; Ferdinand, Leopold's second son, having previously obtained the grand duchy of Tuscany. Dissentions, factions, and distractions in Hungary, with their causes. Designs to throw off the Austrian dominion. Firm, temperate, and judicious conduct of Leopold. Refuses to sign 24 articles presented to him. Diet, sitting at Buda, represent their constitutional right to be consulted, and the necessity of their concurrence, to render valid any questions of war or peace. Leopold consents to their sending deputies to assist at their negotiations with the Porte. Unusual concurrence of circumstances which tended to frustrate the designs of the malcontents in Hungary. Farther account of the factions and parties which divided that country. New diploma presented to Leopold for his acceptance previous to the coronation, firmly rejected by him. Leopold elected King of the Romans, and crowned Emperor at Frankfort. Armistice, under the mediation of the Prussian minister, concluded in the Grand Vizir's camp at Silistria; and congress appointed at Sistovia for negotiating a peace. New Emperor arrives at Presburgh. Met by the diet. States choose the Arch-duke Leopold to be Palatine of the kingdom. Coronation. The Emperor grants, as favours, those conditions which he rejected as demands; and gains the affections of the whole nation. Extraordinary change, within a few months, in Leopold's circumstances. Emperor restores the rights, pri-
vileges,*

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privileges, and constitution of the Milanese, of which they were deprived by Joseph. Enlarges the immunities granted to the Jews. Definitive treaty of peace concluded at Sistovia with the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three allied powers.

THE pleasing event, which realized the benignant hopes expressed by the king in taking leave of his parliament, we are now to relate.—But as the blessings of peace were gradually diffused over the North, and as we omitted the whole of this subject in the history of the preceding year, we must here pursue her progress, step by step, to Germany, Sweden, and lastly in the present year to Russia.

One great obstacle to the quiet of Germany was removed by the death of the Emperor Joseph the Second, which marked the commencement of the year 1790. His long and grievous illness, frequently attended with extreme bodily torment, rendered the grave, if not a welcome, at least a necessary refuge, from a situation of the greatest misery. He faced the approaches of death like a Christian; and had the magnanimity to order a present of ten thousand florins to the physician who had the courage to acquaint him, not only with the impossibility of his recovery, but that his dissolution was hourly to be apprehended; and that, from the nature of his disorder, the fatal stroke was liable to be so sudden as not to afford a moment's previous notice. He, however, lingered several days after this prediction, and under this hard sentence; during which time he transacted as much business as was well possible in his condition, and signed a number of dispatches. Death was rendered more than usually irksome upon this occasion, through the heart-felt sense which he entertained of the distracted and

dangerous state in which he was to leave his dominions; and, probably, through bitter reflections on his own conduct, by which they had been thus unapparently involved: this indeed was confirmed, as well by several circumstances, as by expressions which burst from himself in different agonizing paroxysms. The former circumstance induced him to wish ardently for a few weeks longer life, in the hope that he might be able in some degree to settle and compose public affairs before he left the world.

In this melancholy state, his death was probably somewhat accelerated by a heavy private calamity, which went to his heart, and deeply embittered his last moments. This was the unexpected death of his beloved niece, the arch-duchess Elizabeth, consort of his nephew Francis, whom, we have heretofore seen, he had intended to propose to the electoral college as king of the Romans, and consequently his successor in the empire. This princess was of the house of Wirtemberg, and sister to the grand-duchess of Russia. Joseph felt the greater interest in her favour, from her having been chosen by himself, on account of her many excellent qualities, to be the wife of his nephew. He accordingly regarded her with a constant and truly paternal affection; and she became, by many degrees, the greatest favourite with him of his whole family. The attachment was mutual, as the event unfortunately shewed. For the arch-duchess being then, for the first time, great with child, and the time

of

of parturition approaching, but not arrived, she was so deeply struck by the dismal situation of the emperor, whom she constantly attended, and by the evident signs of approaching dissolution, which she too well perceived, that her affections, thus violently moved, brought on a premature labour; in which situation, though the infant, a daughter, survived, the princess unhappily lost her life. The emperor was so continually urgent in his enquiries about the health of the arch-duchess, that there was no possibility of concealing this fatal stroke from him. His grief and anguish were so extreme as to exceed all description: and he continued momentarily growing weaker and worse, from the Thursday on which she died, until the succeeding Saturday morning, when he expired, between five and six o'clock, in the 49th year of his age.

He closed his life with great signs of piety and contrition; and certainly felt, with the utmost poignancy, the disorders which had sprung up, and the mischiefs which had spread to so wide an extent, under his government; whether he attributed them to the real cause or not. He was almost constantly attended, by day and by night, during the latter and hopeless stage of his illness, by his two favourite generals, the Marshals Lacy and Laudohn, and even very constantly by old Marshal Haddick, notwithstanding his great age; and he seemed, on different occasions, particularly affected by the thoughts of parting from his old military friends and companions. He took leave of Laudohn in the most affectionate manner a few hours before his

death; pressing his hand with a fervour which could not have been imagined, considering his weakness; and telling him at the same time, that he trusted in him for the defence and preservation of his dominions.

A few weeks before his death, and when he was in such a state that few, probably, who were not blinded by affection, entertained any hope of his recovery, he received a very haughty memorial from the Hungarian nobility, in which they made the following demands, in very high terms:—The restoration, in the most ample manner, of their ancient rights and privileges—the return of the royal crown of Hungary, which had been removed from their capital to Vienna, after the death of Maria Theresa—that the people should be at liberty to lay by the German, and to resume their old native dress—and, that all public acts should be kept and recorded either in the Latin or the Hungarian language, instead of the German, as was now the practice. On a compliance with these requisitions, the noble Huns promised, on their part, to defend the kingdom to the last drop of their blood, and to supply the emperor's armies in general with every necessary which their country produced.

The reception which this memorial met from Joseph sufficiently shewed how much his disposition was changed, and how greatly public and private calamity had tended to soften his temper. Without any comment upon the language or manner of the memorial, he complied with the greater part of the requisitions; and about three weeks before his death confirmed these

these concessions by a public decree. Of all his late regulations, he reserved only three articles, establishing a general toleration, providing for the support of the parochial churches and clergy out of the revenues of some suppressed monasteries, and securing a degree of liberty to the peasantry. His discrimination in retaining these, perhaps did him no less honour than his facility in yielding all the rest. He seemed, however, still to linger, as to the restoration of the royal crown, in a manner which did not redound much more to his credit, than the shameful seizure of it had done in the first instance. For we are to bear in mind, that he never had worn that crown as a king which he seized as a robber. The arbitrary projects with which his head was ever teeming, had prevented him, during the long period of time which elapsed since the decease of his mother, from ever obtaining a legal or formal possession of that noble kingdom, by the usual and necessary forms of a coronation, because he would not be bound by the established capitulations or compacts between the sovereign and the people, which were the conditions upon which he was to receive the crown.

But his spirit was now so broken down, and his former projects appeared so vain, and were, in the effects which they produced, so exceedingly unfortunate and ruinous, that at the time of passing the decree we have mentioned in favour of the Hungarians, he bound himself by a voluntary promise, that if he were alive in the ensuing month of May, and was at all able to undergo the fatigue, he would proceed to that kingdom for the purpose of being crowned. But

the time was past, and never after recovered!

The crown, with the rest of the regalia of Hungary, was not, however, sent off from Vienna, until a very few days before the emperor's death; so that these precious relics of antiquity, which that people rated at so inestimable a value, did not arrive at their ancient capital of Buda, until the day after his decease. The joy of the Hungarians upon this occasion was almost beyond credibility. Triumphal arches were erected in all the towns thro' which the cavalcade passed; and not only the common people assembled every where in prodigious crowds to receive it, but were accompanied by all the neighbouring nobility; and festivity and joy were spread through the country.

Towards the close of the preceding year, the emperor seemed to listen not unfavourably to some overtures of peace which were made by the Ottomans. He even proposed the assembling of a congress at Bucharest to conduct the negotiations; and as a proof of his being serious in this business, he immediately dispatched expresses to London, Paris, and Berlin, to acquaint these powers with the proposals and demands offered and made, as also with the intended congress: at the same time he nominated the barons Herbat and Thugut, with M. Walburg, secretary of the court, to proceed to Bucharest on his part. The empress of Russia too sent instructions to prince Potemkin, at Jassy, containing at once her categorical demands, and she was also in treaty with Sweden; but about the period of Joseph's death the last lingering hope of peace was known to have vanished.

We

We have so fully detailed the conduct and actions of this prince in our former volumes, from the time of his accession to the Imperial throne, on the demise of his father in the year 1765, to that of his succeeding to the sole possession of all the vast power and dominion then appertaining to the house of Austria, which devolved to him upon the death of his mother, the celebrated Maria Theresa, in 1780, and from thence to the latter inauspicious period of his life, that an attempt at any farther elucidation of his character, than what will naturally result from the perusal of these progressive narratives, may appear superfluous. In that course, we have not been slack in bestowing due praise on many parts of his early conduct; and we have since as freely censured those acts which we deemed it our duty to condemn, and in which we have been very generally supported by the public opinion.

We shall observe upon the whole, that few princes have more strongly excited the general expectation of mankind in their favour, or raised to a higher pitch the hopes of their own subjects, than Joseph did during the first years of his reign as emperor; and that there are few examples of any, who forfeited the public opinion on the one hand, and lost the affections of those they governed on the other, more completely than he had the fortune to do before his death. An insatiable ambition, with its natural concomitant, an incurable lust for money, without regard to the means by which it was procured, were his leading vices; and were rendered still more degrading by duplicity and breach of faith. But nature,

as if intending to restrain the effect of dispositions so pernicious and dangerous to mankind, had thrown into his composition so strange a mixture of heterogeneous qualities, as served in a great measure to counteract and render impotent these vices. For he exhibited the strange contrast in the same mind, of the most glaring rashness, and of the most contemptible indecision, of an invincible obstinacy, and of a temper the most uncertain, variable, and inconstant that existed; so that through the continual jumble of these inconsistencies, he ever failed in the accomplishment of his designs, and was always involved in troubles abroad or at home. He was, perhaps, the greatest projector of any age, at least with respect to the multitude, if not to the value or merit, of his projects; and yet, through the same causes, they almost constantly failed of effect. No man ever extended his views farther, or laboured more for the aggrandizement of his house and family, than he did; and yet, by a pursuit of ill-judged and ill-directed measures, he shook the stability of the House of Austria, and left it involved in a state of affairs, which led to its degradation and loss of strength, in a degree, which scarcely seemed possible, a few years before, to have taken place in so short a time. Had he the good fortune to have left the world a few years before his mother, the empress queen, he would have left behind so high and enviable a character, that he would have been pointed out as a model for the conduct of other princes, and men would have been disposed to consider his early departure as a public loss.

As Joseph the Second, though twice married, died without issue, his brother Leopold, grand-duke of Tuscany, now become king of Hungary and Bohemia, and arch-duke of Austria, succeeded of course to the possession of all his hereditary dominions, the Low Countries alone excepted. But though the late emperor's death had been so long foreseen, and that he had dispatched several expresses to expedite Leopold's departure from Florence, it was near three weeks after March 12th, that event before he 1790.

Francis arrived at Vienna; whither they were soon after followed by the new queen, accompanied by a numerous family of princes and princesses her children.

The affairs of Germany were at this time in a very doubtful and critical situation. Besides the differences with the new government of France, which were in no degree accommodated, we have seen that a powerful league had some time before been formed within the empire, under the auspices of the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, in their character of electors, to restrain the ambitious conduct, and to guard against the dangerous designs, attributed to the late Joseph. Tho' the change which had since taken place in the direction of his ambition, prevented hitherto the necessity of calling that confederacy into action, yet the common danger on which the union was originally founded, seemed to be only removed for the present to a greater distance, but in no degree to be lessened; indeed, it was on the contrary justly supposed to be much increased, by the unaccountable connexion

which had taken place between Austria and Russia.

We have heretofore shewn, upon different occasions, in the course of the Ottoman war, how directly contrary to the political interests, and how pregnant with danger to the security, of most of the other nations in Europe, it would have been, if the combined empires of Austria and Russia should succeed in their design, of making a partition, or even any great dismemberment, of the Turkish dominions. We even shewed that these dominions could not be lodged in any other hands so conducive to the peace and security of Christendom in general, as in those of their present possessors; and, as the German league was confined entirely to that country, we ventured to point out the necessity there would be for a Western confederacy, of a much more extensive nature, to counteract the designs of these two restless and ambitious powers, if they should proceed to the lengths at which they were evidently aiming. Among the states, to which their success in this design would be the most immediately alarming and ruinous, were the Germanic body in all its parts, the unfortunate republic of Poland, already despoiled, and more than half ruined, with the two Northern kingdoms, one of which seemed totally blind to its situation and danger.

The king of Prussia was among those the most deeply and immediately interested in such an event; but he held in his hands those effectual means of resistance and prevention which none of the rest possessed. His alliance with England and Holland was truly wise and political, and realized in no small de-

gree the idea we mentioned, of a Western league to curb Eastern ambition. We have likewise congratulated him on that apparently grand political game which he seemed to be playing in Poland, in which the cards were so entirely in his hands, that it might be said he had little more to do than to deal them out. The means by which he has since thrown away the advantages thus held out to him, will hereafter be discussed in its proper place. We may observe for the present, though it be in the nature of a parenthesis, that by a deviation from the right line of policy, as well as of rectitude, he has lost an opportunity which probably will never be recovered, of establishing a powerful barrier for the security of his disjointed dominions, on those sides where they are liable to be ever exposed to the most imminent danger. Policy, not seldom, overshoots its mark; and perhaps it possesses no vice which so frequently defeats its own designs, as a substitution of cunning for wisdom, and of craft for an honest and liberal policy.

But, whatever uncertainty or duplicity the king of Prussia shewed in his conduct with respect to Poland, he was steady in his aversion to the combination for the ruin of the Turkish empire, though extremely slow and cautious in adopting measures for its prevention. In the mean time the courts of Vienna and Berlin were upon the very worst terms; and the jealousies, animosities, and continual differences, between the late emperor and the king, had latterly risen to such a pitch, as to threaten their proceeding to the immediate extremity of war. This opinion or in-

tention was so predominant with themselves, that while one covered Silesia with armies, magazines, and artillery, the other pursued measures exactly similar in Bohemia. Indeed Joseph seemed on the point of renouncing, at least in a great measure, his favourite objects on the Danube, by the vast bodies of troops which he drew from thence to form a powerful army in Bohemia. Even marshal Laudohn was withdrawn from the scene of his conquests, to take the command in that country, and his field equipages were actually ordered thither from Hungary. Thus nothing seemed doubtful to the public, but which of the parties should commence operations by giving the first blow.

The great object which the king and his allies had in view, was to bring the emperor, by whatever means, to relinquish the alliance with Russia, at least so far as related to the combination against the Turks, and to conclude a separate peace with the Porte, under the mediation of these powers, if the court of Petersburg refused to accede to fair and equitable proposals. It was easily seen that this point, so much sought and wished for, could not be obtained at any less price than a war. For besides that neither the ambition nor the obstinacy of Joseph were to be easily subdued, his ally, the empress, had obtained a personal ascendancy over him, far more binding than any written compact or treaties. The weak and wavering mind of Joseph seemed to shrink over-awed, under the superior talents and the masculine decision of that extraordinary woman, whose sway over him was so unbounded, that he seemed spontaneously to direct his action.

It seems probable that Leopold was as little disposed to dissolve, or even to loosen, the connexion with Russia, as his predecessor had been; but he was involved in circumstances and restraints from which Joseph had been free, and which totally changed the nature of their relative situation. His accession to the hereditary dominions of Austria would have been bald and defective, if he should be defeated in his election for king of the Romans, and consequently deprived of the powers and dignity annexed to the title and office of emperor, which through so many ages had, with little interruption, been held by his family. This was no imaginary danger; for Joseph had created so many enemies, and excited such general apprehensions of his power and ambitious designs in Germany, that the transferring of the empire into another family, whenever his death took place, had been long and often a matter of serious contemplation. Nor was the supposed pacific disposition, nor the real un-military character, of Leopold, at all sufficient to remove the prejudices, or to dispel the apprehensions, entertained of a House, which had ever been characterized by its ambition. If, then, this general temper and disposition was to be farther operated on, by the direct enmity of the two most powerful electorates of the empire, it may be easily seen, that any well-founded hope of Leopold's succeeding in his election, must have been small indeed.

Leopold had likewise another shackle imposed on his conduct by the ill policy of his predecessor. The Netherlands were already lost, and there could not be a hope, nor

scarcely a possibility of their recovery, but with the approbation of the allied powers, which must of course fail if a war took place with Prussia. Their intrinsic value was still so great, though it had been much lessened with respect to the security of possession, by that wretched policy which dismantled their barrier towns, that their total loss would have been a most grievous stroke; a loss which would have been ill supplied by the acquisition of any of the desolated provinces on the borders of the Danube. For through the barbarous maxims of the combined powers, and manners of their troops, the extent of their successes could generally be well defined by that of the destruction they made; exempting, however, entirely from this statement, the conduct of the armies commanded by marshal Laudohn, who in all cases made war like a gentleman and a Christian, as well as a great soldier.

It will be easily seen, under all the critical and embarrassing circumstances we have mentioned, that Leopold had a most nice and difficult game to play, upon his accession to the embroiled dominions of the House of Austria. He seemed almost under an inevitable necessity of dissolving his connexion with Russia, at the same time that nothing could be more contrary to his inclination, or in some respects to his interest. For, besides the danger of losing the friendship of a most potent ally, he must thereby expect to forego most of the advantages to be derived from a war, which, along with being eminently successful in its latter part, had from its commencement been attended with so prodigious an expence of
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men and of treasure, that the compensations must have been vast indeed, which could afford any suitable return.

Little versed as he had ever been in foreign politics, and still less in military affairs, he, however, perceived the propriety of bearing a good countenance, and of not appearing to dread a German war, however much he wished to avoid it, and whatever his ultimate determination might be. The preparations for war were accordingly continued with the same apparent vigour and design with which they had been adopted by his predecessor; but nothing more was done. This procrastinating conduct was exactly suited to the temper of his antagonist, who was much more disposed to military parade and preparation, than to the rashness of running hastily into action.

An event which took place a little before the death of Joseph, seemed to increase the difficulties of Leopold's situation, and to bring the question of war, or of a compliance with the wishes of the allies, to a point of decision which could not be long evaded. This was a very close alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the king of Prussia and the Ottoman Porte; the treaty of which was executed at Constantinople on the 31st of January 1790.

By this treaty the king bound himself at a given time to declare war against Austria and Russia, in order to compel them to consent to a moderate and equitable peace. On the other hand, the Porte engaged to employ all its force to obtain at the peace the restitution of Galicia, Lodomeria, and all the ter-

ritory which the court of Vienna had wrested from the republic of Poland.—By another article, the contracting parties agree to ratify a treaty of commerce before concluded; and the Porte guarantees the free navigation of the Prussian ships in the Mediterranean; and farther engages to secure that flag from the insults of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli.—The Porte declares its resolution not to make peace without the restitution of the fortresses, provinces, and above all, of the Crimea, which its enemies had gained: and the king engaged not to discontinue war until the Porte had attained these objects.—The Porte likewise engaged to conclude no peace with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, without the consent of Prussia, Sweden, and Poland.—By the fourth article, Sweden and Poland appear to be equally included with the immediately contracting parties in this alliance offensive and defensive; which it is declared is still to subsist between those four powers, notwithstanding the termination of the war.—By the concluding articles, the conquests which may be made by either of the contracting parties are not to be restored, until the courts of Vienna and Petersburg agree to submit the differences subsisting between them and Poland to the mediation of the former. The contracting parties likewise covenant not to agree to any peace but under the mediation of England and Holland. And, the king binds himself, after the conclusion of peace, to guarantee all the possessions that then remain to the Porte; and likewise engages to procure the joint guarantee of England, Sweden, and Poland,

Poland, along with his own, for all the territories of the Ottoman empire.

The overwhelming torrent of success which had so constantly accompanied the arms of the combined empires in the preceding year, and which threatened the speedy subversion of the Ottoman dominion, at least in Europe, was the stimulus which operated upon the king of Prussia in concluding this treaty. We have given, in our 31st volume*, a particular detail of the memorable events of that campaign, so fatally ruinous to the Ottomans; and we have there likewise shewn, that Selim, instead of sinking under so heavy a weight of misfortune, not only bore it with great constancy and firmness, but seemed already to have derived some portion of counsel and wisdom from that severe but excellent school of instruction. For although he had acted in all other things, diametrically opposite to the precepts and example of his excellent uncle, he now recurred to that wise part of his policy, by which he had so much endeavoured to found upon European alliances such a system of strength, as might be sufficient to restrain the dangerous power, and to curb the destructive ambition of his combined and most implacable enemies, whom he considered not only as determined on the absolute ruin of his empire, but on the final extermination and extinction of the Ottoman race and name.

Upon this principle Selim assiduously and anxiously sought, by all possible means, to cultivate friendship and alliance with the king of

Prussia and his allies; but placing his immediate hopes principally on the former, whose situation and circumstances enabled him to make a speedy diversion in his favour. The death of the emperor was perhaps the only thing which could have prevented an immediate war between Austria and Prussia, upon the new treaty concluded by the last with the Porte; but that event, with the accession of Leopold, occasioned a pause, until it could be understood what course of measures and line of conduct the new king of Hungary seemed disposed to pursue; and it may be said, until the two rival monarchs came a little to know each other.

We have shewn, in the volume which we have already cited, that the severities and incommodities of a Danubian winter, together with the noble defence made by the garrison of Orsova, were no more than sufficient to check the rapid progress of the conquering armies of the combined powers, and thereby to afford some short season for rest, recovery, and recollection, to the astonished and confounded Ottomans.

Notwithstanding the prodigious draughts that were made from the armies on the Danube, to counteract the designs of the king of Prussia, on the side of Bohemia and Moravia, the Austrians opened the campaign in the former quarter unusually early, intending thus to benefit by the slowness with which the Turks are able to bring their armies into the field. The good effect of this alertness and vigour soon appeared in the reduction of the strong fortress of Orsova; which, after all the long and brave de-

* See Ann. Reg. vol. xxxi. Hist. article, pp. 167 to 181.

fences it had hitherto made, seems now, from whatever cause, to have fallen a very cheap purchase into their hands. No detail was published of the operations; but from corresponding circumstances, this event must have taken place in the latter end of April, or very early in May. We have understood, from private information, that the Austrians having closely blockaded the place during the whole winter, and a slight shock of an earthquake happening at length to take place, the garrison were struck with a sudden panic, under the opinion, that the motion of the earth which they perceived proceeded from the enemies having undermined the fortress, and being on the point of blowing it up. This prepossession operated so powerfully, that they instantly abandoned the place; a loss the more vexatious, as it was furnished with a prodigious artillery, and abundantly provided with stores and magazines.

The next objects of the campaign on the side of the Austrians, after the taking of Orsova, were the siege of Widdin, the capital of the kingdom of Servia, and that of Giurgewo, a very strong fortress on the Bulgarian side of the Danube. The views of the Russians were likewise directed, in the first instance, to the reduction of the two very strong fortresses of Brahilow in Walachia, and of Ismailow on the Danube. The farther views on either side were not yet avowed or known; but were undoubtedly to be directed by future contingencies.

For the present, and through the summer, however, an almost total inactivity prevailed in the Russian armies; which must be attributed

to the interference of the allied powers, and the well-founded doubt, whether the very critical situation of Leopold's affairs would admit of his persevering in rejecting the proposals for a separate peace, which were so strongly pressed upon him, and were supported by arguments and motives of such a nature, as seemed scarcely to allow of an alternative. In the case of Leopold's desertion, Russia saw that she would be left alone to contend with the allied powers, with Sweden, Poland, and the Ottomans; a concatenation of hostile enmity, which, in spite of all her haughtiness, could not but make her pause.

The prince of Cobourg having advanced towards Widdin, and over-run all the country in that course, is said to have obtained a considerable victory over the Turks in the neighbourhood of that city; though no particulars, even of time or place, have been mentioned. He afterwards made considerable preparations for the siege of that place, which some peculiar circumstances of distance and situation seem to have rendered tedious and difficult; until the change which had for some time been gradually taking place in the political conduct of Leopold, at length occasioned the design to be abandoned.

But if the war languished in other parts, such was not the case on the side of Giurgewo, where the hostilities between the Austrians and Ottomans were closed by a bloody scene. The only account we have seen, which carries any appearance of authenticity, gives the following statement of that affair. That Leopold being at length determined to accommodate the disputes with the king of Prussia, and consequently

requently to submit to a peace with the Turks, he humanely wished to prevent the unnecessary effusion of human blood, and for that purpose agreed to conclude an armistice, for a certain specified term, on the borders of the Danube.

It seems that Giurgewo had been for some time besieged, and that the prince of Cobourg being covetous to obtain possession of that place before the armistice could be ratified, dispatched general Thurn with a reinforcement to press on the siege with such vigour and expedition, as might compel the garrison to a surrender within the time desired. But the Ottomans having a good deal shaken off their last year's panic, began to resume their usual courage; and being as desirous to preserve their fortress, as the prince was to attain it, they immediately dispatched a body of troops to its relief. The Austrians under general Thurn, who covered the siege, confident of success from their late victories, did not wait for the attack of the enemy, but marched boldly to encounter him. They, however, met with a reception which they little expected. Excited to madness by a sense of their losses and disgraces, the Turks fought with undescrivable fury; and, after a desperate conflict, breaking the Austrian lines, they carried every thing before them, and in defiance of discipline, as well as of natural and acquired valour, put them absolutely to flight.

The fate of the brave general was much regretted. After every exertion which knowledge and courage could dictate or execute to resist the impetuosity of his fierce and enraged foe, his head was carried off by the blow of a janizary's sabre,

and afterwards exhibited in triumph on a pike through the ranks of the Turkish army. The Austrians left seven hundred men dead upon the field, and about two thousand were desperately wounded. The besieging general abandoned his trenches and works, along with eighteen pieces of artillery, with the utmost precipitation.—Such was the issue of the last action in this war between the Austrians and Ottomans.

For Leopold, who justly held in very small estimation conquests made on the desolated borders of Turkey, when placed in competition with the rich, fertile, and populous provinces of the Netherlands, and farther prompted by the great and immediate objects which were at stake in Germany, determined to extricate himself at once from all his difficulties, and to remove the obstacles which stood in his way to the attainment of the Imperial dignity with all its advantages, by a speedy accommodation with the king of Prussia, and by consenting to an equitable peace with the Porte.

In consequence of this determination, a congress was held at Reichenbach, in Silesia, composed of the ministers of the kings of Hungary, Prussia, Great Britain, and the States General; the two latter powers acting in the double capacity of mediators and guaranties. The ability of the negotiators, along with the dispositions tending to tranquillity, which prevailed with the parties, did not admit of much delay in bringing the business to a conclusion. A convention, which takes its name from the place where the congress were

July 27th,
1790.

assembled,

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assembled, was accordingly executed, which removed the jealousies and differences on both sides, and not only relieved Leopold from a heavy weight of care, anxiety and trouble, but opened and smoothed the way to the easy attainment of all his favourite objects, both in Germany and the Low Countries. Nor did it less favour the views of the allied powers, by its material tendency to prevent the ruin or dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, which had been the great object of their interference.

The purport of the treaty was, that Austria should renounce her alliance with Russia. That she shall open a negotiation for peace with the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three allied powers, conclude an armistice for the interim, and renounce all the conquests made during the war. That the king of Hungary shall, however, be at liberty to obtain from the Porte, by friendly negotiation, any fortresses or places, which she may amicably consent to give up for the adjustment or security of his frontier; but that if any acquisition of territory is so obtained on that side, the king of Prussia shall receive an equivalent for it of equal value on that of Upper Silesia. That the king of Hungary shall retain the two provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria, which he already possesses in Poland. That, should Russia persist in carrying on the war against the Porte and Sweden, and these powers demand the assistance of Prussia, according to the treaties subsisting between them, his Prussian majesty shall be at free liberty to fulfil these engagements, without the court of Vienna taking any part, directly or indirectly, in the contest. On the

other hand, the king of Prussia engages to give Leopold his vote on the approaching election for the imperial throne, but under the express condition, *sub qua non*, that the emperor of the Romans shall never enter into any alliance with Russia, in order that he may be enabled, as chief of the Germanic empire, to resist any attack which Russia might, at a future period, be induced to undertake against it. The king of Prussia engages to co-operate with the maritime powers in their endeavours to appease the troubles in the Austrian Netherlands, but upon the express condition that Leopold shall restore to them all their ancient privileges; which are to be confirmed and guaranteed by the three allied powers.

A little before this convention was executed, an unfortunate event took place, which, if Leopold had been before otherwise disposed, would have been a motive fully sufficient for inducing him to adopt pacific measures: indeed it might be said that he thereby lost his sword arm. This was the demise of that justly celebrated and truly great commander, the venerable field marshal Laudohn, who, after having encountered as many dangers in the field as perhaps any man ever did, closed, in a sick bed, a long life covered with laurels and glory. He departed this life at his head quarters in Moravia, on the 14th of July 1790, in the 75th year of his age; and was generally and exceedingly lamented, on account of his private virtues, as well as of his military talents, and great public services. He was a native of Livonia, a soldier of fortune, who without money or interest rose merely by his personal merit, from being a subaltern

subaltern to the highest military honours. After a long apprenticeship in the Russian service, under those celebrated masters of war, count Munich and general Lacy, he came into that of the house of Austria about the year 1756; where he rose with a rapidity beyond all example. The great Frederic of Prussia said, that he sometimes admired the position of other generals, but that he always dreaded the battles of Laudohn. He was undoubtedly at the time of his death the first general in Europe.

Leopold being now secured as to his principal objects, of peace, of his election, and of the recovery of the Netherlands, had leisure to look into and adjust his private and family concerns. He had already settled his second son Ferdinand in possession of the grand duchy of Tuscany; an arrangement which had for some time been a matter of public as well as political doubt and speculation. He now determined to cement the union, and to draw the ties of affinity more closely between his own family and his relations of the house of Naples by intermarriages. His two eldest sons, Francis the hereditary prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and Ferdinand, the new great duke of Tuscany, were accordingly, soon after

Aug. 16th. the conclusion of the treaty of Reichenbach, married to the eldest princesses, daughters of the king of Naples; and about a month after the third arch-duchess, daughter of Leopold, was married to the prince royal of Naples: that princess having first made a formal renunciation of all right of succession to any of the possessions of the house of Austria.

As troubles, or at least the seeds

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of trouble, in almost all parts of his widely-extended dominions, were appendages which Joseph had annexed inseparably from their possession to his successor; so Leopold had still much difficulty to encounter with his new subjects of the kingdom of Hungary. For the evidently forced concessions which his predecessor had been induced to make, under all the paroxysms and agonies of pain, terror, weakness, and approaching death, were in no degree sufficient to remove the effect of that continued system of irritation and despotism, with which he had so long insulted all the feelings of that brave and generous, but exceedingly high-spirited, fierce, and resentful people. Their hereditary and inveterate animosity to the Germans, whom they had ever considered as lawless usurpers and tyrants, the scourge and ruin of their country, with that abhorrence which seemed incurable, and reached to every thing German, to laws, manners, and even language, as well as government, had in a very great degree been softened or worn away, during the long and lenient administration of Maria Theresa; whose marked attention and favour to this people, was probably not more to be attributed to gratitude, than to a just and wise system of policy. Had this system been continued with equal wisdom, all the ancient animosities and national prejudices would not only have worn away, but in time their very memory would have been obliterated.

But her successor, who seemed destined to take every thing by the wrong handle, or, if he happened to seize it by the right, was sure to push it to an extreme which rendered it wrong, not only revived all the

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the ancient animosities, but supplied them with a keener edge, than they had before possessed, since the ages immediately succeeding the era that gave them birth. It is accordingly reported, and the report is probably well founded, that several of the great palatines and principal nobility, had it seriously in contemplation, to emancipate their country from the Austrian yoke; that a plan for that purpose had been actually framed; and that the means had been pointed out for instituting and constantly supporting a grand army of 150,000 men, for their present and future defence and protection. The memorial which, we may remember, the Porte issued early in the war, offering its utmost assistance to the Hungarians, in the recovery of their ancient independence, and rank among nations, with the most liberal and disinterested offers of perpetual alliance and friendship after that was accomplished, serves strongly to countenance these reports and opinions; for it cannot be doubted that the court of Constantinople was intimately acquainted with the affairs of Hungary with the temper of the people, and with the views and wishes of the great men.

Such was the disordered and critical state in which Leopold, through the ill conduct of his predecessor, found the noblest portion of his heritage involved at the time of his accession; but the great relief which the treaty of Reichenbach afforded him in so many other things, fortunately extended likewise to enable him to encounter this difficulty.

While the conferences at Reichenbach were still in agitation, but evidently drawing to a conclusion which would render Leopold easy

in his affairs, a number of deputies arrived at Vienna, from Hungary, who presented a long list of twenty-four articles to the king, which they strongly urged him to sign, previous to his coronation for that kingdom. Many of these articles went to the redress of present, and to prevent the repetition of past grievances, while others tended to afford security against future oppression. Leopold having maturely considered the articles, and holding them to trench too much upon the sovereignty, as likewise, perhaps, considering the Hungarians to be too importunate and peremptory in their demands, upon these or other accounts he refused signing them. And still persevering in this determination, upon the further urgent sollicitation of the deputies, he is said to have told them, with much apparent indifference, that he was not at all anxious about being crowned in Hungary, and that he had given orders to recall those who had been sent to prepare for the coronation.

Immediately after the treaty of Reichenbach, the diet of Hungary, then sitting in full assembly, sent a letter to the sovereign, in which they stated, that having understood that negotiations for terminating the present war were on the point of being opened, they could not but observe, that, to the great grief of the states, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, this war had been commenced without their knowledge; and that they would be penetrated with still greater grief, if now, that they were assembled in diet, and bent upon the re-establishment of their rights, the treaty of peace should be concluded without their concurrence.

rence. They shewed, that those essential laws which they quoted, do not permit a king of Hungary to begin a war in the kingdom, or in the provinces united to it, without the knowledge and consent of the nation; and that peace with the Turks cannot be concluded, either within or out of the kingdom, but with the advice of an Hungarian council. Presuming that his majesty would readily acknowledge the equity of these representations, they proposed deputies, men of approved integrity, knowledge, and ability in public affairs, to attend the conferences of peace, and other negotiations for the public good. They conclude, by beseeching the king to admit them to the negotiations, in conformity to the spirit of the Hungarian laws and constitution, which they will consider as a particular proof of his majesty's justice, and as a tie which will bind more strongly, that free, faithful, and obedient nation.

Leopold relaxed upon this occasion, or rather seemed to comply, through grace and persuasion, with an application, which he not only secretly wished to be made, but had himself been instrumental in procuring. For the malcontents were so numerous, and affairs had just before run so high in the diet, that it had been proposed, and the proposal strongly supported, to send ministers directly from the nation to Constantinople, without taking notice of, or paying any regard to the king, who were to negotiate in its name, and entirely on its own account, a treaty of peace with the Ottoman porte. It required, therefore, all the address of the king's ministers at the diet, and all the weight and influence necessarily ap-

pendent to the crown, to over-rule this attempt, and to procure the address in question.

Every thing now all at once concurred, in damping the hopes and frustrating the designs of the malcontents; the new coalition between Austria and Prussia, in the place of a war, which was considered as unavoidable, and the consequent opening of a peace with the Ottomans, seemed a double fatality conveyed by a single blow. They were indeed, at one time, so numerous, and appeared so formidable, that Leopold had entertained serious apprehensions as to the security, and perhaps preservation of the kingdom; and it was intended, when the peace took place, to send the Hungarian army to the Low Countries, and to replace them entirely in that kingdom by German regiments. But the internal factions and dissensions, by which they were themselves torn to pieces, prevented their being capable of forming any great and general union, and proved to him a bond of security; enabling him to play off the different parts one against the other, and thereby to disjoint and weaken the whole.

Of the parties which thus divided the kingdom, the protestants and Roman catholics were in a state of avowed enmity, the magnats, and the noblesse in general, were nearly at daggers drawn; the peasants abhorred the nobles, and the latter were not behind-hand in their regards to them. With respect to the sovereign, the bulk at least of the clergy, still holding a bitter remembrance of the late Joseph, and not much better satisfied with many parts of Leopold's conduct in Tuscany, were totally adverse to his interests; the magnats and comitats, excepting

excepting those who held great offices under the crown, were entirely bent upon a revolution; and while the possibility remained, were eager to cement the closest alliance and union that could be formed with the king of Prussia and the Porte. The noblesse were divided; many of them, from the jealousy and envy which they bore to the magnats and great palatines, were favourably disposed to the sovereign; while others were willing to sacrifice their private animosities for what they deemed the good of their country. On the other hand, the protestants, from the circumstances of their situation, were necessarily bound to the crown; and the peasants, sensible of the benefits which they derived through Joseph, and likewise knowing, that nothing but a similar interposition could increase them, or even preserve what they had already obtained, were violent in their attachment to Leopold.

While affairs hung thus in a sort of equilibrium between the parties, but the scale still rather preponderating on the side of the malcontents, it was suddenly weighed down to the ground on the side of the crown, by an accession as extraordinary, as it was unexpected, and even unthought of on all sides. An incredible number of Greeks, Wallachians, Servivotes, and Rascians, who are represented as amounting to four millions, declared themselves to a man firmly attached to the cause of Leopold, and determined to support it at all events, and in all cases. This changed in an instant the whole face of things, and overthrew at once all the hopes and designs of the factions. The effect was immediate in the diet; for, the blow being well followed up and supported by the ministers

and friends of the crown, above fifty of the most violent malcontents were expelled from that body in one day, while those who remained were glad to bow down their heads in silence.

There was still, however, a very considerable and respectable party, which demanded and deserved attention, and which was, perhaps, more truly patriotic than any we have yet described. This was composed of what may be termed and deemed moderate men. They had never gone the lengths of the violent malcontents; nor did they by any means endeavour to produce, or even wish that the event should take place, of an absolute rupture of the kingdom from the Austrian dominion, after so long and so intimate a connection between them, now endeared by habit, and cemented by numberless ties of friendship, affinity, and mutual kindness or service. But this party anxiously and eagerly wished the restoration of their ancient constitution in all its parts, and in all its original purity; and farther, from a long and bitter experience of the little reliance that was to be placed on the faith of the Austrian princes, as well as of the domineering spirit which ever marked the conduct of the Germans, whenever they were entrusted with the exercise of power, they likewise wanted, and proposed, that their constitution, thus renewed, should be secured by the guarantee of the three neighbouring powers of Prussia, Sweden, and Poland. Under these conditions they declared they would ever shew themselves to be the most zealous, faithful, and loyal of his subjects.

A deputation from the diet waited upon Leopold at Vienna, with an invitation

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to request his personal presence at their deliberations, and particularly at the coronation. They likewise presented what was called a new diploma, containing supplementary articles to those which it had been customary hitherto for the monarchs to sign and swear to, and which it was hoped and requested he would accept. The king returned an answer by count Palfi, the great chancellor of Hungary, that he had intended his coronation in Hungary should have taken place of that at Frankfort; but that the delays in their own proceedings having rendered that now impracticable, he should, however, endeavour to fulfil his purpose in that respect by the 15th of November at farthest; observing that the lateness of the season would necessarily preclude his proceeding farther into the country than Presburg, which must of course render that city the place of celebrating the coronation. We are to understand, that Buda, the ancient capital, was the place which the Hungarians had fixed for that purpose, in opposition to Presburg, the new capital, which, on account of its vicinity to Vienna, the Austrians had long rendered the actual seat of government.

With respect to the newly-proposed diploma, Leopold declared, that he was firmly and invariably resolved not to approve or confirm by oath any diploma but those which the constitutions of Charles the Sixth and Maria Theresa had already prescribed to all the kings of Hungary. That he was the more firmly and invariably fixed in this resolution, as he was determined religiously to fulfil the stipulations so prescribed, according to the spirit and tenor of certain articles, to which he referred. That after the

coronation, he will not refuse to listen to the grievances, the wishes, and the supplications of his faithful states, and after mature public deliberation, to adopt resolutions thereupon, agreeable to the spirit of the laws and the true interests of the realm. He concludes with an expectation that the states will cooperate with him, with zeal and fidelity, in the accomplishment of these objects; an expectation on which he trusts with the greater confidence, as they may be certain on his part, that whatever is conformable to the laws, whatever does not derogate from the royal rights, in a word, whatever contributes to the general good, he will freely concur in.

Leopold was elected king of the Romans on the 30th of September, and made his public entry into Frankfort on the 4th of October; being the same day of the month on which his father, the emperor Francis, had heretofore made a similar procession. The coronation, which took place a October 9th, few days after, was unusually splendid; 1790.

and besides the personal attendance of the three ecclesiastical electors, with a great number of other German princes, was rendered more brilliant by the presence of the king and queen of the two Sicilies, with the long train of princes and princesses appertaining to the two prolific houses of Naples and Vienna; including in the number the grand duke of Tuscany, and all the newly-married pairs.

In the interim, while these affairs were in agitation, an armistice, under the mediation of count Lusi, the Prussian minister, was concluded on the 20th of September, between the prince of Saxe Cobourg, on the part of the court of Vienna, and the

the grand vizir, in his camp at Silistria, on that of the Ottomans. At the same time it was agreed, that a congress for the final conclusion of peace should be assembled at Bucharest or Sistovia, as should be found most convenient to the plenipotentiaries, to be composed of the ministers of the principal parties, and of those of the three allied mediating powers.

Leopold arrived at Presburg a few days previous to that appointed for the coronation. Notwithstanding all the bickerings that had taken place, and the numberless jealousies which so long subsisted, he was received with every mark of the utmost joy and enthusiasm both by the people and the states. The diet soon afforded a signal instance of their loyalty and attachment to their new sovereign. For Leopold having, according to the established custom, presented the names of four of the first nobility of the kingdom to the diet, of whom they were to choose one to be palatine of the kingdom, an office of the highest trust and dignity, which rendered the possessor the second person in it, the states unanimously requested the sovereign that he would indulge their wishes, by granting to the nation as their palatine the arch-duke Leopold, his fourth son, who was then present. As nothing could be more flattering than this proposal, we scarcely need say that it was gladly assented to; and the new palatine had the

Nov. 15th, happiness, three days
1790. after, of placing the ancient crown of St. Stephen, so long and so greatly the object of Hungarian veneration, upon the head of his father.

Leopold's speech to his son upon his installation, in the presence of

the diet, does him such high honour, and contains sentiments so noble, that we should consider ourselves guilty of little less than a crime, if we omitted its insertion. —“ I hope,” said he, presenting his son to the nation, “ you will never forget that you are my son; but should it ever be your lot, in the execution of your office, to be obliged to defend the rights of the nation against your father, I desire you will then forget that you are my son, and that you will strictly act in support of the laws.” —He then addressed the nation in the following words: “ This, my beloved son, I present to you, as a pledge of my sincere regard for you; that he may act between you and me as a disinterested mediator and promoter of mutual affection.”

We have seen that the Hungarians had some time before proposed several conditional articles to Leopold, which he peremptorily refused to accept. The application was now again renewed before the coronation, it being, probably, supposed, that in the present season of good-humour, joy, and festivity, nothing could be refused. But Leopold, adhering to his former firmness, declared, that he would receive the crown on no other conditions than those on which it had been accepted by his mother; and he thought its lustre, and the honour attached to it, would be tarnished, if it was made the subject of a bargain. After this display of a firmness which seemed approaching to an ungracious obstinacy, the admiration, gratitude, and joy of the Hungarians will be more easily conceived than described, when, on the day succeeding the coronation, he

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of his own free motion, when every hope of concession was at an end, granted them every favourable condition, and every future security, which they could with reason and propriety desire. Thus he gained at once the hearts and hands of that numerous, brave, and powerful nation.

Nothing could exceed the judicious and excellent conduct of Leopold in the whole course of his communication with this people. When they were apparently at the point of proceeding to the last extremities entirely to throw off the Austrian dominion; when he was himself unsettled in government, embarrassed on every hand, involved in difficulties which seemed almost inextricable, and surrounded with enemies and dangers; in that perilous situation, he displayed a firmness with respect to the Hungarians which astonished every body. Nor did he relax in any degree from that firmness until he had broken and subdued the factions, and saw himself in full possession of the kingdom; and then, by a well-timed, unexpected, wise, and generous exertion of condescension and favour, he totally annihilated disaffection and faction, and in an instant gratified a whole nation.

We shewed in our first chapter, the circumstances which happily led to Leopold's recovery of his lost dominion in the Netherlands. Upon the whole, it will scarcely escape any observer, that few men have had the fortune, in so short a space of time, not only to extricate their affairs from the most embarrassed, difficult, and dangerous situation which could well be imagined, but in the same time to have arrived at the completion of their most distant

hopes and wishes, and to have attained within a few months all those honours and advantages, which might have been well deemed the fruits of a prosperous life. It may likewise be said, that few treaties have afforded greater benefits to any of the parties than Leopold derived from that of Reichenbach, to which, indeed, he entirely owed the happy settlement of his affairs.

Leopold seemed now in a train and disposition of doing wise, just, and popular things; for towards the close of the year he took care to remember and fulfil a transient promise which he either made, or afforded hope of his performing, by restoring to the states of the Milanese their ancient constitution and laws, and reinstating them in the full possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, of which they had been deprived by Joseph: a violence and injury which had ever since rankled sorely in their minds, and excited the strongest aversion to his person, government, and even name.

He likewise, about the same time, granted new favours to the Jews, for whom Joseph had done a great deal, and indeed mended their condition so much, that it did not seem they had much more to expect or require. Leopold, however, extended their privileges still further, by decreeing, that in all his hereditary dominions, those Jews who had received a proper education, and acquired the necessary degree of knowledge, should be allowed to take academical degrees in the lay-faculties, and to act as advocates; and in the latter quality to plead the cause either of Jews or Christians indifferently. In consequence of this permission, Mr. Raphael Joel, a Jew, being duly

duly examined, and having given satisfactory proofs of his ability and qualifications, was, in the beginning of the year 1791, admitted, by the university of Prague, to the degree of Doctor in the Civil Law.

The court of Vienna was occupied, during the fore part of the year 1791, in negotiating and settling the terms of a definitive treaty of peace with the Porte at Sistovia, under the mediation of the three allied powers, whose ministers attended the whole time, and who, with equal zeal and ability, were indefatigable in their attentions and endeavours to salve the sore remembrances of hostility, and to reconcile the opposite views of the principal parties. Many difficulties occurred, and unexpected obstacles were thrown in the way, as well by the emperor himself, as through the means of Russia. These were, however, at length happily surmounted, by the powerful intervention of the mediating powers, and the unwearied application of their ministers; although the differences seemed at one time so irreconcilable, that it was apprehended the congress would have broken up without effect.

Every thing being at length settled, a most fair and equitable treaty of peace, and to the Porte, consi-

dering her fallen and ruined situation, a most happy and advantageous one, was finally concluded at Sistovia; and the ratifications speedily after exchanged. The plenipotentiaries of the allied powers (whose names and quality, as mediators, were affixed to the treaty), in order, so far as it could be done, to exterminate the seeds of all future differences between the two empires, and even to cut off the pretences for quarrel, succeeded in procuring on the same day the execution of a convention for the precise specification and exact adjustment of the limits, which were to be the boundaries of their long-extended frontiers. By this accommodation, the haughtiness, perverseness, and ambition of Russia only remained to be subdued, in order to obtain the restoration of tranquillity on the borders of Europe and Asia, and the putting an end to the most savage, cruel, desolating, and bloody war which has been known in modern times.—But before we proceed to relate the issue of the measures so long pursued by the allies for that purpose, we must turn our view back to the last campaign, and the peace which so suddenly followed, with Sweden.

C H A P. IX.

Preparations made by the king of Sweden for renewing the war against Russia with vigour in the campaign of 1790. Adopts new and extraordinary, but successful measures, for gaining the affection and support of the commons, and of the people at large, independently of the nobles; and calls in some members of the clergy, and some of the burghers, to sit in his council, and to assist in the principal departments of government. Extreme danger of the consequences which this rash innovation was liable to produce. Gustavus obtains great and unusual supplies from the states for the prosecution of the war. Campaign opened unusually early in Finland; where the Swedes penetrate the Russian frontier, and possess themselves of several strong and advantageous posts. Bloody action at Karwankoski, where a small body of Swedes, being attacked by 10,000 Russians under General Inglestrom and the prince of Anhalt, the former are repulsed and defeated with great loss; that prince, with other principal officers, being among the number who fell in the conflict. Success of the king in person, in the desperate attack upon Valkiala; takes Wilmanstrand and other places; fixes his head quarters at Borgo, to form a junction with his galley fleet. Russian grand fleet being divided, and still in their winter stations at Cronstadt and Revel, the duke of Sudermania becomes master of the sea. Desperate and unfortunate attempt made by the duke to destroy the Russian squadron in the port of Revel, in which he loses two ships of the line. Gustavus, in person, at the head of his flotilla, suddenly appears before Frederichsham, where he forces all the defences of the harbour, and takes or destroys a large division of the Russian galley fleet, which was there stationed; burning and destroying all the naval arsenals, stores, and magazines. Russians having collected their force, the tide of success by land and sea begins to turn against the Swedes; who lose every thing which they had gained in Carelia, and are obliged to repass the Kymene with loss. Sea-fights on the third and fourth of June. Rash attempt upon Wybourg. Deplorable situation of the Swedes, enclosed by all the united fleets of Russia in the bay of Wybourg; and no communication open with the sea, but by a narrow strait, which is strongly guarded by the enemy: and scarcely any means of deliverance left. Desperate and bloody fights on the third and fourth of July; the Swedes endeavouring to force their way through the narrow inlet, and then to evade the superior force of the enemy in the open sea. Prodigious loss of men and ships sustained by the Swedes in their escape. Duke of Sudermania, with the remainder of his ruined fleet, arrives at Sweabourg. Gustavus, with his light fleet, involved in similar danger; but though sustaining great loss, it is not quite in proportion to that of his brother. Sudden and extraordinary reverse of fortune. The king arriving at Swenk Sound, meets there the Pomeranian division of galleys under colonel Cronstadt: puts again immediately to sea, in order to intercept the Russian light fleet under the prince of Nassau, which are on their way to Frederichsham. Glorious and decisive victory obtained by Gustavus over the prince of Nassau, on the 9th and 10th of July. Sudden and unexpected peace between Russia and Sweden. Some observations on the causes and consequences of that event. King loaded with obloquy and reproach by his European allies for

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this defection. Defends himself successfully against their invectives; but finds it much more difficult to vindicate himself from the charge of violating all faith and treaty in his conduct with respect to the Ottoman Porte. Russian piratical Squadron in the Archipelago destroyed by the Algerines. Scheme for a winter campaign on the Danube formed by the Russian generals, which affords them prodigious advantages over their enemy. Batal Bey routed, and his army totally ruined, on the side of Asia. Russian armies are put in motion in the month of October. Some account of the state, condition, and strength of Ismailow. Taken by storm by general Suwarow, after a long and most noble defence. Dreadful and unequalled massacre. Account of the numbers who are said to have perished on both sides. Some succeeding actions between the Russians and Turks during the summer. Treaty of peace suddenly concluded at Galatz. Behaviour of the empress to the British court. Terms of peace. Close of 1791 an epoch of reflection. New leagues and confederacies in this year. New constitutions of Poland and France this year. Short contrast of the revolutions in those two countries, from their origin in 1789. Invasions of those two countries ascribed to unjust and ambitious combinations of the neighbouring sovereigns. Treaty for the partition of Poland and France, pretended to have been signed at Pavia, a coarse and clumsy forgery. Congress at Pilnitz. Paper purporting to contain the secret articles agreed at Pilnitz unauthenticated and disavowed: utterly inconsistent with the pretended treaty of Pavia as to the affairs of Poland, and both inconsistent with the fact. Uninterrupted narrative of the Polish revolution to the end of 1792, will be given in the next volume. Congress of Pilnitz did relate to France. General state of the question raised upon it by the opposite partizans. To judge fairly of it, necessary to take a connected view of the preceding and subsequent events, from the beginning of 1791 to the declaration of war by France against Austria, in April 1792. That subject reserved to the next year. Preparatory observations on the state of Europe, when the French revolution broke out in 1789, compared with the close of 1791. French revolution the hinge of all the politics of Europe from this period — General conclusion.

WE have seen that the campaign of 1789, after being tolerably successful in the preceding part, and after the performance of many distinguished acts of the most signal bravery, ended unfavourably to the king of Sweden, through the very great superiority of force which the Russian galley fleet under the prince of Nassau possessed, in that last most obstinate and bloody naval engagement which took place between the contending nations*.

The Russians thereby became masters of the narrow seas in the bottom of the Baltic; but the lateness of the season prevented their being able to derive any farther advantage from that success.

The king of Sweden, whose ever-active mind scarcely seemed ever to slumber, while any prospect of enterprize or danger was in view, used every possible exertion to retrieve the fortune of the war, by the most effective preparations

* See Ann.-Reg. Vol. xxxi. Hist. Art. pp. 198 to 200.

for the ensuing campaign; as it were intending to compel nature to give way to that invincible ardour, with which he hoped to overcome the prodigious superiority of force he was constantly destined to encounter.

To give effect to his designs, he built principally upon the affection of the commons, which he determined to secure by all means; and by drawing in the clergy as auxiliaries, (who from the time of the reformation had been secluded from all other share in public affairs than that of merely sitting in the diet) he hoped to establish such a body of strength within the kingdom, as should make him perfectly easy at home; which could only be accomplished by rendering him entirely independent of the factious and turbulent nobility, by whom he well knew he was generally detested; and who had indeed, for a long series of years, been in that most shameful habit of betraying and selling the honour and interests of their country to whatever foreign bidder they could find, who would afford the most gold for the purchase.

But this measure, however expedient it might appear for the present, was a most dangerous experiment; and the great number, the vast possessions, and above all the daring unconquerable spirit of the nobility, considered, could scarcely have been expected, upon any rational principles, founded on a just estimate of mankind, to produce effects much less fatal, than those which have since been unhappily shewn in the event.

It was among the king's peculiar qualities, to be disposed to make light of the greatest obstacles. The extraordinary success which

had generally attended those bold and sudden measures, which, like the fire concealed in a flint, he had so often stricken out at the instant of occasion, was sufficient to render him opinionative and obstinate in adopting and pursuing the immediate impulses of that genius which had never forsaken him in any emergency.

He opened his new scheme upon his return from Finland, by issuing a declaration, that all orders of the state had an equal right to serve their country in all situations, for which they should be found duly qualified by their abilities and talents: and that it was contrary to reason and propriety, that any order should monopolize to itself the right of filling the high offices of the state. Upon this new principle of equalizing all the orders of the state, he summoned to his council an equal number of persons from each; appointing to one department two nobles, the counts Wachtmeister and Bonde; with whom were joined Messrs. Rogberg and Ulner, two commoners, or private citizens: this being the first known instance in the history of Sweden, in which such an honour was conferred upon any person not nobly born. The bishop of Wolgast, with Mr. Alhman, who had been secretary to the house of peasants in the last diet, and Mr. Hankanson, burgo-master of Carlescroon, were appointed to another department. Similar arrangements were made in others.

This bold innovation attached the people at large to the king, in a degree beyond what can well be imagined, and enabled him to carry on his preparations for war with a facility and effect which he could

not himself have expected. But it was an unpardonable blow to the pride, importance, and feelings of the nobility: while the wound thus inflicted, instead of closing or healing by time, continued to increase, fester, and become every hour more gangrenous and incurable.

The states granted the king every support for the war, which the poverty of the country could possibly bear. The assessments were very general and comprehensive; they reached to persons and to things. Every article of consumption, as well as of luxury, every condition of life, was subjected to its appropriate tax. Clergy, nobles, all orders were included. The minute resources which now constituted the *ways and means* would appear curious to the financiers of a rich country. Among the smaller articles, a watch in the pocket was liable to a tax; but the wearer of two at one time, paid considerably. Horses, oxen, and all animals capable of affording profit or pleasure to their owners, were taxed; and what seemed not a little peculiar, the nobility, who were obliged to furnish quotas of horses for the army, were obliged to pay a heavy tax of 2*l.* 6*s.* for every horse which they thus devoted to the king's service. The supplies were, every thing considered, greater than could have been well expected; and considerably exceeded the grants of preceding diets. They amounted to no less, if the statements are right, than 1,640,000*l.* a year; which was a prodigious sum for that country to afford. Some salvo's were made, that the recent extraordinary grants should not be considered as precedents in future.

Some of the greater cities, as

proofs of their zeal and attachment, built, manned, and equipped gun-boats, which they presented to the king; and likewise raised, clothed, and armed bodies of volunteers to support him in the war. He applied himself to the states of Pomerania for the loan of a million of rix-dollars, to be secured on the revenues of that country: but we do not know the success of this application.

Through this cordial support at home, with the further aid of the Turkish subsidy, which contributed much, through the circulation of so much foreign silver dropped into the country, to diffuse spirit and vigour through all the departments at home and abroad, the king was enabled to open the campaign in Finland unusually early; and the Swedes actually commenced their operations in the month of April. Disdaining to wait the motions of the enemy, a body of them penetrated boldly into Russian Savolax, where they seemed to carry every thing before them, and seized three strong posts, which were considered as being of great importance on both sides with respect to the future operations of the war; besides taking some artillery, and making a considerable booty in arms, ammunition, stores, and other articles.

This inroad, made so near the capital, was peculiarly alarming at Peterburgh; nor was the danger more regarded, than indignation excited by the audacity of the insult. One of these posts, named Karnankoski, lying on the borders of the lake Saima, was considered of so much consequence, that a body of ten thousand of the best and oldest troops in the vicinity of the metropolis, including a strong detach-

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ment of the guards, and supported as usual by a powerful artillery, were dispatched, under the conduct of general Ingelstrom and the prince of Anhalt, not only to dislodge the Swedes from this post, but to chase them entirely out of the country, and give them cause to beware of venturing to make similar inroads.

The Swedes amounted only to about three thousand men; but they were well entrenched, and their post strong; nor had they yet forgotten the traditional history of those times, when they seldom took the trouble of enquiring into the number or quality of their enemy. The Russians, formed in three close and heavy columns, advanced to the attack of the entrenchments with all their native fearlessness, and with all the pride and confidence of success, which long habits of victory were capable of inspiring. The shock was dreadful; but to the astonishment of the assailants was received with a firmness and intrepidity of which they had known no example, and which baffled all the fury and violence of the attack. Indignation and shame at the idea of being repulsed by so inferior a force, with national pride, animosity, and a keen sense of the rivalry which seemed eternal between both people, all conspired in prompting the Russians rather to perish than to submit to the disgrace of being defeated at their own doors, by such a handful of men. The action was accordingly renewed with all the rage and fury that man is capable of on the one side, and supported on the other with a cool and determined valour which nothing ever exceeded. The engagement, considering the paucity of the numbers, was, for about two hours that it continued,

the most desperate, obstinate, and bloody which we have known or heard of. The Russians were at length as totally defeated as an army could be, where the victors were not able to profit by a pursuit. They left about two thousand of their men dead upon the spot; and their misfortune was greatly aggravated by the loss of the prince of Anhalt, of major general Belboff, who commanded the guards, with other officers of distinction, who fell in this bloody conflict.

This action seems to have taken place on some of the days from the last of April to the second of May. We are not informed whether the king was present; but from circumstances it may be conjectured that he was in another quarter. It may, however, with justice be said, that neither the Swedes nor any other nation could, in the brightest periods of their military renown, have achieved a more glorious action. It likewise fully demonstrates that the rapid declension which had been supposed to have taken place in the martial genius of that nation, proceeded entirely from those ever ruinous conjoint causes of bad government and imbecility in command, and not from any failure in the nature, or degeneracy in the character of the people at large.

It was near or about the time that this action was fought that the king in person crossed the Kymene, and entered Russian Finland. The Russians were encamped round a strong fort called Valkiala, where they were deeply entrenched, and well covered by every defence which art and nature combined were capable of affording. The enterprize seemed rather desperate. The king, how-

ever, marched to the attack with his usual confidence, and was received with no less intrepidity. The action was very severe, and lasted for several hours; but the impetuosity of the Swedes was at length triumphant, and surmounting all obstacles, carried the entrenchments as well as the fort by storm. This could not have been a cheap purchase; the accounts, however, state, that the number of Swedes killed was not great; but that no small number, including many officers, were wounded, through the continual showers of grape-shot which were thrown from the batteries. This acquisition was rendered particularly grateful, as besides the artillery and stores a large magazine of provisions was found in the place.

The Swedes took possession of Wilmanstrand and other places, and the king fixed his head quarters at Borgo, where he was to be joined by his fleet of gallees, and (notwithstanding a violent confusion he received in the shoulder at Valkiala) to take the command himself, and hoist the royal flag on board the Amphion. We are here to observe that the Russian accounts of these transactions are so directly contrary to those of the Swedes as to be irreconcilable. By the former, the king is represented as being so repeatedly defeated, that if they were real he must not only have been driven out of the Russian territories, but his army entirely ruined; whereas succeeding as well as concurring events shew the direct reverse to have been the case. We may well suppose, that, split into small divisions, as the nature and circumstances of the country compelled the contending combatants, particularly the invaders, to be, a

number of small engagements, from the time of their passing the Kymene, were continually taking place; nor can it be doubted, that such an enemy as the Russians were in some of these victorious. We must then presume that these were magnified into splendid victories, and that others which had no existence were fabricated, partly to allay the apprehensions of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and partly to gratify their inveterate animosity to the Swedes, by captivating accounts of the prodigious carnage and destruction which was made of them. Such artifices are common, particularly when the enemy is near at hand, and very dangerous; the Russians, from their great power, and the intrinsic goodness of their armies, have less occasion for applying to such subterfuges than many others.

The king seemed to have gained considerable advantages by his early commencement of the campaign; it being evident that the enemy were thereby in no small degree surprized, neither their fleets nor armies being in readiness for so untimely and unexpected an encounter; for their grand fleet, composed of capital ships, being divided into nearly equal parts, they were still in their respective winter stations in the ports of Cronstadt and Revel. And the duke of Sudermania having sailed from Carlescroon with the Swedish fleet, about the time that the land forces commenced their operations in Finland and Savolax, he thereby not only became sole master of the sea for the present, but seemed to have it much in his power to prevent the junction of the two Russian squadrons, without their running the desperate hazard of one or the other being intercepted and separately

separately attacked in the attempt. Nor were the Russian galley fleets in a better situation, with respect to the means of junction and mutual assistance.

The duke's views, however, extended to more decisive and dangerous service, than that of merely preventing the junction of the enemy's squadrons. The plan was probably not his own, for it was of a more desperate nature than seemed to accord with his character. It was no less than an attempt to destroy the Russian fleet in the fortified harbour of Revel; lined on all sides, as it was, with batteries, and including a number of great and strong ships (besides frigates) mounted with heavier metal than even their rates bespoke, and ready equipped for battle. The scheme extended, along with the ships, to the total destruction of that great naval arsenal, with all its docks, stores, and naval magazines whatever.

Notwithstanding all
May 13th. the formidable obstacles, and all the dangers which they had to encounter, the attack of the Swedes was so truly tremendous, as to call into action every possible exertion, and all the courage of their strongly guarded and protected enemy. We are ill informed as to the particulars; but the assailants seem to have penetrated into the very heart of the harbour, and to have maintained for several hours a most desperate contest, in the centre of the enemy's fire and strength. It is indeed said, that so far as seamanship and valour could confer national glory, the Swedes were entitled to no small portion of it. In this state of things, to a sudden change of the wind, and to its rising to a storm towards the evening, they

attribute the failure of the enterprise; which they were then obliged to abandon with the utmost precipitation; the difficulty of getting out of the harbour becoming so great that it could not be effected without the most imminent danger, as well as some real considerable loss. The Swedes lost a 60 gun ship, which being dismasted was taken by the enemy; another of the same force was wrecked, and the men being taken out, was set on fire. A third likewise ran on shore, but being got off, had the fortune to escape to sea with the loss of part of her artillery. Such was the issue of this very rash enterprise, which, notwithstanding the greatness of its object, could not perhaps be justified upon any principle of naval tactics, any more than of sound judgment. Too much was certainly trusted to fortune, and she had not hitherto in the course of the war afforded any great cause for relying on her favour.

It would have been little suited to the king's character and disposition to suppose that he was inactive, at a season when his brother was engaged in such severe and dangerous service. With better fortune, on the second day after the unsuccessful attack upon Revel, he struck a great and effective blow. A great division of the Russian galley fleet was stationed at Frederichsham, where they waited the junction of the other still greater division, from Cronstadt, to commence active operations, and where the forts and defences of the harbour were deemed fully competent to afford them the most perfect security. The king, in the Amphion, at the head of his fleet of gallies, suddenly attacked the place with

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irresistible

irresistible fury, stormed and forced the defences, took 38 vessels, sunk 10 gun-boats, burnt 40 more, along with 30 transports loaded with provisions; destroyed the docks, and burned all the stock of timber and stores which had been accumulated for the building and equipping fleets, of this nature. In a word, if the Swedish accounts be not exaggerated, the loss would have been deemed nearly irretrievable in any other country; but in that empire the resources are so vast, and all works of labour are executed with such little expence or trouble to government, that probably little was thought of it. At Stockholm, however, it was considered of such importance, as to occasion the celebration of a solemn *Te Deum*; the portable trophies were exhibited with great parade, and a medal was struck to commemorate the event.

The duke of Sudermania was said to have had some other engagements with the Russians during the remaining part of the month of May; but the accounts are so confused and imperfect, that it would be useless to attempt reciting them. If they really took place, they were only slight and distant affairs, which produced no effect of any consequence or value, and might be considered only as a prelude to a course of the most bloody and desperate actions, of which we have almost any knowledge.

For the Russians, having had time to recover from their surprize, and to collect their forces, the tide of success soon turned against the Swedes, both by sea and land; which indeed had uniformly been the case in the progress of every campaign since the war began, whatever advantages the very brave exertions

of the latter might have produced in its earlier part: but the disparity of force was too immense to admit that either valour or conduct, however nobly displayed, should be capable of supplying the deficiency. The strong posts which the Swedes had gained in Savolax or Carelia were accordingly soon recovered by the Russians; and as the former, notwithstanding their inferiority, made every where a most obstinate resistance, their losses in a number of small actions, none of which singly seemed of much importance, became in the aggregate very considerable. The result was, that the Swedes were obliged to repass the Kymene, under circumstances of great difficulty, disorder, and danger, with the loss of most, if not all of their artillery.

While this dismal change took place in the face of affairs at land, the duke of Sudermania fell in with the Cronstadt June 3d. fleet, under the command of vice admiral Kvirse. An engagement took place, and lasted some hours, which brought out a confession, not before made, that the Swedish ships had already suffered so much, both in their hulls and rigging, as to be at this time in very bad condition for action, several of them being nearly unmanageable. They, however, fought with great courage; and the only disadvantage which they attribute to the bad state of their ships, was its disabling them from forcing the enemy to a close engagement. The success of the action was in no degree decided, when the fleets were obliged to separate by the approach of night; the Swedes retiring to the neighbouring port of Seasker. This the Russian accounts represented as a flight;

sight; but the succeeding events soon shewed the contrary. The Russian vice admiral Soschotin had a leg shot off in this rencounter; and the Swedes say, that two of their ships were so dismantled as to be towed out of the line.

The Swedes having refitted their ships and mended their rigging during the night, as much as the time could possibly admit, renewed the engagement in the morning. So far as we can judge from comparing the discordant accounts, they seem to have had rather the advantage during several hours, though nothing decisive took place. The duke's fleet were superior in number to the Cronstadt division, but, as we have seen before, they were far inferior in point of condition. The Russian commanders, under these circumstances, accordingly acted with great judgment in making use of every benefit, which the peculiar nature of that sea, and of its winds, currents, shoals, and islands afforded, to avoid being brought to close action; and our own naval history abundantly testifies, that what our seamen call a *long-shot fire* is the most destructive of any to the rigging of ships.

In this doubtful state of things, and in the very height of the conflict, two Swedish frigates were perceived crowding every sail they could carry; and immediately after the Revel squadron came in sight, consisting of thirteen ships, in full chace of the frigates, but at the same time bearing down directly, with the most eager expedition upon the rear of the Swedish fleet, which was thus literally placed between two fires. No situation could be more perilous. It was impossible to form the weakest hope of being able to withstand such

an additional force of fresh ships; and the finding any means of escaping from the danger, dispersed as the fleet was, and deeply involved in action, seemed to the fall as hopeless; so that the Swedish fleet was apparently enclosed in toils from which it could not be extricated.

At this critical moment, when the wished-for consequences seemed inevitable, an express was instantly dispatched to convey the welcome news to Peterburgh, where the inhabitants were greatly alarmed by the fierce and doubtful conflicts which were taking place in its neighbourhood. The account, with all its circumstances, and the particular situation in which their enemy was involved, were immediately published, and for several days all true Swedes trembled for the fate of the duke of Sudermania and his fleet; while the public in general, through all the surrounding and adjoining countries, considered them as certainly lost.

But fortune, which has ever been supposed to hold supreme sway in the affairs of war, seemed now for once disposed to favour the Swedes. The details of circumstances are very imperfect; but it appears, upon the whole, that a sudden shift of the wind, seconded undoubtedly by judicious manœuvres and bold exertions, enabled the duke of Sudermania to extricate himself from the danger in which he was involved, and to gain, on that very evening, a secure station in the island of Bioroko, where he either met with, or was speedily joined by the king, with his flotilla, or fleet of galleys, gun-boats and frigates. At the same time that their superior enemy, who so lately had deemed them a prey se-
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care in their hands, were obliged to forego all their hopes and advantages, and to take a station between that island and Petersburg, to protect that capital from an assault, which, notwithstanding all the losses sustained by the Swedes, was a matter much apprehended.

It seemed at this time as if the Swedes had been peculiarly destined no sooner to have escaped from one imminent danger than to plunge themselves into another still greater. This destiny was included in the wonderful activity of the king's mind, and a spirit of enterprize which no difficulties or dangers could subdue. It is possible that his situation at the island of Biorko, which lies facing the narrow channel that passes into the gulph or bay of Wibourg, might have had some share in directing his views at this time to that city and port. There were, however, motives sufficiently strong for undertaking an enterprize against that place, supposing the design was accompanied with a reasonable prospect of success. For a large division of the Russian galley-fleet lay in that port; and as Wybourg had been the ancient capital of Carelia before the erection of Petersburg, and lay within seventy English miles of that place, the éclat which would have attended its reduction, together with the alarm and terror which it must excite in the metropolis, were strong inducements to the attempt, and would have been circumstances highly flattering in the event.

Under the influence of these motives, and of that violent passion which ever operated upon the king, not only for emulating but for rivalling the most renowned of his predecessors in military glory, he

determined upon the attack of Wybourg. The project was so full of danger, the probabilities against its succeeding so great, and the ruin which must attend its failure so certain, that nothing less than the desperate state of his affairs could, upon any principle of military skill or calculation, in any degree justify its adoption. But Gustavus paid little attention to calculations, where they interfered with his designs.

Preparatory to the attack on the port, though the number of land forces which he had on board the galley-fleet was ill calculated to admit of being weakened by a division, he made a descent on the neighbouring coast of Carelia in person, with a part of his troops; his objects being partly to distract and increase the terror of the enemy; partly to invest, so far as his numbers would permit, the city on the land side; and partly to be in readiness to join in the assault, if the fleet should prove successful. He divided his force into two detachments, which pursued separate courses, and were each successful in routing and dispersing, with their usual vigour and promptitude, such small bodies of Russians as could in that dreary country on a sudden be collected to oppose their progress.

In the mean time the fatal event, which there was so much reason to expect, and so much cause to dread, was to take place. The grand Russian fleet under admiral Tschitschakoff, and the Cronstadt division of light galleys under the command of the prince of Nassau, hastened to the relief of their fellows, and appeared suddenly before that narrow passage, which we observed led into the bay of Wybourg. The Swedish fleet

fleet were in the bay; and as there was no other communication with the sea but through that inlet, and that being already possessed by the enemy, it might be literally said that they were caught in a trap. In this most calamitous situation, no choice remained but to surrender to the enemy, to force their way out, or to perish in the attempt. The second condition was adopted, and the rest left to be determined by fortune or chance.

The Russians had placed four of their capital ships, and mounted with their heaviest artillery, within the strait, two on each side, and in situations where the intricacies of the passage would lay the Swedes entirely open to their fire. Their grand fleet was drawn up in a line along the coast, on the outside of the inlet, and at as near a distance as could with safety be taken, while their frigates and light fleet were ranged among the numerous islands which lie nearer to the shore.

July 3d. The van of the Swedish fleet, commanded by admiral Modéc, had the fortune, assisted by a favourable gale, to pass the strait without receiving any very essential damage, firing their broadsides on each hand with great spirit and effect upon the stationed ships as they passed. Had this example been followed by the rest of the fleet, it would have been fortunate; but the evil destiny of the Swedes was now to prevail. The cannonade from the four ships had been so powerful, and so admirably maintained, that it struck those who were next to follow with awe; upon which the duke of Sudermania adopted a design, the best calculated that could be conceived in such circumstances, which

was to remove the obstacle entirely by burning the four stationed ships.

This was accordingly attempted; but whether it proceeded from want of skill in those who conducted the fire-ships, or from unavoidable accident, it so fell out, that instead of the enemy they fell aboard a Swedish line of battle ship and a frigate, both of which were blown up. Such a dreadful misfortune, in the midst of a scene already so perilous, was sufficient to strike dismay into the most undaunted hearts. It was impossible that among such a number of men, where every individual was an equal partaker in the danger, and equally operated upon by the principle of self-preservation, but that disorder and confusion must ensue. Every thing was afterwards done in a hurry, and every thing accordingly ill done. Four ships of the line, in their subsequent attempts to pass the strait, struck upon the rocks, and were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. The engagement lasted, in some manner or other, during the whole night, and through part of the succeeding day. When the Swedes had passed the strait, they were closely pursued along the coast, and incessantly attacked by their exasperated enemy; and in this course lost two line of battle ships more. The duke had the fortune to escape to Sweaburg, with the remains of his ruined fleet, on the evening of that day.

The Swedes lost either seven or eight ships of the line, (for there is a ship difference in the opposite account) from 64 to 74 guns, besides several stout frigates, in this unfortunate affair. Another difference between these accounts is, that the Swedes say three or four ships were burnt, which the Russians assert were

were taken. The loss on their side was inconsiderable, excepting in the four ships which so nobly maintained the passage of the strait. These were nearly reduced to the state of absolute wreck, and the slaughter on board them was proportioned to the havoc which had been made on the vessels. The few English officers in the Russian service had that regard shewn to their national character, as well as to their particular merits, as to have the post of honour assigned to them on this occasion. Most of them were employed in this dangerous service, and some purchased the honour at the expence of their lives.

The galley fleet, under the king, was in the most imminent danger, and its escape in any manner was a matter of astonishment. It did not, however, escape without paying the fine due to rashness. Six of his galleys were taken, in which were eight hundred soldiers of his guards; sixty of the smaller vessels were taken or destroyed; four of the oldest and best regiments in the service suffered severely; and ninety officers were killed, wounded or missing. It was computed that the Swedes lost more than seven thousand men in both engagements.

But the succession of bloody actions was now so quick, and the transition of scenery so unexpected and sudden, that we seem rather to be wandering in the regions of old romance, than reading a sober narrative of late transactions.

It was on the 3d and 4th of July that the calamitous affair at Wybourg took place; which, with the former loss at Revel, seemed irretrievably to ruin, and indeed nearly to annihilate the Swedish naval power, at least with respect to any

purposes that related to the present war. It was probably on the 5th, that the king, with the remainder of his galley fleet, arrived at, or it might more properly be said escaped to, Swenk Sound. Here he found the Pomeranian division of his light fleet, under the command of M. de Cronstadt, being his last resource, and which had the happy fortune of not being involved in the general ruin, by its late arrival during his absence. Instead of being dismayed by loss, or his ardour quelled by disaster, this magnanimous prince, whose unconquerable soul seemed to rise superior even to the power of fortune, instantly adopted the bold design of attempting to retrieve his affairs, by giving such a signal blow to the enemy, as would at least efface the memory of the late disgraces, if it could not entirely remedy their effect.

With this view the king did not lose an instant in supplying the remainder of his own squadron with provisions and ammunition, and in putting the vessels in the best condition that could be done on a sudden. He was no less expeditious in putting immediately to sea; his object being to intercept the prince of Nassau, who with the Cronstadt and Wybourg divisions was on his way to Fredericsham. This was an arduous attempt, for besides that the Russians (from certain peculiar causes, which we have heretofore assigned) are better calculated for this species of warfare than any other people, the prince, from his long experience, and great and constant success against the Ottomans and Swedes, had acquired the reputation of being the first commander in Europe in conducting this kind of bloody combat.

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The king had not much time to lose in waiting for his enemy. On the 8th the hostile fleet appeared in sight, the king being between them and the shore. It was not possible that they could avoid being surpris'd at perceiving him. He went himself, with colonel Cronstadt, to take a view of their position and numbers, and found them in every respect formidable. At

July 9th. nine o'clock, the next morning the prince advanced upon the king's fleet, which was already drawn up in order of battle, the main body being commanded by colonel Stedinck; the right wing by colonel Torningi; and the left by colonel Hielsierna. It is a matter of observation that all these commanders were land-officers.

The king himself, who was always in the heat of every action, was this day on board the *Seraphim* galley, and gave the signal for a general engagement. A furious conflict now commenced. The wings were first engaged. The enemy came on with great fierceness, and supported a most tremendous fire, both of cannon and small arms; but they were so warmly received, and the resistance continued with such firmness, that about noon their left wing began to recoil.— Both sides about this time received reinforcements, upon which the Russian left wing returned to the charge, and the fight was renewed through the whole extent of the line with the utmost fury. About four o'clock some of the Russian larger galleys quitted their line, others struck their colours, and others foundered. Several were taken. The beaten enemy, however, continued firing till ten in the

evening; when their object seems to have been to get under way and disperse. In this course, some run on the shoals, and struck their colours. The darkness of the night put a stop to the firing of the Swedes at eleven o'clock. The night was spent in removing the prisoners, and taking possession of the vessels that struck.

At three in the morning the victors renewed the action. A Russian frigate, and a number of small craft, were soon taken. The vanquished retreated on all sides, and set fire to their stranded ships.— They were pursued without intermission till ten at night. The Swedes took forty-five of their vessels, with considerable artillery, and a multitude of trophies. We may judge what extraordinary artillery this sort of vessels carried, by knowing that two forty-pound brass mortars were among the trophies; and that the cannon carried in general from 24 to 30 pounds ball; it is observable that howitzers held a more than common proportion in these lists. The prisoners amounted to about 4,500; of whom 210 were officers. The number of vessels sunk and burnt could not be exactly ascertained, but the wrecks and vestiges of ruin, upon a long line of coast, were very numerous. The loss of the Russians in men must have been prodigious: but no calculation can be made of it. The Swedes lost but a few vessels; and their loss in men was more moderate than could well be conceived, considering the destructive and bloody nature of these mixed and peculiar combats.

Thus were the Russians at length defeated, partly, it may be said, on their own element, and entirely in their

their own favourite manner of fighting, in which they were deemed irresistible; so that as the Swedes formerly taught them to conquer by land, they now in return taught the Swedes to beat themselves in this new severe mode of deciding the fortune of war. The prince of Nassau likewise, who had plumed himself highly on being the king of Sweden's direct adversary, and who shewed some evident marks of ostentation on his successes against him, was now compelled to lower his crest, and to resign his laurels to a superior foe. The scanty provision since made for him by the court of Petersburg, the usual magnificence, expence, and liberality of that court being considered, sufficiently shews that this misfortune served much to wear away the memory of his former exploits. Indeed few things could have gone nearer to the heart of the empress than this defeat.

It was undoubtedly among the most extraordinary reverses of fortune known in modern history; especially considering it to be a naval action; and the general ruin which had so recently fallen upon every denomination and part of the Swedish fleets, excepting merely the Pomeranian light squadron.

While we cannot avoid admiring the invincible courage and the unbroken spirit of enterprize in the king, which rose superior to every stroke of fortune, too much praise cannot be bestowed on the valour and firmness so nobly displayed by his troops; which, on both elements, in all the unequal trials, and all the dangerous service of the past and the present campaign, every where contending with a force infinitely superior, never was, and never

can be exceeded by those of any nation; and sufficiently shewed, that if it had not been for the disaffection and treachery of his nobility and officers, in the first campaign, Russia would have found a much more formidable enemy in Gustavus, than that untimely and fatal check afterwards permitted him to prove. In fact, notwithstanding the vast power and the prodigious armies of that empire, it is probable that Russia, for many years back, has not owed much less of her success to political intrigues, and to her peculiar talent, of exciting internal dissention and outward disunion among her neighbours, than to the force or terror of her arms.

But, splendid and glorious as this victory was, except in extricating him from immediate danger, it was not capable in its effect of much bettering the king's condition. He had not a sufficient army to profit by it; and his navy, which for its number was a very good one, was totally ruined. Sweden, which had strained every nerve in support of the war, was worn down by its enormous expences; these, as usual, far exceeding, not only all previous calculations, but whatever could have been thought possible, even after making a large allowance for contingencies. Her loss of men had been likewise great; a loss which she could nearly as ill spare, as she could that of her treasure. This victory, and even the preceding unfortunate actions, produced, however, one effect, of much greater importance than might at first view be conceived. They served effectually to cure, or to remove, that supercilious contempt, and that extreme *hauteur*, with which the empress had long been in the habit of treating and of affecting to consider

consider the king upon all occasions; and which descended to the prince of Nassau and others of her commanders, without at all losing any thing by the way.

These sentiments, if real, or their expression, if not, were now totally altered. The empress perceived and felt, that she was contending with a most formidable adversary; whose courage and abilities would ever render him dangerous. He was the first and the only enemy who, from its foundations being laid, had ever excited alarm or spread terror in her capital; and this he not only succeeded in performing once, but, seemingly in despite of ill fortune, continued in repeating; and she saw, that from his nearness and his great qualities, no superiority of power might at all times be sufficient to guard against the sudden effects of his undaunted spirit and bold enterprize. It may likewise be well imagined that a woman of her character could not avoid being impressed with respect by the extraordinary acts, and even feel some sympathy, though an enemy, in the heroism of this singular prince.

These sentiments, together with the political motives by which they were accompanied, undoubtedly contributed much to bring about that sudden and most unexpected peace which was now to astonish all Europe, between these contending nations, whose long-established enmity and rivalry would seem almost destined to be perpetual, if any thing on this earth could be so. But there was another political motive, which perhaps operated more forcibly upon the court of Petersburg than those we have already stated. All Europe had seen, with some degree of wonder, but none of appro-

bation, the extreme haughtiness with which that court had inflexibly persevered, in disdainfully rejecting all the proposals for mediating a peace with the Ottomans, which were made by the allied powers. The terms in which this rejection was generally conveyed, approached much more nearly to insult, than to the conciliatory or friendly language usually established among powers who are in an equality of condition, and who reciprocally cultivate neighbourly good offices.—“The empress makes war, and makes peace, when she pleases, without consulting any other power.”—“She is not to be dictated to.”—“She will not permit any interference whatever in the management or government of her affairs.”—Such was the general style of the official language which issued from the court of Peterburgh.

It was at the time supposed, and probably justly, that if the empress failed in the prosecution of her grand scheme, of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and placing her grand-son Constantine upon the throne of the ancient Greek emperors, her next favourite object, and not much less dear to her, was, to erect the nob's provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia into an independent sovereignty, for her great favourite, prince Potemkin; whose personal influence and vast power, already nearly supreme, had long spread jealousy and alarm, if not through the empire, at least through the court, and among the principal nobility. The great and constant opposition which she met with from the allies, was undoubtedly the cause which induced the empress at length to abandon this design; and in the place of an independent sovereignty

in these provinces, to sooth Potemkin's ambition for the present by appointing him Hetman of the Cossacks, an office of the greatest trust and power in the empire, which likewise carried in some sort the semblance of sovereignty; and which had never before been filled up since the days of the celebrated Mazeppa. But in what regarded Ockzacow, the Crimea, Black Sea, and all other points of her claim, she persevered in maintaining the same inflexible obstinacy. This was so much resented by the allied powers, and the differences upon the subject rose to such a pitch, that Russia was on the point of being involved in a war with Great Britain and Prussia; which was indeed only prevented by the powerful opposition and glamour which was raised in England against the intentions of government.

If that event had taken place at a certain period, Sweden, which was already a fore thorn in the side of Russia, would have become not only an equal but a superior enemy. Placed by his situation on the only vulnerable side of that country, and supported by English fleets and Prussian armies, the heroic king would have been enabled to carry fire and sword into the very heart of the empire; and possibly to produce one of those extraordinary revolutions, for which that government has ever been so remarkable: an event for which many thought the people were at that time fully ripe. It is then easily seen of what vast importance it was to the court of Petersburg to draw off Sweden from an alliance, which was capable of producing such dangerous consequences; at the same time, (though comparatively a small con-

sideration, yet a very favourite one) that it would enable that court to persevere in its native haughtiness with respect to the other allies.

Immediately, or at least very speedily after the late victory, a direct private intercourse between the empress and the king seems to have been commenced. It is very probable that the general heads of accommodation were thus settled between the principals themselves; nor is it less probable (and it has been asserted) that it was in the first instance laid down as a rule, that the allies on either side were not to be consulted, nor any mediation whatever referred to, but that the peace should be the immediate act, and proceed from the spontaneous will of the parties, without foreign advice or consultation; this equally suiting the pride of one, and the peculiar circumstances of the other, with respect to those allies whom he was now unexpectedly deserting. It is likewise to be observed, that the empress was as little pleased or satisfied with the conduct of her ally Leopold, as the king was with that of Great Britain or Prussia.

General Ingelstrom, on the part of Russia, and the lieutenant general Baron d'Armfeldt on that of Sweden, were, without loss of time, appointed to confer and settle the terms of peace. They met on the banks of the Kymene, in a large tent erected for the purpose between the advanced posts of the two hostile camps, on the plain of Werela. As the commissioners had not much business to settle, and their principals were equally eager for a speedy accommodation, the negotiations could not be tedious. A suspension of arms was immediately agreed on;

August 14th. on; and shortly after the terms of peace were concluded and signed, the ratifications being to be exchanged in six days. This new treaty placed matters exactly in the same state they had been before the war. All the ancient treaties, or more properly those which had been concluded since the reign of Charles the Twelfth, were renewed and confirmed. If any change at all took place, it was only with respect to the recognition, or perhaps farther specification, of a clause in one of the earliest of those treaties, by which the Swedes were to be allowed to purchase corn free from duties in Livonia, whenever that commodity exceeded a certain price in their own country; a condition which Russia had hitherto made little scruple of violating upon the most trying and distressing occasions. The frontiers were to be placed exactly in the same state they had been before the war.

It will afford no cause of surprize that the peace occasioned much joy at Stockholm, when it is known that the public rejoicings at Petersburg were carried to an extreme, which seemed little consistent, either with the pride of that court, or with the contempt with which they had so recently affected to regard and treat their late adversary and new friend. Among other instances of this, a grand *Te Deum* was performed in the great church of that city, to assist at the celebration of which the empress came in person from her country palace, as did the grand duke, and all the other members of the imperial family, from their respective residences; the whole court being for that day and night in the utmost

splendour of what is called *gala*; while the capital was shining with illuminations, and re-echoing with acclamations of joy. The magnificence likewise with which the empress honoured and rewarded the negociators on both sides who concluded the peace, sufficiently testified how much she found herself interested in that event.

Few incidents could have more affected the general face of affairs in Europe than this unexpected peace; but it particularly deranged, and in a great measure overthrew, the system of politics pursued by the king of Prussia for the last two or three years; and, in the pursuit of which he had been guilty of some capital faults, little compatible with the character of a great statesman. That prince was too full of refinements in his policy and conduct, and was so slow in his decisions, that it carried the appearance of irresolution. By the first error he lost that character of sincerity, openness, and fair dealing, so essentially necessary to princes and statesmen, (even independent of all moral motives) for the mere furtherance, and bringing to happy issue, their political pursuits. With respect to the second, the tone of menace which he assumed early in the disputes with Austria and Russia, the perpetual display of his military force and preparations, with the continual movements of his armies, (which must have occasioned an expense in some degree approaching to that of actual war) undoubtedly produced some considerable effect in the beginning. But when it was at length discovered that these terrific appearances were totally harmless, and were followed by no corresponding effect, and that his adversaries, to use a common phrase, came to

know their man, then neither high language, nor the movements of a Prussian army, produced any more effect than the common exercises of a review. This was particularly the result with respect to his great antagonist of Russia, who soon forming a true estimate of the real weight or value which should be assigned to these threats or appearances, seemed afterwards to treat them with the most sovereign contempt.

It was by this sort of conduct, by a system of procrastination and tergiversation, that the court of Berlin now found her politics at once overthrown, her hopes frustrated; and that she saw, with dismay, the most effective member of the alliance, with respect to the making of any successful impression upon Russia, after all the wonderful exertions which he had made in the common cause, irrecoverably detached from it through her own fault, who suffered this most useful ally to be reduced nearly to the point of absolutely perishing, while she was amusing herself with the holiday sports of talking big and parading her armies. Nor was the loss of her ally all she had to apprehend, she was sorely afraid (and had reason to be so, as it seemed highly probable) that her late friend was bound by the conditions of this peace and treaty to become her actual enemy, and to join Denmark in a triple alliance with Russia.

Nothing could, however, exceed the obloquy which was thrown upon the king of Sweden for this shameful desertion, as it was called, of his allies; a charge to which were added the most reproachful epithets. Gustavus vindicated his conduct upon the grounds which we have lately

stated; while his victories, his continual bold enterprises, his defeats, and his prodigious losses, were indisputable records of the energy with which he conducted the war, and of the unequalled hazards and dangers to which he had, for so long a time, continually exposed his person, his brave troops, and even his country, in the pursuit. He reprimanded with much point and severity, as well as justice, upon the conduct of the allies, who had for three years, with the coldest indifference, beheld him contending against a superiority of force, of which there were few examples, and which nothing less than the unparalleled valour of his troops could have supported even for a short time; yet through that long period of continual and unequal conflict, attended as it was with various fortune, and frequently oppressed and overborne as he was by irresistible force, until he was at length shut up in the bay of Wybourg, from whence (though he there lost a noble part of his fleet) his deliverance in any manner seemed scarcely short of a miracle, not a single ship, not a single man, was sent by any of the allies to his assistance or relief.

The king found it much more difficult to vindicate himself from the complaints and reproaches of the Ottomans, because they were much better founded, than from those of his Christian allies. Besides the great subsidies which the Porte had paid to Sweden for the support of the war, the parties were firmly bound by treaty, not to conclude a peace, but by mutual participation and consent; so that with respect to the Turks, it was an indefensible and shameful violation of

of compact and public faith. The news of the peace accordingly appeared so incredible at Constantinople, that at first it was not believed; but when the account was so well confirmed as to leave no room for the possibility of doubt, nothing could exceed the ferment which it excited in that capital. The Swedes had just before been among the most favoured of the Christian nations; Gustavus was held as a hero, scarcely second to Charles the Twelfth, whose character was still held by the Turks in the greatest veneration. It was only a few days before the intelligence of this fatal stroke was received, that an uncommonly fine and valuable diamond, which had been sent by Gustavus, was presented to the grand seignior. Both the resident Swedish minister, and the bearer of the present, were not only received and treated with peculiar marks of distinction and honour, but had magnificent pecuniary presents bestowed on them; while nothing could exceed the marks of applause, approbation, and even seeming affection which they received from the populace; who appearing to forget their ancient pride, bigotry, and animosities, are reported to have hailed the Swedes as their Christian brothers. All these circumstances, all these favourable sentiments, all the strong opinions founded on the honour and heroism of the king, as well as on the native honesty and generous fidelity for which the nation had ever been renowned, only served now still farther to aggravate the public mind, and to increase the present ferment to its utmost pitch. In a word, nothing could exceed the indignation and abhorrence, which this act of baseness and treachery, as they deem-

ed it to be, produced in the court and government, as well as with the public. The lowest populace at Constantinople became so outrageous on this occasion, that it was dangerous for some time for a Swede to appear in the streets.

We have already shewn the inactivity of the Russian armies on the borders of the Danube, during the summer, and usual season of action, in the year 1790; and likewise, that this inaction proceeded from political and not from military causes. It, however, so proved in the event, that this delay of hostility was of the utmost advantage to the Russians, and that few circumstances could have been more fatally ruinous to their enemy. For the former, having directed all their views to the prosecution of a winter campaign, the Asiatic troops, who formed the bulk of the Ottoman armies, had; according to their established custom, at the approach of that season, all repassed the Hellespont, and returned to their native countries. Thus the European Turks were left singly to contend with the whole force of Russia; nor were the former, though brave in the highest sense that the term can be understood, at all to be compared in point of hardiness to the Russian soldiers. For these having been bred in those frozen Hyperborean regions, comparatively to whose rigour the severities of a Thracian winter, which were so dreadful to the ancients, appeared to be a sort of summer, they even preferred a winter campaign on the Danube to one in any other season; at the same time that their enemies were torpid with the cold, and from their habits incapable of withstanding the keenness of the outward air.

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During

During this state of inaction on the Danube, a Russian piratical squadron in the Archipelago, which had done infinite mischief in those islands, besides greatly impeding the trade to the Porte, particularly that from Egypt, which was more valuable than any other, was at length totally destroyed, through the undaunted courage, or barbarous ferocity, as it was called, of the Algerines; a race of men, who setting all laws at defiance, disdained to be frightened by names or by prophecies. The Russian adventurers, who were joined by others of all the surrounding countries, besides repeatedly re-plundering the smaller islands in general, had, under the conduct of a major Lambro, seized entirely on that of Zia, where they erected fortifications, and hired a body of Albanese soldiers for their defence, and for securing the future possession of the island.

May 18th, 1790. Seven Algerine corsairs, boldly, and indeed it might be said generously, undertook to rescue the Archipelago from the enormities committed by their fellow depredators; and being joined by some Turkish vessels, which were, however, of little use in the action, attacked the Russian squadron with such irresistible fury, that after making a great slaughter of them, and sinking two of their best vessels, they forced them to run the rest on shore, and set fire to them, to prevent their being taken. Major Lambro was himself wounded, and escaped on shore with his officers, and not without danger and difficulty, in a boat. Thus the Algerines effectually performed the service they had undertaken, and freed the islands and the Turkish

trade from all farther depredation.

During the state of inaction which prevailed on the borders of the Danube, the Turks made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the Russian provinces on the side of Asia; hoping at least to make such a diversion as might be the means of drawing part of their attention, and perhaps of their forces, from the grand scene of action. On this design, the serasquier Batal Bey, a Basha of three tails, had advanced with an army of forty thousand men from Anapa, and entered into the Russian territories or conquests. But prince Potemkin, having received early information of this design, had already taken measures to defeat it, by ordering the Russian forces on the borders of the Cuban, and the side of Caucasus, to assemble and repel the enemy.

Batal Bey had just passed the river Cuban, when he was immediately encountered by the Russian army under general Herman. The superiority of the Turks was said to be great, but their usual fortune still closely adhered to them. They were completely and totally routed; their general, and all his principal officers, made prisoners; their artillery, amounting to above thirty pieces, with their whole camp, tents, baggage, provisions, ammunition, every thing belonging to the army, was taken. The Russian account of the action is indistinct: we may however gather from it that either a surprize or an ambuscade contributed something to this very cheap and decisive victory.

Some naval actions, which took place between the Russians and
Turks

O&. 10th.

Turks in the Black Sea, are ill related, and would be of little account if it were otherwise. In one of these, it is said, that a Turkish ship being furrounded by several Russian, and the captain seeing it impossible to escape, he boldly grappled one of the largest of the enemy's ships, and setting fire to the powder-room, blew both up together. In another, where the Russians claimed a complete victory, the captain basha, who commanded against them, had, on his return to Constantinople, the title of *Gazi*, or Conqueror, bestowed on him by the grand signior, which was the greatest honour that could be conferred.

It was not till late in October that the Russian armies under the princes Potemkin, Repnin, and general Suwarow, began to be in motion. Their movements and preparations soon shewed their determination of making a vigorous winter campaign. Ismailow, on the Danube, with the strong fortrefs of Brailow, which would complete the conquest of Wallachia, were their immediate objects; and their more remote were, upon the reduction of these two places, to pass the Danube, as general Romanzow had done in the former war; and carrying fire and sword into the heart of the Ottoman dominions, to compel the Porte, before it could possibly recal its Asiatic fortrefs, to abandon its European hopes and connections; and to gratify the superb pride of the Empress, by accepting such terms of peace as she pleased to grant, without the interference or mediation of any other power.

Nothing could be more favourable to the execution of these designs than the deplorable condition at this

time of their enemy, every circumstance of whose situation they were perfectly acquainted with. For the usually great Ottoman army, under the conduct of the grand vizir himself, was so miserably reduced, not only by the departure of the Asiatics, but by the desertion of their European forces, as to be estimated at only about 48,000 men. To comprehend the cause of this extreme weakness, we are to take notice, that the bulk of the Ottoman armies is composed of men who hold their estates by military tenures, and who advance to battle at the head of their vassals, as our barons did in days of old. These men not being new recruits, though very capable to fight bravely, yet having been always used to live in ease and luxury, are incalculated to endure the constant toils and hardships of war; but as they may submit to them in summer, abhor and dread beyond all things the severities of winter service. The desertion amongst them was accordingly great; nor could their commander, notwithstanding the great powers which he possessed, restrain it either by threats or rewards.

As the taking of Ismailow was one of the most important events, and by far the most cruel and lamentable which took place even in the present savage war, and was likewise distinguished by a display of the most ferocious intrepidity on the one side, and of the most undaunted and unconquerable valour on the other, that either was or can be exhibited, we shall on these accounts enter more into the particulars of a transaction which must ever continue memorable, than we should have done upon any other occasion. It happens likewise that the details

given of this horrid catastrophe have been more clear and intelligible, than any other we ever met (at least so near the time of action) which related the operations of either a Russian or Turkish army. It is true that these accounts vary in many respects, but this circumstance by no means impugns the general veracity of the relaters; who could only describe those things which came within the reach of their own respective narrow observation, in the state of horror, danger, confusion, and absolute darkness, which overspread the fatal scene through the course of a long winter's night; yet by comparing these unconnected statements, they afford sufficient matter from which to draw some general, though not entirely precise ideas, of the nature and course of the operations.

Ismailow, from the importance of its situation, had long since been rendered a place of considerable strength, according to the Turkish ideas and knowledge of fortification, and has been constantly regarded as the key of the lower Danube. Of late years, the works were improved, enlarged, and strengthened, in a most masterly manner, under the able direction of a Spanish engineer. The bastions were by him all strongly faced with stone; and besides perfecting and adding strength to the old works, he added new ones, according to the modern improved stile of fortification, so that every part might reciprocally cover and be covered by another. The town was surrounded by three walls, each of these covered by its proper ditch, and all the ditches of considerable breadth and depth, besides their undoubtedly possessing the capabili-

ty of being filled by the waters of the Danube.

To defend these works, with many others which remain unnoticed, besides a grand artillery, amounting to more than three hundred pieces, a select and numerous garrison had been early allotted; and on the approaching season of menaced danger, the grand vizir in person reinforced it with 13,000 chosen troops; so that Ismailow might be truly said to have contained the flower of the Turkish army. The artillery was committed entirely to the conduct and manage of European engineers, of whom the chief, said to be an Englishman, perished with the rest in the general destruction.

General Suwarow, with the army which he particularly commanded, was appointed to the arduous task of reducing this very strong and very important fortress; an attempt, at that severe season of the year, which must have appeared absurd and impracticable, if judged of according to the present mode of conducting war, and by the rules of those modern tactics, which have been adopted and established by all the other military nations of Europe.

It would almost seem as if that general had his mind heated by newly reading the annals of those ancient ravagers and destroyers of his country (unless indeed he be himself descended from that people) Gengis Khan and Tamerlane. For these conquerors, or rather destroyers of mankind, whose armies consisted of nearly uncountable myriads of men, setting no value whatever upon the lives of their troops, and rendering their dead bodies almost as useful as if they had been living, by applying them to the purposes

of filling up ditches, and forming mounts for the scaling of walls, disdained to lose time in besieging any place, however great or strong, but by pouring in innumerable hordes of fresh men in succession, as the former were killed, carried it by the continual application of mere brutal force, sacrificing the miserable inhabitants, however numerous, to the manes of their own slain, of whom, in all other respects, they made so light.

It is not easy to account from what other example general Suwarow could have derived the design of taking such a fortress as we have described, and so guarded and defended, by main force, and thereby evading the hardships and incommodities of a regular siege. For this purpose he, however, surrounded the place, with batteries constructed on every spot of ground which could answer the purpose, and these loaded with forges for the heating of balls, with the heaviest battering artillery and mortars, as well as with every other machine yet invented for the pouring of destruction into the place. The Russian cavalry of all denominations were compelled to dismount, and to take an equal share with the infantry in this desperate assault.

The dreadful roar of this tremendous artillery was opened at five o'clock in the morning of Christmas-day, the 25th of December 1790, and poured such showers of red-hot balls, bombs, and carcasses into every part of the town and works, as soon afforded a terrible specimen of the horrors which were to ensue. At seven o'clock the Russian army advanced to the attack with the utmost intrepidity, and with all the pride and confidence of assured suc-

cess. It was divided into eight columns, the principal being led by general Suwarow in person, the others by their respective generals, and each column appropriated to its particular point of attack. They were every where encountered with the most noble and persevering valour by the Ottomans. A most desperate conflict ensued, which lasted several hours, the lowest estimates making its continuance three, and was so severely fought, that the Russians describe it as a dreadful battle. The assailants were at length totally repulsed with a terrible slaughter. The Russians seem to have been so staggered by this repulse, and the slaughter by which it was accompanied, that general Suwarow was said to have been obliged to exhibit an extraordinary act of the most desperate valour in his own person, in order to re-animate them, and to recal their resolution. He is said to have snatched a standard, and running up a Turkish battery, to have planted it with his own hands on the top, calling out to the troops, and asking them, whether they would suffer the disgrace to fall upon their country, of its standard being carried in triumph by the infidels?

The action was accordingly renewed with redoubled fury, each side appearing fully determined to conquer or to die. The first parapet was at length carried, after another long and dreadful conflict. The action then seemed to become more obstinate and doubtful than it had yet done; the Turks straining every nerve to recover what they had lost, and all thoughts of personal preservation or life being totally dismissed. The Russians, however, being reinforced by fresh troops, and the Ottomans wearied and worn down by such long and

continual action, the besieged were at length beaten back to the defence of the second parapet. The superiority of the assailants now became apparent; and as it invigorated their exertions and animated their spirits, it equally diminished the hope and depressed the exertion of the enemy. The second and third parapets, after a long course and succession of the most obstinate and bloody conflicts which, it is said, were ever fought, or are any where recorded in the annals of history, were finally carried, and about midnight the conquering Russians entered the body of the place.

No pen could describe, nor, if it were possible, could humanity bear the recital, of the horrors which ensued. The ferocious victors, instead of being struck with admiration or respect by the noble defence of the brave garrison, were so enraged at the great slaughter of their fellows which had taken place, that no bounds could be prescribed to the excess of their fury, nor did it seem that any amount of destruction, or any quantity of human blood, could satiate their revenge. The undistinguished carnage which then took place was rendered more dreadful, by the continual heavy firing, the darkness of the night, the groans of the dying, and the lamentable shrieks of the women and children. All order and command seem to have been entirely at an end during the horrors of that dreadful night; and it is said that the officers could neither restrain the slaughter, nor prevent the general plunder, made by the lawless and ferocious soldiery. It is also said that thousands of the Turks, incapable of enduring the sight of the horrid scenes of destruction in which all that was dear to them

was involved, rushed desperately upon the bayonets of the enemy, in order to shorten their misery; while those who could reach the Danube threw themselves headlong into it, for the same purpose. The streets and passages were so choked by the heaps of dead and dying bodies which lay in them, as considerably to impede the progress of the victors in their eager search for plunder.

The rising sun exhibited such a spectacle in Ismailow, as it is said had not for several ages shocked the eyes and feelings of the beholders. It was calculated that about 24,000 of the Turkish soldiery perished from first to last in this bloody contest, including those who threw themselves into the Danube. No quarter was demanded, nor would the demand have been listened to if there had. Among those who fell were a number of the bravest, most experienced, and renowned commanders in the Turkish armies. Six or seven Tartar princes, of the illustrious line of Gherai, likewise perished with the rest. The Russian generals put a stop to the carnage in the morning, by which a few hundreds of prisoners were preserved, to serve as melancholy recorders and witnesses of the destruction which they had beheld, and of the superior prowess of the victors. The body of the brave governor was found and known, although nearly cut to pieces. In consequence of an accurate enquiry set on foot by an Ottoman commander of rank, it appears, that the whole number of Turks who perished in the slaughter at Ismailow, including the inhabitants of all ages, sexes, and conditions, amounted to 30,816.

It was, however, a dearly bought and bloody purchase to the victors.

It appeared by the returns that 13,000 Russians had fallen in the assault. It appears by an extract of a letter, said to be written by our countrymen colonel Cogley, who commanded the dismounted hussars of the Bog in this bloody affair, that his regiment at the commencement of the storm consisted of 975 effective men, and by the returns next day it appeared to have lost two majors, 14 captains and subalterns, and 600 private men; the colonel himself being likewise severely wounded. That gentleman had the singular fortune and honour, as it may well be considered in such a scene of horror and confusion, to preserve the lives and to protect 300 beautiful Circassian ladies, belonging to the governor's harem, who were on the point of precipitating themselves into the Danube to escape the violation of the soldiers. As this number was too great for one harem, it is probable that the inhabitants of several others (perhaps of all those appertaining to the great commanders) had fled thither for refuge, as the terror and confusion increased.

The Russians had a number of armed galleys, and other light vessels on the Danube, which were filled with Cossacks. The extreme avidity of that savage people for plunder, as well as the desperate courage, with which a near prospect of it inspires them, are circumstances well known. The part of the town which lay next the river was far weaker than any other, and was accordingly attacked by the Cossacks with great effect, at the same time that the army commenced the grand assault. This attack on the weak side, at the same time that the garrison was so fully occupied and

deeply involved on the other, could not but greatly facilitate the success of the assailants, if the effect even reached no farther than merely the disturbance which it caused in the minds of the soldiers, and the general consternation and hopelessness which it could not but spread. The Cossacks burst into the town about the same time that the grand army did, and no doubt bore a full share in the ensuing enormities.—Such was the lamentable fate of Ismailow.

The ostentatious and fantastic display of the bloody trophies taken at Ismailow, which was some time after exhibited at Petersburg, was unworthy the greatness, the magnanimity, and the high character of the empress Catherine. The tragedy should have closed at the conclusion of the last act on the spot. It was attributed more to a desire of gratifying the excessive vanity of prince Potemkin, which was not easily satiated, than to that of the empress herself.

After the affair at Ismailow, the Russians, under the princes Repnin, Galitzin, and other generals, frequently crossed the Danube, and continually routed the Turks wherever they could come up with them. These actions were, however, of no consequence to any but the parties immediately concerned, and as tending to the attainment of the great object in view, of compelling the Turks to accept of peace upon any terms the empress would vouchsafe to grant them, without the interference or mediation of any European power. In the mean time the grand vizir, with his dispirited and, it may be said, broken-hearted army, was glad to retire for shelter into the defiles and fastnesses of the ancient mount Helmus.

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That minister and general having again formed a considerable army, and met with some successes, was at length, in the course of the summer, defeated on the Bulgarian side of the Danube by prince Repnin. The action was only partial; for through some circumstances in the nature of the ground, the Turkish cavalry were thrown into disorder by the Russian artillery, and routed, before the infantry could come up to their support. This misfortune occasioned such a panic, as ended in a general flight of the whole army. This early flight, with the extreme roughness of the country, prevented any considerable loss of men.

It was nearly about the time of this defeat in Bulgaria, that a very bloody and hard fought affair took place at the city or town of Anapa, on the borders of Circassia, in Asia. It may be presumed that the place was of no great strength, as the Turks entrenched themselves strongly in a fortified camp for its protection. Their force is rated in the Peterburgh accounts at 10,000 Turks, and 15,000 Circassians and Tartars; all of whom are said to have fought with the greatest obstinacy. Other accounts make their force much less. Whatever their numbers were, the Russian general Godowitch attacked them at eight o'clock in the morning, and after a most desperate and bloody engagement, which lasted for five hours, he succeeded in storming the camp and the town, though every foot of the ground was severely disputed. The slaughter was of course great, nor could it be confined to one side only; but we do not hear that the victory was fallied by any of those cruelties which so deeply stained the Russian

arms at Ismailow. A vast number of Turks, including the commanding basha, and several other general officers, were made prisoners. Seventy-one pieces of artillery were likewise taken.

These were the last actions of this savage war, which with respect to carnage and cruelty exceeded any other that has been known in modern times. For the distresses of the Porte were now so great, and the dangers with which the empire was environed so imminent, that the grand sultan was obliged to submit to inevitable necessity, and accept of such terms as the empress was pleased to dictate.—Such were the circumstances un- 11th August. der which the treaty of peace at Galatz was suddenly concluded, on the 11th of August, 1791.

True to the character of haughty independence, which she had maintained through the whole of this war, the empress in the very last scene of it seemed desirous to mortify rather than conciliate the allied powers: such at least was her behaviour to the British court. Mr. Fawkener had been sent as an envoy extraordinary, to assist in the negotiation of the peace; and about the same time a gentleman connected both by friendship and blood with the illustrious leader of the opposition party in the house of commons, arrived at the court of St. Peterburgh. Whatever was the object of his visit, whether to collect for his friend more accurate information, such as a statesman ought to use all fair means of obtaining on so great a political question relative to the balance of Europe, or any other purpose less laudable, his presence there was by the empress made the occasion of shewing a marked slight to the

the minister of our government. Whenever she spoke to the latter at her public court, she so contrived as at the same time to place the former on her right hand, in the station of honour; and on the conclusion of the peace, she gave presents exactly of the same kind to both, but of greater value, and with some additional articles, to the representative of Mr. Fox. Neither of these envoys, however, seems to have influenced the terms of the treaty of Galatz one way or the other; since the articles were in substance what had been offered by prince Potemkin at Jassy before the opening of the campaign in 1790. Russia retained Oc-zakow and the country between the Bog and the Dnieper, with the free navigation of the latter river: the rest of her conquests she restored.

In all histories there are particular epochs, which seem naturally to divide one portion of time from another; where every man of an observing and contemplative mind stops almost involuntarily to reflect on many objects, which he had passed unnoticed in his way, and to trace by some fixed land-marks the general course of his future journey. Such an epoch is the close of the year 1791: it is the narrow isthmus between two seas of blood. We have just seen the final pacification of the three mighty empires, which had so deeply died the streams of the Dnieper, the Niefter, and the Danube with human slaughter; and we have endeavoured to develop the political considerations which put an end to the contentions of ambition. The league which had been formed between the empress Catherine and the emperor Joseph had been dissolved by Leopold: and on the other hand the counter-league, which had been in-

tended as a barrier against the views of these confederated powers, snapped short the first moment that a serious trial was made of its strength and solidity, leaving Russia free to obtain the important acquisition which she so much desired to add to her vast and formidable empire. But other combinations soon followed, and were attended by a succession of events, still more momentous, that threaten wholly to subvert the ancient system of Europe, both in the North and the South.

The revolutions of Poland and France, one the pretended, and the other the real cause of a new war, assumed in this year something of a determinate shape. Both, though of an opposite character, and arising out of very different circumstances, began nearly about the same period of the year 1789: both pursued, through the year 1790, the course suited to the genius of each; the former in tranquillity, and amidst the most sincere delight of all orders of men, working itself purer as it went; the latter with turbulence and violence, amidst the proscription, exile, and massacre of the higher classes of society, contracting a fouler stain of pollution, as it proceeded through horrors of the most atrocious kind; till in this year both settled for a short time into systems of government which professed equally to look to the English constitution: one, as to a model of excellence only to be attained by patient improvement; the other, as to a bungling attempt to be despised by the superior skill of the present age. The next year, however, saw both one and the other assailed by a foreign force. The constitution of Poland, weak as she internally was from the consequences of her former anarchy, fell

fell under it. That of France resisted the shocks of invading armies; but in the same moment met the destruction which hung over it, during the whole of its feeble existence, from the restless and criminal intrigues of her own internal factions; since which time they have gone on mutually butchering each other, under various changes of republican anarchy, yet all the while adding conquest to conquest, and extending their dominion by the help of their principles, no less than the sword, far beyond the examples of her most powerful and ambitious monarchs.

The origin of both these invasions (of Poland and France) is by the admirers of the new political doctrines attributed solely to sinister views of unjust aggrandizement in the neighbouring powers, and especially in the emperor Leopold. An instrument has even been published, purporting to be a treaty of partition, signed by him at Pavia in the month of July 1791, and regulating the dismemberment of Poland and France. But it is on the face of it * a coarse and clumsy forgery. The chief clamour, however, has been directed against a congress which certainly did take place at Pilnitz, a summer residence belonging to the elector of Saxony, not far from Dresden. The emperor, accompanied by his eldest son Francis, prince of Hungary, there met the king of Prussia, and his son the prince royal. Some few of their principal ministers and favourite generals were also present. The

count d'Artois, hearing of the intention, repaired to the place, with a very small and select train of French noblemen. The meeting seemed merely to be a party of pleasure, and the time, for the few days it lasted, to be wholly occupied by balls, plays, and hunting. The league, or whatever business actually did there pass, was kept a profound secret; yet the treaty of Pilnitz has been as familiar in the mouths of men, as ever was the treaty of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, or Utrecht. It has been supposed, like the pretended-treaty of Pavia, to have parcelled out the territories both of Poland and France, as well as to have re-modelled the circles of the Germanic empire.

With respect to Poland, every thing is surmise and suspicion. A paper, it is true, was circulated on the continent, as containing the stipulations actually agreed at Pilnitz; and in it there is certainly mention of Poland. But it was in no way authenticated, and has never been subsequently owned; on the contrary, it was immediately disavowed in an official note of the Prussian minister at Munich. Such, however, as these articles are on the subject of Poland, they are utterly inconsistent with the treaty asserted to have been signed by the emperor in the preceding month at Pavia. There (we are to believe) it was positively arranged that the empress of Russia should undertake the invasion of Poland, and be allowed to retain for herself a part of Podolia; that the elector of Saxony,

* To the English reader a mere recital of one passage will be sufficient. By this pretended treaty, Spain was to have Corsica and the French part of St. Domingo; and Great Britain is said to have acceded to this treaty as early as March 1792.—No comment can be necessary at this day. See also some observations relative to Poland, which follow a little lower in the text.

should

should be raised to the hereditary throne of Poland, which he was to transmit through his daughter to the descendants of Catherine's youngest grand-son; and in return that he should cede Lusatia to Frederick William, who was also to have Dantzic and Thorn, with the palatinate on the east, to the frontiers of Silesia. But here, a month after, we find every thing unsettled. All still remained to be done; for we are told that Leopold engaged only to employ his influence for the purpose of bringing Catherine into the scheme of settling the Polish crown on the house of Saxony, and to use his good offices both with her and the republic of Poland to obtain Dantzic and Thorn for the king of Prussia. This is more probable, as it is more agreeable to the views and interests of the contracting powers; it is less liable to be falsified, as it is couched in more general terms; and it is capable of an interpretation free from all injustice, as it in no case proposes hostile force, and rather points in one material part to the support of the new constitution of Poland, which had gratuitously named the elector of Saxony for the founder of a new dynasty. But neither one nor the other accords with the fact; for the empress of Russia invaded the country under the pretence of assisting a small faction of the nobility who claimed her guarantee of the old anarchy, and her complaint was expressly and particularly levelled against the substitution of an hereditary for an elective monarchy. Amidst these contradictions the only safe clue for the guidance of the historian is never to let out of his hand the line of facts which he does know, and by that help to explore his way with

vigilance and caution, as well as he can, through the mazes and intricacies of political intrigue. In this manner, therefore, we shall conduct ourselves; and in our next volume present an uninterrupted narrative of the revolution in Poland, from its origin in 1789 to the nominal re-establishment of the former anarchical constitution at the end of 1792, immediately previous to the first avowal of a new partition, which the courts of Petersburg and Berlin grounded on the false charge of a connection with the prevailing factions and doctrines of France.

The affairs of France certainly did come under consideration at Pilnitz. A separate article (if it were not in truth the only obligation there formally contracted) has been published, and there is reason to think it genuine. It relates wholly to that country. What it is, we shall in the proper place more minutely enquire; but at present it seems only necessary to state generally the question which has been raised upon it. By one party it is insisted that no case of interference by other powers can grow out of the internal transactions of an independent nation; and that the convention of Pilnitz must necessarily be viewed only as an unprincipled conspiracy of monarchs against liberty. They have given out "the league of despots," as a sort of watch-word in this country and throughout Europe; nor will they ever consent to mount higher or to descend lower in seeking the cause of the war and all that has followed, of disgusting and shocking enormities in France, and of misery to the surrounding countries, which have been repeatedly ravaged in the name of fraternity. On the other hand it is contended, that the whole Germanic

manic body, and every member of it, had many just external causes of war against France; and that in the internal transactions of that kingdom there existed such circumstances as warranted and demanded a concert of the neighbouring powers for the common security, agreeably to the received maxims of the law of nations and the practice of all ages; that the concert was but provisional, and the execution of it declared to be in a state of suspense, at the moment when actual hostilities were forced on by the united strength of the republican and anarchical factions of France for the destruction of their king: and as the strongest proof of the spirit on both sides, it has been observed, that when France first declared war, eight months after the congress at Pilnitz, the Austrian forces in the Netherlands did not exceed, and never had exceeded, ten thousand men; while France had increased the troops on her frontier to no less than a hundred and thirty thousand.

To form a fair and impartial judgment on such an exposition of the motives which actuated the combined powers (and it is a short summary of the grounds contained in the public declarations of Austria and Prussia) it is absolutely essential, that the reader should have before him, in one connected view, the events which preceded and followed the congress of Pilnitz, down to the moment of the actual aggression of France: and the period from which that survey ought to commence, seems to be the opening of the year 1791, when the national

assembly thought their constitution so far complete, as to be able to trace out their remaining labours, and fix the time for the abdication of their own authority; when, consequently, they gave on their parts the notice soon after conveyed more officially and directly by M. Montmorin's circular letter in the king's name, that foreign states might begin fairly to estimate by its good or bad effects that constitution which was to be a pattern of perfection to the world. We shall therefore reserve this subject entire for the early chapters of the next volume, where we conceive that a general historian, writing of a past age, would think it most expedient to place it.

In the mean time let us pause, and shortly review the state of Europe, such as it was before the explosion of the French revolution, and such as it had become at the close of this year — The benevolent spirit of improvement, which started at once into action in every quarter, as soon as tranquillity had been restored by the peace of 1763, early challenged our attention, and received our praise. Several chapters in the beginning of our tenth volume were occupied in tracing its progress through every region of Europe, and following it to the very seraglio of Constantinople; since which time we have been agreeably called * on various occasions to resume the narrative. But when this subject last came in review before us, not long prior to the revolution in France, we saw, and † could not conceal that we saw, some approaching danger in the

* See particularly Ann. Reg. Vol. XIX. Hist. Art. p. 136. and Chron. p. 192. — Vol. XXIV. Hist. Art. pp. 12 and 13. Vol. XXVII. Hist. Art. pp. 3 and 4 — and Vol. XXVIII. Hist. Art. p. 169.

† Ann. Reg. Vol. XXVIII. Hist. Art. pp. 29 and 30.

growing

growing passion for innovation, to which all reform is more or less related, as the moral virtues are to those vices into which they pass by excess; and if we still entertained a hope of the final issue, it was a hope chastized by fear, and expressed in a doubtful wish. It would be superfluous to recapitulate here all that has been already detailed; we shall endeavour only to give the general result, at the era of which we speak, as it then affected the condition of all those classes into which the nations of Europe are distributed, and contrast it with the scene which has since realized our apprehensions: adding throughout some incidental illustrations, chiefly from circumstances not of magnitude enough to have found a place in the order of our history.

One striking feature of the present age is the esteem into which agriculture has risen. It has employed the reasoning of the philosopher, and been cherished by the bounty of kings; and it was a natural consequence of this taste that protection should be extended to the aggrieved and patient race of men, who were engaged in it. This was accordingly done in such mode and degree as circumstances required or allowed. Where their bonds had formerly been relaxed, they now obtained farther relief; and where they had still continued in vassalage, the princes on the throne emulously contested the honour of giving all encouragement to their emancipation. The empress Catherine not only promoted their enfranchisement by her edicts, her example, and her influence, but directed the administration of justice to the same end. She spared the life of an op-

pressed vassal, who in a moment of intolerable injury had taken that of a cruel master; and on a lady of high quality, who by her severities had caused the deaths of several of her own peasants, she inflicted a punishment of disgrace worse than death, and which in effect proved fatal. We have lately seen how properly tenacious of this point was the Emperor Joseph on his death-bed, and his brother and successor rejected an application made to him for the repeal of that exception; yet neither the refusal of one or the other occasioned any lasting dissatisfaction to the nobility. In Poland, under the patronage of the king, it had become a sort of fashion among the better and more enlightened nobles, to give freedom to their peasants. The great chancellor Zamoiski tripled the value of his estate by it. The same success attended a similar experiment of Creptowitz, the vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowski; and the king's nephew, prince Stanislaus, particularly distinguished himself, by giving them more than freedom, in undertaking to be himself their instructor, and communicating to them the knowledge of agriculture which he had acquired in this country. The peasantry of the North were travelling fast toward perfect and universal liberty; and it was the opinion of *Rousseau himself, that they ought not to attain it too suddenly.

The mercantile interest advanced still more rapidly into importance. Commerce was no longer thought to degrade; and the pre-eminence which it had given to this island

* In his Letters on Poland.

among

among the powers of Europe, stimulated all who had the means and the opportunity, to foster and increase it by every artificial aid among their own subjects. To this end manufactories were established and supported by most of the crowned heads on the continent, at an enormous expence; and companies were erected, vested with ample immunities, and sometimes assisted with great loans. Kings having thus become partners in trade, manufacturers and merchants were respected and honoured; and under constitutions, where the nobility formed a large privileged class, including the gentry also, the more eminent of the citizens and burghers were from time to time ennobled in no inconsiderable numbers. Without particularizing other nations, (and many instances might be given) this practice was so frequent in France, that when in the year 1789 the electors of the commonalty of Paris first met to chuse their deputies to the states general, alarmed at the danger of throwing so much weight and respectability into the scale of a rival order,* they resolved, that all citizens newly raised to nobility should still be considered as commoners: the best proof (since they were so many as to make such a measure necessary) that the king had not been parsimonious in conferring this reward on meritorious industry. The principal minister himself, Mr. Necker, who then a second time was at the head of the kingdom, was of this description; he was too (as we have formerly observed, and the world knows) a foreigner and a protestant.

This single example may suffice

to shew, that, in France at least, the hierarchy was not very tyrannical. In Spain, if any where, it may be expected to have maintained its authority: yet there began the destruction of the Jesuits; there the crown was constantly getting into its coffers fresh portions of the ecclesiastical revenues, with the consent of the Pope; and there finally the inquisition was abridged of all its terrible powers, and reduced to a mere tribunal of police, for the punishment (but not till after a conviction by an open trial) of such flagrant impiety, as would be cognizable in any well-regulated country. It had been also similarly restrained in Sardinia, and it had been wholly abolished without a struggle in many Italian states, in Parma and Placentia, in Milan and Modena; while toleration was directly secured by law in the greater part of the North. In truth, never was the power of the church exercised with so much moderation in general throughout Europe; never was it less formidable to the throne, or to the cottage; never did the great body of the clergy shew less disposition to over-strain the rights of their order in favour of their own personal interests of ambition or avarice. Some of them might have the frailties of men, but very few indeed had the vices which the sceptics and infidels of all ages have attributed to priests. They were too much rather than too little secularized.

The supercilious pride, with which the military nobility of feudal times looked down on all other ranks, and even on many of their own rank who derived their nobility from other liberal sources,

* See the *proces-verbal* of the Hotel de Ville, p. 7.

was hardly to be traced, except in the remote regions of the North, where it was daily wearing away. Every where else, (though a long line of ancestors had not yet been converted into a crime, but was still regarded with reverence) the new nobility more than balanced the old, partly through the policy of kings, and partly from the natural operation of circumstances. The men of the sword had always found successful rivals for the efficient offices of the state (especially the department of finance, now become the most efficient) formerly in the churchmen, and lately in the professors of the law; they had been rendered of little importance in war by the introduction of standing armies, paid by the sovereign power, and the whole system of modern tactics; and their wealth, as the great land-holders of Europe, was daily more and more eclipsed by the opulence of the monied class, and from time to time was suffering positive diminution, from the pressure of the public burthens, which had been every where increasing with the perpetual accumulation of debt since the invention of funding, and all which ultimately rest with the most oppressive weight, if not exclusively, as some think, on the landed property of every nation. The day that the states-general met in France, three out of eight ministers, who then composed the cabinet of Versailles, were not of noble birth. Their late prime minister, M. de Vergennes, was born of obscure parents in Burgundy, and created a count by Louis XV.; and their late naval minister, M. de Sartine, raised himself solely by his own merit. We have seen a Struensee govern Denmark; and in Spain it was a state

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maxim of the reigning family not to employ the ancient nobility. Indeed it would be easy to multiply illustrations; the difficulty would be rather to shew in any country persons of the first rank possessed of all the first offices.

Artificial distinctions, and titles of honour, it is true, still had a ceremonious precedents allowed to them in private life; but the accomplishments, the demeanour, and the ostensible expenditure of a gentleman, were in most countries a sufficient pass-port to general society, though in some parts of the continent the place which each person held in the polite world was assigned in nice gradations of language. Still where admittance was once obtained, personal merit, talents, and agreeable qualities, would infallibly gain an ascendancy, and by them alone every competitor for admiration would soon come to be estimated. The men of wit and letters, in particular, were courted and caressed. They were heard with attention; their judgment was anxiously sought in all matters of taste and sentiment, of art and science; and that which of all things most consists in practical prudence under the direction of a strong moral sense, the art of government, was measured, like any art the most mechanical, by the square and level of their theories. Whatever they said on any of these subjects passed from mouth to mouth through all the circles of fashion, and was retailed in journals, annals, and all other forms of periodical publication; by the subordinate labourers in the fields of literature: it was translated from one language to another; and penetrated on every side, through every channel of communication.

[O] Thus

Thus they guided and modelled as they pleased what was called public opinion; they filled the office of censors in the great commonwealth of Europe, and imperceptibly subjected courts and cabinets to their controul.

But this was yet only a controul of influence; it yet worked only by the force of truth, as far as their decisions approved themselves to the consciences and the wisdom of persons trusted with the actual exercise of power. And under these circumstances, it cannot be denied (and on former occasions we have mentioned it to their credit) that their authority produced good and humane consequences. To that may be attributed many of the beneficent and salutary measures to which allusion has been already made. To that also we may perhaps ascribe the general lenity which now prevailed in all governments. Be the cause however what it may, the fact itself, in many instances, is striking. The use of torture in the administration of justice had begun to be generally abolished, it having been formally abrogated in Poland, in the Austrian dominions, in France and in Sweden, and in some other countries disused: where the criminal codes were stained with cruelty, new punishments of a mitigated kind had been in many countries substituted, or were declared to be under consideration; the liberty of the press had been established, under fair and equitable restrictions, in several kingdoms, and in others was tacitly allowed, to an extent sufficient perhaps for all sober purposes of useful truth; public enquiry was even courted by monarchs; and the state prisons of all the great potentates of

Europe were as uninhabited, as the Bastille was found to be at the time of its demolition.

It may be doubted, whether it was a cause or an effect, but certainly it was not the least advantage, of this general good disposition and good understanding, that there no longer existed in every nation two political parties founded on a difference of religious tenets, and having in consequence a closer connection with foreign governments of the same sect, than with their own natural government. This was the great evil, while catholics and protestants, or catholics and dissidents of the Greek communion, were striving for the mastery in their respective states. The weakest faction always turned their eyes to some neighbouring sovereign of the same religious interest with themselves, to whose ambition they were ever ready instruments; and the stronger fought to make themselves more sure by leagues and alliances, all of which were then influenced by similar considerations. But now every community was united within itself, and free to contract whatever relations it pleased with others, attending only to the dictates of sound policy.

This was the happy state of Europe in the beginning of the year 1789. All the remaining vestiges of that fierce spirit which sullen with barbarism the lofty and romantic courtesy of ancient manners, had been gradually softening away; and the flames of that religious zeal, which for two centuries had so often kindled the torch of civil discord, was sunk into the ashes. Every succeeding generation was of a character milder and gentler than the last. There was a diffusion of liberality

rality that pervaded the whole mass of mankind. All the diversified classes of society began every where to harmonize with each other in a way hitherto unknown; and whatever might be the peculiarities of different constitutions, a sweeter blood seemed in all to circulate through every member of the political body. The lowest of the people, under governments the most despotic, no longer held their countenances prone to the earth, but were taught to erect them with a becoming sense of their own nature; and the brow of authority, instead of an austere frown, wore an inviting air of complacency and amenity.

We must now look at the reverse of the medal.—The French revolution arrived. The principal causes, which prepared the way for this event, we have explained in the proper place, though probably many more concurred than we there noticed; but our present business is with its character and genius, by which it was distinguished from all other revolutions recorded in history, and which all should endeavour clearly to understand, who wish to know any thing of the real state of Europe from that period. It was made, and was the first ever professed to be made, upon a high metaphysical principle. It set out by declaring not the rights of the commons of France—not the rights of citizens, of men in a state of political society, under whatever form of government—but, still more abstractedly, the rights of man; and the whole scheme of the revolution, as it unfolded itself, appeared, and was avowed by the leaders, to be a new experiment of attempting to bring into practice the speculations of Rousseau. His treatise on the Social Contract was

their holy writ, though it is justice to his memory to say, that he certainly intended it for no such purpose; for he describes it himself as an imperfect fragment of a larger work, undertaken without consulting his own abilities, in consequence long abandoned, and for the most part destroyed: it was originally written too, with a declared reference to his own situation, as an actual member of the sovereignty in the little republic of Geneva. He wrote very differently, when he gave his advice for the practical government of Poland.

The grand maxim, on which all depends, is to this effect;—that the sovereignty of every state solely resides in the actual majority by tale of the individuals who compose the nation; and can only be lawfully exercised by them. In the style of their school, it is imprescriptible, inalienable, indefeasible, and indivisible: it cannot be relinquished by any tacit consent implied in long acquiescence; it cannot be transferred by any positive agreement; it cannot be forfeited by any crime, or lost by any just conquest of another power; and it cannot be partially delegated, so as to vest a right to any portion of it any where, but in the majority. All forms of government are but provisional, till it shall please the sovereign to change them, which he may do without any motive of moral or political necessity, without any consideration of expediency: for a people to be free, it is enough that they will it. It follows of course, that to claim as of right, under any constitution whatever, the exercise of the whole or any part of the sovereignty, is usurpation and tyranny; to dispute the right of the majority to change

the form of government at their mere pleasure and caprice, is treason and rebellion; and insurrection is, as M. de la Fayette, on those principles justly, called it, the most sacred of the rights of man.

There is, however, one little part of Rousseau's theory which they did not attempt to introduce in their system. To all the acts of his sovereign, he holds it indispensably essential that the vote of every citizen should be taken, and that they should be free from all improper influence, such as force or fear, passion or party. Indeed, if that be so essential, it makes the theory (without enquiring into the truth or falsehood of it) a mere barren subtlety. But his disciples substituted a more practical majority, the multitude of Paris, worked up by every art into what they call a revolutionary power; and when we consider their principle, we must take it combined with their practice, as they explain each other, and as they were taken together by the admirers of their revolution, which was an act, and not a metaphysical disquisition.

The tendency of such a creed is obvious. At a touch it crumbles the bond of every political society now in existence, to a rope of sand. It is a sentence of deposition to all the kings of Europe, who claim to be sovereigns by the respective constitutions of their countries, and in whose names laws are enacted, which is the most immediate exercise of sovereignty; it is an edict of proscription to all aristocratical bodies, which must be always dangerous to the necessary equality of this new system, and in mixed governments have a share in legislation, directly incompatible with the

right of a majority told by the head; and it is an absolute grant of every kingdom to the inferior orders; for they are, and ever will be, the many. The authors of the revolution meant that it should be so. There is now in this country a letter, written as early as January 1790, by a celebrated champion of their cause, in which he says, in his own quaint manner, that their system is "a new mode of forming alliances, negatively with courts and affirmatively with the people."

No sooner did these doctrines appear triumphant in France, than they were eagerly received, and busily propagated, in every part of Europe. Whatever bad humours were afloat, all ran into that channel. A new engine of irresistible force was presented to the hands of ambitious men; and ambition was the first time awakened in the bosoms of those, who from their situation in life had been far enough removed from her ordinary temptations. There was no man of a condition so low, but had the prospect of power opened to him, when he was told that he was a member of the sovereign; and that he, with others of his class, whom all know to form the arithmetical majority, should exercise the actual sovereignty. Nor did the desire of power come alone; the desire of riches accompanied it. For, men who have long been labouring in penury see in power only the means of satisfying those wants which have made them wretched. The French system, too, was encouraged, or not discouraged, by many of a higher description, who did not coolly and seriously mean to go all the lengths of the practice. Some thought it a great

great experiment, of which a competent trial should be allowed. Others considered it as a leaven, which, when the immediate fermentation had quietly evaporated, would leave the mass lighter and more wholesome. There were, besides, in all countries many ardent spirits, who were ready to catch up, with little or no examination, whatever came recommended to them by the specious name of liberty; and on this side of the question were too many of that literary interest, which we have already remarked as having got to themselves the formation and direction of public opinion.

Here ended at once that cordiality between all orders of society in Europe, which made private life so pleasing, and promised public happiness by degrees to all, who had not yet the security of a free constitution. Mutual jealousies and alienation succeeded: discontent and audacity on one side, disgust and alarm on the other. Clubs and societies were instituted, and writings were circulated. Of those in our own country we * have given some account already; but the correspondence was not so confined. Letters were read in the Jacobin club at Paris from every capital of Europe; not excepting Constantinople. All adhered to the principles of the French revolution, but spoke more or less freely, according to the greater or less degree of vigilance and rigour in their respective governments. The clergy were by all treated with irreverence and contumely; for it was no secret, that the most active and zealous disseminators of French principles were in

all countries the bitterest enemies to the church. The distinctions of nobility were the theme of much coarse ridicule, and they were told to vail to the nobles of nature; indeed the imputation of aristocracy signified every political reproach to all under the condition of kings, who were by a general name called nothing but despots and tyrants.

The people soon shewed signs of internal commotion, and most where they had least reason to complain. The inhabitants of Avignon had a mild and paternal sovereign in the Pope, but by the arts of the democrats they were plunged into a civil war of the most horrid kind, which we shall hereafter have occasion to relate. A revolution on this new model was attempted in the republic of Geneva, though it failed for this year, but was effected the next, and attended with all the atrocities congenial to its great archetype. What was called the patriotic party in Holland, again raised its head. In Poland, the cities sent a general deputation to Warsaw, without any legal authority to convoke them, and made demands, which it was not thought right to admit in their full extent, though by the excellent management of the king, that country, where impatience and violence might most have been expected and pardoned, displayed a moderation and a sobriety worthy of better times, and a more happy fate. The elector of Saxony, who by careful œconomy, and wise regulation, had restored the finances beyond all hope, without adding to the burthens of his subjects, was, however, assailed

* See Ann. Reg. Vol. XXXII, Hist. Art. pp. 64 and 65; and the fifth and sixth chapters of this Volume.

by

by their clamours in his palace. Many proofs too of the same spirit were given in the ecclesiastical electorates of Germany, though they were among the principalities which were governed with most lenity in the empire.

On the other side, it cannot be a matter of surprize if the two higher orders, and monarchs at their head, were not conciliated by such language and conduct. They began to doubt the policy of their own liberality, and withdrew the hands which had been stretched out for so many years to raise the lower ranks to a more respectable station. Any measure of concession was now rare, unless to carry some immediate object of superior importance, or to compromise some instant fear of a greater evil. The conduct of the press began to be narrowly observed, and the laws which still remained as checks against the abuse of it, to be more rigorously put in execution; proclamations and edicts were issued; and where, by the existing law, it could be done, the importation and the reading of French books prohibited. The state-prisons were again filled with persons accused of plots and conspiracies of various kinds; and instead of that growing confidence which the most despotic princes had lately reposed in the affections of their subjects, they were every where paying court to their armies, as thinking them to be their only security, yet dubious too of their fidelity.

To the eye of the moralist the most afflicting sight is the counter-revolution in sentiments and feelings which now took place. Men were so familiarized to narratives of the most brutal outrage to women, and cruel to age, the most abomi-

nable profanations of the house of God, the most unrelenting refinements on barbarity in massacre, and cannibalism itself, that scenes, the least of which would formerly have made the heart recoil, and the blood run cold with horror, came to be read with little or no comparative emotion. Indeed so depraved was the moral taste become in too many, that there was nothing which was not palliated, excused, and almost justified, on principles fruitful of ten thousand future crimes. It has been said to be mercy to prevent by examples of terror the miseries of a civil war. The violation of the security due to every man from the society to which he belongs, has been confounded with the state of open hostility between people and people, under the acknowledged law of nature and nations; and the drops of blood spilled in the assassinations of Paris have been estimated and balanced against the destruction of battles and even whole wars; while the tenet, which was ascribed as the greatest reproach to the Jesuits, has been generally applied, that the end sanctified the means; that the sum of good to be obtained will on the whole exceed the sum of evil to be suffered. These modes of argument, which teach men to consider metaphysically the present pain of their fellow-creatures, and to reason themselves out of those sympathies which nature gave us to be the main link of society, lead to practices the most savage, and to a barbarism of manners much worse than any which existed in the darkest ages.

Nor has the politician less to lament or to apprehend. It is not only that the reforms, so gratifying to every good mind, which had been proceeding

proceeding so steadily for the last five-and-twenty years, are at a stand; it is not only that the silent revolution, which had brought to a great part of Europe so much of the substance, and would in time have brought also the form of liberty, is driven back; but whatever liberty of a moderated, ordered, and balanced description, seemed to be most firmly established, is tottering on its base. The principle of the French revolution admits of no compromise, no temperance, no qualification. Like all metaphysical positions, if true at all, it must be true in all times, at all places, and under all circumstances; and it is a principle pointing necessarily to practice, inasmuch as it requires the perpetual exercise of the sovereignty by the existing majority, who cannot bind their good faith by any compact, however solemn, for a year, a month, a week, or a single day. It swallows up at once all that patriotism in mixed constitutions, which is the most uncommon, the most liable to misconstruction, and the most unrewarded, the sober and enlightened patriotism, which aiming to keep every part in its proper position and action, must occasionally resist alike the will of the old and the new sovereign, the prince and the people, and which consequently cannot expect any large or lasting share in the favour of either. If this principle stands its ground for any length of time, every thing will be necessarily pushed to extremes.

They who have not hitherto found sufficient repulsion in it, to make them fly from it, will approach nearer and nearer, till they come directly within the sphere of its attraction; while they who fear

it, will think nothing else formidable: practical abuses of power will be disregarded on both sides, as unworthy of consideration, in comparison with the more important objects put in issue by the conflict of this new principle with the existing constitution of every country; and on one side, instead of being honestly and calmly opposed, they will be seen with a sullen satisfaction, as adding to the number of the discontented, and hastening ruin.—We have seen some of these effects in our own country.

Wherever this principle prevails more or less, there is and must be a French faction, proportionably strong; and it will be much more closely united in politics to the great head at Paris than ever were the religious factions, which so long distracted Europe, and have been so recently laid at rest. For, the latter became political, not primarily and necessarily, but secondarily and incidentally. Here the very ground of distinction is the first and most important question of politics. That spirit of ambition which was formerly dreaded in the French monarchy has actuated the French republic from its birth, and with such a powerful lever, planted under the foundations of every government in Europe, she threatens sooner or later to shake them all to pieces.

But suppose her, by abandoning that principle of instability and eternal revolution, to settle at length into something like the legitimate form of a democratical commonwealth. They who, for the sake of that principle, have made light of all the attendant enormities, will attribute all good to that, and will still direct their views to France as the

the natural protectors of every people that are or wish to be republicans by the same means; and there is no natural head of any opposite principle to make a steady counteraction, as the internal factions and external combinations of protestants and catholics sufficiently antagonized each other to prevent any universal predominancy of either. On the contrary, if the throne of France should be again restored to its place, by whatever event, and this most tremendous shock, which royalty in all countries ever experienced, should ultimately pass by without overturning it, though the public danger to Europe will not be the same, yet every assiduity and every exertion will be then necessary to bring men back to the quiet pursuit or defence of rational freedom, and to raise or maintain barriers capable of limiting power, more than ever confident of its own strength.

Such was the melancholy change, which in little more than two years had been wrought in the state of Europe; and such the eventual disasters to which a way had been opened before the close of the year 1791 by the French revolution. The progress of gradual improvement stopped; manners, morals, religion on a precipice; the internal system of every country disquieted; and new factions created in all, which threaten long to agitate and con-

vulse this quarter of the globe, to extinguish, in one extreme or the other, all love of well-regulated liberty, and to overthrow the general balance of power, so necessary to the public security. The intricacies of the plot require more than human interposition to produce a fortunate developement; and the difficulties, at the moment of concluding these reflections, seem to be still thickening. Yet during a period of more than thirty years, since this Work commenced, having witnessed so many vicissitudes in human affairs; having seen one empire acquired by Great Britain in the East, and another lost by her in the West, while no man even now can accurately say, in what degree her general prosperity has been affected by either event; having sometimes known much good to arise out of apparent evil; and being in this very instance compelled to acknowledge much ultimate evil in that spirit of popular reform which we in its origin believed, and in moderation still believe, to be so good, we shall not yet abandon all hope in the dispensations of Providence. In the mean time we shall pursue the more immediate task of the historian, in a faithful narrative of facts, as they arose, and a candid explanation of their causes, as far as our means of information will enable us to unravel them.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. **T**HE university of Dublin, in full convocation, have unanimously conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, as the powerful advocate of the constitution, the friend of public order, virtue, and the happiness of mankind; and in testimony of the high respect entertained by the university (which had the honour of his education) for the various endowments of his capacious mind, and for his superior talents and abilities.

4th. The commissioners of stamp duties met at their office in Somerset Place, to let to farm "the duties payable on horses let to hire for travelling post and by time, now out of lease." They were let at an advance of 10,619*l.* over the sum they produced last year.

This included thirty-three counties, besides North Britain and Wales.

14th. On the last day of the late year there was so thick a fog at Amsterdam, that the people could not see their way along the streets, and ran against each other, even though they had lights in their hands. The accidents it has occasioned are very numerous; but the most lamentable circumstance is, the

number of people who have perished from falling in the canals, where they were drowned before assistance could be given them, though their cries were distinctly heard. The number of persons who have perished in this way is already known to amount to 230.

A dreadful accident lately happened at High Green, 15th. near Sheffield. A bear kept by one Cooper, for the amusement of the country people at their wakes, got loose, and entered the dwelling of a person named Rogers.—The unfortunate wife of the man was sitting with one child on her lap, and another beside her, when the creature seized her with all the savage ferocity incident to his nature, and tore her in a manner too shocking to relate. The cries of the poor unfortunate woman and of the children reached Rogers and the bear-keeper, who almost at the same moment entered the house, and beheld a sight sufficient to appal the most callous mind—what then must be the feelings of a husband? He flew to the animal, but was unable to wrench its jaws from the object of its fury. Cooper then struck it on the head with a hammer, but the haft flying off, the blow was powerless; it however turned the bent of its

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its rage on him, and pursued him till he was nearly exhausted with fatigue; and he must have fallen a victim, had not the neighbours, alarmed at the out-cries, come up with him, and, at a second shot, laid it dead. The woman expired in dreadful agony on Monday.

17th. A bill of indictment was found on Friday by the grand jury of Middlesex, against lord viscount Dungarvan, eldest son of the earl of Corke. His lordship, being rather heated with wine, met a woman of *easy virtue*, who calls herself *Welden*, at one of the theatres on the preceding night. On the play being over, she prevailed on him to take her in a coach to her lodgings, which drove to No. 45, Rathbone-place. His lordship gave her a guinea, but refused to enter the house. On this, Mrs. Welden became riotous, and called the watch; saying, if he did not give her another guinea, she would charge him with robbing her of three guineas and an half. On his refusal, the watchman seized his lordship, and detained him four hours. His lordship's trial came on this morning at the Old Bailey, and lasted six hours.—The wretched prosecutrix having sworn, on the trial, that his lordship had robbed her in the coach; though she had sworn, when before the justice, that she perceived *she had lost her money when she offered to give the link-boy some gratuity for his trouble in calling the coach*. The jury said; it was unnecessary to proceed further, and begged that the defendant might be *honourably acquitted*.

The learned judge said, he was perfectly satisfied; and although they had no such record as that of an *honourable acquittal*, yet it would be remembered.

The jury gave in their verdict—*Not Guilty*.

Lord Dungarvan read the following defence:

“ My lord, and gentlemen of the jury,

“ Whatever shame I ought to take, and do take to myself for the indiscretion which led me into the company of the person who has made, and endeavoured to support by perjury, an attack upon my life and honour, I cannot suffer myself for a moment to suppose that any credit can be given to so strange and improbable an accusation. I am charged by the unconfirmed oath of a common prostitute with an offence, which nothing but the lowest and worst habits of life and connections—the most abject baseness of mind and contempt of character, urged by the most extreme necessity, could possibly prompt any man to commit.—My situation, happily, is the reverse of this—I am not, nor have been in any distress of circumstances or want of credit. The very reverse is my case. I am conscious that my conduct in life has ever been just and honourable; and that no action of mine has disgraced my own station, or reflected any discredit upon those to whom I have the honour of being allied. It will, however, better become me to refer you, gentlemen of the jury, to the testimony of the witnesses who will be called to speak of my conduct and character, than to desire you to receive your information from my own report. Deeply as my mind feels andresents the unmerited disgrace of the imputation attempted to be thrown upon me, I submit cheerfully to a trial by the laws of my country—I know that those laws will not suffer

fer criminals of any rank to elude their justice: but I also know, and it is now my consolation and security to know, that the punishments they inflict, can only fall upon the guilty head; and that innocence is safe, protected by the wisdom and integrity of an English judge and jury.—I have only to add my most solemn denial of the charge—to request your attention to such evidence as the learned gentlemen with whose counsel I am assisted shall think proper to lay before you; and to declare my entire confidence in the verdict of a jury of my country, for the vindication of my honour, and the protection of my life, against an attack commenced with a view to extort money from me, and continued by malice and wickedness."

The learned judge then said,

"My lord Dungarvan, it is but justice to you to say, that it is impossible you can go from this bar with the least imputation on your character; and as to your imprudence in this affair, you seem to be already perfectly sensible."

The prosecutrix and her witnesses retired from the court, amidst the hisses and execrations of the audience.

The sessions at the Old 19th. Bailey ended, when judgment of death was passed by Mr. Common Serjeant on the following capital convicts, viz. Ann Rhodes, Ann King, Thomas Pointer, Thomas Herbert, John Randall, Neal M'Mullen, William Smith, Seze de Souza, John Wallis, Charles Alden, Daniel Buckeridge, and George Cook, a boy about 13 years of age; 17 were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for seven years;

two to be imprisoned in Newgate for one year, and one for three months; six in Clerkenwell Bridewell; nine to be publicly and five privately whipped; one was permitted to enter as an East India soldier, and 14 were delivered by proclamation.

Dublin. This day our parliament met, according to adjournment. In the House of Lords, the Right Hon. John Bourke, Earl of Mayo, having produced the royal patent creating his father earl of Mayo, was introduced, and took the oaths; as was also the Right Hon. Arthur Acheson, Viscount Gosford. The Right Hon. Robert Clements, Baron Leitrim, took the oaths and his seat.

Dundalk. A most shocking transaction took place on Friday night last at Forkhill, within two miles of this town: at the dead hour of the night, the house of the parish schoolmaster was surrounded by a banditti, who, having broke in, took the man, his wife, and their son, a boy fourteen years old, and cut their tongues out of their heads; after which they took the father and mother and chopt off their fingers. So black and atrocious an act stands unparalleled in the annals of this country.

Whiteball. It appears by the advices from India brought by the Houghton, one of the company's ships, that major general Medows had taken the command of the army, which had been collected in the Carnatic, and had marched into the dominions of Tippoo Sultan; and that Caroor, Duraporam, and Coimbetour, had been taken by him without any resistance. Major Maitland, who is

arrived in the Houghton, also brings an account of the surrender of Din-digul.

The letters from the government of Bengal contain the information, that treaties of alliance had been finally concluded by that government with the Mahrattas, and the Nizam; and that lord Cornwallis had received from the comte de Conway, governor-general of the French possessions to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, the most unequivocal assurances of perfect neutrality.

23^d. This morning, between three and four o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the counting-house and ware-room of Mess. Biggars and Co. manufacturers at Sciennes, on the south side of Edinburgh. It had got to a considerable height before it was discovered, and from the great quantity of lint, yarn, linen, &c. in the premises, there was reason to expect the most serious consequences. Several of the magistrates attended; and by the exertions of the company's servants, assisted by the town-guard, a detachment of the 42^d regiment, engines, &c. the fire was got under, and a very considerable property, in linen, yarn, &c. preserved; but still the loss incurred is to a great amount. The fire was occasioned by some hot ashes that were put into a wooden bucket, and left on the floor of the ware-room, after the chimneys were swept.

24th. *Liverpool.* The consternation at Ashton-under-Line, between five and six o'clock on Monday evening, was great. Every person in the streets was so terrified as to shriek and run into shops and houses for shelter. The thunder burst from a cloud which seemed to hang over

the town, and the lightning was perceived almost in the same instant, the thunder making only one tremendous crash. It was probably well for the town, that the electric fire was attracted by the iron work which ornaments the church-steeple. It struck the weather-cock, melted some part of it, and threw many stones from the steeple; it then entered the belfry, and melted the wires, &c. and also those of the clock; from thence it followed the iron-rod that guides the hand of the clock, to a dial within the church, placed on the top of the organ, and in its way wrested a piece of knotty oak of four inches square from one of the beams that support the roof of the church, besides taking with it a considerable part of the cornice of the dial; from the dial it proceeded down the organ to the curtain-rod in the front of it, and running from the south to the north end of the rod, it took down an upright iron from the ceiling, and rent it with such violence, that splinters were found sticking in the opposite ceiling, as if discharged from a gun. It then penetrated through the floor of the gallery, and followed an iron pillar at the foot, and from thence it is supposed to have gone different ways, after splitting many of the pews, as there are marks where it passed, both in the windows at the west, as well as that at the end of the earl of Stamford's chapel in the east.

A child of eighteen months old was found dead near Ply-
mouth; and it appeared on the coroner's inquest, that the child died in consequence of a cat sucking its breath, thereby occasioning a strangulation.

26th. *Scotland.* A letter from Pattenweam brings an account of a most melancholy catastrophe which happened there on Wednesday, the 26th of January, where the keeper of the light-house on the island of Mayo, with his family, were almost all found suffocated. No light having appeared on the island for some days, the anxiety of the people in the neighbourhood was much raised, but no boat dared approach the island by reason of the violent storms: these being somewhat abated, one of the best boats belonging to the town reached the island in safety, but found the door of the light-house bolted. This they broke open, and were at last, after some delay, met on the stairs by a man in such a state as to be unable to give them an account of what had happened. They therefore went to the light-keeper's apartments, where they found the man and his wife dead, with an infant alive, sucking its dead mother's breast. In another bed three children dead, and two but just living; they were exposed to the air, and seemed to revive, and with the two men, assistants to the keeper, were carried to Crail, where the eldest of the children died the next day. This sad scene was produced by the carelessness of the assistants, who had neglected to brim the ashes in the lower apartments, which the high winds had blown up, and the smoke, having no vent occasioned suffocation.

27th. This morning early a pretty thick shower of rain fell in and round the metropolis, which was attended with some flashes of lightning, but no thunder or wind. The light was not vivid, but resembled

rather the Aurora Borealis, when strong.

This day the case of the city of London against the corporation of King's Lynn came on to be argued in the court of King's Bench. It was a writ of error from the court of Common Pleas, where a trial at bar was had on a writ *de essendo quietum de theolonio* (of being quit of toll) brought by the city of London, to assert the right of their citizens being exempted from a toll on corn, demanded by the corporation of Lynn—A verdict had been given for the city of London, and the errors were assigned on the informality of the declaration. After much abstruse argument by Mr. Serjeant le Blanc, for King's Lynn, and Mr. Serjeant Adair, for London, the court of King's Bench reversed the judgment, on the ground that the declaration did not state that the city of London had received such an injury on which an action could be maintained, the corporation of Lynn having demanded, but not having received or distrained for, the toll in question. It is supposed this cause will be carried to the house of lords.

On Monday came on before the Court of Justiciary at 31st. Edinburgh, the trial of eight persons, charged with having seized by force, carried off, and captivating William Wells, of Lochmabane, counsellor of that borough, on the 8th of July, 1790, with a view to defeat the freedom of election of delegates for the said borough. Four of the parties did not appear; and Mr. Maconochie, one of the counsel for the panel, stated, that they had found bail for six months, to answer all allegations against them; and that time being now elapsed, and they out of

the kingdom, the summons was not properly served; he therefore prayed that the court would find the bail not forfeited, which their lordships found accordingly.

The four others appeared, and pleaded not guilty. Mr. Hamilton, junior counsel, stated in their defence, that Wells had promised his vote to both parties, and had fallen upon the expedient of having himself carried off to save his honour. This plea, however, was over-ruled, and the trial proceeded to conviction. They have since received sentence as follows: John Lindsay to be imprisoned in the Canongate gaol for three months, to pay a fine of 50*l.* sterling, and to be afterwards banished Scotland for seven years: John Lockerby, Peter Forest, and James Thornburn, to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, till Wednesday the 23d instant; on that day to be publicly whipped through the streets of that city, by the hands of the common executioner, and then banished Scotland for seven years: all under the usual certifications, in case of any of them being found in this country during the above period. Mr. Lindsay is to be allowed three months to put his affairs in order, previous to going into banishment; and the other three from the 23d instant to the 1st of April.

DIED, lately, at Paris, literally of want, Mr. Ostervald, a well-known banker. This man, originally of Neufchatel, felt the violence of the disease of avarice so strongly, that within a few days of his death, no importunities could induce him to buy a few pounds of meat for the purpose of making a little soup for him. " 'Tis true," said he, " I should not dislike the soup, but I

have no appetite for the meat; what then is to become of that?" At the time that he refused this nourishment, for fear of being obliged to give away two or three pounds of meat, there was tied round his neck a silken bag, which contained 800 assignats of 1,000 livres each. At his outset in life he drank a pint of beer (which served him for supper) every night at a house much frequented, from which he carried home all the bottle-corks he could come at. Of these, in the course of eight years, he had collected as many as sold for twelve louis-d'or, a sum that laid the foundation of his future fortune, the superstructure of which was rapidly raised by his uncommon success in stock-jobbing. He died possessed of three millions of livres (125,000*l.* sterling).

21st, at his house near Cross-square, Bishopsgate-street, aged 69, Mr. Thomas Kent. He was many years remarkable for his sordid manner of living, though possessed of an opulent fortune, as, from the lowest state of indigence, he gradually came into possession of the whole court in which he lived, as well as several other tenements in different parts of the town. Mr. Kent and his wife were well known for several years by riding in the characters of king and queen to Horn-fair, as well as by accumulating a sufficiency for purchasing the first house they lived in by boiling bones which they picked up in the streets. During the life of his spouse, they always kept their birth-days by distributing beef and beer among their tenants; but since her death, though his property has been increasing, his disposition became so penurious, that from his appearance among strangers, he was frequently mistaken

mistaken for a beggar. A person of some landed property, generally known by the name of old Dick, and of the same turn of mind, has lived with him for several years past, to whom, and an infant niece, all his property is willed.

25th, in Cleveland-row, Saint James's-place, in his seventy-second year, of a violent urinary complaint, George Augustus Selwyn, esquire, member of parliament for the borough of Ludgerhall, in the county of Wilts, and formerly representative for the city of Gloucester. He was surveyor-general of the crown-lands, surveyor of the meltings, and clerk of the irons in the Mint, and register in the court of Chancery in the island of Barbadoes. He was educated at Oxford, to which place he returned, after making the tour of Europe. He had not been at Oxford long, when, on account of some supposed religious irregularities, he had a hint to leave the college, which he took, and, being possessed of a good fortune, he threw himself into the fashionable circles of the town. He was highly qualified for this sphere, being possessed of much classical knowledge, a brilliant wit, good humour, and a considerable share of observation. He therefore was soon noticed as a wit and *bon vivant*, and divided with the late lord Chesterfield most of the good things of their times. Mr. Selwyn took care not to be ruined by his wit (as has been the case with many others); he had "pudding as well as praise," being in possession of several advantageous places, which he enjoyed under several administrations. He was at one time of his life much in the habit of gaming; but he soon gave it up (except for trifling sums), being, as he said, "one of the greatest con-

sumers of time, fortune, constitution, and thinking." His places being mostly sinecures enabled him to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate*, which he did with singular advantage to himself and his friends. Amongst the latter he will be long lamented as the centre of good-humour, wit, and conviviality. He died very much in the bosom of the church, having the Bible read to him constantly during the whole of his illness.

FEBRUARY.

On this day there was the highest flood-tide on the river Thames that has ever been remembered.

Above Westminster Bridge it overflowed the banks of the river on both sides, particularly at Milbank, where it came into the Horse-ferry road, and carried away several logs of timber, &c. In Palace-yard it was near two feet deep. It also ran into Westminster-hall, so as to prevent people passing for two hours. Boats came through the passage of Old Palace-yard from the Thames, and rowed up to Westminster-hall gate. The inhabitants in Milbank-street were obliged to pass to and from their houses in boats. The two Scotland-yards, and Privy-gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impassable for two hours. People were obliged in those places to be taken from their houses on men's backs; and several poor people, who keep small shops near the barracks in Scotland-yard, had four feet water in their shops, and their beds floating in their rooms.

Westminster-hall has suffered much. The water ran in at the great door

door for more than an hour, and undid all that had been doing for many weeks to render the court dry, warm, and comfortable, by braziers, stoves, and other artificial means. Above bridge the tide rose three feet higher than usual.

The ground floor of lord Belgrave's house, and the garden, were flooded two feet deep; as were almost all the gardens and nursery-grounds round Chelsea and Lambeth.

Below bridge the low meadows and marshes were almost one continued shoal of water for some hours.

In the evening of Tuesday, the first of February, it began to blow from N.N.W. on the coast of Kent, which in the night increased to a hurricane, with strong flashes of lightning. In the morning of Wednesday it was full tide at least two hours before the usual time, and tumbled in with a tremendous surf, threatening destruction to every thing that opposed its fury.

The sea-walls and banks at Sea-falter were in several places broken down and washed away, and the marsh-lands flooded to a great depth; so that the sheep and other cattle were with the greatest difficulty driven off.

At Whitstable some of the store-houses on the beach were whirled down, and the waves rolled in so furiously, that the inhabitants were under the most dreadful apprehensions.

At Deal the storm was still more threatening. The waves there broke over the sea-bank into Beach-street, many parts of which were quite under water. Fortunately the storm happened in the day-time, or much damage would in general have been sustained.

Upon the north and west coasts of Essex, the inhabitants have been greater sufferers than those of the opposite county. Not an island but has severely suffered. Those of Potten, Wallace, and New England were totally overflowed; in the latter, 400 sheep were swept off by the violence of the sea. Foulness and Canvey Isles have likewise received material injury; and there are three immense breaches in the north-west walls of Canvey island, through which the tide flows and ebbs with vast impetuosity.

At Ipswich, about 11 o'clock in the morning, the sea rushed from its bed, and overflowed all the gardens, malt-houses, and houses, situated near the salt-water rivers. A boat was rowed upon the bowling-green. The common quay was quite overflowed, and immense damage done to the goods in the warehouses, lodged there for the trading hoys.

This inundation has been general upon the Suffolk coast. At Wood-bridge, Aldborough, Orford, and other places, much damage has been done.

At Powderham castle, as the hon. Miss Courtenay was 4th standing near the drawing-room fire, in earnest conversation with another lady, her cloaths unfortunately took fire, and she was almost instantly enveloped in flames. Lord Courtenay, who stood near, had the presence of mind to throw her down, and to roll the carpet round her, by which her life was saved, but not without being terribly scorched. His lordship's hands and face were likewise much burnt.

Court of King's-bench. Bartholomew Quailn, labourer, in 5th the Isle of Ely, had been indicted for the wilful murder of Ann his wife,

wife, when the jury found a special verdict, which was sent to the court of King's-bench for their consideration. The facts stated in this verdict were these: Bartholomew Quailn, and Ann his wife, came peaceably out of a public-house, where they had been drinking together, he in liquor, she not; that when they got into the highway they appeared to be quarrelling about a bag which she wanted him to give to her; that during the time they were so quarrelling, the said Ann was sitting in the street; and the jury found that the said Ann rose from the ground and walked along the said street, and her husband followed her, and gave her two or three kicks; that afterwards several shrieks and cries were heard, and the said Ann was seen to run away from him, so crying and shrieking: and when she ran away he overtook her and kicked her down, and afterward, when he had kicked her down, and retired a few paces from her, he returned to her again, and while she was on the ground he gave her several kicks on the thighs, and on the right and left side of her body; that when he had so kicked her she rose once more from the ground; that Bartholomew when she rose kicked her down again; and after the said Ann had been so kicked down, she rose, and said to the prisoner, "You have killed me;"—and when a woman, who was near, asked the prisoner why he beat his wife? and said if she had strength enough she would prevent him from exercising any more barbarity upon her, he said he would serve her in the same manner.

The special verdict farther stated, that the unfortunate deceased got up, and with great difficulty walked about thirty yards, hold her hand to

her left side, became pale, and fell down. The jury found that the kicks so given were given with great violence, and by the kicks the spleen was burst, of which said bursting of the spleen she afterwards died. Then the verdict found, that from the first kick till the time she received the last kick was half an hour, and that from the time of receiving the last kick till she died was twenty minutes. The special verdict likewise found, that the prisoner on hearing of his wife's death expressed great sorrow.

The question for the decision of the court was, "Whether these facts, so found by the jury, amounted to the crime of murder, or only to the offence of manslaughter?"

The court delivered their opinions *seriatim*, and were unanimous in thinking that the prisoner was clearly guilty of the crime of murder.

On the following Monday Quailn was executed pursuant to his sentence.

This day the ground on the N. E. side of Whitehaven fell- 7th. in in three places, to the great terror of the inhabitants; but the accident was soon discovered to have been occasioned by the earth giving way over an old coal-work which had been worked about fifty years ago, and left unfilled up. About the time the above accident happened, the water broke in upon the present coal-work, by which two men, one woman, and five horses were drowned.

The case of Leftly and Mills was determined by the 10th. court of King's-bench; the question was, "Whether a bill of exchange is liable to a protest if not paid within banking-hours?" The court determined,

determined, that it cannot be protested till the day after the day on which it is due. They also said, that bills payable at so many days after sight are not subject to a protest at all, under the act of K. Will. III. and that in no case ought more than 6d. to be paid for protesting, pursuant to that act.

16th. This afternoon, about four o'clock, Mr. Arnold was robbed by a single highwayman, whose name was Carter, at no great distance from his own house, near Sevenoaks, Kent. Immediately after the robbery had been committed, Mr. Arnold gave a general alarm, and immediate pursuit was made by Mr. Pitman, master of the Harrow public-house on Madamscot-hill, and Mr. Hall, master of the White Hart at Riverhead, and several others. The highwayman was first overtaken by Mr. Pitman near Seal, and a pistol heard to fire; and on Mr. Hall's coming up he found the robber on the ground, and Mr. Pitman lying near him quite dead, having dislocated his neck by the fall. The highwayman, who had received a shot in the head, was carried to Riverhead, where the ball was extracted, since which he has been committed to Maidstone gaol, but still lies dangerously ill. After the robbery he was so incautious as to stop and drink at one or two places, and to request that the parties would say, in case any inquiry was made after a person passing that way, that he had gone a contrary one. It since appears that after Mr. Pitman had fired, he attempted to seize the highwayman, but in the struggle was thrown from his horse, and instantly killed, as above related. On searching Carter's pockets were found several papers, which led to a

discovery that his lodgings were near the Pantheon, Oxford-street; where they discovered a sick man in bed, who turns out to be one Parsons, another highwayman, supposed to have been wounded by Lord Falkland's servant on Hounslow-heath about three weeks ago.

The celebrated collection of musical instruments, together with the musical library, of the late Duke of Cumberland, were this day knocked down at Christie's. It consisted of an immense collection of almost all the composers in Europe, for near 200 years past. Handel's works, Haydn's, Baumgarten's, and a few others, sold very high. A beautiful ton'd organ, by Green, with a piano forte stop, went for 76l. 13s. His Royal Highness was in possession of a violin by Stainer, which has long been the admiration and envy of the amateurs. It is now in the hundred and twenty-first year of its age; the purchaser is Mr. Bradyll, at the price of 130 guineas! Another violin, with a tenor and violoncello, by the same maker, were sold for 138 guineas. Mr. Condell bought the favourite tenor for 50 guineas; and several other instruments sold at high prices. All the great performers in town were present.

At the sale of the Duke of Cumberland's books, Catesby's Natural History of North Carolina, finely coloured, went at £. 15. 15s. Magna Britannia et Hibernia, at £. 52. 10s. The Antiquities of Ancient Rome, including the Vatican, by Piranelli, Rosi, Aquila, &c. at £. 524. 10s. This superb work was presented to the Duke by Pope Ganganelli.

This day was executed at Edinburgh, William Gadesby,

desby, one of the most notorious villains that has figured in the line of roguery in this country for many years. He appeared upon the platform about a quarter of an hour after two o'clock, dressed in white, trimmed with black. The awful solemnity, the dreadful apparatus of death, and the near approach of eternity, all combined, seemed neither to shake his frame, nor agitate his mind! Had he died in a better cause, he could not have evinced greater fortitude, nor been more collected. He was attended by the Rev. Mr. Finlayson. Having spent some time in prayer, he ascended the drop with a firm step, and stood with great composure till the apparatus was properly adjusted; he then addressed himself in an audible voice to the multitude, and gave a history of his life, which seems to have been one continued scene of depredation and plunder; and though only 28 years of age, his criminal exploits appear, both in variety and number, to equal, if not exceed, the achievements of the most dexterous grey-haired offender.

He particularly mentioned, that the officer on guard in the castle ought to examine all hackney-chairs which go out in the night-time; for he often got out that way, and committed depredations about Edinburgh.

With his last breath, he declared Falconer, Bruce, and Dick, who were executed here two years ago for robbing the Dundee Bank, innocent of that crime, and acknowledged his own guilt!

At fourteen years of age he committed his first crime, by stealing a pocket-book from a stationer's shop; and from that time never missed a

fair opportunity of possessing himself of money or goods, by fraud or force, till the day he was confined in gaol. The sums he stole or acquired by thievery and cheating, according to his own account, did not amount to less than 2000*l.* besides what he made by the ruin of unfortunate women whom he seduced. He seemed so abandoned as to glory in his crimes.

The Sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon James Johnson, who was convicted of a burglary on Wednesday last; one was sentenced to be transported for fourteen years; twenty-eight for seven years; five to be imprisoned in Newgate; nine in Clerkenwell bridewell; six to be publicly and two privately whipped; and seventeen discharged.

Amongst the prisoners convicted of felonies was John Belville, for stealing at Buckingham-house a pair of silver snuffers and stand, and two candlestick nozzles, the property of his Majesty.

Miss Eliza Goter, a young lady of great beauty, and female companion to Miss Burney, who had apartments in Buckingham-house, and attends upon the person of the queen, was the first witness called; and she proved, that on the evening of the 24th of January she left this property in the anti-chamber, near to the queen's dressing-room, when she retired to rest in Miss Burney's bed-chamber, where she slept. She also proved, that the prisoner at the bar, who was a German, had about four years ago lived as footman to Miss Burney.

William Moss, the present footman, proved, that at half past seven o'clock

o'clock the next morning, when he went into the anti-chamber, the property was gone.

John Beak Heather, the pawn-broker, to whom the public are so frequently indebted for the apprehension of thieves, proved that the prisoner, on the 4th of February, offered some bits of silver to pawn; but that, suspecting he had not come honestly by them, he immediately seized him, and delivered him into the custody of Macmanus, belonging to the office in Bow-street, where information had already been lodged of this robbery having been committed, and a very accurate description given of the things stolen; and by the confession of the prisoner, the remaining part of the property was found in his lodgings.

Mr. Williams, the gentleman of her majesty's silver scullery, was called to identify the property; and it was also proved, that Buckingham-Palace was the dwelling-house of the King.

The prisoner in his defence candidly confessed the fact; and stated, that he had been brought from Germany by a nobleman, and recommended by him to the service of Miss Burney; but that he soon found himself the object of a secret and unmerited enmity to the other servants in the Royal Palace; and, in consequence of their silent slander, was soon afterwards dismissed; that he was reduced to extreme misery and distress, a foreigner in a foreign land, without friends, money or credit; that this situation had afflicted him with occasional distraction of mind; that urged by necessity, and in a moment when he was lost to all recollection, he committed the fact. He had only to trust to the mercy of the Jury, and to the favourable re-

commendation of Miss Burney, to whom, he said, he had written several letters on this subject; promising, that in case they would excuse him this time, he would endeavour to raise a little money among his own countrymen, and turn his back on England for the remainder of his days.

The Recorder summed up the evidence to the Jury with great precision, and pointed out those parts of it which tended to prove the whole charge a capital offence, and those which applied to the single felony only.

The Jury found him guilty of stealing to the value of thirty-nine shillings.

On the 28th a woman at Abbot's Bromley, of the name of Stretton, deliberately poisoned herself. Being dressed in her best cloaths, she went to an apothecary's, complained of being infested with rats, and purchased a quantity of arsenic to destroy them. On her return home, she gave orders for clean sheets to be put on her bed, went out to visit a neighbour, and told her she should die that night. About seven in the evening she was taken exceedingly ill, but refused the assistance of either priest or physician; and about ten at night expired, in the most dreadful agonies, declaring what she had done, when too late to relieve her. —The Coroner's inquest sat on her body, and brought in their verdict—Lunacy.

At Margate, in Kent, some labourers, employed to dig the foundations for some houses intended to be built, about two feet below the surface found the remains of several bodies, which were interred in graves hewn out of the solid chalk. From a medal found in one of the graves,

graves, it is supposed they have lain there upwards of 1500 years. It has on it an Emperor's head, crowned with a radial crown; and from the legend, though every letter is not distinguishable, there remains no doubt of its being one of Papienus's, who reigned in the year 237. On the reverse is the whole length figure of a man, bearing a lance in his right hand, in a running attitude; a very bold relievo. The inscription is not legible. At the same time were found the remains of a sword and scabbard much decayed. The bones, when found, were very entire; but, on being exposed to the air, soon crumbled into dust.

A few days since, as Mr. Kemp was breaking up an old ship (formerly a Spaniard, which, when she was taken, had the greatest part of her crew killed) he discovered three ingots of gold of considerable weight, which he immediately sent up to the bullion office under a strong guard of ship-breakers. It is supposed that this fortunate discovery will increase Mr. Kemp's wealth 25 or £. 30,000, several smaller ingots having been found since. She is constantly watched, and not a plank suffered to be moved in Mr. Kemp's absence.

The improvements now carrying on at Bath, in order to render the communication with the lower town more commodious, have been the means of discovering the remains of a temple, probably the most magnificent building which Bath, the *Aque Salis* of the Romans, had then to boast of.

On the south side of Stall-street, about 12 feet under the surface, was found a colossal head encircled in a civic wreath, and another exterior ornament forming a medallion, sup-

ported by a figure of Victory on one side, and on the other manifestly the decoration of a pediment. Part of the shaft of a fluted column, a pilaster, and a capital, frieze and cornice of the Corinthian order, finely executed, were likewise found in the same place, and were undoubtedly part of the same building.

An altar, with the following inscription, was found at the same time and place :

DEAE SVE
PRO SALVTE FT
INCOLVMITAT
MAR AVFID
MAXIMI LEG
VI VIE
AVFIDIVS EV
TVC. HES. LEB.
V. S. L. M.

DIED at Bath, Mr. Charles Wray, book-keeper at Hoare's, in Fleet-street, 54 years. He has left 500*l.* to the Magdalen charity, of which he had been a governor and promoter from its institution; and 500*l.* to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, towards paying off the national debt, as an example to other liberal-hearted and rich old men. This is not the first bequest made for that purpose. A Col. Norton, of Southwick, Hants, in 1733, left £. 30,000 for the same end; but the Court of King's Bench, considering it only as a drop of water poured into the sea, decreed that the Colonel was insane, and the money was divided among the heirs at law.

In his 75th year, at Hampton, where he has resided since his retirement from the stage, John Beard, esq. formerly one of the proprietors and acting-manager of Covent-garden theatre, and long a very eminent and popular singer, till the loss of his hearing disqualified him from performing.

performing. His first marriage is thus recorded on a handsome pyramidal monument in Pancras church-yard:

“ Sacred to the remains
of Lady Henrietta Beard,
only daughter of James Earl of Waldegrave.

In the year 1734.

She was married to Lord Edward Herbert,
second son to the Marquis of Powis;
by whom she had issue one daughter,
Barbara, now Countess of Powis.

On the 8th of January, 1738-9,
she became the wife of Mr. John Beard;
who, during an happy union of 14 years,
tenderly loved her person, and admired her
virtues;

who sincerely feels his loss;
and must for ever revere
her memory,

to which he consecrates this monument.

Ob. xxii Maji, MDCCLXXXVIII, æt. xxxvi.

Requiescat in pace.”

By this lady's death, a jointure of £.600 a year devolved to Earl Powis. He married, secondly, a daughter of Mr. Rich, patentee of Covent-garden theatre, whose sister married, 1. Mr. Morris, 2. Mr. Horsley, brother to the Bishop of St. David's. By the death of his father-in-law, Mr. Rich, Mr. B. found himself in affluent circumstances, and his agreeable talents secured to him a circle of friends in his retirement.

M A R C H.

1st. *Dublin.* In consequence of the annual masquerade at the new rooms in Rutland-square, the police attended, armed as usual with

fire-locks and fixed bayonets. About ten at night an alarming multitude assembled to gratify their curiosity; but more to shew their contempt to the police, who began to exert their authority; when a riot began, and a sort of battle was fought, in which the police were defeated, several killed, and the greatest part who escaped with life wounded.

This morning, soon after six o'clock, a most dreadful fire 3d. broke out in the Albion Mills on the Surry side of Blackfriars Bridge, which raged with such unabating fury, that in about half an hour the whole of that extensive edifice, together with an immense quantity of flour and grain, was reduced to ashes; the corner wing, occupied as the house and offices of the superintendant, only escaping the sad calamity from the thickness of the party-wall. It was low water at the time the fire was first discovered, and before the engines were collected their assistance was ineffectual; for the flames burst out in so many different directions, and with such incredible fury and intolerable heat, that it was impossible to approach on any side, till the roof and interior part of the building tumbling in completed the general conflagration in a column of fire, so awfully grand as to illuminate for a while the whole horizon. The wind being easterly, the flames were blown across Albion-place, the houses on the west-side of which were considerably scorched, and the inhabitants greatly alarmed. In the lane adjoining the mills one house was burnt to the ground, and others considerably damaged.

Fortunately no lives have been lost but the property consumed is

very great; four thousand sacks of corn were on the premises, of which only thirty are not destroyed.

The property insured is as follows:

	£.
At the Hand-in-Hand	6,000
Sun —	5,000
Phoenix —	5,000
Union —	5,000
Royal Exchange	5,000
	—————
	26,000
Ditto on stock	15,000
	—————
	£. 41,000.
	—————

But the largest insurance was at Lloyd's, to the amount of 20,000l.

A case was tried this 6th. week in the court of King's Bench, in which Mr. Atwood, a taylor, was plaintiff, and a young gentleman defendant. It appeared that the plaintiff had furnished the defendant with clothes, and that his bill amounted to the sum of £. 114 for clothes in the course of seven months! That the defendant at this time was under age, and clerk to an attorney! The defendant paid into court £. 50, and for the remainder took issue on the unreasonableness of the bill. The jury were of opinion that the £. 50 paid into court on the part of the defendant was quite enough for all the clothes that could be necessary, in the course of seven months, for an attorney's clerk, under age; and therefore immediately gave a verdict for the defendant.

The most daring robbery that has been attempted for several years, was lately committed at Blacknets, near Holwood, in Kent. On the afternoon of that day, two men, who had the appearance of country labourers, went to the stables of Mr.

Whiffin, and asked the young man who was feeding the horse if he could recommend them to any work, or if his master would hire them. The young man told them that his master was not at home; on which they seized him, and with cords which they brought with them, bound him to a post in the stable. Being then joined by five other men, they proceeded to Mr. Whiffin's house, which was at a small distance from the stable; and meeting with Mrs. Whiffin, they gave her several violent blows with their bludgeons, wounded her very severely, seized two maid-servants, who were the only persons at that time in the house with Mrs. Whiffin, and tied cloths over their faces. — Two men remained with them, armed with pistols, with which they threatened to shoot them, if they cried out, or attempted to stir. Two others also, armed, kept watch at the door. The other three rifled the house, and, after remaining in it upwards of an hour, went away, carrying with them a great quantity of plate, and other articles of value to a considerable amount.

This evening, a few minutes before seven o'clock, 7th. a fire broke out at Mr. Turner's, grocer, in Newgate-street, at the back of Newgate-market, which burnt with great fury for near two hours: but the engines being extremely well supplied with water, and the firemen very ready in giving their assistance, the fire was extinguished without doing any further damage than consuming the grocer's house, and a butcher's shop at the back of it.

A melancholy accident lately happened in the neighbourhood of Plymouth:

mouth: Mr. W. Good and his daughter, crossing a ford in the parish of Buckland, on one horse, the water being deep, the horse lost his legs, by which means the young woman fell off the horse, and the father, endeavouring to save his daughter, fell into the ford, and both were unfortunately drowned.

8th. *Florence.* Yesterday a proclamation was issued, notifying the Emperor's entire cession of Tuscany to his Royal Highness the Arch-Duke Ferdinand; and, at the same time, the first order of his royal highness, as great Duke of Tuscany, confirming all the laws and regulations now existing; and continuing the regency, and all persons, civil and military, in their employments. Upon this occasion there was a discharge of all the guns of the citadel.

9th. This morning Mr. Walter was liberated from his confinement in Newgate, in consequence of receiving his majesty's most gracious pardon, at the instance of his royal highness the prince of Wales, after an imprisonment of near sixteen months; of which period one year was the sentence of the court on the prosecution of the duke of York.

The full term of his sentence was two years, with fines and securities.

14th. Lately at Glasgow, while a merchant in King street was counting some money and bank-notes on the counter, a staff or small rod, over-laid with bird-lime, was suddenly thrust in at the door, which having touched the notes, two of them were thereby carried off, and before the merchant could get out of the shop, the ingenious actor had made his escape.

A genteel man went into the shop of Messrs. Willerton and Green, the corner of Conduit-street, New Bond-street, he looked at several articles of jewellery, and saying that he was recommended by his friend the Marquis of Salisbury, who actually deals at that shop, he ordered a pair of diamond ear-rings, a diamond necklace, and a gold watch set round with brilliants, to be sent to Lord Maffey, at half past four, in St. James's Place.

Mr. Green carried the articles, which in value amounted to upwards of seven hundred pounds. The pretended Lord Maffey agreed to take them, and presented for payment a draught for £. 1400, purporting to be drawn by Lord Tankerville on Messrs. Coutts and Co. bankers. The balance, Mr. Green said, he had not about him; and Lord Maffey observed, that it was of no consequence, as he must have proper cases for the jewels before he could present them to the lady; he therefore begged Mr. Green to bring such cases, and the difference of the bill, as soon as convenient, saying he might leave the jewels.

When Mr. Green went from St. James's Place, it was too late to go to Coutts's; but as he had no doubts of the bill, he went home and prepared the cases immediately.

On Wednesday morning he called again, but no Lord Maffey was to be found. Mr. Green then began to entertain some fears, and went to the house of Messrs. Coutts, where he was informed that Lord Tankerville kept no money, and that the bill might be presumed to be a forgery. He then went to Lord Tankerville, who assured him that it was a forgery.

25th. A proclamation was issued for encouraging seamen and landmen to enter themselves on board his Majesty's ships of war, viz. three pounds for every able seaman, forty shillings for every ordinary seaman, and twenty shillings for every able landman.

30th. By an account of the expences already incurred on the settlement of New South Wales, it appears that the grand total, to Feb. 1791, amounted to the sum of £. 256,676, including the out-fit of his Majesty's ships.

The Chevalier de Bienenberg, of Prague, has lately discovered a method of effectually preserving trees in blossom from the fatal effects of those frosts, which sometimes in the spring destroy the most promising hopes of a plentiful crop of fruit. His method is extremely simple. He surrounds the trunk of the tree in blossom with a wisp of straw, or hemp. The end of this he sinks, by means of a stone tied to it, in a vessel of spring water, at a little distance from the tree. One vessel will conveniently serve two trees; or the cord may be lengthened so as to surround several before its end is plunged into the water. It is necessary that the vessel be placed in an open situation, and by no means shaded by the branches of the neighbouring tree, that the frost may produce all its effect on the water, by means of the cord communicating with it.—This precaution is particularly necessary for those trees the flowers of which appear nearly at the same time as the leaves; which trees are peculiarly exposed to the ravages of the frost.

This method is unquestionably singular, and may exercise the sagacity of those philosophers who

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seek to explain every thing. But the plain man, who demands facts in preference, will be satisfied with knowing, that the Chevalier de Bienenberg has not published it, till he found it confirmed by repeated experience. The proofs of its efficacy, which he had an opportunity of observing in the spring of 1787, were remarkably striking. Seven apricot espaliers in his garden began to blossom in the month of March. Fearing that they would suffer from the late frosts, he surrounded them with cords as above directed. In effect, pretty sharp frosts took place six or eight nights: the apricot-trees in the neighbouring gardens were all frozen, and none of them produced any fruit, whilst each of the Chevalier's produced fruit in abundance, which came to the greatest perfection.

To satisfy himself of the effects of his preservative, the Chevalier de Bienenberg placed vessels of water here and there, in the neighbourhood of those which communicated with the cords surrounding the trees: the ice in the former was not thicker than a straw, whilst in the latter it was the thickness of a finger. Hence he infers, that the cords conveyed the cold from the trees to the water. Though this explanation may not be satisfactory to the philosopher, the fact is nevertheless incontestible.

Mr. Jeze, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the Academy of Liegnitz, has a high opinion of the method of the Chevalier de Bienenberg; which, however, he does not consider as absolutely new; something of the same kind, but in a more clumsy manner, and mingled with a spice of superstition, being practised in Lower Saxony. On

Easter-

Easter-eve the peasants make a particular kind of cakes, which they set to cool on straw. When the cakes are cold, they make cords of the straw, which they bind round the trunks of their fruit-trees, taking care to let one end hang down to the ground. This end they cover with the first snow that falls; and are firmly persuaded, that the virtue which the straw has received from their Easter-eve cakes will prove an effectual charm against the power of frost.

DIED.—2d, of a gradual decay, in his 88th year, the Rev. John Wesley, M. A. This extraordinary man was born in June 1703, at Epworth, a village in Lincolnshire, of which place his father, Samuel Wesley, was rector; a man much respected for piety and learning; as were his other sons, the Rev. Samuel and Charles Wesley, now deceased. He was entered a scholar of the Charter-house about 1713, where he continued for seven years under the instruction of the celebrated Dr. Walker, and Mr. Andrew Tooke, author of "The Pantheon," and contemporary with Dr. Kenrick Prescott, late master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge. Being elected to Lincoln College, Oxford, he became there a fellow about 1725; took the degree of M. A. in 1726; and was joint tutor with the late rector, Dr. Hutchins. During his residence there, he was equally distinguished by application and abilities; but what chiefly characterised him, even at the early age of 26, was piety. By reading the works of the famous William Law, he, his brother Charles, and a few young friends, entered into that strict course of life which marks their **SECT** at the present day. They received the

sacrament every week; observed all the fasts of the church; visited prisons; rose at four o'clock, and partook of no amusements. From the exact method in which they disposed of each hour, they acquired the nick-name of **METHODISTS**. In 1735 they embarked for Georgia, in order to convert the Indians, and returned to England in 1737. In 1738 he visited, at Hernhuth in Germany, Count Zinzendorff, the chief of the Moravians. In the following year we find him again in England, and, with his brother Charles, at the head of the Methodists. He preached his first *field sermon* at Bristol, on the 2d of April, 1738. In 1741 a serious altercation took place between him and Mr. Whitfield. In 1744, attempting to preach at a public inn at Taunton, he was regularly silenced by the magistrates. Though he remained the rest of his days nearer home, he travelled through every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, establishing congregations in each kingdom. In 1750 he married a lady, from whom he afterwards parted, and she died in 1781; by her he had no children. He had been gradually declining for about three years past; yet he still rose at four o'clock, and preached, travelled, and wrote, as usual. He preached at Leatherhead on the Wednesday (Feb. 23) before his death. On the Friday following, the first symptoms of his approaching dissolution appeared. The four succeeding days he spent in praising God, and departed on the Wednesday morning. His remains, after lying in his tabernacle in a kind of state, dressed in the gown and cassock, band, &c. which he usually wore, and on his head the old clerical

tal cap, a Bible in one hand, and a white handkerchief in the other, were, agreeably to his own directions, and after the manner of the interment of the late Mr. Whitfield, deposited in a piece of ground near his chapel at the Foundry, Moorfields, on the morning of the 9th instant, in the plainest manner consistent with decency. A sermon, previously to the funeral, was preached by Thomas Whitehead, M. D. (one of the physicians to the London Hospital), accompanied with suitable hymns, &c. And on the 13th, the different chapels in his connexion in London were hung with black.—His personal influence was greater than, perhaps, that of any other private gentleman in any country. It is computed that in the three kingdoms there are 80,000 members of this society. He visited them alternately; travelled 8000 miles every year; preached three or four times constantly in one day; rose at four, and employed all his time in reading, writing, attending the sick, and arranging the various parts of this numerous body of people.

4th, aged 113, Anna Green, a pauper, of the town of Sprotborough.

Lately at Kensington, in his 98th year, John Henry Lydius, Baron de Quade, of Dutch extraction, but born at Albany in North America, in the year 1694, where his family were possessed of considerable landed property under the original grant from James the first, among others, to his ancestors, who went there in the capacity of a missionary to convert the Indians to the christian religion. He could speak all the different languages (or rather provincial dialects) of all the Indian

tribes, the Cherokees, the Chaatawks, the Catabaws, &c.

At Little Onn, in Staffordshire, aged 104, Catherine Harvey. She has left a sister in the same parish, now in good health, aged 102.

At Inch Keith, a small island on the north west coast of the highlands of Scotland, Archibald Cameron, aged 122. He had served seven Lords of the Isle in the employment of domestic piper, during the course of 94 years; but his fingers at last failing, he lived on a pension allowed him by the family.

At Wood Ditton, near Newmarket, aged 100, Mary Smith, widow. She had celebrated her centenary a few days before.

A P R I L.

The dispatches from the Cape of Good Hope for 5th. government, which had been forwarded with the utmost expedition, and which were under the care of Mr. Rattray, were unfortunately lost, and never heard of since.

The men who were saved remained on a large rock, with the sea every moment washing over them, from twelve o'clock at night till eight in the morning.

Mr. Rattray had the dispatches with him on the rock, but was obliged to let the papers go, to preserve his life.

At the quarter-sessions for 6th. Westminster, a chimney-sweeper, named Gay, was tried, on the prosecution of the parish of Covent-Garden, for cruelty to his apprentice. It appeared, that the boy was bound apprentice to the defendant by the parish of St. Martin,

tin, in January 1790. Before he had served two months, the defendant tied his hands and legs with a cord, and fixed him to a staple; after which he stripped him almost naked, and beat him violently with rods and a thong whip. This treatment was several times repeated; and in consequence of it the boy lost the use of his right arm. At one time, he beat him with a stick, and tore his ears in a cruel manner. The only reason usually alledged by the defendant for his severity was, that the boy did not do work enough in the mornings. The defendant called several witnesses, who gave him a good character, and said the boy was obstinate and incorrigible. The jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to six months imprisonment, and directed the apprentice to be discharged.

A cause was brought forward at Lancaster assizes, against a clergyman for seducing the daughter of a respectable farmer on pretence of marriage. Several circumstances were proved in evidence that considerably aggravated the offence. The jury therefore gave a verdict with 500*l.* damages.

10th. During divine service, a fire broke out at Burbage, Wilts, which consumed a farm-house, with the appurtenances, and nine tenements inhabited by poor persons, who lost their all, had no home to go to, and were reduced to the utmost distress. It was occasioned by the carelessness of a woman in throwing hot ashes upon some loose straw.

16th. *Florence.* On Saturday evening last their Royal Highnesses the great duke and dutches made their public entry into this capital, in a state coach,

drawn by six horses, passing under a triumphal arch, beautifully illuminated, and situated close to the gate of the city; followed by his imperial majesty and the king and queen of Naples, in a second coach, and attended by the nobility and people of the first distinction of the court. In their way to the palace they were accompanied by an immense concourse of people, and the houses in the street through which they passed were illuminated. The king of Naples set out for Leghorn on the 14th inst.

Yesterday two men were convicted at the Old Bailey, viz. Edward Pritchard, for the murder of Martha his wife, by beating her on the head, and divers parts of her body, with a stick; and Charles Taylor, for the murder of Winifred his wife, by cutting her in the belly, arms, thighs, and other parts of her body, with a razor. Both of them received judgment to be hanged on Monday, and afterwards to be anatomised.

William Henry Clark, 17th. alias Lowins, for robbing the mail, was found guilty at Chester assizes, and on Thursday he was executed. It was reported that he was possessed of property to the amount of £. 2000 and upwards. This daring fellow has since been gibbeted on the lofty hill of Helsby, about 7 miles from Chester. The expence of prosecuting and bringing him to conviction is said to cost government more than £. 1500.

Was launched, at Blackwall, the Diligence, a new 18th. ship intended for discoveries, under the command of Capt. Bligh, late of the Bounty. She is to be accompanied by a brig; and, after landing at Botany Bay, they are to proceed

to Otaheite, in pursuit of the mutineers, and to endeavour to bring the bread-fruit to be cultivated in the West Indies.

The Sessions ended at the 19th. Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon the following capital convicts, viz. James Kelsey, George Allett, Jane Sharp, John Smith, Thomas Chafeland, Joseph Druce, Thomas Cawsey, alias Causor, John Ryan, alias George King, William Jones, and Robert Jones.

One was sentenced to be transported for the term of 14 years, and 41 for seven years.

The plague just subsided at Constantinople, has been succeeded by a dreadful fire that has consumed immense private property.

25th. M. de Flurieu, the Minister of the Marine Department, informed the National Assembly of France, that the latest accounts from St. Domingo were most alarming; that the troops sent from France to quell the rebellion had become parties in it; and that M. de Mauduit, who had received the thanks of the Assembly for his conduct, had been beheaded by the grenadiers of his regiment.

This day, at a full meeting of the principal inhabitants of Ipswich, an order was made that no relief should be granted to any pauper who keeps a dog.

30th. About two o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out in a house in Blakeley-street, Manchester, which in a short time reduced the same to a shell, and did considerable damage to several houses adjoining. This unfortunate accident is supposed to have been occasioned by some cloaths being left to dry before the fire, as the

family had been ironing the evening preceding. The fire had got to such a head, that the outside window-shutters were burning when it was first discovered; and, being in the dead of night, it was some time before the family were apprised of their danger. Of nine persons who inhabited the house, only four were saved, viz. John Stockton, the occupier, who escaped out of the window, with two of his children; and his wife's sister, who broke her leg in making her escape in the same manner. It was some time before the bodies of the sufferers were found; and, when discovered, the youngest child was at the breast of the mother, and two others clinging round her neck; but the fire had burnt them so dreadfully, that it was scarcely possible to discover whether they were human, the heads and legs having been burnt off. Not a single article of property was saved.

The monument erected at Hanover to the memory of Leibnitz is completed, and cost upwards of 5105 dollars. As the subscription amounted but to 4799 dollars, the king of England contributed the difference.

Bangburst, Hampshire. A girl of 13 years of age and her mistress have been committed to the county gaol on the confession of the former, for the murder of the son-in-law of the latter, a sprightly child of four years of age. The step-mother observing a particular attention paid to the child, persuaded the girl when she put him to bed to place him between the feather-bed and mattresses, and when he cried out, to stop his mouth, which she did, and left him. The girl, some little time after this horrid act, was so troubled

troubled in mind, that she revealed the whole transaction.

By the publication of a late decision of the court of king's-bench, other litigious suits of the same kind may be prevented. A justice of peace had made an order for the payment of a weekly sum to a woman for her child. The churchwardens and overseers of Shelfe, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, disobeyed this order, because the woman refused to go into the workhouse. For this they were indicted: and at the trial before Mr. Justice Buller, at the last York assizes, a verdict was taken for the prosecutor, subject to the opinion of the court of king's bench. Lord Kenyon and the court have since established this verdict: and that the person for whom the relief is asked is the only individual liable to be sent to the workhouse; for that it would be contrary to every principle of humanity, if, because one child should want relief, a whole family, perhaps of five or more, should be liable to be sent to the workhouse.

Among numerous other eccentricities in the will of the Rev. Mr. Wood, late of Ruspur, in Sussex, are the following:—On the day of his funeral he requested that the parish ringers might begin ringing a peal early in the morning, and continue so to do till his corpse was removed into the street, when they should chime to the church-door, and then toll till the attendant clergyman thought proper to read the burial service; and that the ringers should chaunt before the corpse, from his house to the church-yard. He bequeathed 3000 l. to be distributed to 30 poor men, at the discretion of his executors. To persons who had borrowed money of him to the

amount of 100 l. or upwards, he gave a stock hundred in the three per cents.; to persons having borrowed less than 100 l. six months interest; and to his housekeeper, for the support of a favourite dog, 3 l. per ann. during the dog's life.

DIED.—At Paris, April 2d. the celebrated count de Mirabeau; on account of whose death M. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, ordered the play-houses, and all the places of amusement, to be shut up for three days.

19th, in St. Thomas's Square, Hackney, in his 68th year, Dr. Richard Price, pastor of a dissenting congregation at Hackney. "If (exclaims the author of a high eulogy on his piety and abilities, in a periodical publication) we should say, that the Doctor deeply felt the farcastic severity, with which Mr. Burke treated him in a late celebrated work, we should not perhaps be very wide of the truth; but the *apparent* cause of his dissolution, on opening his body, seemed to be a suppression of urine."

Lately at Ripon, aged 100, Bartholomew Rymer, game-keeper to Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart. of Norton Conyers. He shot game flying in his 99th year,

M A Y.

Warsaw, The new constitution has just passed in the Diet, 3d. by which the Elector of Saxony is declared immediate successor to the throne of Poland; after whose demise his daughter is to inherit; and the choice of her husband, if she marries, is to be decided by the states. After this constitution had passed, the king, attended by the marshals of the Diet, and a great number

number of the members, went to the cathedral, and took an oath to maintain it.

Many of the troops sent out for the purpose of quelling the disturbances in the French colonies have joined the disaffected party, and committed great excesses. One of the regiments, commanded by colonel Mauduit, had no sooner landed than they deserted their colours, and joined the rest. In this situation they thought proper to call to mind a disturbance that had formerly happened among the people, which the colonel had employed them to quell: and formed a determination to compel him to disavow his fealty to the national assembly, or deprive him of life. In this frame of mind the officer was led to the scene of the former action, and there pressed to a compliance with their demands, which he peremptorily refused. They urged, and threatened in vain. Firm in his opinion, the colonel, first taking the cross of St. Louis from his bosom and giving it to a soldier, and then breaking his sword in two, told the men that his honour was in his own keeping, his life was in their hands; and baring his breast, he added, that his determination was fixed, and they might use their pleasure. At this moment a multitude exclaimed, *Coupe!* and in an instant a soldier severed his head with a sabre, while another pierced his body through with a bayonet. Thus fell an officer of tried bravery and good conduct, and who, but a few short weeks before, had been crowned with laurel, as the true friend and defender of the colony.

6th. Yesterday, John Seaton, esq. treasurer of the West Riding of the county of York, gave

in the following statement of the woollen manufactory for that district, from the 25th of March 1790 to the 25th of March 1791, viz. — Narrow cloth, 154,373 pieces, 4,797,594 yards; increased 13,966 pieces, 215,472 yards. Broad cloth, 187,569 pieces, 5,815,079 yards; increased 14,981 pieces, 663,402 yards.

Advice received from the East Indies, by the Princess 14th. Royal Indiaman, dated January 9, 1791, say, that on the 17th of December, general Abercromby had forced a detachment of Tippoo Sultan, amounting to 5000 men, to surrender; that he had taken the fortresses of Cannanore, Biliapatam, and Nurrcarow; that by these successes he had taken 34 stand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, and near 5000 stand of arms, besides ammunition, military stores, and grain; and that lieutenant-colonel Hartley had taken possession of Firickabad, after having dispersed the corps opposed to him at Firegurry.

The adjourned sessions were held at the sessions-house in 19th. the Old Bailey, before the Recorder, Sheriffs, Sir William Plomer, and Brook Watson, Esq; when the prisoners, who were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death, but have been respited during the royal pleasure, were put to the bar. His Majesty's letter was read to them, setting forth, that his Majesty had extended to them his most gracious pardon, on condition of their being transported to New South Wales during their natural lives, which they all thankfully accepted, and received that sentence accordingly.

Elizabeth Cummings, convicted in July sessions 1789, was next put to

the bar, and the royal clemency offered her, on the above conditions; which she rejected, declaring *she would rather die, than accept of mercy on those terms!* The Recorder then, in a most pathetic speech, addressed her, which had no effect, till she was put in a dark cell by herself; when she soon relented, and prayed for mercy.

27th. The following case was argued and determined in the court of King's Bench:

The plaintiff, an officer on half-pay, in want of money, applied to a money-lender, who, on the usual assignment of his half-pay, registered at the pay-office of the army, advanced the money required. When two half-years became due, the plaintiff, notwithstanding the assignment, as above, made a demand of his half-pay from the paymasters general, who refused to pay it; and upon this refusal he brought his action upon the case to recover it. The action was tried at the sittings after Hilary Term, before Lord Kenyon, and a verdict found for the plaintiff, with liberty for the defendant's counsel to move for a new trial. After many learned arguments, and cases cited as precedents, the court were clearly of opinion, That an officer's half-pay, being allowed by the public for the purpose of maintaining gentlemen in the navy and army until the necessities of the state required their services, neither equity, good conscience, policy, nor law, would permit them to sell or assign their daily bread.

28th. At midnight, a dreadful fire broke out at Mrs. Sutton's, the Chequer public-house in Marsh-street, Walthamstow, occasioned by the maid going into a closet of linen with a lighted candle,

which in a short time entirely destroyed that house and two others adjoining, occupied by a baker, and a school. Happily no lives were lost.

A desperate attempt was last night made by the pri- 30th. soners in the King's Bench prison to escape. Much damage was done to the inside part of the prison; and the outer gate would soon have been forced but for the speedy arrival of two troops of horse, followed by a party of foot-guards, who went within the walls, and drew up before the prison, where every remonstrance and persuasion being used to pacify the rioters, the majority of the prisoners at length retired to their rooms, and the riot was fortunately quelled before eleven o'clock without bloodshed.

DIED.—At Dublin, May 12th, in his 52d year, in an apoplectic fit, Francis Grose, Esq; F. S. A. of London and Perth, and captain in the Surrey militia. He was the author of "The Antiquities of England, Wales, and Scotland," and several other celebrated publications.

Lately, at Malpas, near Newport, Rebecca Joseph, in the 101st year of her age. She retained all her faculties to the last, and till within about three years of her decease could walk from 10 to 15 miles a day without the help of a stick.

J U N E.

The attorney general moved, *ex officio*, the court of King's Bench for an order that Richard Pinckarton and seventeen others should be removed out of the King's Bench prison to other places of

of confinement. Many of them, he said, had been so active in the insurrection, that, when the court should have heard the facts, they would, he believed, send them to Newgate. He then related in brief the circumstances, that on Monday night the 29th of May, several of the prisoners assembled, and one of them, of the name of Nugent, stuck up a paper, intimating that the committee of the House of Commons could not be able to afford them any relief this session. On which a tumult arose, that endangered the safety of the prison. In this situation John Carey, who appeared to be a leader, addressed the prisoners, saying, "Now is the time! if you do not exert yourselves, you are lost for ever!"—This being often repeated, the tumult increased, and it became necessary to apply for a military force. The attorney general made no doubt but the court would make an order for the immediate removal of the principal offenders, as desired. The affidavits of the marshal and his deputy were then read; by which it appeared, that after taking one of them into custody, the following bill was stuck up in the prison:

"Should there be any tumult in this place, occasioned by the extreme provocation of the lobby people, and the indignation naturally excited by the detention of Mr. Pinckarton, it is hoped there will be no prisoner on the parade who will not stand his ground.—There are many who will."

Lord Kenyon agreed with the opinion of the attorney general, that the case was urgent; and that the different persons mentioned in the affidavits of the marshal and his assist-

ants should be disposed of as mentioned by the attorney general, as soon as possible. If afterwards any of them appear to be aggrieved by this order, they may, by application to the court, be discharged.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Sanders's patent axle-tree manufactory in Chambers-street, near Rosemary-lane, Goodman's-fields, which entirely destroyed that, the timber-yard of Mr. Maxtoke, who was out of town, and thirteen houses, and was with difficulty restrained from breaking out afresh a day or two after. The damage was estimated at thirty thousand pounds. The want of water at first was supplied by beer from a large adjoining storehouse.

Humphrey Bellamy, Esq. of Ewell, Surrey, and a lady, going to that place in a post-chaise, were stopped, near the twelve mile stone on the Epfom road, at ten at night, by three foot-pads, who robbed them of two gold watches and other valuable effects, and a considerable sum of money; and, dragging them both out, cut and wounded Mr. B. in a most cruel, wanton, and dangerous manner, besides firing a pistol, which burst in pieces.

The same evening, on the same spot, these villains robbed Mr. Hutchinson, clerk of Brewers-hall, and Mr. Ellis, of Whetstone, surveyor, and beat and bruised the latter with the butt-end of their pistols as he sat in the chaise, besides cutting at him with a hanger.

Turin. A dispute has lately taken place in this capital, between the students of the university and the police, which, from the prudent conduct of the government, has fortunately subsided without

out any bad consequence. It was occasioned by the arrest of one of the students on a mistaken charge; in consequence of which the other members of the university insisted on the officer asking pardon publicly. This not being complied with, the students assembled in considerable numbers, and proceeded to some acts of violence. The troops having been drawn out, and the officer who had executed the arrest having asked pardon, the tumult subsided without any further consequences.

15th. The summit of the hills in Kent and Sussex, on Sunday morning last, were covered with hoar frost and whitened with snow. Ice of the thickness of a shilling was seen in many places.

17th. The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have given a reward of twenty guineas to Mr. Lockett, of Donnington, near Newbury, for making twenty-five yards of cloth from hop-stalks.

DIED. — 17th, at her house in the Spa-fields, near London, in her 84th year, the Right Hon. Selina Countess-dowager of Huntingdon. She was born Aug. 13, 1707, and was the second daughter, and one of the three coheiresses, of Washington second Earl Ferrers; was married June 3, 1728, to Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon, by whom she had issue four sons and three daughters, of whom the Countess of Moira is the only survivor. Her ladyship had been a widow 45 years; and so long has a fine built of her, by Kent, been placed on the tomb of her deceased lord, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in the county of Leicester, where, by her will, she has directed her own remains (dressed in the

suit of white silk which she wore at the opening of a chapel in Goodman's-fields) to be deposited, in as plain a manner as possible; the coffin to be covered with black, and the officiating clergyman (Mr. Jones, of the Spa-fields chapel) to receive 10l. for his trouble. Her very great religious concerns, as head of a very numerous sect in Great Britain and Ireland, are left by will in the hands of committees for managing them in both kingdoms.

23d, at Binfield, Berks, after a long and painful illness, Mrs. Catharine Macaulay Graham, the historian. This lady had the misfortune not only in a great degree to outlive the respect of the public, but to witness the mortifying removal of that celebrated monument, which was erected in the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, by her once doating admirer, the late Dr. Wilson, to perpetuate her literary reputation.

Lately, Mrs. Buchan, the leader of a few deluded people, who for a time resided in the neighbourhood of Thorntonhill, near Dumfries. Her followers were greatly reduced in number; but Mr. White, once a relief-minister, continued till her last. Finding she was going the way of all the earth, she called her disciples together, and exhorted them to continue stedfast and unanimous in their adherence to the doctrine which they had received from her. She then told them, she had still one secret to communicate; which was, that she was the Virgin Mary, the real mother of our Lord; that she was the same woman mentioned in the Revelations as being clothed with the sun, &c. who was driven into the wilderness: that she had been wandering

wandering in the world ever since our Saviour's days, and for some time past she had sojourned in Scotland: that though here she appeared to die, they needed not to be discouraged, for she would only sleep a little, and in a short time would again visit them, and conduct them to the New Jerusalem. After she died, it was a long time before her enthusiastic votaries would straighten or dress the corpse; nor did they coffin her until they were obliged thereto by the smell; and after that, they would not bury her, but built up the coffin in a corner of the barn, always expecting that she would rise again from the dead, according to her promise, and conduct them to Jerusalem. At last, the people in the country around, shocked with these proceedings, interfered, went to a justice of the peace, and got an order that she should be buried.

At Kirkby-Lonsdale, within the space of one week, the three following persons, whose ages together amount to 290 years; viz. Elizabeth Bell, widow, aged 97; John Preston (the oldest freeman of the borough of Lancaster, on record, at the time of his death) in his 97th year; and Elizabeth Taylor, widow, aged 97. There is a striking singularity in the circumstance of three people, residing in the same town, departing at the same period, and after attaining to nearly the same great age.

At Salisbury, aged 101, the widow Poor.

J U L Y.

1st. *Edinburgb.* At the Court of Session, Lord Eskgrove, as

ordinary in the outer-house, this day decided a cause of a curious nature. A young lady had betrothed herself to a merchant in Aberdeen; the marriage-day was set, a house taken and furnished, servants hired, and the lady furnished with her marriage-ring. In the course of a long epistolary correspondence, she manifested the strongest attachment and most inviolable fidelity to him; but of a sudden changed her mind, and married another. Feeling the disappointment, her former lover brought an action of damages against her and her husband. Before it came into court, the lady died. The action was, however, insisted on against the surviving husband; but the Lord Ordinary, after a full hearing, in the course of which there was much humour and ability displayed, *dismissed* the action. His Lordship was clearly of opinion, that, till the moment of the marriage ceremony, it was in the power of the lady to recede. Though her letters contained the strongest effusions of love towards the pursuer, and even a direct promise of marriage, yet they at the same time shewed that her friends were against the connection, and that all their intimacy had been carried on in the most secret manner. His Lordship therefore considered, that any man who endeavours to inveigle a young woman into a clandestine marriage, and a marriage against the consent of her friends, was guilty of an immoral act; consequently, not entitled to maintain an action of damage, when his intentions were frustrated by a returning sense of duty upon the part of the lady.

Ewell. A powder-mill belonging to Mr. Bridges, near
 § 5th. this

this place, blew up; by which accident four men lost their lives. The bodies were so mutilated by the explosion, that they could not be distinguished from each other. The head of one of them was thrown to a very considerable distance.

6th. Mary Doran was brought up to receive the judgment of the court for setting her house on fire. She was sentenced to be imprisoned two years in Newgate, and afterwards to find security for her good behaviour for five years; herself in 100l. and two sureties in 50l. each.

Same day the following malefactors were brought out of Newgate, and executed according to their sentences, viz. William Brown and John Dawson, for robbing Mr. Maddocks, at the bottom of Highgate-hill, of seventeen guineas and a half, &c.—William Bates, Edward Gilletkey, and Stephen Mackaway, for assaulting Robert Adair, Esq; Amelia Bristow, and Elizabeth Dundas, on the highway, at Edmonton, and robbing them of a gold watch, a ten pound bank-note, and twenty guineas.—Joseph Wood, aged fourteen, and Thomas Underwood, aged fifteen, for assaulting William Beedle, a lad twelve years of age, and robbing him of a bag, containing a jacket, a shirt, and waistcoat, and five-pence in half-pence, near Salt Petre Bank;—and Isabella Stewart, for stealing, in the dwelling-house of Mr. Goodman, in the Strand, a fifty pound bank-note, and twenty-one guineas, the property of Elizabeth Morgan.

12th. An unfortunate *rencontre* took place this morning upon Blackheath, between Mr. Graham, an eminent special pleader, of the

Temple, and Mr. Julius, a pupil in the office of Mess. Grahams, attorneys, of Lincoln's-Inn, who are brothers of the former.

The parties had dined together, at the house of Mr. Black, the surveyor, upon Epping Forest, on Sunday; and, after dinner, having drunk freely, the latter expressing some free opinions concerning religion, much abrupt language passed between them. They were reconciled, however, on that day, and returned to town in the same carriage.

On Monday they met again, after dinner, at the chambers of Mr. Graham, Lincoln's-Inn, the brother of the deceased, where the dispute was unfortunately renewed, though apparently without malignity. No challenge was given that night; but in the ensuing morning the deceased called upon Mr. Julius for an apology for some expressions; which being refused, they went out together, Mr. Graham attended by Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Julius by Mr. Maxwell.

A pupil of an eminent surgeon accompanied them to Blackheath, where Mr. Graham fell by a shot which passed almost through the lower part of the belly. He was brought to town in a post-chaise, and the exertions of the most eminent of the faculty were in vain used for his relief. The ball having laid open the femoral artery, and it being impossible to stop the discharge of blood, he expired in the afternoon of the next day.

A melancholy accident happened at Walcot, near Bishop's 13th Castle, Shropshire. A number of workmen being employed to take down a brick wall, they undermined it, in order that it might fall; and

and sitting down on a bench near the same, in order to view it, the foundation suddenly gave way, and the wall fell upon one, Samuel Cooke, a bricklayer, and crushed him in so terrible a manner, that he expired in a short time after. His father and several others narrowly escaped being hurt, having quitted the bench but a few seconds before the unfortunate young man was killed.

14th. In the court of King's Bench, an action was tried, Hopkins *versus* Sawyer, which took up a considerable part of the time and attention of the court. The plaintiff, last spring, purchased a horse, for thirty guineas, from the defendant, which was warranted to be sound; but the horse dying some time after the purchase, in consequence of unsoundness, the present action was brought to recover his value from the defendant. The circumstance that created peculiar difficulty in searching the true merits of the case, was the death of

the farrier who had the care of the horse after his coming into the plaintiff's possession. It appeared, however, that the horse was ill at the time of his delivery, and, growing worse, shortly died. Two servants belonging to the defendant gave a testimony directly contrary to that of the witnesses on behalf of the plaintiff; but Lord Kenyon partly reconciled the inconsistencies in favour of the plaintiff.

The Jury brought in their verdict for the plaintiff, 31l. 10s.

The coroner's inquest sat on the body of Mr. Graham, 15th. killed in a duel on the 13th. The jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Mr. Julius, the principal, and acquitted the seconds.

Birmingham. In consequence of an advertisement, on Thurs- 21st. day the 14th inst. upwards of 90 gentlemen met at the hotel, to commemorate the French Revolution. It is previously to be observed, that six copies of a seditious hand-bill had been left early in the week by

* Of which the following is a copy :

" My Countrymen,

" The second year of Gallic Liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give their sanction to the majestic common cause, by a public celebration of the Anniversary.

" Remember—that on the 14th of July the Bastille, that high altar and castle of despotism, fell!—Remember the enthusiasm, peculiar to the cause of Liberty, with which it was attacked!—Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to spare the lives of oppressors!—Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected, and sent as a free-will offering to the National Assembly!—But is it possible to forget your own Parliament is venal; your Minister hypocritical; your Clergy legal Oppressors; the reigning Family extravagant; the Crown of a certain Great Personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people that gave it; your Taxes partial and oppressive; your Representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of Property, Religion, and Freedom?—But on the 14th of this month prove to the sycophants of the day, that you reverence the Olive Branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority shall exclaim, "*The PEACE of Slavery is worse than the WAR of Freedom!*"—Of that day let tyrants beware!"

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some person unknown in a public-house; for discovering the author, printer, or publisher of which a reward of one hundred guineas was offered by the magistrates; and which having been very generally copied, caused no small fermentation in the minds of the people. In consequence, on Thursday afternoon a considerable number of persons gathered round the hotel, hissing at the gentlemen as they assembled; and subsequent to their departure (which happened two hours after) every window in the front was completely demolished, notwithstanding the personal appearance and interference of the magistrates.

The mob next attacked the New Meeting-house (Dr. Priestley's), and after trying in vain to tear up the seats, &c. they set it on fire, and nothing remains that could be consumed.

The Old Meeting-house was completely emptied of pulpit, pews, &c. which were burnt in the adjoining burying-ground, and afterwards the building was levelled nearly with the ground; it being considered dangerous from its situation to set it on fire.

Dr. Priestley's house at Fair-hill next met a similar fate, with the whole of his library, and collection of apparatus for philosophical experiments. Here one of the rioters was killed by the falling of a cornice-stone.

On Friday morning the infatuated mob continued their depredations, for there was no armed force in the town, and the civil power was not sufficient to repress them.

About noon they attacked and demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. John Ryland (late Mr. Basker-

ville's), at Easy-hill, where many of the rioters, who were drunk, perished in the cellars, either by the flames, or suffocation by the falling in of the roof. Six poor wretches terribly bruised, were got out alive, and are now in our hospital, and ten dead bodies have since been dug out of the ruins; but a man, who had remained immured in one of the vaults from the preceding Friday, worked his way out on Monday, with little injury.

This afternoon the magistrates, anxious to preserve the town from further outrage until military aid could be procured, attended and swore in some hundreds as additional constables, who, with mop-staves in their hands, marched up to Mr. Ryland's to disperse the mob, who at first gave way; but rallying, after a stout conflict, in which many were severely wounded, the *Posse Comitatus* was obliged to retire, without effecting any useful purpose.

The country residence of John Taylor, Esq. Bordeley-hall, after the greatest part of its splendid furniture had been demolished or carried away, was set on fire, together with the out-offices, stables, ricks of hay, &c. and altogether exhibited a most tremendous scene of devastation.

In the night of Friday, the house of Mr. Hutton, in High-street, was completely stripped; his large stock of paper, his library of books, and all his furniture, destroyed or carried away. Fire was several times brought by a woman (women and boys were particularly active in all the depredations), but the majority of the populace, in tenderness to the town, would not suffer it to be applied.

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From Mr. Hutton's they proceeded to his country-house at Washwood-heath, about three miles from town, which, with its offices, they reduced to ashes.

Saturday morning the rioters made an attack on Mr. G. Humphreys's house at Spark-brook, but were repulsed, and one man killed; the mob, however, on a second attack carried their point, and went off after ransacking the house of all its valuable furniture, but did not burn it.

Mr. William Russell's house at Showell-Green experienced all the violence of fire and devastation.

The house of Mr. T. Hawkes, Moseley-Walk-Green, was stripped of its furniture, which was either broken to pieces or carried away.

Moseley-hall, the residence of the dowager countess of Carhampton, but the property of John Taylor, esquire; Mr. Harwood's, and Mr. Hobson's, a dissenting minister, were all on fire at once.

Lady Carhampton, who is mother to the dutchess of Cumberland, and blind, had notice on the preceding day to remove her effects, as their vengeance was not directed against her: the good old lady gave directions accordingly, and sir Robert and captain Lawley immediately attended on their noble relation, whom they accompanied in safety to Canwell, sir Robert's seat.

The whole of Saturday business was at a stand, and the shops mostly close shut up, notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates, and several popular noblemen and gentlemen, who dispersed hand-bills, signed by themselves, exhorting them to retire peaceably, and warning them of the consequences to the

county, who must reimburse the sufferers; for the reports were so vague and various of the number and the strength of the insurgents, and having no military, save a few undisciplined recruits, no force could be sent out against them. In the afternoon and evening small parties of three or five levied contributions of meat, liquor, and money, with the same indifference that they would levy parish taxes; but the night passed without interruption in the town.

On Sunday the rioters bent their course towards Kingwood, seven miles off, extorting money and liquors by the way.—There the dissenting meeting-house, and the dwelling-house of their minister, were reduced to ashes, as were the premises of Mr. Cox, farmer, at Worstock, the same day.

The reports of every hour of this day appeared calculated to excite alarm in the town, whilst depredation and extortion were committing in the surrounding villages and country seats.

Sunday night, soon after ten, three troops of the 15th regiment of light dragoons arrived, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, whose hopes and fears had been visibly depicted through the day in every countenance, as reports of the near approach of the soldiery were spread or contradicted. The town was immediately illuminated, and before morning every thing was tolerably quiet, but the rioters were still continuing their depredations in the country.

Their visits to Mr. Hunt's at Lady-wood, Mr. Coates's at the Five-ways, and Dr. Withering's Edgbaston-hall, were attended with great alarm, but not the injury reported.

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They exhausted the cellars at each place, and received various sums of money to prevent their proceeding to further violence, but were at the last-mentioned place, in great force at the time the troops arrived; which they no sooner had intimation of than they began to flink off in small parties; and the peasantry taking courage put the rest to flight in various directions.

So rapid were the light-horse in their route for the relief of this place, that they came here in one day from Nottingham, a distance of 59 miles, but to the great injury of their horses, one of which, a famous old horse, that had been in the regiment 18 years, died the following day.

On Monday three troops of the 11th regiment of dragoons came in, and Col. de Lancy to take the command.

On Tuesday there were flying rumours of depredations near Hagley, Halesowen, &c. and in the evening certain information was received, that a party of rioters were then attacking Mr. Male's, of Belle-vue; a few of the light dragoons immediately went to his assistance; but they had been previously overpowered by a body of people in that neighbourhood, and ten of them are now confined at Halesowen.

On Wednesday the country for ten miles round was scoured by the light-horse, but not one rioter to be met with, and all the manufactories are at work as if no interruption had taken place.

Paris. On Sunday morning, 17th. in consequence of the invitation of the clubs, a great concourse of people assembled on and about the altar of liberty. Two men, one a soldier with a wooden leg, the other

a hair-dresser, concealed themselves under the altar. They had taken a couple of bottles of wine with them, and something to eat. After having breakfasted they cut a few small holes through the boards, the better to see what was going forward at the Champ de Mars. They were perceived, and dragged by the mob to the committee of the section. The sitting officers, convinced that they had no bad design, ordered them to the invalids; but on a sudden it was reported that they had matches in their pockets to set fire to some powder, and thus blow up the altar of liberty! The two unfortunate men were immediately torn from the protection of the national guard. The first intention of the rabble was to hang them up on the lamp-iron; but the cord breaking, the philosophical butchers went to work with knives, and after having cut off their heads, stuck them on pikes, and carried them about the streets!

This day two proclamations were issued from the 29th. secretary of state's office, the one offering a reward of one hundred pounds for discovering and apprehending every person concerned in the late riots at Birmingham; and the other offering the same reward for discovering the author, printer, or publisher of the celebrated hand-bill.

A few days since, as a poor woman was gathering chick-weed in a field adjoining the long lane, known by the name of Cut-throat-lane, which leads from Kennington Common to Camberwell, she suddenly perceived the body of a man upon the ground near the ditch, with his throat cut, and the blood streaming near him. On his right-hand lay the razor with which

he

he had destroyed himself, and also his cravat, so deliberately had he done it. The poor woman's shrieks, at the sight of a spectacle so horrid, soon brought all the labourers in the neighbouring brick-fields, and the passengers within hearing. On examination he appeared to be about thirty years old, well-dressed, in a genteel drab-coloured coat, toilette waistcoat, fustian breeches, the late new-fashioned blue thread stockings with white clocks, silver shoe and knee buckles, and in his pocket two half-guineas, four shillings and six pence in silver, and some half-pence. Having no papers about him which could lead to a discovery of who he was, he was taken to Lambeth bone-house to be owned.

On the 26th, about two o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the admiralty of Amsterdam; and, though every endeavour was used to extinguish it, consumed in a few hours the whole of that fine building, and a large magazine of sails, arms, and other stores, sufficient, it is said, for the equipment of thirteen ships of war. The cause of this misfortune is not yet ascertained.

DIED—at York, in his 92d year, John Kenion, esquire. After bequeathing some legacies to particular friends, he has left his fortune to charitable purposes; viz. 200l. to the county-hospital; 200l. to the blue-coat boys and grey-coat girls school; and 200l. to the lunatic asylum in that city; 200l. to the hospitals in Manchester; and the residue is to be applied in apprenticing poor children belonging to the town of Rochdale in Lancashire, his native place.

At Valencia, aged 111 years, Paschal Seria.

At Stratford under the Castle,
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near Salisbury, the widow Blake, aged 100.

AUGUST.

The following experiments were lately made on board a 5th ship in Portsmouth harbour, by Mr. Hill, carpenter of the Active, and inventor of a machine for drawing bolts out of ships sides, &c. 1st. he stopped a shot-hole on the outside of the ship, four feet under water, in the space of one minute, without assistance from any person out of the vessel. 2d. He stopped, in the same manner, a space in the ship's side four feet under water, of four feet by four inches, in two minutes and a half. During the time of effectually curing both leaks the ship made only ten inches water in the well. 3d. An experiment on the chain-pump, with a new constructed wheel of Mr. Hill's invention, which acts upon infinitely better principles than that at present in use, is much safer, less liable to be out of order, and will be a material saving to government in chains and saucers.

Mr. Jefferson, the late American minister at the court of France, has communicated to an eminent house in the city a discovery, which, if sanctioned by experience, will be of the utmost importance. A person near Boston, who was a ship-builder, has solicited a patent from the United States for a mode of preserving ship-timber from being worm-eaten. During the thirty years he has been a bridge-builder, he has always soaked such timbers as were to be under water in oil, and has found this method to preserve them ever since he was in that employment.

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12th. The inhabitants of Birmingham, at a public meeting, voted an address of thanks to his majesty for his paternal care manifested for their security during the late riots. They also voted thanks, and pieces of plate of 100 guineas value, to their justices; also thanks to the earls of Aylesford and Plymouth, Sir Robert Lawley, the honourable captain Finch, and the several other gentlemen who exerted themselves to suppress the riots; thanks and elegant dress-swords to captain Polhill, cornets Hilton and Seymour; with 100l. to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 15th regiment of dragoons, for their great vigilance.

16th. *Whitehall.* Ministerial notes have been delivered at Petersburg, by Mr. Whitworth and Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltze, on the part of his majesty and of the king of Prussia, and by count Osterman on the part of the empress of Russia, relative to the terms of pacification between Russia and the Porte.

In these notes the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that their majesties will propose to the Porte to conclude a peace with Russia on the terms of the cession of the district of Oczakow, from the Bog to the Dniester; her imperial majesty engaging not to disturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound) and her imperial majesty being also to restore to the Porte at the conclusion of the peace all other conquests whatever. The minister of her imperial majesty agrees on the part of his sovereign to make peace on

these terms; and the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that if the Porte should decline to enter into negotiation on this basis, their majesties will leave the termination of the war to the course of those events to which it may lead.

This morning, as his majesty was passing in his carriage through the Park to St. James's, a gentleman dressed in black, standing in the Green-park, close to the rails, within a few yards of Mr. Copley's pavilion, just as the carriage came opposite where he stood, was observed to pull a paper hastily from his pocket, which he stuck on the rail, addressed to the king, throw off his hat, discharge a pistol in his own bosom, and instantly fall. Though surrounded with people collected to see the king pass, the rash act was so suddenly perpetrated, that no one suspected his fatal purpose till he had accomplished it. He expired immediately. In his left hand was a letter, addressed "To the coroner who shall take an inquest on James Sutherland."— This unfortunate gentleman, James Sutherland, esquire, had been suspended from his office of judge-advocate of Minorca on the second of August, 1780; for which, on the 23d of July, 1783, he brought an action against general Murray, the governor, and obtained a verdict with 5,000l. damages. General Murray was indemnified by parliament; and the failure of some applications to government having at a subsequent period reduced Mr. Sutherland to great distress, had greatly deranged his mind. He was very genteelly dressed; had only two pence and some letters in his pockets.

pockets. The letters were carried to the secretary of state's office. One of them was addressed to the king. The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict lunacy.

The following melancholy accident happened at Woodford, in Essex, on the night between Monday and Tuesday last: Mr. Thompson, surgeon, of that place, being alarmed by a noise, occasioned, as was supposed, by some thieves who were attempting to rob his house, rose, and having awakened a servant who had been a long time in the family, and who was much respected for his honesty and sobriety, they both armed themselves with blunderbusses, and went out into the garden. Mr. Thompson stationed the servant at a particular corner, by which he supposed the thieves must pass, if they had not already made a retreat, desiring him to remain on the same spot till he should take a turn round the garden. The servant having imprudently left the place where he was desired to watch, was met by his master in another part of the garden, who, taking him for one of the housebreakers, discharged his blunderbuss at him, and lodged the whole contents in his body. The man died almost instantly, four balls having lodged in his lungs.

This day the following proclamation was issued by the king in council: "Whereas his Majesty was pleased, by his order in council of the 29th of last month, to direct that the bounties granted by his Majesty's proclamation of the 25th of March, 1791, to able and ordinary seamen, who should enter themselves to serve in his Majesty's royal navy as therein mentioned, should be continued until the 31st day of this instant August: and whereas his Ma-

jesty doth judge it no longer necessary to continue the said bounties: his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order and declare, that the said bounties shall from henceforth cease, determine, and be no longer paid or payable; any thing in the said order of the 29th of last month contained to the contrary notwithstanding. Whereof all persons concerned are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly."

A few days since William Gray, about 25 years of age, being employed on a scaffold erected for the purpose of painting the spire of Great Marlow church, by the breaking of one of the pulleys, fell with part of the scaffold upon the battlements on the roof of the church, from the roof of the church to the ground, being in the whole full fourcore feet perpendicular. His right hand was somewhat lacerated, but he had no bone broken or dislocated.

Whiteball. On Saturday last one of his majesty's messengers arrived at the office of the Right honourable Lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary for foreign affairs, with dispatches from the Right honourable Sir Robert Murray Keith, knight of the bath, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, and plenipotentiary to the congress of Sistovia, containing an account that a definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 4th instant between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, under the joint mediation of his Majesty, of the king of Prussia, and of the States General of the United Provinces; and that separate conven-

tion between his Imperial Majesty and the Ottoman Porte, for settling the limits between the two empires, was afterwards signed on the same day.

25th. *Warwick.* On Monday the 22d, the *nisi prius* bar was opened by Mr. Baron Hotham at ten o'clock. At eleven baron Perryn came into court on the crown side, and delivered a charge to the grand jury, in which, among other things, he said, "In the calendar, gentlemen, you will perceive the names of many prisoners, who, in open defiance to the laws of their country, have wickedly and wantonly, in contempt of all legal authority and government, destroyed and set fire to the houses of their fellow-subjects. This devastation was particularly levelled at a class of subjects who have for a long series of years, by the wisdom of the established law, enjoyed the exercise of their religious tenets with free toleration of government.

"I shall not enter into any of the causes which may be urged upon the present occasion as having tended to excite this popular tumult; because if any body of men had offended the laws, they were amenable for their conduct to their country. But whatever was the cause or the motive for those outrages, on no pretext can they be justified or palliated.

"It is rather extraordinary and singular, that at a time when the laws which have long disgraced the statute books against the Roman Catholics have, under the mild and blessed government during the present reign of his Majesty, been obliterated, and the situation of the Catholics, so far as respects their religious principles, placed under the happy and wise influence of a libe-

ral and manly freedom, that a spirit of intolerance should break out against another class of men with such fury.

"Gentlemen, you are the guardians of your country. You will examine patiently, coolly, and deliberately; and I am happy that this arduous, though painful task, has fallen into the hands of gentlemen who are as tenacious of their honour as they are of the safety, happiness, tranquillity, and stability of the constitution of their country."

The trials commenced the next day, when Francis Field, alias Rodney, was indicted for setting fire to the house of John Taylor, esquire, of Aston, near Birmingham, on the 15th of July last.

Witnesses were called, who clearly proved that the prisoner was seen to feed the fire kindled in the house, huzzaing all the time,

The jury retired, and after an hour's consideration, brought in their verdict—Guilty.

William Rice, also of the parish of Aston, was indicted for demolishing the house of William Hutton, esquire; but he proving an *alibi*, was acquitted.

Robert Whitehead was indicted for the same offence. Mr. Hutton's two servants swore to his activity in demolishing the house, and that he had snatched a gun from one of the witnesses, and knocked him down with the but-end of it. This evidence was confirmed by two other witnesses; but was flatly contradicted by another, whose evidence went to prove, that the prisoner, so far from being a rioter, did every thing in his power to quell the riot; and four respectable witnesses swore that he had a good character. The jury brought in their verdict—Not guilty.

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On Wednesday the 24th, John Green, John Clifton, and Bartholomew Fisher, were capitally indicted for demolishing the house of Joseph Priestley, LL. D.

After a long trial, Green and Fisher were found guilty, death; and Clifton, on account of many favourable circumstances, and the testimony of several respectable persons to his good character, was acquitted.

John Stokes, indicted for pulling down the old meeting-house, was next put to the bar. The counsel took an objection to the indictment, because it charged that the meeting-house was situate in Philip-street; whereas the register proved that it was originally licensed as being situated in Old Meeting-house lane. The counsel for the crown gave the prosecution up.—Not guilty.

William Shaker, the bellman of Birmingham, was indicted for beginning to demolish the house of John Ryland, esquire, in that town. The evidence of the three first witnesses was very strong against him, but their testimony was impeached by several other witnesses. Others gave him a very excellent character, as an honest, inoffensive man, whose only fault was, that he loved a drop of liquor. The jury, therefore, in perfect concurrence with the opinion of the judge, brought in their verdict—not guilty.

Joseph Careless was indicted for the same offence. Two witnesses swore to the fact charged against the prisoner. But a third witness stated, that the prisoner had endeavoured to preserve some pigs on the premises. The jury acquitted him.

William Hands was indicted for the same offence. Two witnesses

swore positively to the fact. The jury brought in their verdict—Guilty.

Daniel Rose, aged 16, was charged with beginning to pull down the dwelling-house of John Taylor, esquire, at Aston; but in consideration of his youth, no evidence was called against him. He was consequently acquitted.

On leaving the town, the judge ordered the four rioters, Francis Field; alias Rodney, John Green, Bartholomew Fisher, and William Hands, with Edward Brown, for highway robbery, and William Millington, for horse-stealing, to be executed on the 8th of September.

Whiteball. In consequence of the late edict of the Spanish government respecting foreigners, the principal merchants and other British subjects residing in Alicant, were on the 7th required by the governor to declare, whether they chose to be considered and classed foreigners *Transseuntis* or *Domiciliados*. On their preferring the latter class, they were ordered to leave Alicant within fifteen days, and were required to take an oath of implicit obedience to the laws of Spain during that period. Messrs. Keith and Macdonald having declined complying with this order, they were confined in the castle of Alicant.

On the receipt of this intelligence at Madrid, count Florida Blanca immediately assured lord St. Helen's that he entirely disapproved of every part of the governor's conduct; that orders should immediately be sent for the release of Messieurs Keith and Macdonald, without a moment's delay; and that the governor should be called upon to

prove any charge he might have made against them, and on his failing to make it good, that those gentlemen should certainly receive due satisfaction. Count Florida Blanca added, that he had the preceding evening sent out circular orders on this subject, which would, he trusted, secure his majesty's subjects settled at Alicant from any further molestation.

Within a few hours after this conversation, count Florida Blanca sent lord St. Helen's the above-mentioned order for the release of Messieurs Keith and Macdonald, which his excellency immediately forwarded to Alicant.

SEPTEMBER.

3d. *Windfor.* This morning, soon after five, their majesties and their royal highnesses the princess royal, princess Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, set out for Weymouth.

Whitball. Their majesties and the three princesses arrived safely at Weymouth, a little after six o'clock on Saturday evening.

7th. Advices have been received by the lord Thurlow East Indiaman, that the Panther, of two hundred tons, commanded by lieutenant M'Cluer, with the Endeavour, of sixty tons, had sailed from Bombay on the 23d of August, 1790, and arrived safely at the Pelew islands.

On their arrival they observed two canoes, which made toward the shore instead of coming to the ships, as had been expected. These, they supposed, were going to give an account to Abba Thulle of their arrival; and in this conjecture they

were not mistaken; for soon after they saw a number of canoes coming off to them, in one of which was the good old king.

Immediately on his coming on board he went up to the captain, taking him, from his dress, to be his former friend captain Wilson, and immediately felt on his arm for the *bone*, (a mark of honour he conferred on captain Wilson), and enquired what was become of it. Finding his mistake in the person, and being informed that captain Wilson was alive and well in England, he expressed great satisfaction. Captain M'Cluer then gave him to understand the death of Lee Boo, and the disorder of which he died, for which event the good old man said that he had prepared his mind: that he had counted up to some score moons; but the time being past, he had despaired of ever seeing the English more, judging that they had either perished in their voyage to China, or did not intend to return again to visit his islands.

He was, however, perfectly confident in the goodness of the English, and that captain Wilson would take care of his son. In relating the death of Blanchard (the seaman who had been left there by his desire) he was full of grief, and could hardly utter himself, so much did he feel his loss.

Blanchard was mortally wounded in an engagement with the people of Pellilew, and died soon after, as did those great and good friends of captain Wilson and his crew, Raz Kook and Arra Cooker. During the time of captain M'Cluer's stay at the islands, which was near a month, the utmost harmony and friendship prevailed, and the good old king liberally supplied them with fish and yams

yams when the canoes came in, as he used to do to his former friends.

Captain McCluer has taken a son and a daughter of the king's with him to China, and means to call at the islands again in his passage to Bombay. In his journal the captain says, "Having pitched my tent in a bay opposite to the ship, I found myself in a perfect paradise, and could have been happy to have continued here the remainder of my days."

8th. Edward Brown, for a highway robbery; William Milington, for stealing a mare; Francis Field, alias Rodney, and John Green, for being concerned in destroying the houses, &c. of John Taylor, esquire, and Dr. Priestley, were executed near Warwick, agreeably to their sentences. The unhappy men appeared at the fatal tree with manly firmness and resignation, and their whole conduct after condemnation evinced the truest penitence. Green, however, to the last moment declared he took no part in demolishing Dr. Priestley's house (for which he was convicted), but that he was merely a spectator there; though he acknowledged he ought to suffer, as he was very active in destroying Mr. Hutton's house.

His Majesty's free pardon has been granted to Bartholomew Fisher, one of the condemned rioters; and a respite for fourteen days was on Wednesday received at Warwick.

14th. About half past ten o'clock at night, a dreadful fire broke out near Cherry Garden Stairs, Rotherhithe, near London, which, from the tide being low, and little water to be had, burnt with great fury a considerable time. It began at a chandler's, but how is not

known: several barrels of tar were on fire before it was discovered. A number of engines attended, both on the river and on the shore; but, from the difficulty of finding water for the latter, and the impossibility of bringing the former near enough, the flames for a long time spread with the utmost fury. It was six or seven o'clock in the morning before the violence of the flames was any way got under, by which time above 50 houses were burnt down, many of them warehouses, containing property to a very considerable amount, of which very little was saved. The flames having communicated to the shipping in the river, great fears were entertained that a number of vessels would fall a prey to the rage of the fire, as there was no possibility of drawing them off, owing to the water being ebb. The Ranger, Captain Swain, from the South Seas, and a small brig, were burnt; but, by great exertions, the flames were prevented from communicating to any other vessels, at least from destroying any other. A great number of poor families have been burnt out, and their little all destroyed.

About five o'clock in the morning, the post-boy carrying the mail (on horseback) from Warrington to Manchester was murdered about a mile from Warrington, the mail opened, and the letters in the following bags were taken out and carried away, viz. the Chester bags for Manchester and Rochdale, and the Liverpool bags for Rochdale.

Two men (by accent Irishmen) were seen to leave the place where the robbery and murder had been committed in a precipitate manner, and to go towards Warrington.

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The rider was found about six o'clock on Friday morning, after the whole of the night had been spent in searching for him, in Britch Brook, about a mile from Warrington (murdered); the body laid with the face downwards, his hands tied upon his back, and his feet tied together.

19th. George Dingler was executed opposite the debtors door at Newgate, according to his sentence, for the wilful murder of his wife.

21th. The Old Bailey sessions ended, when judgment of death was passed on John Portsmouth, Thomas Playter, Thomas Collis, William Trifram, John Barry, Robert Clark, Thomas Eastop, John Simpson, Thomas Jones, and John Herbert.

Fifteen capital convicts, who had been respited during his majesty's pleasure, were pardoned on condition of being transported to New South Wales for life. One of them, Thomas Chapland, refused his pardon, and was ordered to be confined in a solitary cell, till his majesty's further pleasure be known. Ann Gale, another convict, who has two children, declared she would rather die than leave her children behind her, when the Recorder said he would do every thing in his power that her children might be permitted to go with her.

24th. A woman in Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell, quitted her house, leaving two children alone therein, who opened a cage in which three ferrets were confined, when the latter attacked one of the children, and tore out its eyes.

On the 21st of June at day-break, there fell a very violent rain in the

island of Cuba; which continued till the next day, at half past two in the afternoon, with such force, as to cause the greatest flood ever known in that country.

The tobacco-mills belonging to the king of Spain were intirely carried away by the waters, and the village, in which they stood, is no more. Two hundred and fifty-seven of the inhabitants perished in it.

In the spot where the mills stood, the water, and, as it is thought, a slight earthquake, opened the ground to the depth of forty-five feet, and, in one of the openings, a river appeared of the purest water. In the site of a house, occupied by the count Barretto, cavities were discovered more than sixty feet deep, from one of which rose a thick smoke.

At the distance of four leagues from thence, the torrent was so great, that none of the inhabitants escaped, and all the upper part of the soil, in which corn or fruits were growing, was carried away. The number of deaths, or the extent of the misfortune, could not be immediately ascertained; but the calculation was, that 3000 persons had perished, with cattle of various kinds, to the number of 11,700.

Weymouth. His majesty in 28th. council was this day pleased to declare his consent to a contract of matrimony between his royal highness the duke of York and her royal highness the princess Frederique Charlotte Ulrique Catherine of Prussia, eldest daughter of his majesty the king of Prussia; which consent his majesty has also caused to be signified under the great seal.

29th.

Scotland. George Davidson, for forgery, and James Plunket, lately a soldier, for robbery, both under sentence of death, and who were to have been executed on the 26th instant, found means to make their escape. When the two under-gaolers went up, about ten o'clock at night, to lock up the prisoners, Plunket begged he might have a pot of porter, which was granted; and, having drunk heartily, he offered the remainder to his keeper, who, while he was drinking, had a pistol held to his throat by Plunket, who swore he had not an hour to live, if he spoke a word. At the same instant Davidson held a pistol at the heart of the other under-keeper; and, having terrified them by threats, they bound them with cords, which they had provided for the occasion, unchained themselves from the bar to which they were chained down to the floor, and walked off unsuspected. The two under-gaolers were ordered by the Magistrates to be imprisoned.

At the quarter sessions at *30th.* Sudbury, on an affair of an assault, the jury, not agreeing on their verdict, about midnight broke open the door of the room in which they were inclosed, and made off, every man to his own house. Next morning they assembled; but, being then no longer considered as the same jury, were dismissed by the Court, who determined to apply to the Attorney General for advice in a case so unprecedented.

Birmingham. From some circumstances which appeared from the evidence against William Hands, upon his trial, some gentlemen, who were led to apprehend that the whole truth respecting his

conduct at Mr. Ryland's house during the late riots, did not appear, and that the part he took there was to preserve, and not to destroy Mr. Ryland's property, humanely united in obtaining and presenting a petition to his majesty in his favour, upon which a respite for fourteen days was granted: previous to the expiration of which, Mr. Justice Bond was sent down with another respite for seven days more, and to investigate the allegation stated in the petition in favour of the prisoner: and, on Sunday se'n-night, very satisfactory evidence was adduced before the magistrates of this town, Mr. Justice Bond, Sir Robert Lawley, bart. the high bailiff, and many of the most respectable gentlemen of this place, in support of the favourable circumstances stated on behalf of the prisoner, which were returned to the secretary of state by Mr. Bond; the result of which has been, the arrival of another respite on Saturday, during his majesty's pleasure, and on Tuesday, of a free pardon.

At Dublin, on the 19th of September, the first stone of the new House of Industry, on an extensive plan, was laid by the right honourable Thomas Conolly, as the first mover of a bill for the establishment of a regular system for the support of the poor of that kingdom.

DIED—7th, at Madrid, aged 100, Don Carlos Felix O'Neale. He was an old lieutenant-general of the Spanish army, a great favourite of his monarch, and had been governor of the Havannah. He was the son of Sir Neale O'Neale, of the province of Ulster, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

Lately at an alms-house in Monmouth, aged 103, Sarah Price. When

When about 50 she could not see without the help of glasses; but as she further advanced in years, she recovered her sight to such a degree as to see to thread the smallest needle, till within a few days of her decease.

In St. Elizabeth's, aged 110, a negro woman named Cooba.

At Edinburgh, in his 105th year, John Strachan.

OCTOBER.

1st. *Berlin.* The day before yesterday, in the evening, the wedding of Princess Frederica was consummated with the Duke of York.

About six o'clock, all persons who were of princely blood assembled in gala in the apartments of the Dowager Queen, where the diamond crown was put on the head of Princess Frederica. The Generals, Ministers, Ambassadors, and the high nobility, assembled in the white hall.

Immediately after it struck seven o'clock, the duke of York led the princess, whose train was carried by four *Dames de la Cour*, preceded by the gentlemen of the chamber, and the court officers of state, through all the parade apartments, into the white hall. After them went the king, with the Queen Dowager; Prince Lewis of Prussia, with the reigning queen (the crown prince was absent, by indisposition); the hereditary prince of Orange, with Princesses Wilhelmina; Prince Henry, third son of the King, with the hereditary Stadtholders, his aunt: Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, with Princess Augusta; the duke of Weimar, with the spouse of Prince

Henry of Prussia; the reigning duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, with the hereditary Prince of Brunswick.

In the white hall, a canopy was erected of crimson velvet, and also a crimson velvet sofa for the marriage ceremony.

When the young couple had placed themselves under the canopy, before the sofa, and the royal family stood round them, the upper counsellor of the consistory, Mr. Sack, made a speech in German. This being over, rings were exchanged; and the illustrious couple, kneeling on the sofa, were married according to the rites of the reformed church. The whole ended with a prayer; and twelve guns placed in the garden firing three rounds, the benediction was given. After which, the new-married couple received the congratulations of the royal family, and they returned in the same manner to the apartments, where the royal family, and all persons present, sat down to card-tables; after which, the whole court, the high nobility, and the ambassadors, sat down to supper.

The supper was served at six tables. The first was placed under a canopy of crimson velvet, and the victuals served in gold dishes and plates. Lieutenant-General Bornstedt and Count Buhl had the honour to carve, without being seated.

The other five tables, at which sat the Generals, Ministers, Ambassadors, all the officers of the court, and the high nobility, were served in other apartments.

Those who did the *bonneurs* at these tables were—At the first, Prince Sacker, minister of state—At the second, General Mollendorff—At the third, Count Jinckenstein, minister

minister of state.—At the fourth, count Schulemburg, lieutenant-general and minister of state—At the fifth, major-general Bischoffswerder.

During supper, musick continued playing in the galleries of the first hall, which immediately began when the company entered the hall.

At the desert, the royal table was served with a beautiful set of china, made in the Berlin manufactory.

Supper being over, the whole assembly repaired to the white hall, where the trumpet, timbrel, and other musick, were playing; the flambeau dance was begun, at which the ministers of state carried the torches. With this ended the festivity.

The new couple were attended to their apartment by the reigning Queen and the Queen Dowager.

The Duke of York wore on this day the English uniform; and the Princess Frederica was dressed in a suit of *drap d'argent*, ornamented with diamonds.

The palace of the Margrave of Anspach was illuminated.

6th. The house of Sir James Sanderfon, Roxby, and Co. hop-merchants, at the bottom of Fish-street-hill, was broke open and robbed of bills of exchange, cash, &c. to the amount of 1800l.

A most unhappy affair has lately occurred on board the Fitzwilliam East-Indiaman, just arrived: A gentleman and his niece were passengers in the ship from Bengal, having part of the Captain's cabin, or round-house, assigned to themselves for accommodation, and lived at the Captain's table; the gentleman was a widower, and appeared to be about 45 years of age, and his niece about

30; the former had been in the profession of the law, and was reputed to have some fortune, as had the lady, and both were from Yorkshire. On Wednesday morning the 28th ult. it was currently reported in the ship, that Mr. D. (a cuddy passenger) had, by looking through the keyhole of the door of their apartment on Tuesday afternoon, discovered them in an improper situation; that he had called another person to be witness of the same; that they alarmed the parties by knocking at the door, and retired. The affair being universally made known, a reserve took place at table during dinner between the gentlemen and the parties; and an explanation was so far gone into as to convince the latter that their guilt was public. They accordingly soon retired from table, and remained that day and Thursday in their apartment. On Friday morning the 30th, upon a servant's knocking at the door, and not being able to obtain admittance or attention, a suspicion arose, and the gunner was desired to go over the ship's quarter, and look into their apartment, on which he discovered that they had destroyed themselves. The gentleman was found sitting in the quarter gallery, with a fusce and a pistol, with the latter of which he had shot himself through the head; the lady was lying in the balcony, and a discharged pistol near her, with which she had shattered her head in a shocking manner. They had been dead for some time, and it was about seven in the morning when this part of the melancholy business was publicly known in the ship. Their bodies were committed to the deep at mid-day.

Some letters were found written by

by the lady, addressed to several friends and relations; one to the Captain, thanking him for his kindness; one to the person whose fatal curiosity had occasioned the discovery, upbraiding him for cruel officiousness; and one to a gentleman who was in the same ship, and who paid his addresses to the lady, assuring him, that she esteemed him highly; but declaring, that it never was her intention to impose on him a woman whose conduct he could not approve, and whose affections were devoted to another.

12th. *Glasgow.* In consequence of very heavy rains, which we had for the two preceding days, the river Clyde yesterday overflowed its banks, and rose to such a height as to lay all the lower part of this city several feet under water. The furniture and goods in the houses which the water reached have been very much damaged; and as the harvest is not yet quite got-in in this country, great quantities of cut corn have been swept away by the flood from the lands overflowed by the river. The water rose so high as to reach the cells of the mad-house. The instantaneous effect which the dread of the water had upon the lunatics, was very remarkable—the whole of them, even the most furious, were rendered quiet and tractable, and allowed themselves, trembling like children, to be conducted to apartments on the upper story, where they remained calm and peaceable, as long as the court-yard remained covered by the water.

16th. A most distressing circumstance happened at the house of Dr. Ford, head of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. One of the Doctor's chil-

dren, a fine boy of about four or five years of age, having been left by the maid at play in the room with his brothers, approached so near the fire, that the flames caught his pin-cloth; and, though the child screamed immediately for help, and all possible assistance was afforded, he died on Tuesday.

Windſor. Their majesties 17th. and the princess royal, princess Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, set out from Gloucester Lodge, Weymouth, on Saturday morning a little before six o'clock, and arrived here at six in the afternoon, in perfect health.

Vienna, Sept. 7th. The ratifications of the treaty of peace, and of the convention between his imperial majesty and the Ottoman Porte, were exchanged on the 23d ult. at Sissova, by the Austrian and Turkish plenipotentiaries, in due form. And on the 5th of this month, sir Robert Murray Keith, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the above congress, returned to this city.

On Saturday, at four in the morning, the watch at 24th. the Bank discovered a fire in that part of the buildings which is lately appropriated for ovens to burn the useless papers; a large beam which ran across the chimney took fire, and communicated to the carpenters' workshops, which in an hour were wholly destroyed. The fire was then got under, and no farther damage ensued. Several bank directors attended.—It may be necessary to add, that this fire in no way affected, or could affect, the repositories of the public accounts, &c. which are amply secured against the possibility of being injured by fire.

25th.

25th. Accounts were received this morning at the Admiralty, by the Daphne man of war, from Jamaica, which place she left Sept. 10, that a dreadful insurrection had taken place at St. Domingo, among the negroes and free people, and that they were in arms to the number of from 35,000 to 40,000 men, and were supposed to have in their possession about 5000 stand of arms, had destroyed about 200 sugar plantations, and a number of coffee, &c. and had killed and destroyed all the white people that fell in their way, it is supposed to a great amount. The reason assigned for the revolt of these people is, the late decree passed in the National Assembly. It appears that the revolt was confined to the French district; but it was imagined it would become general through the island.

By other information we learn, that the white people at St. Domingo had dispatched a ship to America, praying for assistance: that the news of the insurrection being received at Jamaica, Lord Effingham had collected all the troops together, to be ready on the first alarm; and it was expected that martial law would be proclaimed. We are happy to say, that no serious consequence is apprehended among our own islands: and the military at Jamaica is on the most respectable footing, and very numerous.

27th. This evening, about seven o'clock, Count de Verteillac made his escape from the Fleet prison, in a manner so unsuspected by the keepers, that the first intelligence leading to a discovery was given by the master of the Bell-Savage inn, through which he was

found to have passed. He is the person who some time since was imprisoned in the King's Bench, and endeavoured to make his escape from thence. The debt for which he was detained is said to amount to 5000l.

The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was passed upon 18 capital convicts; one was sentenced to be transported for 14 years, 28 for seven years, four to be imprisoned in Newgate, and nine in Clerkenwell Bridewell; 11 were publicly and two privately whipped; one judgment respited, on condition of his enlisting as an East India soldier; one (viz. Spence Broughton) for robbing the Mail, ordered to be sent to Cambridge, five to be sent to Surrey, and 34 were discharged by proclamation.

This evening, about seven o'clock, it was discovered that Oxley, one of the men imprisoned upon a charge of being concerned in some of the mail robberies, had made his escape from Clerkenwell prison. Some bricklayers had been employed during the day in repairing the outhouses in the yard, and their ladder, by a strange neglect, was left there after it was dark. This man was a prisoner in a place called the Lodge, where the confinement is less strict than in some other parts of the prison, and had been indulged with very light irons. He ascended the ladder without discovery or suspicion, and was presently beyond the walls of the prison. In passing over some leads belonging to an adjoining house, he threw down an earthen pan placed there for the reception of birds, which circumstance first discovered his escape by the noise of the falling pieces. Information

formation was given to the prison-keepers that some person had been passing over those leads, and he was immediately pursued, but has not yet been taken.

The most dreadful riots have lately happened at Avignon, in which several people lost their lives. One man, the companion of Jourdain, furnamed *Cui-trocet*, was assassinated in a church, at the foot of the altar. Above fifty others have become miserable victims to popular fury.

DIED, at his apartments in Milford-street, Bath, of a total decay, in his 64th year, Bamber Gascoyne, Esq. receiver-general of his majesty's customs, one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, verdurer of Waltham forest, Essex, formerly M. P. for Liverpool, and only son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, knight, lord-mayor of London in 1753, and who died in 1761.

NOVEMBER.

2d. The following melancholy accident occurred in the house of Mrs. Clitherow, firework-maker, near Halfmoon-alley, Bishopsgate-street;

Mrs. Clitherow, with two journeymen, her son, and eldest daughter, being at work in her shop, to complete some orders against Friday, about half past one o'clock in the morning some tea was proposed as a refreshment; while this was drinking, some of the materials upon which they had been at work, by unknown means took fire, when Mrs. Clitherow's eldest daughter ran up stairs to alarm her three sisters, who were in bed. Her sisters pressing her as to the safety of her mother, she came down

again, but not till the flames had got to such an height, that, every attempt to get out of the front door proving abortive, she, with one of the men, got into the yard. She there first perceived that her clothes were on fire, which the man had scarcely extinguished, by assisting her to get into the water-tub, before a beam fell, with the explosion of the roof, and broke his arm. At the same time, both the roof and the gable end of the next house, Mr. Gibbs's, was forced into the street, by which a person, who lodged in the garret, was thrown out of his bed upon the ground at several yards distance; this man's thighs were broke, and he is otherwise much hurt. It was not till some time after the principal explosion, that the two unhappy people in Mrs. Clitherow's yard were found by the populace almost intombed in the smoking ruins: the young woman was conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hospital, and the two men to St. Thomas's; two of whom are since dead. It is supposed that her mother and the other journeyman fell a sacrifice to an attempt to extinguish the flames in the shop below, as the principal part of the powder, which was deposited in the garret, was a considerable time before it took fire. Happily only six lives were lost, viz. those of Mrs. Clitherow, one journeyman, her son, and three daughters; nor were any other persons hurt than those above mentioned. Mrs. Clitherow's house is entirely consumed, but the two adjacent are only considerably damaged, as were the windows and tiling of almost all the houses as far off the spot as Broad-street buildings.

It

It is remarkable, that the late husband of Mrs. Clitherow had a similar accident on the same spot about thirty years since, when several lives were lost.

3d. A few days since Mr. Kirk's cotton-mills, at Barnford, in the county of Derby, were destroyed by fire; which was so rapid, that only the walls of that great work were left standing. The damage is computed at 8,000*l.* and a considerable number of men, women, and children, are for a time deprived of the means of getting their bread.

4th. As some men were lately employed in drawing a pond at Hinton Abbey, they found a human skeleton, in a sitting posture, the skull not above six inches covered with mud. It is supposed to be the remains of Walter Robinson, Esq. uncle to the late Stocker Robinson, Esq. He was drinking at a public-house in the neighbourhood about fifty-two years since, and was supposed to have been murdered in his way home, as he had not been seen or heard of since. The sum of a thousand pounds, with interest, is among the unclaimed dividends at the bank in his name. A pair of high-heeled shoes were found whole, a small distance off. The bones were carefully buried in the church-yard.

7th. *Birmingham.* Between ten and eleven o'clock on Saturday night, the family (after they were gone to bed) at the Bull's Head public-house, in Erdington, being disturbed by a violent knocking at the door, Mr. Gorton, the master of the house, got up to his chamber window, and leaning out of it, he observed three men, one of whom, upon his enquiring what

they wanted, fired a pistol at him, the contents of which lodged in his body, and he expired in great agony yesterday morning.

Edinburgb. On Tuesday morning, about twenty minutes after nine, a newly-finished glass-house at Dumbarton, supposed to be the largest in Great Britain, the cone being 120 feet in height, suddenly fell down. At this time there were twelve men in the inside, employed in removing the scaffolding, all of whom were buried in the ruins. The greatest exertions were made to remove the rubbish, and six of the men were got out alive, but two of them are since dead: so that eight out of the twelve have lost their lives, and the other four are not out of danger. The hour of breakfast was unfortunately altered the day before from nine till ten o'clock.

This day came on, in the court of king's-bench, a long depending cause on behalf of the seamen of the late commodore Johnstone's Squadron, and the troops on board that Squadron, under the command of general Medows. The question had been argued six times. It originated from a meditated attack upon the Cape of Good Hope in the late war, and the capture of a Dutch vessel in Saldanha Bay, which the lords and commissioners of appeal had determined to be 'good and lawful prize to the king,' and which the court of king's-bench affirmed.

Stockholm. A Mr. d'Aiken, a physician of Orebo, has invented a powder, which, being infused in water, will extinguish the most dreadful fires. A number of experiments have already been made with great success, and he is to repeat them, in presence

presence of his majesty, at Drotningholm, where a number of houses have already been built for that purpose.

John Portsmouth, for stealing a bay gelding, of the price of 10l. the property of Patrick Smeeth, and a black gelding, of the price of 10l. the property of Thomas Wood; William Trifram and John Berry, for stealing a gelding of the price of 5l. the property of John Cull; Thomas Eastop, for stealing and driving away eight sheep, of the price of 8l. the property of Joseph Sellon; and Robert Clark, for assaulting William Dawson in a field near the high-way, and robbing him of a metal watch, nine guineas, and a black leather pocket book, value 11l. 4s. 5d. and a bank note value 10l. his property, were executed before Newgate.

15th. The court of King's Bench delivered their opinion on a special verdict returned to them in the sittings after the last term on an action against the printer of a morning paper, for having published therein illegal schemes for the lottery; when their lordships unanimously determined that he had incurred the penalty.

16th. The printer of a morning paper was brought up in the court of King's Bench, to receive judgment for a libel upon the lord lieutenant of Ireland and Lady Fitzgibbon. Mr. Justice Ashurst passed sentence on the defendant, that he should be imprisoned in Newgate for 12 months, and at the end of that period enter into a recognizance for his good behaviour for three years.

A short time ago, a patent passed the great seal to Mr. Hare, brewer,

of Lime-house, for his invention of an apparatus for effectually retaining and applying to use the essential oil of hops during the boiling of worts for beer, which was formerly lost in the air. By the same apparatus, water in a vessel of any size may be heated to boiling-heat, without the application of fire, quicker than it could be heated by actual fire.

Southampton. On Wednesday morning last, about 19th. two o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at Bugle-hall, in this town, occasioned, it is supposed, by the fires which were daily kept in the house to dry it, it being then uninhabited, and undergoing great alterations. As the wind was remarkably high, the engines exceedingly out of repair, and there being a scarcity of water, that large and antient building was soon reduced to ashes.

Whitehall. On Friday the Duke and Duchess of York . 21st. landed at Dover, and arrived the day following, between five and six in the afternoon, at York House, in perfect health.

* It is a fact, not generally known, that as the Duke of York was travelling through part of France, on his way home, a frantic mob assembled round his royal highness's carriage, and were with extreme difficulty prevented from defacing the *Arms* on the pannels!

London. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of London, came to the queen's house; the Archbishop attended by two pages and his train-bearer; and the Lord Chancellor in his full robes, with

with the great seal of England carried before him, and his train borne.

At half past eight o'clock, the Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the Duke of Clarence, entered the Queen's house, and were immediately conducted to her majesty's drawing-room.

The Bishops and the Chancellor were in a separate room for near three quarters of an hour, preparing the form of the register.

At nine o'clock, the bishops and the lord chancellor having intimated that they were ready, they were admitted into her majesty's drawing-room; upon which the procession, attended by the officers of the chapel royal, proceeded to the grand saloon. Books of the marriage ceremony were delivered to all the royal family by the archbishop of Canterbury.

At the request of the archbishop, a table was directed to be placed in the saloon, which was formed as an altar, and was narrow enough for the archbishop to reach across, and join the hands of the royal pair.

At half past nine, the ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London: his majesty standing at one end of the altar, and her majesty at the other extremity; the duke and duchess of York in the centre; the archbishop opposite to them, and the lord chancellor standing behind him; the prince of Wales next to the duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York. The princesses were seated on chairs at a distance from the altar, in the saloon.

As soon as the ceremony was finished, the duchess of York went to

his majesty, and attempted to kneel; which his majesty with some difficulty prevented; and, raising her in his arms, affectionately embraced her.

The certificate of the marriage was then signed by their majesties, the prince of Wales, the duke of Clarence, and lastly by the lord chancellor. After which, the bishops and the lord chancellor, retired; and immediately left the queen's house.

The royal family returned to the queen's drawing-room; and at a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the duke and duchess of York went to York-house; where they were accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of Clarence, an elegant supper having been provided by direction of the duke of York.

The prince of Wales gave the duchess away.

The duchess was dressed in white satin, with tassels, and fringe of gold, and a number of diamonds; in her head-dress she wore feathers, and three brilliant pins presented to her by the king at the royal visit on Tuesday. The duke was in his regimentals—the prince was in a chocolate-coloured dressed suit, and the duke of Clarence in his full uniform.

Yesterday, was a splendid 25th. drawing-room at St. James's, on account of the presenting of the duchess of York at court. The duke and duchess went in the same coach, accompanied by lady Anne Fitzroy. Her royal highness was handed from the carriage by H. Bunbury, esq. by whom she was conducted to the private chamber, where she was met by lady Sydney, lady Mary Howe, and lady Caroline Waldegrave, who led her into the drawing

drawing room, and presented her to their majesties and the princesses. The ceremony over, the nobility paid their respects to the illustrious stranger, and at half past three o'clock her highness returned to York-house. The duke did not leave the drawing-room till near five.

26th. *Copenhagen.* In the month of June last, it was made known, that a dangerous shoal had been discovered in the Cattegat, between the island of Anholt and the town of Warberg in Sweden. The court of admiralty has now given orders to the keeper of the royal records of sea charts, that the said shoal (upon which is found only nineteen feet water, with a large stony or rocky bottom) shall be immediately engraved upon the plate of the survey of the Cattegat for 1790, and there laid down exactly agreeable to the report of his Danish majesty's officers, appointed this summer to survey these grounds.

It is further found, by the exact surveys lately made, that the island of Anholt and Anholt Reef are situated near one and one third of an English league more to the eastward, in the same latitude, than they are laid down in the aforesaid charts of 1790. This error will be corrected in the new charts.

It is also said, that the shoal in question lies E. N. E. from Anholt light-house, and at about twenty English miles distance from it.

27th. *Northampton.* The memorable Bow-bridge, which has long been visited by every curious stranger who has passed through Leicester, on account of its being the accidental monument over the grave of king Rich-

ard the Third's bones, fell on Saturday last, about eleven o'clock. Its foundation has been some time visibly decaying; and the late rains having swelled the waters which passed under it, probably took away its principal support on that end toward St. Austin's well, which occasioned its destruction.

DIED—on the 3d, aged 101, Mrs. Askham, of York.

16th, in the parish of Henbury, in the county of Gloucester, aged 102, Abraham Fishpool, who enjoyed so uninterrupted a state of health, that, till within the last six months, he constantly attended the gate between Kingweston and Henbury.

D E C E M B E R.

The pope has sent to all the courts, and to all the princes of Europe, without exception, a long memoire, in which he fully details the unjust proceedings; and the contradictory, atrocious, and barbarous measures, of the French *soi-disant* constituent assembly, relative to the usurpation of Avignon and of the Comtat.

He complains that this assembly, after having loudly protested that they renounced the spirit of conquest, and after having acknowledged the right of the Holy See to Avignon and the Comtat Venaisin, confirmed by an undisturbed possession for more than five centuries, have been guilty of the most horrible crimes, and have shed torrents of blood, with a view to usurp this country.

William Jolliffe, Esq. was brought up to receive the judgment of the court of King's Bench, (having been convicted at the last assizes for

Kingston,

Kingston, of distributing papers, with a view of prejudicing the minds of the jury, on the trial of an information against him).—The court sentenced him to six months imprisonment in the King's Bench prison, and a fine of one hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned until he paid the fine. Mr. Jolliffe addressed himself to the court, saying, that he apprised their Lordships that he was a member of parliament, and that he should inform the house of his being imprisoned.—To this Lord Kenyon made this answer, "The defendant must be committed in execution of his sentence."

On the 7th was held a general court of the proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company, when it was resolved, that a capital of not less than 50,000 l. should be added to their former capital of 100,000 l. before resolved upon, in consideration of the increasing magnitude of their affairs, and of the wish expressed by many proprietors to recommend more new subscribers than a capital of 100,000 l. would allow of: it was also resolved, that the whole of the subscriptions should be paid at once, within one month after they should be called for by the directors; and that each proprietor should give in his share of recommendations of new subscribers on or before the 13th inst. who are to be ballotted for on the 20th inst. Such deficiency as may remain from any proprietor failing to fill up his share by the 13th inst. is to be supplied by the proprietors in general, on or before the 1st of February.

In the court of chancery, application was made for further directions as to the re-delivery of Madame du Barré's jewels,

and the payment of the expences incurred on their recovery. The lord chancellor made some pointed animadversions on the *scramble* for the reward and expences: and it was finally settled, that 3000 l. should be deposited by Madame du Barré to answer all demands, which are to be liquidated by arbitration, and the jewels immediately delivered up.

John Frith, who has been 11th. for a considerable time confined in Newgate for high treason, in throwing a stone at his majesty, was, upon the motion of Mr. Garrow, his counsel, put to the bar. The affidavits of a physician and surgeon were produced, purporting, that they had attended and examined the state of mind of the prisoner since his confinement in Newgate, and that they had found that he was an insane person. The attorney general said, he had seen and admitted the truth of the affidavits. He was authorized to inform the court, that he was in possession of the king's sign manual, by which his majesty consented to the prisoner's being discharged from the gaol of Newgate, upon condition that security was given that he should be confined in some proper place as a lunatic, or in some other manner taken care of, so as to answer his majesty's most gracious intentions. Bail were then produced, and the prisoner was ordered to be liberated.

In the afternoon as several 12th. young men were skating on the ice on the Canal in St. James's Park, two of them fell in; two others, endeavouring to rescue them, shared the same fate, by the ice giving way; they were in the water

more

more than half an hour, when one, by the assistance of a ladder, was got out, but three were unfortunately drowned: A boat was brought from Westminster Bridge, but too late; the bodies were taken up, and carried to three public-houses, where the usual means prescribed by the Humane Society were used, but without the desired effect.

13th. In the morning a most dreadful fire broke out at the sugar-house of Mr. Engell, Wellclose Square, which entirely consumed the same, together with three houses contiguous to it. There were about 500 tons of sugar, rough and refined. The conflagration was truly dreadful, and raged with the utmost fury for above four hours.—The loss is estimated at upwards of 30,000l.

14th. Was tried at Guildhall, the cause of ——— Martin, Esq. against ——— Petric, Esq.

This was an action against the defendant for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.—The damages were laid in the declaration at 20,000l.

Mr. Bearcroft, on the part of the plaintiff, stated, that he was the eldest son of a gentleman of large fortune in the county of Galway, in Ireland. In the year 1777 he married a lady of beauty and accomplishments, a Miss Vesey. With her he lived happily for the space of fourteen years, having had, during that time, nine children by her. At the end of that period he was under the necessity of leaving his wife at Paris, where he had resided for some time, and of returning to England. During his absence the defendant was introduced to the acquaintance of his lady, whom he after a short period seduced.—The

jury gave a verdict of 10,000l damages.

This evening, as an elderly woman, housekeeper to Mr. Francis, of St. James's-square, was sitting by the kitchen fire, the flames caught her cloaths, and burned her in so terrible a manner, that she expired in a few hours afterwards.

The right hon. the lord mayor, the aldermen, the sheriffs, and common council of the city of London, waited upon their royal highnesses the duke and duchess of York, and presented their complimentary congratulations on their late marriage.

The following is the duke of York's answer: "I return you my most hearty thanks for this address, so full of sentiments of attachment: to the house of Brunswick, and of affection to me.

"Your expressions of joy on the occasion of my marriage give me the highest satisfaction; and the city of London may rely upon my unabating zeal for their welfare and prosperity, and on my constant endeavour to preserve their affection and regard."

The following is the Duchess's answer, viz. "I thank you for your congratulations, so expressive of love and duty to the king our sovereign, and of affection to the duke of York and myself. They make impressions on my mind, and it shall be my constant and unremitting study to continue to deserve the esteem of the city of London."

At half past 8 o'clock, a fire broke out in Miss Le Clerc's apartments, on the second floor in Richmond-house, Privy-Gardens, which was occasioned by a spark having shot from the fire to the bed furniture.

care, where the young lady lay asleep. The duke was then writing a letter in the library, where the breakfast-cloth was laid. In a few minutes afterwards, his grace, the duchess, and Miss Le Cleré (the duchess carrying a favourite dog under her arm) left the house, and the ladies were escorted to the duke of Buccleugh's by a gentleman, who appeared to be a friend of the family, and who met this party upon the steps.

The duke returned to the yard of his house, and there being then no engines, and very little readiness either in the astonished servants, or the populace, to afford assistance, he seemed likely to be in a very short time a witness to the destruction of his entire property there. A gentleman at this time ran up the great stair-case, and presently afterwards some of the populace, encouraged by his example and entreaty, followed. Eight or nine persons seemed then to be employed by his direction in lowering furniture from the windows, and bearing it down stairs. Three looking-glasses, said to be worth twelve hundred pounds, were thus rescued; two large cabinets, containing his grace's papers, were lowered from the rails of the balcony by this unknown gentleman.

Upon the whole it appears, that the endeavours then used for the preservation of the valuable furniture and effects were so far successful, that all the papers in the office fronting towards the garden, and appropriated by the duke to ordnance business, are saved; all the furniture of the first floor, even to the hangings of the duke's bed; all his private papers, with the letter which he had left unfinished, and the valuable paintings, are saved. One

looking-glass of great value was broken and left behind, the others were carried down the great stair-case.

The books in the library were saved by being thrown from the windows upon mattresses, which the stranger, who seemed to conduct the whole, had ordered to be placed under them. The model of the new house intended to be built by the Duke at Goodwood, and all the valuable busts from the library, were also saved.

About one o'clock the whole roof fell in; three floating engines on the river played the water on the east side, and a number of engines in the yard played very rapidly; so that soon after four o'clock they got it nearly under. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, with about 300 of the Coldstream regiment, assisted the watermen, and kept off the mob.

During the rage of the fire, a favourite spaniel dog of the Duke's was observed at the window of an apartment, jumping and making endeavours to force his way through the glass. His Grace offering a reward to any person that would save him, a waterman, by means of ladders fastened together, mounted to the window, threw up the sash, and brought the dog down safe. The Duke gave him ten guineas, and the Duke of York one, for this act of humanity and courage.

The pictures, and most of the numerous writings and curious books, which his Grace possessed, we are extremely happy to hear, are saved. At such a fire, the loss of property is not the highest consideration; science often suffers irreparably.

No lives were lost, nor have we heard of any material accident sustained

tained by the persons who assisted.

Several respectable buckle-manufacturers from Birmingham, Walsall, and Wolverhampton; waited upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with a petition, setting forth the distressed situation of thousands in the different branches of the buckle manufacture, from the fashion now, and for some time back, so prevalent, of wearing shoestrings instead of buckles. His Royal Highness, after considering the petition very attentively, graciously promised his utmost assistance by his example and influence.

24th. The Roman Catholic inhabitants of Kerry county in Ireland have presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant, professing their loyalty and attachment to the government, with a solemn declaration, that they hold in abhorrence all writings and actions tending to excite sedition or favour faction. The address is signed by Lord Kenmare and Gerard Teahan — the former as representative of the inhabitants, the latter as primate of the clergy.

30th. The Fazeley and Birmingham canal, which has proved so advantageous to that seat of industry and arts, on which was expended upwards of 100,000*l.* a few years ago, is now so far improved in value, that a share which cost 140*l.* was lately sold by auction for 180*l.*

DIEB on the 2d, Henry Flood, Esq. member of the privy council of Ireland.—He has by his last will bequeathed a property of about 800*l.* a year to his kinsman Warden Flood, Esq.—to Ambrose Smith, Esq. his confidential lawyer and friend, a landed property of

about 250*l.* a year for ever, and an annuity of 300*l.* a year for life; to a young lady who has lived for some years in the house with lady Frances Flood, 1000*l.*; to George Huson, an old and faithful servant whom he had settled on his estate, 1000*l.* and the rent of his farm; to his own man 200*l.*; and to all his other servants of every description a full year's wages; to Lady Frances Flood, all the remainder of his personal property, and all the remainder of his estates, amounting to more than 4000*l.* a year, for the term of her natural life; and at her death, the whole of the landed property to the university of Dublin, for the purpose of founding a professorship, and encouraging the study of the Irish or Erse language; for purchasing manuscripts and printed books in that language, and in the several dialects connected with it, wheresoever they can be found; and also manuscripts and printed books in the classical and modern languages; and for granting six liberal annual premiums for the best compositions in prose and verse in the Irish, Greek, or Latin, and English languages. And should, through any defect in his will, or from the operation of any statute of force in this kingdom, his bequest to the university not prove valid, he then leaves the estates meant for that learned seminary to Ambrose Smith, Esq. whom, together with Lady Frances Flood, he appoints joint executors of his will.

Lately, at Plymstock, near Plymouth, aged 77, Captain Thomas Rayment, of the royal navy. As a lieutenant, in the war of 1755, he served with distinguished reputation; was present at the reduction of Louisbourg, the taking of Que-

bec,

bec, and the siege of Belleisle; at all which places he was severely wounded, insomuch that he was obliged to return to England for his health. He commanded a cutter on the Weymouth station. On the late peace he often took the present Earl of Chatham a cruize in the Channel for the benefit of his health; and though repeatedly asked what he wished in the line of his profession, by the Duke of Grafton, when first lord of the admiralty, he declined any preferment but the command of a cutter, saying, in his blunt way, "If the admiralty thought his services and wounds did not demand promotion, he would not ask it." When his Majesty visited Plymouth, in August, 1789, Lieutenant Rayment was presented to him, with other officers, and particular mention made of him by the Earl of Chatham. His Majesty, with his usual benignity, ordered the board of admiralty to put his name as a master and commander on the list. This honest, rough sailor declared he felt more pleasure at being thus promoted than at any circumstance of his life. Subsequent to his promotion, the wounds in his leg gave him great pain; and several small bones working out, he determined to suffer amputation of the limb affected. He underwent the operation with great fortitude, not even uttering a sigh or a groan; and declaring to the surgeon, that if he would find knife he would find leg, and bid him take care to "belay well, and mind his backstays."

At Bath, Sir Henry-George Ravensworth Liddell, bart. of Durham. He succeeded the late Lord Ravensworth in his estates, when the title became extinct, and only the ba-

ronetage revived in his person; and afterwards married Miss Steele, sister to the Right Hon. Thomas Steele, M. P. who survives him. He possessed an immense estate in the North, where he was distinguished for a warm and generous spirit, which sometimes, however, carried him into romantic transactions. His excursion to Lapland, upon a wager, and his return with two Lapland girls and rein-deer, are well remembered. See the "Tour through Sweden, Swedish Lapland, Finland, and Denmark. By Matthew Consett, Esq. Stockton, 1789," 4to. from May 24 to August 12, 1786. The Lapland girls were returned safe to their native country, after an absence of several months, with 50l. and a cargo of trinkets; and the rein-deer have bred in England.

BIRTHS for the Year 1791.

- Jan. 1. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
- Feb. 1. Countess of Aylesford, a daughter.
- 6. Lady of sir Richard Carr Glynn, a son.
- 11. Lady of Samuel Thornton, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
- 14. Lady Apdley, a son.
- 15. Lady Mary Palk, wife of Lawrence Palk, Esq. M. P. a son.
- Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.
- Lady Deerhurst. a son.
- 16. Her Catholic majesty, a princess, baptised by the name of Maria Theresa Philippa, &c. &c. to the number of sixty names.

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Mar.

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- Mar. 24. Lady of William Adam, Esq. M. P. a son.
- April 5. Lady Leslie, a daughter.
17. Marchioness of Salisbury, a son and heir.
Lady Catharine Rodney, a daughter.
23. Lady of Sir James Tylney Long, bart. a daughter.
At the Hague, Lady Auckland, a son.
24. Countess of Tankerville, a daughter.
- May 4. Countess of Cavan, a son.
15. Marchioness de Choiseul, a son.
19. Lady of Reginald Pole Carew, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
21. Lady of Dr. Cleaver, bishop of Chester, a daughter.
30. Lady of George Finch Hatton, Esq. a son and heir.
31. Lady of Gerard Noel Edwards, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
- June 3. Duchess of Montrose, a daughter.
8. Lady of Richard Joseph Sullivan, Esq. M. P. a son.
14. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.
26. Lady M. Stuart, a daughter.
Lately, Countess of Lincoln, a daughter.
- July 4. Viscountess Bayham, a daughter.
25. Lady of Sir William Foulis, a daughter.
28. Viscountess Valletort, a daughter.
- Aug. 3. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a son and heir.
4. Lady of James Lowther, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
5. Lady of Sir Thomas Rumbold, bart. a daughter.
Lady of the Hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.
10. Lady of Sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a son.
12. Lady Elizabeth Howard, lady of Bernard Howard, Esq. presumptive heir to the Duke of Norfolk, a son and heir.
13. Lady of Lord Brownlow, a son.
21. Duchess of Leinster, a son and heir.
- Sept. 13. Duchess of Northumberland, a daughter.
15. Lady of Scrope Bernard, Esq. M. P. a son.
22. Lady of the Hon. colonel Fox, a son.
Countess of Granard, a son.
29. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.
- Oct. 9. Countess of Lauderdale, a daughter.
12. Lady Saltoun, a son.
16. Hon. Mrs. Drummond, of Perth, a son.
27. Countess Spencer, a son.
- Nov. 4. Lady Susannah Thorpe, a daughter.
6. Lady of Sir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.
13. Viscountess Stopford, a son and heir.
20. Countess of Harrington, a daughter.
21. Lady of Sir William Wake, bart. a son and heir.
24. Viscountess Falmouth, a daughter.
27. Lady Balgonie, a son.
28. Lady of Sir John Frederick, bart. a son.
- Dec. 1. Lady of Sir Cecil Bishopp, bart. a daughter.
Lately,

- Lately, Countess Poulett,
a son.
13. Lady of the Hon. colonel
Rodney, a son.
14. Lady of Viscount Gage,
a son and heir.
20. Lady Compton, a daughter.
28. Lady of the Hon. Edw,
Foley, a son and heir.

Knight, Esq. of Burrells,
in Warwickshire.

24. Marcus Beresford, Esq.
son of the Right Hon.
John Beresford, to Lady
Frances Arabella Lee-
son.

Rev. Miles Beavor, son
of Sir Thomas Beavor,
bart. to Miss Beavor,
daughter of James Be-
avor, Esq. of Norwich.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1791.

- March 25. Francis John Browne,
Esq. M. P. for Dorset,
to Miss Baring, daugh-
ter of John Baring, Esq.

- Jan. 5. Right Hon. John Charles
Villiers, to Miss Mary
Forbes, daughter of the
Hon. admiral Forbes.

29. John Sutton, Esq. cap-
tain in the navy, to Miss
Hotham, daughter of
Baron Hotham.

6. Earl Fauconberg to Miss
Cheshyre, daughter of
the late J. Cheshyre, Esq.
of Beannington, Herts.

30. William Richardson, Esq.
accountant-general to
the East India company,
to Elizabeth countess
dowager of Winterton.

18. Lord Ducie to Mrs.
Child.

- April 4. Lord Strahaven, to Miss
Cope, sister to the Du-
chess of Dorset.

Sir John Roger Palmer,
bart. to Miss Altham.

24. Sir Henry Tempest, bart.
to Miss S. Pritchard
Lambert.

16. Lord chief baron Eyre,
to Miss Southwell.

29. Viscount Stopford, to
Lady Mary Montagu
Scott, daughter of the
Duke of Buccleugh.

25. Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones,
Esq. M. P. to Miss Har-
riet Williams, daughter
of Edward Williams,
Esq. of Eaton, Shrop-
shire.

- Feb. 16. Henry Augustus Leices-
ter, Esq. brother to Sir
John Fleming Leicester,
bart. to Miss Letitia So-
phia Smyth, daughter of
Nicholas Owen Smyth
Owen, Esq. of Condo-
ver, Salop.

George James Earl of
Cholmondeley, to Lady
Georgiana Charlotte
Bertie, daughter of Pe-
regrine, third Duke of
Ancafter.

Rawson Hart Boddam,
Esq. late governor of
Bombay, to Miss Tudor,
of St. James's-street.

22. Benjamin Bond Hopkins,
Esq. M. P. to Miss
Knight, sister of Robert

26. Viscount Fielding, son to
the Earl of Denbigh, to
Miss Powys, daughter
of Thomas Powys, Esq.
M. P. for Northamp-
tonshire.

28. James

28. James earl of Cardigan, to lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of John third earl Waldegrave.
29. Lionel earl of Dyfart, to Miss Lewis, sister of Henry Greswold Lewis, esquire.
- May 6. Sir Sidney Stafford Northcote, baronet, to Miss Baring, daughter of Charles Baring, esquire.
16. Henry Charles, marquis of Worcester, to lady Charlotte Leveson Gower, daughter of the marquis of Stafford.
24. Reverend Edward Hay Drummond, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, to Miss Auriol, of Portugal-street, Grosvenor-square.
- June 2. Francis Buller Yarde, esquire, member of parliament, to Miss Halliday. Sir Thomas Cave, baronet, to lady Lucy Sherard.
4. Chambrey Brabazon Ponsonby, esquire, to lady Harriot Taylor.
12. Robert Knight, esquire, of Barrils, Warwickshire, to the honourable Miss F. Dormer.
16. William Farrington, esquire, of Shaw-hall, Lancashire, to Miss Wilbraham Bootle, daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esquire.
17. Sir James Foulis, baronet, to Miss Dallas.
21. Thomas Smith, esquire, of the Inner-Temple, to the honourable Miss Mary Hely Hutchinson, daughter of lord Donoughmore.
27. William Robert Philimore, esquire, to the honourable Miss Sarah Henley Ongley, daughter of the late lord Ongley.
- July 4. Philip lord Sherard, to Miss Eleanor Monckton, daughter of the honourable John Monckton.
11. Sir Nelson Rycroft, baronet, to Miss Read, daughter of the late Henry Read, esquire, of Cro-wood, Wilts.
13. John Chardin Musgrave, esquire, eldest son of Sir Philip Musgrave, baronet, to Miss Filmer, daughter of the reverend Edward Filmer, rector of Crandale, Kent.
20. Lord William Beauclerk, to Miss Carter Thelwall.
12. Lord Le Despencer to Miss Eliza Eliot, daughter of Samuel Eliot, esquire, of Antigua.
21. Sir George Wombwell, baronet, to lady Anne Bellafyse, daughter of the earl of Fauconberg.
31. Honourable Richard Chetwynd, eldest son of viscount Chetwynd, to Miss Charlotte Cartwright, daughter of the late Thomas Cartwright, esquire, of Aynho, Northamptonshire.
- Aug. 1. Charles Milne, esquire, of Preston-hall, Kent, to Miss Harriot Dyke, daughter

daughter of fir John Dixon Dyke, baronet.

4. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, to Miss Boyle, daughter of the late honourable captain Robert Boyle Walsingham.
9. John Trevelyan, esquire, eldest son of fir John Trevelyan, baronet, to Miss Maria Wilson, daughter of lieutenant-general fir Thomas Spencer Wilson, baronet.
15. William Plumer, esquire, member of parliament, to Miss Jane Hamilton, daughter to the late honourable and reverend Dr. George Hamilton.
18. Colonel Greville, to Miss Graham, sister to fir Bellingham Graham, baronet.
19. Earl of Darnley, to Miss Elizabeth Brownlow, daughter of the right honourable William Brownlow.
24. Hugh Barlow, esquire, member of parliament for Pembroke, to Miss Crespigny, daughter of Philip Champion Crespigny, esquire.
25. Captain Paget Bayly, brother to the earl of Uxbridge, to Miss Colepeper.
29. Rev. fir Richard Kaye, baronet, dean of Lincoln, to Mrs. Mainwaring.
- Sept. 6. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. to Miss Harte.
15. Marquis of Blandford, to lady Susan Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

29. The duke of York, to the princess-royal of Prussia.

Oct. 1. The hereditary prince of Orange, to princess Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia.

Lately, lord Grantley, to Miss Midgley, daughter of the late Jonathan Midgley, esquire, of Beverley.

12. Timothy Shelly, esquire, member of parliament, to Miss Pilfold, of West Grinstead.

13. Reverend William Sneyd, to Mrs. Emma Cecil, daughter of the late Thomas Vernon, esquire, of Hambury, Worcester-shire, and late wife of Henry Cecil, esquire.

Nov. 30. Margrave of Anspach and Bareith, to Elizabeth lady Craven.

4. George William Rickets, esquire, of Bishop's-Sutton, Hants, to Miss Letitia Mildmay, of Twyford.

12. Earl of Mount-Cassell, to the honourable Miss King, daughter of lord Kingsborough.

Dec. 6. Sir George Armytage, baronet, to miss Mary Bowles, daughter of Oldfield Bowles, esquire, of North-Aston, Oxfordshire.

9. Captain J. Smith, of the royal-navy, to viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.

12. Colonel Charles Gould, to the honourable Miss Dormer.

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PROMOTIONS for the Year 1791.

January. John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, Harry Innes, James Francis Perkins, and Maurice Wemyss, lieutenant-colonels of marines, to be colonels in the army.

John Watson, esquire, to be his majesty's consul at Venice, vice Robert Richie, esquire, deceased.

Sir Robert Chambers, knight, to be chief justice of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, vice sir Elijah Impey, knight, resigned.

William Dunkin, esquire, to be one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, vice sir Robert Chambers, knight.

The dignity of baron of the kingdom of Ireland to the right honourable Alleyn Fitz-Herbert, by the name, stile, and title of Baron St. Helen's.

Arthur viscount Gosford to be governor of the county of Armagh.

February. James Earl of Cardigan to be governor of Windsor Castle.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to Charles Warre Malet, esquire, resident at Poonah, in the East Indies;

As also to John Kennaway, esquire, captain of infantry in the service of the East India Company, and resident at Hydrabad.

The dignity of a baronet of Ireland to Thomas Lighton, esquire, of Meriville, in the county of Dublin.

March. Mr. Steele and the honourable Mr. Ryder to the office of joint paymaster, vice duke of Montrose and lord Mulgrave, resigned;

and Mr. Charles Long to be secretary of the treasury, vice Mr. Steele.

Thomas Steele, Esq. to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

The reverend Charles Manners Sutton to the deanery of Peterborough, vice the reverend Dr. Charles Tarrant, deceased.

The honourable Spencer Percival to the offices of clerk of the irons, and surveyor of melting-houses, in the tower of London, vice George Selwyn, esquire, deceased.

W. Dunkin, esquire, lately appointed one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal, to the honour of knighthood.

Lord Charles Henry Somerset to be gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

April. Right honourable Thomas Harley to be lieutenant and custos rotularum of Radnorshire, vice his late brother, the earl of Oxford, deceased.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to Stephen Lushington, of South-hill park, in Berks, esquire, chairman of the East-India company, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten.

Right honourable Thomas Ord to be governor of the Isle of Wight, vice the duke of Bolton, resigned.

Major General O'Hara to the command of the 74th regiment of foot, vice sir Archibald Campbell, deceased.

Barne Barne, esquire, to be a commissioner of taxes, vice Daniel Bull, esquire, deceased.

Right honourable George viscount Parker to be comptroller of his majesty's household, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Major-

Major-general David Dundas to be colonel of the 22d regiment of foot.

May. The right honourable lord Grenville, the right honourable William Pitt, the right honourable Henry Dundas, the right honourable lord Frederick Campbell, his grace James duke of Montrose, and the right honourable Thomas Steele, to be his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

June. The right honourable Henry Dundas to be one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, vice the duke of Leeds, resigned.

The right reverend father in God, Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Salisbury, to be bishop of Durham, vice Dr. Thomas Thurlow, deceased.

The right honourable sir William Hamilton, K.B. to be one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to the following gentlemen, and the respective heirs male of their bodies, lawfully begotten; viz.

Walter James James, of Langley-hall, in Berks, esquire.

Lieutenant-general Sir William Erskine, knight.

Henry Martin, esquire, controller of his majesty's navy.

C. W. Boughton Rouse, of Rouse Lench, in Worcester-shire, esquire.

Christopher Hawkins, of Trewithen, in Cornwall, esquire.

John Call, of Whiteford, in Cornwall, esquire.

George Jackson, of Hartham-house, in Wilts, esquire, judge-advocate of his majesty's fleet.

Ralph Woodford, esquire, late envoy extraordinary to Denmark.

Charles Pole, of Woolverton, in Hants, esquire.

Robert Howell Vaughan, of Nannau, in Merionethshire, esquire.

Reverend Charles Rich (late Bostock), of Rose-hall, Suffolk, LL. D.

Charles Grave Hudson, of Wanlip, in Leicestershire, esquire.

George Ivison Tapps, of Hinton Admiral, in Hants, esquire.

George Chad, of Thursford; in Norfolk, esquire; and

Berney Brograve, of Worstead-house, in Norfolk, esquire.

Sir James Peachy, baronet, to be master of the robes to his majesty, vice the earl of Cardigan.

The honourable vice-admiral Robert Digby, to be groom of his majesty's bed-chamber.

John earl of Chatham, Charles George Lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, honourable John Thomas Townshend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, esquires, to be lords of the admiralty.

The dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Ireland to the right honourable Arthur earl of Donegal, by the name, style, and title of marquis of Donegal; also to the right honourable Charles earl of Drogheda, by the name, style, and title of marquis of Drogheda.

James Allan Park, esquire, of Lincoln's-inn, barrister at law, appointed (by the chancellor of his majesty's duchy of Lancaster) vice-chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, vice Swinnerton, deceased.

Thomas Lord Welles, created viscount Northland, of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone.

Arthur Lord Harberton, created viscount Harberton, of Carbury, in the county of Kildare.

Robert

Robert Boyd, esq. appointed a justice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland, vice Bradstreet, deceased.

July. Lord Hervey, envoy extraordinary at Florence, to be minister plenipotentiary at that court.

Dr. John Douglas, bishop of Carlisle, translated to the see of Salisbury.

Major-general Alured Clarke to be colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

Joseph Hewitt, esquire, to be a justice of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

George earl of Morton created baron Douglas, of Lochleven, in the county of Kinross.

August. William Woodley, esquire, to be governor of the Leeward Charibbee islands.

The reverend Edward Venables Vernon, LL. D. to the bishoprick of Carlisle.

Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to the deanery of Windsor and Wolverhampton, and registry of the knights of the most noble order of the garter thereunto annexed, vice Dr. John Douglas.

October. The right honourable the viscountess Sydney to be one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to her majesty, vice the dowager countess of Effingham, deceased.

Lieutenant-general Smith to be lieutenant-general of marines, vice lieutenant-general Mackenzie.

November. Morton Eden, esquire, to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

Honourable William Eliot to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

Charles Mace, esquire, to be his

majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers.

Hugh Elliot, esquire, to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Dresden.

David Gray, esquire, to be his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Dresden.

Francis James Jackson, esquire, to be his majesty's secretary of embassy at the court of Madrid.

Reverend Robert Darley Waddilove to the deanery of Rippon, Yorkshire; vice the reverend Francis Wanley, D. D. deceased.

Thomas Stepney, esquire, to be groom of the bed-chamber; and the honourable lieutenant-colonel Charles Monson to be equerry to the duke of York.

Right honourable lady Ann Fitzroy, and the right honourable lady Elizabeth Spencer, to be ladies of the bed-chamber to her royal highness the duchess of York.

William Lindsay, esquire, to be resident at Venice, vice sir Francis Vincent, baronet, deceased.

December. George Martin Leake, esquire, to be Chester herald of arms, vice John Martin Leake, esquire, resigned.

Jacob earl of Radnor to be lord lieutenant of the county of Berks.

Honourable Arthur Paget to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Petersburg.

Daniel Hailes, esquire, to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Copenhagen.

William Gardiner, esquire, to be minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw.

Colonel Samuel Hulse appointed treasurer; J. Kemys Tynte, esquire, master and comptroller of the household;

hold; colonel Charles Leigh groom of the bed-chamber; the honourable major George Hanger equerry; and major J. Doyle secretary to his royal highness the prince of Wales.

Captain J. W. Payne, of the royal navy, to be auditor and secretary of the duchy of Cornwall.

Reverend Isaac Milner, D. D. F. R. S. and master of Queen's College, Cambridge, to the deanry of Carlisle.

The right honourable lord Grenville to the offices of ranger and keeper of St. James's-park, and of Hyde-park, vice the earl of Orford, deceased.

John King, esquire, to be under-secretary of state.

Captain Thomas Seabright to be gentleman-usher of the privy-chamber in ordinary to his majesty.

G. A. Pechell, esquire, to be receiver-general of the customs, vice Bamber Gascoigne, esquire, deceased.

DEATHS for the Year 1791.

January. In Great George-street, Westminster, after a fortnight's illness, Lady Young, wife of Sir William Young, baronet, member of parliament.

At Badfidge-house, in the county of Dumbarton, lady Helen Colquhoun, late wife of sir James Colquhoun, and aunt to the late countess of Sutherland.

At Althorpe, in the county of Northampton, honourable Mr. Spencer, second son of earl Spencer,

Reverend George Carleton, of Bartholomew-lane, cousin to lord Dorchester.

Suddenly, at his lordship's house in Curzon-street, Ma.-fair, Mary

countess Verney, the lady of Ralph earl Verney, one of the daughters and coheirs of Henry Herring, esquire, of London and Bgham, merchant and bank-director, and aunt to sir Robert Clayton, baronet. She was born February 4, 1716, and married to his lordship September 11, 1740.

George Augustus Selwyn, esquire, member of parliament.

At Grittleton, in Wiltshire, Rear-admiral John Houlton.

In Grosvenor-square, after a few-days illness, Lucy Knightley, esquire, of Fawesly, in the county of Northampton, which county he represented in parliament many years. He married the daughter of sir James Dashwood, baronet, and sister to sir Henry Dashwood, baronet, the duchess of Manchester, and the countess of Galloway. Dying without issue, his estate, which is very considerable, and has been in the family for many centuries, devolves to his next brother, Valentine Knightley, esquire.

At Dover, the right honourable James Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, baron Kilmaurs in Scotland.

February. In Park-lane, after a long and painful illness, in the 24th year of her age, the lady of sir Charles Ross, baronet, member of parliament, to whom she was married about three years since. She was countess of the Roman empire, and eldest daughter of the late general James Count Lockhart, of Lee, who died at Pisa, in Tuscany, in February, 1790.

Lady Mary St. John, lady of the honourable major Frederick St. John.

At Brompton, Erskine Douglas, M. D. brother to the late sir John Douglas, baronet, of Kilhead, and

great

great nephew of William first duke of Queensberry.

The honourable Miss Leslie, daughter of Lord Balgonie.

At Twickenham, lady Mary Savile, wife of Dr. Morton, principal librarian of the British museum, mother of the late sir George Savile, baronet, and the present countess of Scarborough, and daughter of John Pratt, esquire; married, 1722, to sir George Savile, baronet, who died in 1743, by whom she had also two daughters.

The countess dowager of Tankerville, mother of the present earl. She was daughter of sir John Ashley, baronet, of Pateshall, Staffordshire.

At Whalkey, lady Mitchell, daughter of John Bruce Stewart, esquire, of Simbister, and widow of sir John Bruce Mitchell, baronet, of West-shore.

Suddenly, at her return from paying morning-visits, to receive a select party of friends at dinner, in her 33d year, the widow of the late sir Robert Fletcher. It is supposed a blood-vessel burst in her head, as she complained of an uncommon sensation there two days before. She was daughter of the late Mr. Pybus, banker, and niece to Mrs. Blackburne, of Bush-hill.

March. In Bruton-street, lady Mary Palk, wife of Laurence Palk, esquire, member of parliament for Ashburton, in the county of Devon.

At Hampton, Middlesex, in his 85th year, sir Robert Carr, baronet.

At his seat at Wentworth-castle, in the county of York, the right honourable William Wentworth, earl of Strafford, viscount Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, baron of

Stainborough, baron Raby, New-march, and Overley, and a baronet. He was born in November, 1712; was lineally descended from the younger brother (sir William) of Thomas the celebrated earl of Strafford, beheaded in 1641; in whose son all the titles failed, except the barony of Raby, but were revived in Thomas, eldest son of sir William, 1711 (10th Anne), who died 1739, leaving issue the late earl, who married, April 28, 1741, Anne, second daughter and coheir of John Campbell, late duke of Argyle, who died February 7th, 1785, but had no issue. His lordship dying without issue, the titles of earl of Strafford and viscount Wentworth, as well as the barony of Raby, devolve to his nephew, Frederick Thomas Wentworth.

At Paris, in his 40th year, right honourable lord Spencer Hamilton, uncle to the present duke of Hamilton, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

Lady Barclay, relict of the late sir William, and mother of the present sir James Barclay, baronet, captain in the royal navy.

At her house at Finchley, in a very advanced age, lady Mary Harris, relict of sir Thomas Harris, knight. She was the youngest of the two daughters and coheiresses of sir Thomas Hare, of Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, knight, who died in 1759.

At Exeter, aged seven, the son of lord St. John.

At Bath, Edward Buller, esquire, of Pert Looe, Cornwall, brother to judge Buller.

On the South Parade, Bath, the lady of sir William Wheler, baronet, of Leamington-Hastang, in the county of Warwick, and daughter and

heirefs of the late Giles Knightley, efquire, of Woodford, in the county of Northampton.

At Hampton-court, Anne countefs dowager Ferrers (relict of Washington earl Ferrers, vice-admiral of the blue) and aunt to Robert the prefent earl Ferrers, to whom a confiderable jointure devolves by her death. Her ladyfhip has been a widow fince October 1ft, 1778, when her lord died at Charley-castle, and was buried at Staunton-Harold. Dying without iffue, he was fucceeded by his brother Robert; and he, in 1787, by the prefent earl, his fon and namesake.

At his houfe in Curzon-ftreet, May-Fair, aged 78, Ralph earl Verney in the kingdom of Ireland, one of the representatives for the county of Buckingham. His countefs died January 20. Sir John Verney, baronet, of a very antient family in the county of Bucks, in 1703 was created, by Queen Anne, baron Belturbet and vilcount Fermanagh in Ireland. He had one fon, Ralph, (who fucceeded him in 1717) and three daughters, one of which married fir Thomas Cave, of Stanford-hall, baronet; another married colonel John Lovett. This Ralph was created earl Verney in the kingdom of Ireland in 1743, and died in 1752. He had two fons: 1. John, who on July 2, 1736, married Mifs Nichols. He died in June following, his wife being then with child of a daughter, who is now living. 2. Ralph, who on September 11, 1740, married the daughter of Henry Herring, efquire, of Mincing-lane. December 9, 1741, Richard Calvert, efquire, brother to alderman Calvert, married Mrs. Verney, the widow of John Verney. She died about two years ago.—The laft earl

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had no iffue, fo that the titles are extinf.

At his houfe in Upper Grofvenor-ftreet, fir Archibald Campbell, K. B. late governor and commander in chief on the coaft of Coromandel, colonel of the 74th regiment of foot, a major-general of his majefty's forces, and representative in parliament for Stirling, &c. in Scotland.

April. In child-bed, Henrietta, vilcountefs St. Afaph, daughter of the marquis of Bath.

In Queen-Anne-ftreet, in her 78th year, lady Charlotte Rich, only daughter of the late earl and countefs of Warwick and Holland.

At his feat at Wallhampton, near Lymington, Hants, in his 85th year, fir Harry Burrard, baronet.

At his feat in Scotland, where he had been indifpofed fome time, John vilcount Arbuthnot. He is fucceeded by his fon Robert, an infant, only four years of age.

At Florence, in a decline, the honourable Mrs. Beckford, relict of Peter Beckford, efquire, and daughter of lord Rivers.

At Afpley, in Bedfordfhire, Arthur Owen, efquire, uncle to fir William Owen, baronet.

May. Sir William Parfons, baronet, member of parliament for King's-county, Ireland.

At his feat at Booterftown, near Dublin, fir Samuel Bradftreet, baronet, one of the juftices of the court of king's-bench in Ireland.

In Cavendifh-square, fir William Jones, baronet, of Ramsbury-manoir, Wilts.

Lady Dryden, relict of fir John Dryden, baronet.

At Aberdoor-houfe, in Scotland, lieutenant general Robert Warfon.

At her houfe, the corner of Park-lane, after a long and painful illnefs.

• F

Henrietta,

Henrietta, dowager-countess Grosvenor.

At his house at Brompton-Grove, Middlesex, in his 90th year, Sir John Mylne, baronet, of Barnton, in North Britain, captain of Cowes castle, in the isle of Wight (in which he is succeeded by colonel Drouly, of the first regiment of guards), captain of invalids in the island of Guernsey, and one of the oldest officers in his majesty's service.

At his seat at Calder-castle, in Scotland, the honourable John Sandilands, uncle to lord Torpichen.

At his house in Portland-place, in his 59th year, the right reverend Thomas Thurlow, D. D. bishop of Durham.

At Fortrose, the lady of sir Alexander Mackenzie, baronet, of Coul, to whom he had been married 60 years.

In her 81st year, lady Carpenter, widow of George lord Carpenter, grandmother of the present earl of Tyrconnel, and mother of the countess of Egremont.

At Roehampton, sir Gerard Vaneck, baronet, of Hevingham-hall, Suffolk.

At Dublin, in her 34th year, lady Emma-Elizabeth Proby, eldest daughter of the earl of Carysfort.

At Heaton, lady Egerton, relict of sir Thomas Egerton, baronet, and mother of lord Grey de Wilton.

At Logicalmond-house, in Scotland, lady Catherine Drummond.

At his seat at Shavington, in the county of Salop, John Needham, tenth viscount Kilmory.

June. At Tenby, in the county of Pembroke, after a long illness, John Knox, esquire, of Waringsford, in the county of Down, in Ireland, only brother of lord Welles.

Selina countess dowager of Huntingdon.

Lately, at Yeverdain, in Switzerland, lieutenant-general Sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B. colonel of a battalion of the 60th, or royal American regiment, and late governor of the province of Canada.

At his lodgings in Hampstead, sir David Murray, baronet.

At Hallow-park, in the county of Worcester, in an advanced age, lady Mary Douglas, baroness Mornington, wife of William Weaver, esquire, and daughter of George fourth lord Mornington.

At Stubbs, in Scotland, sir Francis Elliot, baronet.

After a very short illness, sir Lionel Lyde, baronet, of Bedford-square, and of Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts.

Lady Anne Hamilton, relict of lord Anne Hamilton, son of James fourth duke of Hamilton.

Anne countess dowager of Heberdeen.

At Pangbourn, sir Edward Manly Pryce, baronet.

July. At Rameceau, near Calais, after a tedious illness, the lady of sir Thomas Champneys, baronet, of Orchardleg-house, in the county of Somerset.

At his father's seat, in Scotland, lord Downe, eldest son and heir of the earl of Moray.

At Antrim-house, in Merrion-square, Dublin, the most noble Randall-William McDonnell, marquis, earl, and baron Antrim, viscount Dunluce, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, governor of the county of Antrim, knight of the bath, a baronet, and grand-master of ancient masons in England. He was born November 4, 1749; succeeded

succeeded his father, October 13, 1775; married, July 3, 1774, Leticia Trevor, daughter of Harvey lord viscount Mountmorres, relict of the honourable Arthur Trevor, son of Arthur lord viscount Dunganon: by whom he has left issue Anne-Catherine, and Letitia-Mary, both born August 11, 1778, on whom the earldom and viscounty are entailed by patent, May 2, 1785. His lordship was created a marquis in August, 1789.

In Derbyshire, in his 43d year, sir William Fitzherbert, of Tiffington-hall, in that county, baronet, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, and recorder of the borough of Derby; in which office he is succeeded by John Balguy, esquire, of Duffield. He was the eldest brother of lord St. Helens, ambassador at Madrid, and married a daughter of baron Perryn.

At Hamburgh, after a few days illness, in her 60th year, her serene highness the duchess-dowager of Mecklenbourg Schwerin.

August. At Valenciennes, John Byron, esquire, eldest son of the late honourable admiral Byron, born February 7, 1756. He married lady Conyers, after her divorce from the present duke of Leeds, 1779.

At his house in Sloane-street, Benjamin Jennings, esquire, husband to the viscountess dowager Dudley and Ward.

At his seat at Dean's-court, Wimborne, aged 28, sir William-Thomas Hanham, baronet. The title and estate devolve to his uncle, the reverend James Hanham, of the Close, Salisbury, rector of Winterborn-Zelston, Dorset.

At Great-Marlow, in Ireland, the right honourable dowager baroness Maffey.

At Wanstead, Essex, Mrs. Thurlow, widow of the late bishop of Durham.

In Kennington-lane, Vauxhall, the honourable Isabella Scott, widow of the honourable John Scott, only brother to the earl of Deloraine.

Sir Francis Vincent, baronet, resident for the court of London at Venice.

September. Sir Brook Brydges, baronet.

Sir George Cayley, baronet.

Humphry Stevens, esquire, major-general in the army, and lieutenant-colonel of the 3d regiment of foot-guards.

Catharine marchioness of Abercorn, at Bentley Priory, Stanmore. She was daughter of sir Joseph Coppley.

At Woodbury-hill, near Gamlingay, in Cambridgeshire, the honourable George Lane Parker, brother to the earl of Macclesfield, lieutenant-general in the army, and colonel of the 12th regiment of dragoons.

At Dunsany-castle, in Ireland, the lady of lord Dunsany.

Sir Francis Gerrard, baronet.

The right honourable lady Elizabeth Hay, sister to the late and aunt to the present earl of Kinnoul.

At his seat of Gboll-castle, in Glamorganshire, sir Herbert Mackworth, baronet, F. R. S. one of the vice-presidents of the marine society, colonel of the Glamorganshire militia, and member in the last parliament for Cardiff, as was his father (who died August 20, 1765) in 1739. He was created a baronet August 24, 1776.

October. At Tormantine-house, in Scotland, lord Haddo. The unfortunate accident which occasioned his death is very singular. After

handing lady Haddo and her sister into her post-chaise, to go to attend the Aberdeen races, which commenced next day, his lordship had just mounted his horse, and in leaning forward, the animal struck him a violent blow with his head on the chest, which stunned him so much that he fell. His groom immediately ran to his assistance, and in a few minutes he was so far recovered as to be able again to mount his horse with apparent ease; but before he had proceeded a few yards, the servant perceived him to be seized with a sudden giddiness, and he fell to the ground motionless. The bursting of a blood-vessel is supposed to have been the immediate cause of his death.

At Niagara, in Canada, sir William Erskine, baronet, of Cambo.

At Duniop, in Scotland, the dowager lady Wallace, relict of sir Thomas Wallace, baronet.

At his house in Great Queen-street, Westminster, in his 80th year, lieutenant-general John M'Kenzie, colonel-commandant and adjutant-general of the marine forces. He commanded the marines at the capture of Belleisle, in 1761, where that corps gained immortal honour by their gallantry and good conduct. The general (then a lieutenant-colonel) was severely wounded there.

At her house in town, by an apoplectic fit, the dowager-countess of Glasgow. Her ladyship was the daughter of George lord Ross, and was married to the late earl in 1775.

At Chelsea-college, Elizabeth countess-dowager of Effingham, daughter of Peter Beckford, esquire, of Jamaica. She married, 1. Thomas second earl of Effingham; and

after his death, 1763, 2. Sir George Howard, K. B. She was one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to her majesty.

At his seat at Firle, near Lewes, in Suffex, after a long and painful illness, the right-honourable William Hall Gage, viscount Gage of Castle-land in Ireland, and baron Gage of Firle in England; paymaster, 1780, of his majesty's pensions, and F. R. S. K. B. and member of parliament for the cinque-ports of Seaford, 1744 and 1754. His lordship married, February 3, 1757, Miss Gideon, daughter of the late Sampson Gideon, esquire, and sister of the present lord Eardley, who died in 1783, and by whom he had no issue.

At Sunnyside, in Scotland, rear-admiral Inglis.

At Edinburgh, sir Robert Dalzell, baronet, of Bruns.

On board his majesty's ship Diana, in her passage from Jamaica to New-York, whither her ladyship was going for the recovery of her health, Catherine countess of Effingham, wife of the earl of Effingham, governor of Jamaica, to whom she was married in October, 1765. She was daughter of Metcalfe Procter, esquire, of Thorpe, near Wakefield, in the county of York, by his first wife, Martha, sister of the late John Disney, esquire, of Lincoln, and was born September 17, 1746. Previous to her ladyship's death, she expressed a wish, that when dead her body might be opened, which was accordingly done, and the liver found closely adhered to the right side; in which situation it appeared to have been some time.

At his house at Snarebrook, Epping-forest, rear-admiral John Har-
rison,

risson, who was first captain under fir George Pococke, in all the engagements with the French admiral Monsieur d'Aché, and at the taking of the Havannah.

At the Hoo, near Welmyn, Herts, lady Georgiana Beauclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Albans.

The honourable Thomas Henry Coventry, youngest son of lord Deerhurst.

At Chester-le-street, fir Blackston Conyers, baronet, late collector of the customs at the port of Newcastle, and captain in the marines, 1757. He was of a very antient family, seated at Houghton Comeis, and Sockburn, in the county of Durham, soon after the conquest. John wa first created a baronet by Charles I.; and from him was lineally descended the late baronet, whose father, fir Ralph, married Jane, only daughter of Ralph Blackston, esquire.

In Switzerland, the right honourable William lord Craven, lord-lieutenant of the county of Berks.

At Donnybrook, near Dublin, the right honourable William lord Chetwynd.

At his house of Barras, in Scotland, fir William Ogilvie, baronet.

November. Bamber Gascoigne, esquire, receiver-general of the customs.

On her journey to Southampton, from which place she was to embark for the south of France, for the recovery of her health, Miss Percy, daughter of the late duke of Northumberland, and half-sister to the present duke, and to the earl of Beverley.

At his house in Lower Grosvenor-street, lieutenant-general Francis Smith, colonel of the 11th regiment of foot.

At her house in Epping-forest, Mrs. Harrison, relict of the late rear-admiral Harrison.

At his house in Queen-Anne-street, Westminster, fir Thomas Rumbold, baronet.

Miss Jenkinson, sister to lord Hawkesbury.

At Albyns, Essex, the lady of lieutenant-general fir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of Gibraltar.

Sir William Fagg, baronet.

At Jamaica, Thomas Howard, earl of Effingham, lord Howard, governor-general of that island, and a colonel in the army. He had been for some time in a dangerous state of health; and it was partly in the hope of amendment from the climate, that he solicited the appointment to the government of Jamaica.

At his seat at Aldenham, near Bridgnorth, in the county of Salop, in his 80th year, fir Richard Aston, baronet, fourth baronet of the family. He was sheriff of Salop, in 1751, and married, 1744, lady Anne Grey, daughter of the earl of Stamford.

The right honourable lord Chetwynd.

In Clarges-street, the lady of fir William Wake, baronet, after being safely delivered of a son and heir the preceding day. Her death was occasioned by an incurable disorder in her stomach, supposed of long duration.

The reverend John Shirley Fermor, brother-in-law to lord viscount Conyngham.

At his seat at Hoddesdon, Herts, fir John Baptist Hicks, baronet, of Beverston, in the county of Gloucester. He is succeeded in title by Howe Hicks, esquire, of Whitcombe-park, in the county of Gloucester.

At Bath, sir Henry George Ravensworth Liddell, of Durham, baronet.

William Dutton Napper, esquire, brother to the right honourable lord Shireborn.

December. At Grantham, in Lincolnshire, in his 70th year, Francis Cockayne Cust, esquire, member of parliament.

Aged 86, Evan Lloyd Vaughan, esquire, of Corfygedhl, member of parliament in the two last and present sessions for Merionethshire, North Wales.

Of a long illness, George third earl of Orford, viscount and baron Walpole, baron of Houghton, and (from the death of his mother in 1781) baron Clinton and Say. He was grandson of the first earl of Orford, prime-minister of George II. and was born April 1, 1730; and in the late reign enjoyed the places of lord of the bed-chamber, and of lord lieutenant and custos rotularum of the county of Norfolk, and of the county and city of Norwich; in all which he was continued by his present majesty, who appointed him also, 1763, ranger and keeper of St. James's and Hyde-parks. He was also steward of the corporation of Yarmouth.

At Buckland, Berks, in his 90th year, sir Robert Throckmorton, baronet.

At his seat at Winterdyne, in Worcesterhire, sir Edward Winton, baronet.

Sir George Richardson, baronet, of Abingdon-street, Westminster.

In her 88th year, honourable Mrs. Martin, sister to the right honourable lord Fairfax.

At Summer-hill, in the county of Meath, in Ireland (the seat of her

husband), the right honourable Elizabeth Ormsby Rowley, viscountess Langford, of Langford-lodge, and baroness of Summer-hill, in the county of Meath. Her ladyship married, on the 31st of August, 1732, Hercules Langford Rowley, esquire, by whom she had issue three sons and four daughters; viz. Hercules, member of parliament for the county of Antrim; Clotworthy and Arthur, both deceased; Jane, married to Thomas earl of Beftive; Catherine, to Edward-Michael lord Longford; Elizabeth, and Maria. She was raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1776, by the titles of viscountess Langford, and baroness of Summer-hill, with limitations of the honours of viscount and baron to her heirs-male by the right honourable Hercules Langford Rowley; and she is succeeded in these honours by her eldest and only surviving son, Hercules, born in October, 1737, and who is yet unmarried. She was the daughter of Clotworthy Upton, esquire, member of parliament for Newtown, 1695, and for the county of Antrim, from 1703 to his death, 1725, by Jane, daughter of John Ormsby, esquire.

At Fern-hill, Windsor-forest, in her 63d year, lady Mary Knollys, relict of sir Francis Knollys, baronet, and daughter of sir Robert Kendall Cater, of Kempston, in the county of Bedford. She was married in 1756.

At Edinburgh, the right honourable lady Mary Campbell, relict of Dougal Campbell, esquire, of Glen-saddie.

At his seat at Craigie-hall, Scotland, in his 82d year, the honourable Charles Hope Weir. He was the second son of Charles the first earl

earl of Hopetoun, who was so created in 1703, and uncle of the present earl. The name of Weir he took in addition to that of his family, in consequence of his marriage with the heir of sir William Weir, of Blackwood, baronet, by whom he had two sons and a daughter.—From his second lady, who was the daughter of the late and sister of the present earl of Darlington, he was divorced; and her second husband was the honourable brigadier-general George Monson, who died in 1777, in the East Indies, one year after lady Anne. Two sons remained to Mr. Weir from this match.—His third lady, who brought him one son and three daughters, was Miss N. Duncar, who survives him.

In his fifth year, the honourable Charles Yorke, second son of the earl of Hardwicke.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1791.

Berkshire. Timothy Hare Earl, of Swallowfield-place, esquire.

Bedfordshire. F. Pym, of Hasell-hall, esquire.

Bucks. Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, of Langley-park, baronet.

Cumberland. Edmund Lamplugh Irton, of Irton, esquire.

Cheshire. Charles Watkin John Shakerley, of Somerford, esquire.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. Geo. Thornhill, of Diddington, esquire.

Devonshire. Walter Palk, of Marleigh, esquire.

Dorsetshire. John Calcraft, of Rempton, esquire.

Derbyshire. John Broadhurst, of Poston, esquire.

Essex. Donald Cameron, of Great-Ilford, esquire.

Gloucestershire. Michael Hicks Beach, of Williamstrip, esquire.

Hertfordshire. Mathew Raper, of Ashlyns-hall, esquire.

Herefordshire. Thomas Stallard Pennoyre, of the Moor, esquire.

Kent. James Drake Brockman, of Beechborough, esquire.

Leicestershire. John Frewen, of Cold Overton, esquire.

Lincolnshire. Robert Mitchell Robinson, of Hanthorpe, esquire.

Monmouthshire. William Harrison, of Ragland, esquire.

Northumberland. J. Wood, of Beadnell, esquire.

Northamptonshire. Sir William Wake, of Courteenhall, baronet.

Norfolk. Sir John Benn, of East Dereham, Kent.

Nottinghamshire. George de Ligne Gregory, of Lenton, esquire.

Oxfordshire. J. P. Auriol, of Woodcot, esquire.

Rutlandshire. Thomas Woods, the younger, of Brook, esquire.

Shropshire. Thomas Pardoe, of Fairtree, esquire.

Somersetshire. Abraham Elton, of Whitestanton, esquire.

Staffordshire. Moreton Walhouse, of Hatherton, esquire.

Suffolk. Sir William Rowley, of Stoke, baronet.

County of Southampton. Charles Poole, of Woolverton, esquire.

Surry. Henry Bine, of Carshalton, esquire.

Suffex. John Drew, of Chichester, esquire.

Warwickshire. Charles Palmer, of Ladbrooke, esquire.

Worcestershire. Henry Wakeman, of Clames, esquire.

Wiltshire. John Awdry, of Norton, esquire.

Yorkshire. Sir George Armytage, of Kirklees, baronet.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. George Griffith Williams, of Llywynywermodd, esquire.

Pembroke. William Wheeler Bowen, of Lampston, esquire.

Cardigan. David Hughes, of Veynog, esquire.

Glamorgan. John Richards, of Cardiff, esquire.

Brecon. Walter Jeffreys, of Brecon, esquire.

Radnor. Thomas Jones, of Penkerigg, esquire.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. Herbert Jones, of Llynnon, esquire.

Carnarvonshire. Thomas Lloyd, of Hendre Fenws, esquire.

Merioneth. Griffith Roberts, of Bodynlyn, esquire.

Montgomery. John Moxon, of Vaynor, esquire.

Denbighshire. John Jones, of Cefncoch, esquire.

Flint. G. L. Wardle, of Hartsheath, esquire.

SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1791.

County of Cornwall. Sir William Moleworth, of Pencarrow, baronet.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

SUCCESSSES OF THE BRITISH ARMS
IN THE EAST INDIES.

*Account of the Capture of Cannanore
and Turuckabad, with several
forts on the Malabar Coast.*

*Camp near Cannanore,
January 9, 1791.*

*To Stephen Lushington, Esq. Chair-
man of the Honourable the Court of
Directors for transacting all Affairs
of the United English East India
Company.*

S I R,

THE Princess Royal, which arrived at Tellicherry the 7th instant, in her way to England, having left Bombay previous to the arrival of the Drake snow, which carried the account of the capture of Cannanore, I now do myself the pleasure to send you, for the information of the honourable the select committee, a detail of every material circumstance which has taken place, from my first determination of coming to Tellicherry to the present time, which I flatter myself will meet the approbation of the honourable company.

The essential assistance given the Travancore Raja, by a detachment under Lieut. Colonel Hartley, has long since been known in England.

It was my intention, as soon as the season would admit, to assemble the force of this presidency, to emancipate the Malabar princes, with whom alliances had been concluded, and afterwards to co-operate with General Medows. His successful advance through the Coimbatore, and the sanguine expectations universally held of a speedy termination of the war, induced his lordship to consider any assistance as unnecessary; to place the troops with Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, and on the Malabar coast, under General Medows's orders; and to confine my attention to granting the Marattas whatever force they might require. A detachment of artillery, and two battalions of native troops, were sent them before the rains. This corps has since been augmented with a battalion of European infantry, and another of sepoy, under Colonel Frederik's command. By the latest accounts from Bombay, the reinforcement was expected to join the Maratta army employed at the siege of Darwar.

Agreeably to the system adopted by his Lordship and General Medows, Lieut. Colonel Hartley, as soon as the season admitted, marched to Palicautcherry, and opened the communication from this coast with the Madras army, at that time stationed in the Coimbatore. Supplies

plies of military stores were sent them from Bombay; but the inconvenience of transporting them by land pointed out the necessity of opening the Paniani river. In the mean time, the enemy's advance into Coimbatore, and the retreat of Lieut. Colonel Floyd from Sallimungulum, prevented General Meadows from ascending the Ghauts, and obliged him to detain Lieut. Colonel Hartley, with his detachment, at Palicautcherry, to form magazines of grain.

From this change in the movements originally intended, his Lordship was convinced, that a diversion on the Malabar coast might be attended with beneficial consequences. As soon as I was acquainted with his wishes that I would in person proceed hither, I resolved, with the little force that could be spared from Bombay, to embark for Tellicherry, and on the spot determine, if an attempt could be made with propriety to clear the country of a force stationed by Tippoo to awe the garrison of Tellicherry, and curb the Nairs, who were universal disposed to join us.

On my arrival, the 5th of December, I was informed, that the force to the southward of Tellicherry had assembled, and had marched towards Lieut. Colonel Hartley, at that time ordered to Paniani, to keep the communication open. Much as I wished to assist him in a measure so important in its consequences, I found it impracticable to take a corps sufficient for the purpose, unless Cannanore was first reduced. The government of that district had, during the rains, made a treaty with the chief of Tellicherry; had evaded a compliance with the ar-

ticles; had invited a force stationed by Tippoo in the Cherical country, and which had retired at the opening of the campaign, to return to their defence; and had at length openly avowed their hostile intentions.

On the 10th, the force that could be spared for the purpose, encamped on the heights of Egar. It consisted of his Majesty's 77th regiment, seven companies of the 1st Bombay regiment, the 2d, 3d, 10th, and 12th battalions of native infantry, the flank companies of the 6th, and two companies of artillery, amounting to upwards of 3000 disciplined men. On the 12th and 13th the neighbouring Rajas joined, with about 2000 irregular Nairs.

The 14th the line moved towards the enemy. They were strongly posted on heights to the southward and eastward of Cannanore, defended by a chain of stone redoubts, with cannon in them. On viewing their position, I determined to gain possession of Avery redoubt in the centre of their posts, which would enable me to attack either of their wings with the greatest part of my force. Notwithstanding much resistance during the day, I took post sufficiently near to erect a battery, which early in the morning of the 15th demolished the defences, and obliged them to evacuate the place. At the same time the left brigade advanced in line, and attacked the height of Carley. The resistance was trifling, considering the strength of the ground occupied by a brigade of the enemy's troops. They retreated under the guns of Carley redoubt, and through the town of Cannanore. In the night of the 15th a battery was raised against Carley, which

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. • 75

which surrendered at day-break next morning.

By these operations I was in possession of the heights and works to the southward, and by a small movement to my right, could completely prevent the enemy's retreat. Convinced of the danger of their situation, they offered to capitulate. The articles were agreed on in the evening, and hostages came into my camp.

On the morning of the 17th, the Cannanore troops, amounting to 800 men, retired within the town, and Tippoo's forces paraded in front of their encampment, and, agreeably to the terms that had been granted, surrendered their arms and all Circar property, and engaged not to serve during the war. They consisted of 200 horse, a corps of grenadiers, two brigades of regular infantry, and rocket-boys, irregulars, &c. amounting to upwards of 5000 men. The fort of Cannanore was summoned immediately afterwards, and surrendered without conditions.

The fort of Biliapatam, the capital of the Cherukal Raja, situated on the South bank of the river, and Nurcarow on the North, also surrendered in the evening, and the garrison received the same terms with the rest of Tippoo's troops. They have since been all sent under an escort to the Canara country.

By these successes we have taken thirty-four stand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, military stores and grain, and near 5000 stand of arms. I have the honour to enclose a return of them, and of the killed and wounded of the detachment, which I am happy to observe, is much more trifling than could have been expect-

ed. I have also great pleasure in assuring you, I have every reason to be perfectly satisfied with the gallantry and discipline of the troops, whose behaviour equalled my most sanguine expectations.

I was now at liberty to have assisted Lieutenant Colonel Hartley; but his little detachment had completely defeated and dispersed the corps opposed to them, and were in possession of Turuckabad, the capital of this coast. It consisted of his Majesty's 75th regiment, the grenadier native battalion, and seven companies of the 7th battalion, amounting to about 1600 men, with 10 pieces of cannon, 500 Travancore horse, a battalion of Travancore Sepoys, and a body of irregular Nairs. The enemy's force was about 10,000 men, posted at Ventzetty Cottah, whither Lieutenant Colonel Hartley marched on the 6th of December. They retreated on his approach the 7th, and the fort surrendered on the 8th in the morning. They were found posted in a wood in the front of the village of Tervanangurry. The detachment forced them from thence, and attacked the village, as well as the grounds on both sides of it, which were woody, and intersected with hedges and mud banks. The enemy retreated, after disputing the ground; and formed in front, and on the flanks of the fort of Trincolore, the esplanade of which extends to the village; but our troops advanced with vivacity and spirit, pursued them into the covert-way, where many of them were killed, obliged the fort to surrender, and totally dispersed them. Upwards of 800 were taken in the fort, and numbers were killed in the different attacks.

Mootaub Khan, who commanded them, retreated to Turuckabad, and the next day he left it, with about 2000 men, and a considerable sum in specie, and fled to the Ghauts. Lieutenant Colonel Hartley advanced to that place on the 10th, when 1500 men, the remains of their army, laid down their arms. A considerable quantity of military and other stores were captured, and, in particular, the guns taken from the Travancore lines.

The posts of Barragurry and Cootahpore, in the Cartanad country, still remained in possession of Tippoo's troops. A detachment from hence marched against them the 27th of December, and returned on the 5th instant with 400 prisoners, which they had taken without any loss. The posts surrendered, after a little opposition, on nearly the same terms as Cannanore.

The object that induced me to visit the coast, being completed, and the ancient Nair princes in possession of their districts, from Biliapatam river to Cape Comorin, nothing remains to be done with the little force under my command. Having reason, however, to imagine his Lordship wishes to unite the detachments, and being persuaded they may be of essential consequence to his future operations, I have determined to remain and wait his orders.

I am pleased at an opportunity of assuring you, that Captain Byron, of his Majesty's ship *Phoenix*, has been of essential service, not only by a well-directed fire from his ship, but in his exertions in forwarding the public stores, and in landing, with two eighteen-pounders, his marines and a part of his crew, to assist us in the reduction of Carley and Barragurry.

By a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, received since writing the above, dated Turuckabad, the 6th instant—he advises me, that he had received orders from General Medows to deliver over charge of Palicautcherry to Major Cuppage, who was coming from Coimbatore with two regiments for that purpose, and that he and his detachment were then to consider themselves as under my orders.

Enclosed you will please to receive a general return of the troops encamped at this place; and I have the honour to remain,

Sir, &c.

ROBERT ABERCROMBY.

General return of the troops encamped near Cannanore, under the command of Major General Abercromby, Jan. 8, 1791.

Total for duty, 4,603. Total Sick and wounded, 396.

ROB. ABERCROMBY.

General return of ordnance stores, &c. taken in Cannanore Fort and other subordinates. Camp near Cannanore, Dec. 26, 1790.

Guns.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 7 twelve ditto, 7 nine ditto, 9 eight ditto, 23 six ditto, 8 four ditto, 2 two ditto, 11 swivels.

Carriages.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 7 twelve ditto, 7 nine ditto, 9 eight ditto, 23 six ditto, 8 four ditto, 2 two ditto.

Shot.—Total, 1 thirty-two pounder, 38 twenty-four ditto, 459 eighteen ditto, 973 twelve ditto, 282 nine ditto, 979 six ditto, 93 four ditto, 1016 different sizes.

Powder.—Total, 312 cartridges, 19 chests, 19 jars.

Stores.—Total, 61 handspikes,

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. • 77

45 sponges, 25 ladles and worms, 1
limber, 4 li' stocks, 104 quoins.

R. Jones, Major Artillery.

S. Auchmuty, A&C. Mil. Sec.

Return of killed, wounded and mis-
sing of his majesty's and the hon-
ourable company's troops, under
the command of Lieutenant Col.
Hartley, in the action of Triva-
nangurry, Dec. 10, 1790.

Total, 5 killed; 50 wounded; 2
missing.

Names of the Officers wounded.—

Capt. Lawman, Artillery; Capt.
Blachford, Engineers; Lieutenant
Charles Stewart, 7th battalion; Lt.
Fireworker Powell, Artillery.

J. Hartley, Lieut. Col. Com.

S. Auchmuty, A&C. Mil. Sec.

Return of killed and wounded of
his majesty's and the honourable
company's troops, under the com-
mand of Major General Aber-
cromby, the 14th and 15th of
Dec. near Cannanore.

Total, 8 killed; 75 wounded.

Mr. Cockran, surgeon's mate,
wounded.

One sepoy of the native infantry,
and many of the Nairs, wounded,
and since dead.

R. Sinclair, Dep. Adj. Gen.

S. Auchmuty, A&C. Mil. Sec.

Account of the Capture of Bangalore.

*To the Honourable Court of Directors
for Affairs of the Honourable the
United Company of Merchants of
England trading to the East In-
dies.*

Honourable Sirs,

I shall not trouble your honour-
able court with an explanation of
the nature of the incessant exer-

tions, both of body and mind, which
are required by the various duties of
my present situation; nor should I
now have alluded to them, but that
I am under the indispensable ne-
cessity of stating them, as the cause
of my being obliged, on this occa-
sion, instead of entering into a detail
of particulars, to limit myself to a
concise and general account of our
late operations, and of my future
intentions.

Our preparations for the cam-
paign having been completed at
Madras, the army marched from
Velhout on the 5th of February;
and, having reached Vellore on the
11th, we halted there two days,
for the purpose of drawing from
thence a supply to my stock of pro-
visions, and an addition that had
been prepared to the battering
train, and of receiving some stores
and recovered men from Arnee.

I had, previous to my arrival at
Vellore, employed every means in
my power to obtain accurate de-
scriptions of the different passes
that lead into the Mysore country;
and having seen sufficient grounds
to be confident that the Moogly
pass could easily be rendered prac-
ticable, I turned off to the right at
Vellore, and not only ascended the
pass without much difficulty, but,
by having taken a route that Tippoo
does not seem to have expected, I
was also lucky enough to advance a
considerable distance into his coun-
try before it was possible for him to
give us the least obstruction.

The forts of Colar and Ouscot-
tah lay in our route to Bangalore,
and surrendered to us without resist-
ance; but, as neither of them were
in a tenable condition, nor at that
time of any value to us, I left them
unoccupied, after disarming and
dismissing their small garrisons.

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I arrived before Bangalore on the afternoon of the 5th of March, and on the 6th the engineers were employed in reconnoitering the place, both in the morning and evening: on their latter excursion, Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, who escorted them with the whole cavalry, discovered the rear of Tippoo's line of march, apparently in great confusion, and unfortunately suffered himself to be tempted, by the flattering prospect of striking an important blow, to deviate from the orders he had received from me, and to attack the enemy. His success at first was great, but the length and ardour of the pursuit threw his squadrons into great confusion. In this state they were charged by Tippoo's cavalry, and being out of the reach of all support, they were obliged to retire with great precipitation, and with the loss of above 200 men, and near 300 horses. Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd received a very severe wound in the face; from which, however, I have the pleasure to add, that he is now perfectly recovered.

The ill success of our examination, the fear of losing time, and many other circumstances, of which the hopes of obtaining a supply of forage was not the least, induced me to determine immediately to attack the fort from the Pettah side. The Pettah was accordingly assaulted and carried on the morning of the 7th; and the siege of the fort, which was rendered singularly arduous, not only by the scarcity of forage, and the strength of its works and garrison, but also by the presence of Tippoo and his whole army, was happily terminated by an assault on the night of the 21st, in which the Kelidar, and a great number of his

garrison, were put to the sword; and our loss, in proportion to the nature of the enterprise, was extremely inconsiderable. I cannot, however, help expressing, on this occasion, my sincere regret for the death of that brave and valuable officer Lieutenant-Colonel Moorhouse, who was killed at the assault of the Pettah on the 7th of March.

I have not yet been able to obtain correct lists of the ordnance, or of the different articles that were found in the magazines of the place; and I can therefore only say, in general, that there were upwards of one hundred serviceable pieces of ordnance, near fifty of which were brass, a large quantity of grain, and an immense *dépôt* of military stores.

Although Tippoo approached our position, and even cannonaded the camp, both on the 7th and 17th, yet on these occasions, and on all others during the siege, he took his measures with so much caution, as put it effectually out of my power to force him to risk an action; and on the night of the assault he retired, in great haste, from the south side of the fortress, where he was then posted, immediately upon his being acquainted with its fall. After giving some repairs to the breaches, making a number of necessary arrangements, and leaving the train of heavy artillery to be refitted during my absence, I moved from Bangalore on the 28th, with the design of securing a safe and speedy junction with a large body of cavalry that the Nizam had promised to send to me, and of receiving a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of provisions and stores, which I had some time before ordered to be in readiness to join me, by the way of

Amboon

Amboor, from the Carnatic, considering thote as necessary preliminary meafures for enabling me to proceed to the attack of Seringapatam; and I, at the fame time, communicated my intentions to General Abercromby, and directed him to use every exertion in his power, that might be confistent with the safety of the corps under his command, to prepare himself, in the manner that I prefcribed, to give me effectual affiftance when I fhould reach the enemy's capital.

Tippoo having made a movement to the westward on the fame day that I marched from the neighbourhood of Bangalore, I fell in with his rear, at the diftance of about eight or nine miles from that place; but, from the want of a fufficient body of cavalry, it was found impracticable, after a purfuit of confiderable length, either to bring him to action, or to gain any advantage over him, except that of taking one brafs gun, which, owing to its carriage breaking down, he was obliged to leave upon the road.

My first object being to form a junction with the Nizam's cavalry, I made fuch movements, or took fuch pofitions, as I knew would effectually prevent Tippoo from intercepting them, or even from difturbng their march; but, although I was at great pains to point out the safety of the march to Rajah Teige Wunt, and to encourage him to proceed, the effects of my recommendations and requests were but flow; and, after wafte of time, which, at this late feafon of the year, was invaluable, and which almost exhausted my patience, this junction was not made till the 13th infant.

It is not eafy to ascertain the

number of the corps with precision, but I fuppofe it to amount to fifteen or sixteen thousand horfe; and though they are extremely defective in almost every point of military difcipline, yet, as the men are in general well mounted, and the chiefs have given me the ftrongest affurances of their difpofition to do every thing in their power to promote the fuccefs of our operations, I am in great hopes that we fhall derive material advantage from their affiftance.

This junction being accomplished, I marched on to effect my next object without lofs of time: and having arrived at my prefent camp on the 18th, and ordered the moft expeditious meafures to be taken for transporting the ftore from the head of the pafs, I fhall commence my march again to the westward on the 22d, and, after calling at Bangalore for the heavy artillery, I trust that I fhall find it practicable to reach Seringapatam before the 12th of next month.

No useful purpose could be promoted by my enumerating the difficulties which I have already encountered in carrying on the operations of this campaign, and it would be equally unprofitable to enlarge at prefent upon the obftacles which I forefee to our future progress; they are, however, of fo weighty a nature, that under different circumftances I fhould undoubtedly act with more caution, and defer the attempt upon the enemy's capital till after the enfuing rains; but, acquainted as I am with the unfettled fituation of political affairs in Europe, and knowing that a procrastinated war would occafion almost certain ruin to your finances, I confider it as a duty which I owe to my ftation and

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to my country, to disregard the hazard to which my own military reputation may be exposed, and to prosecute, with every species of precaution that my judgment or experience can suggest, the plan which is most likely to bring the war to an early decision.

I have, at the same time, been the more encouraged to persevere in the execution of my original intentions, as both the Nizam and the Mahrattas have of late shewn an uncommon alacrity in fulfilling their engagements, which by the smallest appearance of backwardness on our part, would be immediately cooled; and which, I trust, will, in addition to our own efforts, essentially contribute to counteract many of the disadvantages which the difficulty of the march, the risk of scarcity of provisions and forage, and the approach of the rainy season, present against the undertaking; and, if those obstacles can be overcome, the capture of Seringapatam will probably, in its consequences, furnish an ample reward for our labours.

A few days after our success at Bangalore, Tippoo repeated his propositions to open a negotiation for terminating our differences; but whether with a sincere desire to obtain peace, or with the insidious hopes of inciting jealousies in our allies, by inducing me to listen to his advances, is not certain. The line for my conduct, however, was clear; and, conformable to our treaties, I declined, in civil and moderate terms, to receive a person of confidence, on his part, to discuss the separate interests of the company; but informed him, that, if he should think proper to make propositions, in writing, for a general accommo-

dation with all the members of the confederacy, I should, after communicating with the other powers, transmit our joint sentiments upon them.

I shall refer you entirely at present to the accounts that you will receive from the different governments of the details of their respective business; and shall only add, that the personal attention that I have experienced from the members of the supreme board, and the zeal which they have manifested, since I left Calcutta, in promoting the public good, have given me very particular satisfaction.

The Swallow packet will remain in readiness to be dispatched in August, or sooner, if it should be thought expedient; and I shall, by that opportunity, have the honour of writing fully to you on several of those subjects, on which you must, no doubt, be anxious to receive minute information.—I cannot, however, conclude this letter without bearing the most ample testimony to the zeal and alacrity which have been uniformly manifested by his majesty's and the company's troops, in the performance of the various duties of fatigue and danger in the course of this campaign; and assuring you, that they are entitled to the most distinguished marks of your approbation.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most obedient, and
Most humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

*Camp at Venkettigerry,
April 21, 1791.*

Letter from P'Abbé Raynal to the National Assembly of France; May 31, 1791.

Gentlemen,

ON arriving in this capital after a long absence, my heart and eyes are turned towards you; and I should have thrown myself at the feet of your august assembly, would my age and infirmities have suffered me to speak to you, without too strong an emotion, of the great things which you have done, and of all that remains for you to do, in order to confer upon this agitated land that peace, liberty, and prosperity, which it is your intention to procure to us.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that I am one of those who are ignorant of the indefatigable zeal, the talents, the information, and the courage which you have shewn in your immense labours. A sufficient number of other persons have addressed you upon these subjects; a sufficient number have reminded you of the title which you have to the esteem of the nation: for my part, whether you consider me as a citizen availing himself of his right to petition, or whether, in indulging my gratitude in an unincumbered flight, you permit an old friend of liberty to restore to you what he is indebted, for the protection with which you have honoured him, I beseech you not to reject useful truths. I have long dared to speak to kings of their duty; permit me now to speak to a people of their errors, and to the representatives of the people, of the dangers with which we are all threatened.

I confess that I profoundly lament the disorders and the crimes which have covered this empire with

mourning. Can it be true, that I must recollect with horror, that I am not one of those, who in testifying a generous indignation against arbitrary power, have perhaps armed licentiousness? Do religion, the laws, the royal authority, the public order, require back from philosophy and reason, the ties which united them to that great society of the French nation; as if, in pursuing abuses, in stating the rights of the people, and the duties of the prince, our criminal efforts had broken these ties? But no, the bold conceptions of philosophy were never presented by us as the rigorous measure for acts of legislation. You cannot attribute to us as errors what could only result from a false interpretation of our principles. And yet, ready to descend into the grave, ready to quit this immense family, of which I have so ardently wished the welfare, what do I see around me? Religious troubles, civil dissention, the contentions of some, the audacity and passions of others, a government enslaved by popular tyranny, the sanctuary of the laws surrounded by ungovernable men; who will alternately either dictate or brave them; soldiers without discipline, chiefs without authority, ministers without means, a king, the first friend of his people, plunged into affliction, outraged, threatened, deprived of all authority, and the public power existing but in those clubs, where ignorant and brutal men dare to decide upon all political questions.

Such, gentlemen, is, beyond all doubt, the true situation of France. Another perhaps would not dare to tell it you; but I dare, because I consider it as my duty; because I am on the verge of eighty years of age; because no one can accuse me of regretting

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greeting the former government; because in lamenting over the present state of desolation of the church of France, no one can accuse me of being a fanatic priest; because in considering the re-establishment of the legitimate authority as the only means of safety, no one will accuse me of being the partizan of despotism, and of expecting favours from it; because in attacking before you those writers who have blown the kingdom into a flame, and perverted its understanding, no one will accuse me of not knowing the value of the liberty of the press.

Alas! I was full of hope and joy when I saw you lay the foundations of the public happiness, attack all abuses, proclaim all rights, and subject the different parts of this empire to the same laws, to an uniform regulation. My eyes were filled with tears when I saw the vilest and the most wicked of men employed as instruments in bringing about a useful revolution; when I saw the holy love of patriotism prostituted to villainy, and licentiousness march in triumph under the banners of liberty. Terror was mingled with my just grief, when I beheld all the resources of government destroyed, and feeble barriers substituted to the necessity for an active and repressing force. I have every where sought the vestiges of that central authority which a great nation deposits in the hands of the monarch for its own safety; I have been no where able to find them; I have sought the principles whereby property is preserved, and I have seen them attacked; I have endeavoured to find under what shelter security and individual liberty reposed, and I have seen audacity always gathering strength from the multitude attending, and

invoking the signal for destruction, which the factious, and the innovators as dangerous as the factious, are ready to inflict.

I have heard those insidious insinuations, which impress you with false terrors, to turn aside your attention from real dangers; which inspire you with fatal distrusts, to induce you to destroy successively all the props of monarchical government. I have particularly shuddered on observing in their new life, that people who are desirous of being free, not only disregard the social virtues of humanity and justice, the sole basis of true liberty, but receive with eagerness the new seeds of corruption, and suffer themselves to be surrounded with new causes of slavery.

Ah! gentlemen, what do I not suffer, on seeing in the midst of the capital, and in the very focus of information, this seduced people eagerly adopt with a ferocious joy the most criminal proposals, smile at the details of assassinations, sing their crimes as if they were conquests, stupidly invite enemies to the revolution, sully it by complaisance, and shut their eyes upon all the evils with which they overwhelm themselves! for this unhappy people are ignorant that an infinity of calamities may spring from a single crime. I see them laugh and dance on the ruins of their own morality, even on the brink of the very abyss which may swallow up their hopes; this spectacle of joy is that by which I have been the most deeply affected. Your indifference with respect to this alarming deviation of the public understanding, is the first and perhaps the sole cause of the change which has taken place with respect to you, of that change whereby the

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corrupt adulation, or the murmurs stifled by fear, have succeeded the pure homages bestowed upon your first labours.

But with whatever courage the approach of my last hour inspires me, whatever duty even that love of liberty which I professed before you existed, imposes upon me, I nevertheless experience in addressing you that respect and sort of fear, of which no man can divest himself, when he places himself in thought in a state of immediate communication with the representatives of a great people.

Ought I to stop here, or to continue to speak to you as to posterity? — Yes, gentlemen, I believe you worthy of hearing this language.

I have meditated throughout the whole course of my life on the ideas which you have lately applied to the regeneration of the kingdom: I meditated on them at a time when, rejected by all the social institutions, by all the interests, by all the prejudices, they only presented the seduction of a consolatory wish: at that time no motives induced me to weigh the difficulties of application, and the terrible inconveniencies annexed to abstractions, when they are invested with the force which commands men and things, when the resistance of things and the passions of men are necessary elements to combine.

What I neither ought nor could foresee, at the time and in the circumstances under which I wrote, the circumstances and the time in which you act require that you should keep an account of; and I think it my duty to tell you that you have not sufficiently done so.

By this sole but continued fault, you have vitiated your work; you have placed yourselves in such a si-

tuation as has perhaps rendered you unable to preserve it from total ruin, but by measuring back your steps, or by indicating that retrograde march to your successors. Ought you to be afraid of being the sole object of all the virulence with which the altar of liberty is assailed? Believe, gentlemen, that this heroic sacrifice will not be the least consolatory of those remembrances which you will be permitted to preserve, What men must those be, who, leaving to their country all the good which they have been able to do, accept and claim for themselves alone the reproaches which have been deserved by real and serious evils, but of which they could only accuse the circumstances! I believe you, gentlemen, worthy of so high a destiny, and that idea encourages me to point out to you, without reserve, those defective parts which you have introduced into the French constitution.

Called upon to regenerate France, you ought first to have considered what you could usefully preserve of the former government, and particularly that part of it which it would be improper to abandon.

France was a monarchy; its extent, its wants, its manners, its national spirit, were invincible objections to republican forms: being ever admitted into it without occasioning a total dissolution.

The monarchical power was vitiated by two causes; its bases were surrounded by prejudices, and its limits were defined but by partial resistances. To purify the principles, by establishing the throne upon its true basis, the sovereignty of the nation; to ascertain its limits, by placing them in the national representation, was what you ought to

have done, and you think that you have done it.

But in organizing these two powers, the strength and the success of the constitution depended upon their equilibrium; and you had to guard against the propensity of your ideas. You ought to have seen that in the general opinion, the power of kings is on the decline, and that the rights of the people are on the increase: thus, by weakening beyond measure that which naturally tends to annihilation, and by strengthening beyond all proportion that which naturally tends to increase, you arrive by force at this melancholy result, a *king without authority, and a people without restraint.*

By abandoning yourselves to the wanderings of opinion, you have favoured the influence of the multitude, and infinitely multiplied popular elections. Did you not forget that elections incessantly renewed, and the transient duration of power, are a source of relaxation in political jurisdictions? Did you not forget that the strength of government ought to be proportioned to the number of those whom it has to provide for, and whom it ought to protect?

You have preserved the name of king, although in your constitution it is not only no longer useful, but even dangerous. You have reduced his influence to that point which corruption may usurp; you have in fact invited him to combat a constitution which incessantly shews him what he is not, and what he may be.

This, gentlemen, is a vice inherent in your constitution; a vice which will destroy it, if you and your successors do not hasten to extirpate it.

I will not point out to you all the faults which may be ascribed to circumstances; of those you are yourselves aware: but why will you suffer the evil to exist which it is in your power to destroy? Why, after having proclaimed the dogma of liberty in religious opinions, will you suffer the clergy to be overwhelmed with persecutions and outrages, because they do not obey your religious opinions?

Why, after having consecrated the principles of individual liberty, do you suffer to exist in your bosoms an inquisition, which serves as a model and a pretext to all those inferior inquisitions which a factious uneasiness has generated in every part of the empire?

Why do not you shudder at the audacity and the success of those writers who profane the name of patriots? More powerful than your decrees, they daily pull down what you erect. You are desirous of a monarchical government, and they endeavour to render it odious: You are desirous that the people should enjoy liberty, and they wish to make them the most ferocious of tyrants: You are desirous of reforming the manners, and they command the triumph of vice, the impunity of crimes.

I will not mention to you, gentlemen, your operations of finance; God forbid that I should increase your uneasiness, or diminish your hopes upon that subject. The public fortune is yet entire in your hands; but recollect, that where a government is neither powerful nor respected, there can be neither taxes, credit, nor an ascertained receipt or expenditure.

What form of government can stand against this new assumption of power

power of the clubs? You have destroyed all the corporations, and the most colossal and most formidable of aggregations is raising itself upon your heads, to the destruction of all other powers. France at present contains two kinds of people exceedingly unlike. That consisting of the virtuous and of the moderate spirits, is scattered, silent, and alarmed; whilst men of violent dispositions, of which the other consists, crowd together, electrify each other, and form those terrific volcanos which vomit forth such quantities of inflamed lava.

You have made a declaration of rights, and that imperfect declaration has spread throughout the empire of France numerous seeds of anarchy and disorder.

Constantly hesitating between the principles which a false modesty prevents you from modifying, and circumstances which extort exceptions from you, you constantly do too little for the public good, and too much according to your doctrine. You are frequently both inconsequent and impolitic, at the time when you endeavour to be neither. Thus, by perpetuating the slavery of the negroes, you have not the less, by your decision respecting the mulattoes, given an alarm to commerce, and exposed your colonies.

Be assured, gentlemen, that none of these observations escape the friends of liberty: they demand back from your hands the deposit of the public opinion, of the public reason, of which you are but the organs, and which no longer possess any character. Europe considers you with astonishment; Europe, which may be shaken to its foundations by the propagation of your

principles, is vexed at their exaggeration.

The silence of its princes may be that of terror; but do not aspire, gentlemen, to the fatal honour of rendering yourselves dreadful by extravagant innovations, as dangerous for yourselves as for your neighbours. Open once more the annals of the world; call to your assistance the wisdom of ages, and see how many empires have perished by anarchy. It is time to put an end to that by which we are desolated, to stop the revenges, the seditions, and commotions, and to restore to us all length peace and confidence.

To attain this salutary end, there is but one mode, and that is by revising your decrees, by uniting and strengthening the powers weakened by dispersion, by entrusting to the king all the force necessary to maintain the power of the laws, and by particularly watching over the liberty of the primary assemblies, from which factions have driven all wise and virtuous citizens.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that the re-establishment of the executive power can be the work of your successors; no, they will take their seats with less power than you possess: they will have to acquire that popular opinion of which you have disposed; you only are able to create anew what you have destroyed, or suffered to be destroyed.

You have laid the foundation of the liberty of every reasonable constitution, by securing to the people the right of making their laws, and determining their taxes. Anarchy will even swallow up these important rights, if you do not place them under the protection of an active and vigorous government; and despotism

potism awaits us, if you continue to reject the tutelary protection of royal authority.

I have collected my strength, gentlemen, to speak to you the austere language of truth. Forgive, in favour of my zeal and love for my country, what may appear too free in my remonstrances, and believe my ardent wishes for your glory, as much as my profound respect.

G. T. RAYNAL.

Letter from Mr. John Harriott, of Rochford, in Essex, to Mr. More, Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. describing the Effects of the high Tide, February 2, 1791, on Land which he had inclosed from the Sea.

Sir, Rochford, Feb. 24.

THE kindness and friendship expressed in your letter claim my warmest acknowledgments; and, as you request to be informed of the real state of my misfortunes, I will endeavour to place it in as clear a point of view as possible; for, having nothing to reproach myself with, in regard to such accumulated misfortunes as I have experienced in so short a time (accidents which human sagacity could neither foresee nor prevent), I have no reason to be ashamed at being unfortunate: on the contrary, I feel a secret satisfaction in having endeavoured to do my duty as a man whose views are not wholly confined to this spot, and bow my head without repining to the disposal of Providence.

It was no longer than the 17th of March, 1790, that I had the heavy misfortune to have my house, barn, and out-offices, all burnt down, with

difficulty saving our lives. My loss from this (above my insurance) was great to a man who never could boast of affluence; yet I looked forward with a pleasing confidence; my island (so lately embanked from the sea) was beginning to repay me most bountifully: it cleared me 300l the last year, with a promising appearance of greater things for years to come. I had rebuilt my house, &c. and got my family together again.

In this situation of my affairs, the 2d of this month produced a tide on our coast higher by a foot than is remembered by the oldest man living. My island fell a victim to its ravages: above one-fourth part of the wall or bank had settled (on account of its being *all new earth*) near a foot more than the rest: this was intended to have been raised 18 inches last summer, had not my loss from the fire, and the consequent attention to rebuilding, obliged me to defer it, which occasioned the loss of my island; for, flowing seven or eight inches deep over 150 rod in length of walling, it flooded the whole island. Attending to the fall of the tide, I found my island left full of water, too fatal a proof of the strength of my walls, though it satisfied me there was no breach. By extraordinary exertions, I drained the water four feet below the surface of the land in a few days: I then had the walls surveyed, and an estimate made of what it would require to repair them, and secure the island from a similar accident. This amounted to 300l; I had it not, and could not think of borrowing without a greater certainty of payment than I could pretend to; for, if my island should become a total loss, I knew I had not sufficient be-

side to pay what I owed already. I therefore did not think myself at liberty to lay out money that belonged to others without their consent, though to save the miserable wreck of my own fortune; and, as there was a necessity of coming to a speedy determination, I resolved on sending to every one I owed a sum of money exceeding 20*l*. requesting their meeting each other on Wednesday, the 9th; informing them the reason, and that I would then lay before them a full state of my affairs.

This was the first time in my life I distrusted my own fortitude. Attempting to speak, I found myself incapable of uttering. My feelings overpowered me, and I was obliged to leave the room abruptly. I can only say, they were the feelings of a father (considering his misfortunes as affecting his children) that overcame me. I have been in various engagements by sea and land; I was in the second earthquake off Lisbon; in several on the island of Sumatra; belonged to a ship that had the plague on board in Turkey; shipwrecked off Plymouth after an absence of two years; wounded and rendered incapable of farther active service in India; yet never knew the want of courage before. In every other point of view, I could encounter danger and difficulties with greater resolution.

The state of my affairs was thus: I had, by fire and water, within one year, lost upwards of 3,000*l*.; but, if enabled to secure the island, my loss would be reduced to about 2,000*l*., laying the damage to the land from the effect of the salt-water at the lowest estimate, but it may prove considerably more. I owed rather more than 2,500*l*. and the

remainder of my property did not amount to more than 1,400*l*. beside my half-pay as a lieutenant. I had the satisfaction to find my conduct approved. My creditors, instead of distressing, soothed me, and voluntarily proposed, and agreed to accept, ten shillings in the pound.

Such, Sir, is the distracted situation of my affairs; and I do not wonder at there being various reports concerning it, though I am no ways apprehensive of there being any to the prejudice of my character; for in that, poor as I am, and unfortunate as I have been, I fear not the strictest scrutiny.

I remain,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN HARRIOTT.

Directions of the Lancashire Humane Society for the Recovery of Persons apparently dead by Drowning, and other Species of Suffocation.

Drowning.

I. **W**HEN the body is taken out of the water, strip and wrap it closely in a coat, blanket, or other warm covering: and convey it gently to the nearest commodious house, with the face upwards, and the head a little raised.

II. Lay it on a bed or mattress which has been heated by a warming-pan, in a chamber containing a fire: or, during summer, in the sunshine. Dry the body completely with warm cloths, and afterwards rub it diligently, but gently, with hot flannels on the *left* side, near the heart. Apply to the hands and feet cloths wrung out of hot water; and heated bricks; or bottles or bladders

bladders half filled with hot water; or bags of hot grains or sand, to the stomach and arm-pits. Let a healthy person, of the same sex with the sufferer, lie down unclothed, on the right side of the body; and be employed in rubbing, and aiding other necessary operations.

If a tub of warm water be in readiness, let the body be placed in it up to the neck, and continued in it half an hour. The water should not be hotter than can be comfortably borne by the assistants; and the heat of all the applications before directed should be moderate.

When the body is taken out of the tub of water, it must be wiped dry; laid upon the bed; and treated according to the rules already given.

III. During the foregoing operations, put the pipe of a pair of bellows into one of the nostrils, the other nostril and the mouth being closed by an assistant; and blow gently, till the breast be a little raised. Let the mouth and nostril then be left free, and an easy pressure made upon the breast. Repeat this imitation of natural breathing till signs of returning life appear, when it is to be gradually discontinued.

N. B. If no bellows be at hand, let an assistant blow into the nostrils of the drowned person with his breath, through a quill, reed, or any other small pipe.

IV. When breathing begins to be renewed, let a feather dipt in spirit of hartshorn or sharp mustard, be occasionally introduced into the nostrils. Pepper, or snuff also may be blown into them. A glyster should now be given without delay, composed of equal parts of wine and hot water, with a small table spoon-

ful of flour of mustard, or a tea spoonful of powdered pepper, ginger, or other spice. Rum, brandy, or gin, mixed with six times its quantity of hot water, with the addition of mustard, &c. may be used instead of wine.

V. As soon as the patient can swallow, administer to him, by spoonfuls, hot wine, or spirits mixed with water.

VI. When life is completely restored, the sufferer should remain at rest in a warm bed; be supplied moderately with wine-whey, ale-posset, or other nourishing drinks; and gentle sweating should be encouraged.

Hanging.

I. If a medical assistant be present, let him take a few ounces of blood from the jugular veins; or apply a cupping glass to the neck.

H. The other methods of treatment are to be the same as recommended for the recovery of drowned persons.

Suffocation by Noxious Vapours, or Lightning.

Sprinkle the face and the whole body with cold water, if the heat of the sufferer be above or equal to that of a living person. But if the body feel cold, apply warmth gradually; and use the means directed under the head of drowning. A small quantity of blood may also be taken from the jugular veins.

Frost.

Take the body to the nearest room with a fire-place, but not near the fire.

fire. Rub it with snow or cold water. Attempt warmth and breathing by slow degrees, and the way directed for the recovery of drowned persons.

Smothering in Child-Birth, by Confinement under Bed-Clothes, &c.

I. In still-born children, blow air into the mouth, through a quill, or any small tube, till the breast be a little raised; then gently press the chest; and repeat this process till natural breathing begins. Gently rub the body with warm flannels; and foment the legs and feet with water of a moderate degree of heat.

II. When a child has been smothered under the bed-clothes, if the body be too hot, as is commonly the case, expose it for a short time to a stream of fresh air, and sprinkle a little cold water on the face and breast; then fill the lungs, and follow the other directions above delivered.

No other means but those here recommended are ever to be employed; except by the authority of some judicious physician, or of one of the medical assistants of the Society.

N. B. In all the above cases, immediately dispatch a messenger for medical assistance: send, also, another messenger to the nearest house, where warm water, grains, or other things of the same nature may be procured; with a good fire, and a warm bed for the reception of the unfortunate person.

South Wales. *Laid before the House of Commons.*

Extracts of a Letter from Governor Phillip to the Right Honourable Lord Sydney; dated Sydney Cove, 12th Feb. 1790.

WHEN the Supply left Norfolk Island, the people were all very healthy, and they had vegetables in the greatest abundance; they get fish when the weather permits the boat to go without the reef, and, at times, in such quantities, that fish is served to the people in lieu of salt provisions. They make their lines from the flax plant, but unfortunately we have not any person who understands how to dress it.

Half a pod of cotton being found on the island, supposed to be brought there by a bird, and a cocoa nut, which was perfectly sound, and appeared to have been but a short time in the water, being thrown upon the beach, have given some reason to suppose that both these articles will be found in some island at no great distance.

Lord Howe Island has been examined, but no fresh water, or good anchorage, being found, it can be of no other advantage to this settlement, than occasionally supplying a few turtle.

I had the honour of informing your lordship, that a settlement was intended to be made at a place I named Rose Hill. At the head of this harbour there is a creek, which at half flood has water for large boats to go three miles up; and one mile higher the water is fresh, and the soil good. A very industrious man,

Extracts of Letters, &c. and Accounts, relative to the Settlements in New

man, whom I brought from England, is employed there at present, and has under his direction one hundred convicts, who are employed in clearing and cultivating the ground. A barn, granary, and other necessary buildings, are erected, and twenty-seven acres in corn promise a good crop. The soil is good, and the country, for twenty miles to the westward, which is as far as I have examined, lays well for cultivation; but even there, the labour of clearing the ground is very great; and I have seen none that can be cultivated without cutting down the timber, except some few particular spots, which, from their situation, (laying at a distance from either of the harbours) can be of no advantage to us at present; and I presume the meadows mentioned in Captain Cook's Voyage, were seen from the high grounds about Botany Bay, and from whence they appear well to the eye, but when examined, are found to be marshes, the draining of which would be a work of time, and not to be attempted by the first settlers.

The captain's guard, which until lately did duty at Rose Hill, is now reduced to a lieutenant and twelve privates, and intended merely as a guard to the store which contains the provisions, and which is in the redoubt, for I am now sensible there is nothing to be apprehended from the natives; and the little attention which had been desired of the officers, more than what was immediately garrison duty, when at Rose Hill, is now no longer required.

At Sydney Cove, all the officers are in good huts, and the men in barracks; and, although many unforeseen difficulties have been met with, I believe there is not an indivi-

dual, from the governor to the private soldier, whose situation is not more eligible at this time than he had any reason to expect it could be in the course of the three years station. And it is the same with the convicts; and those who have been any ways industrious, have vegetables in plenty. The buildings now carrying on are of brick and stone. The house intended for myself was to consist of only three rooms, but having a good foundation, has been enlarged, contains six rooms, and is so well built, that I presume it will stand for a great number of years.

The stores have been lately overrun with rats, and they are equally numerous in the gardens, where they do considerable damage; and as the loss in the stores could only be known by removing all the provisions, that was ordered to be done, and many casks of flour and rice were found to be damaged or totally destroyed. The loss in those two articles by the rats, since landing, has been more than twelve thousand weight.

Vegetables and provisions having been frequently stolen in the night from convicts and others, twelve convicts were chosen as a night watch; and they have actually answered the end proposed, no robbery having been committed for several months, and the convicts in general have lately behaved better than I ever expected. Only two convicts have suffered death in the last year. Four were executed the first year.

As near two years have now passed since we first landed in this country, some judgment may be formed of the climate; and I believe a finer or more healthy climate is not to be found in any part of the world. Of one thousand and thirty people
who

who were landed, many of whom were worn out by old age, the scurvy, and various disorders, only seventy-two have died in one-and-twenty months; and by the surgeon's returns, it appears that twenty-six of those died from disorders of long standing, and which it is more than probable would have carried them off much sooner in England. Fifty-nine children have been born in the above time.

In December the corn at Rose Hill was got-in: the corn was exceeding good; about two hundred bushels of wheat, and sixty of barley, with a small quantity of flax, Indian corn, and oats, all which is preserved for seed. Here I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that if settlers are sent out, and the convicts divided amongst them, this settlement will very shortly maintain itself; but without which, this country cannot be cultivated to any advantage. At present I have only one person (who has about an hundred convicts under his direction) who is employed in cultivating the ground for the public benefit, and he has returned the quantity of corn above-mentioned into the public store; the officers have not raised sufficient to support the little stock they have. Some ground I have had in cultivation will return about forty bushels of wheat into store; so that the produce of the labour of the convicts employed in cultivation has been very short of what might have been expected, and which I take the liberty of pointing out to your lordship in this place, to shew, as fully as possible, the state of this colony, and the necessity of the convicts being employed by those who have an interest in their labor. The giving convicts to the officers has been hi-

ther to necessary, but it is attended with many inconveniences, for which the advantages arising to the officers do not make amends. It will not, therefore, be continued after this detachment is relieved, unless particularly directed. The numbers employed in cultivation will of course be increased, as the necessary buildings are finished, but which will be a work of time; for the numbers in this settlement who do nothing towards their own support, exceed those employed for the public.

In November, the Supply failed for Norfolk Island with some convicts, and returned after being absent six weeks.—All the people in that island were well, and their crops, after all they had suffered from rats, birds, and a worm which had done them considerable damage, so good, that they had grain sufficient for six months bread for every one upon the island, reserving sufficient for their next year's crops.

Early in January, 1790, the Supply again failed for Norfolk Island, with more convicts; and in her passage left a small party on Lord Howe Island, to turn turtle; but in fifteen days only three were taken; so that no great advantages will accrue at present from thence. The island has fresh water, but no good anchoring ground.

Since the deaths mentioned in a former part of this letter, one woman has suffered for a robbery, five children have died, and twenty-eight children have been born; making in all seventy-seven deaths, and eighty-seven births.

Extract of a Letter from Governor Phillip to the Right Honourable Lord Sydney; dated

dated Sydney Cove, 13th
Feb. 1790.

In order to get a knowledge of the country round this settlement, frequent excursions have been made since the ships sailed, in November 1788; soon after which I went to Botany Bay, and the five days spent in that harbour confirmed me in the opinion I had first formed of it—that it afforded no eligible situation for fixing the settlement, and was a bad harbour, not affording good security for ships against the easterly winds, which frequently blow very hard in the winter, and which has been farther proved by Captain Hunter, and the first lieutenant of the Sirius, when there to survey the bay.

After having been several times with the boats to Broken Bay, in order to examine the different branches in that harbour, a river was found; but the want of provisions obliged us to return without being able to trace it to its source, which has since been done; and in the sixteen days we were then out, all those branches which had any depth of water were traced as far as the boats could proceed.

The breadth of this river (named the Hawkesbury) is from 300 to 800 feet; and it appears, from the soundings we had, to be navigable for the largest merchant ships to the foot of Richmond Hill; but as the water near the head of the river sometimes rises, after very heavy rains, thirty feet above its common level, it would not be safe for ships to go so far up; but fifteen or twenty miles below Richmond Hill, they would lay in fresh water, and perfectly safe. I speak of Rich-

mond Hill as being the head of the river, it there growing very shallow, and dividing into two branches.

The high rocky country which forms Broken Bay is lost as you proceed up the Hawkesbury, and the banks of the river are there covered with timber, the soil a rich light mould; and, judging from the little we saw of the country, I should suppose it good land to a very considerable extent; the other branches of fresh water are shoal, but probably run many miles farther into the country than we could trace them with our boats. On these rivers we saw great numbers of wild ducks, and some black swans; and on the banks of the Hawkesbury, several decoys made by the natives to catch the quail.

Richmond Hill (near the foot of which a fall of water prevented our proceeding farther with the boats) is the southern extremity of a range of hills, which, running to the northward, most probably join the mountains which lay nearly parallel to the coast, from fifty to sixty miles inland. The soil of Richmond Hill is good, and it lies well for cultivation. Our prospect from the hill was very extensive to the southward and eastward; the country appearing, from the height at which we were, to be a level covered with timber: there is a flat of six or seven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which separates Lansdown and Carmarthen Hills; and in this flat, I suppose, the Hawkesbury continues its course, but which could not be seen for the timber, that, with very few exceptions, covers the country wherever the soil is good.

The great advantages of so noble
a river,

river, when a settlement can be made on its banks, will be obvious to your Lordship.

The settlement made at Port Jackson, near the head of the harbour (Rose Hill) very fully answers my expectations; the soil is exceeding good, lies well for cultivation, and is well watered. Six miles to the southward, there is a small fresh-water river; and 20 miles to the westward, there is a more considerable river, the source of which I suppose to be at the foot of the mountains. The banks of this river, which most probably empties itself into the Hawkesbury, are high; the soil a good light mould, and covered with trees; the wood of some of these trees is very light; they are about the size of large walnut trees, which they resemble; they shed their leaves, and bear a small fruit which is said to be very wholesome. This river likewise frequently rises thirty feet above its common level; it is, as far as I have seen it, from 300 to 400 feet in breadth. I named it the Nepean, and its source will be traced in the course of the winter; and from its banks I hope to reach the mountains, which has been attempted by a party who crossed the river, but after the first day's journey, they met with such a constant succession of deep ravines, the sides of which were frequently inaccessible, that they returned, not having been able to proceed above fifteen miles in five days; when they turned back, they supposed themselves to be 12 miles from the foot of the mountains.

As the land for several miles to the southward, and twenty miles to the westward of Rose Hill, that is, to the banks of the Nepean, is as fine

land for tillage as most in England, (some few particular spots excepted, the soil of which is poor, but bears a very small proportion to the good land) I propose that tract of land for those settlers which may be sent out; and though they will be placed at some distance from each other, for the conveniency of water, (from one to three or four miles) they will have nothing to apprehend from the natives, who avoid those parts we most frequent, and always retire at the sight of two or three people who are armed.

As the labour of clearing the ground of timber will be great, I think each settler should not have less than twenty men on his farm, which I suppose to be from five hundred to one thousand acres: it will be necessary to give that number of convicts to those settlers who come out, and to support them for two years from the public stores; in that time, if they are any ways industrious, they will be in a situation to support themselves, and I do not think they would be able to do it in less time. At the expiration of the two years, they may return half the convicts they have been allowed, and would want no farther assistance from government.

It may be necessary to grant lands to officers and soldiers, who becoming settlers, will of course be entitled to every indulgence; but few of the officers now here have reaped any great advantage from being allowed convicts; and it is attended with unavoidable inconveniences, from those convicts being left so much to themselves, and from their mixing with the soldiers. It may be found more to the advantage of the crown and the officer likewise, if officers on duty in this settlement were

were allowed a certain quantity of grain to support their live stock, until they have a market to go to, and I make no doubt, but that in the third year from the time settlers arrive, there will be a market well supplied with grain, poultry, hogs, and goats, of all which there has been a great increase, but killed, from wanting corn to support them; and the natives so frequently setting fire to the country, which they do to catch the opossum, flying squirrel, and other animals, has prevented swine from being turned out, as was intended.

If this plan, of distributing amongst the settlers those convicts who are not immediately necessary for carrying on the public works, is approved of, and which I propose, as appearing to me the most likely to render this settlement independent for the necessaries of life, in the shortest time possible, there are many regulations which will of course take place.

Extracts of a Letter from Governor Phillip to Lord Sydney; dated Government House, Sydney Cove, April 11, 1790.

The quantity of flour brought from the Cape of Good Hope by the *Sirius*, was less than I expected—four months flour only for the settlement, and a year's provisions for the ship's company; and it was necessary to give the ship a very considerable repair before she could be sent to sea again, which was not completed before the middle of January, when I had reason to expect ships from England in the course of a few weeks. The sending to the islands would have answered as far

as procuring live stock to breed from, but which was not immediately wanted; and what the *Sirius* could have brought for the consumption of such a number of people, would have been but a very small relief. Howe Island had been tried several times, and only a very few turtle procured.

The goodness of the soil on Norfolk Island, and the industry of those employed there, rendered that island a resource, and the only one that offered, when, from the time which had passed since my letters might be supposed to have been received in England, there was reason to suppose some accident had happened to the store ships sent out.

I therefore ordered two companies of marines to be ready to embark with a number of convicts, by the 5th of March, if no ship arrived before that time; and a proportion of what provisions and stores remained in this settlement being put on board the *Sirius* and *Supply*, sixty-five officers and men, with five women and children from the detachment and civil department, one hundred and sixteen male and sixty-seven female convicts; with twenty-seven children, embarked and sailed the 6th of March.

The advantage I expected by sending away such a number of people, was from the little garden ground they would leave, and which would assist those who remained, and the fish which might be caught in the winter would go the farther; at the same time, those sent to Norfolk Island would have resources in the great abundance of vegetables raised there, and in fish and birds, which this settlement could not afford them; and it was my intention to have sent more convicts to that island, if

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if there had not been this necessity.

The provisions sent, with what was on the island, and the wheat and Indian corn raised there, more than would be necessary for seed, was calculated to last full as long as the provisions in this place; and at Norfolk Island, from the richness of the soil, a man may support himself, with little assistance from the store, after the timber is cleared away.

As I wished to send an officer to England who could give such information as cannot be conveyed by letters, and the detachment was now divided, I replaced the officer who was superintendant and commandant at Norfolk Island, by Major Ross; the officer I have recalled having been two years on the island, is very capable of pointing out the advantages which may be expected from it, and I think it promises to answer very fully the end proposed by making the settlement; it will be a place of security for the convicts, where they will soon support themselves, and where they may be advantageously employed in cultivating the flax plant.

Extracts from Instructions given by Governor Phillip to the Lieutenant Governor, during his Command at Norfolk Island; dated 2d March, 1790.

You will cause the convicts to be employed in the cultivation of the land, in such manner as shall appear to you the best calculated to render that settlement independent, as far as respects the necessaries of life, paying such attention to the cultivation of the flax plant as your

situation will admit of, and which is to be the principal object, when the necessaries of life are secured to the settlers.

As from the great increase of corn and other vegetable food which may be expected from a common industry, and in so fertile a soil, after a certain quantity of ground is cleared and in cultivation, as well as from the natural increase of swine and other animals, it cannot be expedient that all the convicts should be employed in attending only to the object of provisions, you are to cause the greatest possible number of these people to be employed in cultivating and dressing the flax plant, as a means of acquiring cloathing for themselves and other persons, who may become settlers, as well as for a variety of maritime purposes, and for which its superior excellence renders it a desirable object in Europe.

You will, at every opportunity, transmit to me all such remarks or observations as you may make respecting the nature of the soil on the island, and point out such means as may appear to you the most likely to answer the views of government in the cultivation of the flax plant, and in rendering that island independent for the necessaries of life, and for the order and government of the settlers thereon, that such information may from me be transmitted to his majesty's ministers.

Description of Norfolk Island.

Norfolk Island is situated in the latitude $29^{\circ} 00'$, and in the longitude of $168^{\circ} 00'$ east: its form is nearly an oblong, and contains from twelve to fourteen thousand acres.

The

The face of the country is hilly, and some of the vallies are tolerably large for the size of the island; many of the hills are very steep, and some few so very perpendicular, that they cannot be cultivated; but where such situations are, they will do very well for fuel; on the tops of the hills are some extensive flats.

Mount Pitt is the only remarkable high hill in the island, and is about one hundred and fifty fathoms high. The cliffs which surround the island are about forty fathoms high, and perpendicular; the basis of the island is a hard firm clay. The whole island is covered with a thick wood, choaked up with under-wood.

The island is well supplied with many streams of very fine water; many of which are sufficiently large to turn any number of mills. These springs are full of very large eels.

From the coast to the summit of Mount Pitt, is a continuation of the richest and deepest soil in the world, which varies from a rich black mould to a fat red earth; we have dug down forty feet, and found the same soil; the air is very wholesome, and the climate may be called a very healthy one: there has been no sickness since I first landed on the island.

There are five kinds of trees on the island, which are good timber, viz. the pine, live oak, a yellow wood, a hard black wood, and a wood not unlike the English beech. The pine trees are of a great size, many of which are from 180 to 220 feet in height, and from six to nine feet in diameter. Those trees which are from 100 to 180 feet in height, are in general found; from the root to the lower branches, there is from 80 to 90 feet of sound

timber, the rest is too hard and knotty for use; it sometimes happens, that after cutting off twenty feet from the butt, it becomes rotten or shakey, for which reason no dependence can be put in it for large masts or yards. The timber of the pine is very useful in building, and is very plentiful along the coast; its dispersed situation in the interior parts of the island, is well calculated for erecting such buildings as may be necessary. From what I have seen of this wood, I think it is very durable. Two boats have been built of it, and have answered the purpose fully.

The live oak, yellow wood, black wood, and beech, are all of a close grain, and are a durable wood.

The flax plant of New Zealand grows spontaneously in many parts of the island, but mostly abounds on the sea coast, where there is a very great quantity of it; the leaves of which the flax is made, are, when full grown, six feet long and six inches wide; each plant contains seven of those leaves; a strong woody stalk rises from the centre, which bears the flowers; it seeds annually, and the old leaves are forced out by young ones every year. Every method has been tried to work it, but I much fear that until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island, that the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known; and could that be obtained, I have no doubt but Norfolk Island would very soon clothe the inhabitants of New South Wales.

There are a great quantity of pigeons, parrots, hawks, and other smaller birds, which are now in a wild state.

The ground is much infested with different

different kinds of the grub worm, which are very destructive to the growth of vegetables; they are mostly troublesome about the spring. It is to be hoped that when more ground is cleared away, that this evil will cease.

There is no quadrupede on the island, except the rat, which is much smaller than the Norway rat: these vermin were very troublesome when first we landed, but at present there are but very few.

The coasts of the island abound with very fine fish. No opportunities were ever lost of sending the boat out, which enabled us to make a saving of two pounds of meat, each man, a week.

The coasts of the island are in general steep too, and, excepting at Sydney, Anson, Ball, and Cascade Bays, they are inaccessible, being surrounded by steep perpendicular cliffs rising from the sea. Some rocks are scattered about close to the shore.

Sydney Bay, on the south side of the island, is where the settlement is made. Landing at this place entirely depends on the wind and the weather; I have seen as good landing as in the Thames, for a fortnight or three weeks together, and I have often seen it impracticable to land for ten or twelve days successively; but it is much oftener good landing than bad.

Anson Bay is a small bay with a sandy beach, where landing is in general good, with an off-shore wind and moderate weather; but as the interior parts of the island are so difficult of access from thence, no ship's boats have ever landed there.

Ball Bay is on the south-east side of the island; the beach is a large loose stone; when landing is bad in

Sydney Bay, it is very good here, as it also is in Cascade Bay, on the north side of the island.

During the winter months, viz. from April to August, the general winds are the south and south-west, with heavy gales at times. In the summer, the south-east wind blows almost constant.

The spring is visible in August, but the native trees, and many plants in the island, are in a constant state of flowering: the summer is warm, and sometimes the droughts are very great; all the grain and European plants sowed in December: from February to August may be called the rainy season, not that there is any stated times for rain in these months, as it is sometimes very fine weather for a fortnight together, but when the rain does fall, it is in torrents. I do not remember above three claps of thunder during the time I was on the island. The winter is very pleasant, and it never freezes.

The proper time for sowing wheat and barley is from May to August, and is got-in in December; that which has been sowed has produced twenty-five fold, and I think the increase may be greater. Two bushels of barley, sowed in 1789, produced twenty-four bushels of a sound full grain.

The Indian corn produces well, and is, in my opinion, the best grain to cultivate in any quantity, on account of the little trouble attending its growth, and manufacturing for eating.

The Rio Janeiro sugar-cane grows very well, and is thriving.

Vines and oranges are very thriving; of the former there will be a great quantity in a few years.

• H

Potatoes

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Potatoes thrive remarkably well, and yield a very great increase; I think two crops a year of that article may be got with great ease.

Every kind of garden vegetable thrives well, and comes to great perfection.

The quantity of ground cleared, and in cultivation, belonging to the

public, was, on the 13th March, 1790, from twenty-eight to thirty-two acres, and about eighteen cleared by free people and convicts for their gardens.

PHILIP GIDLEY KING.

London,

January 10th, 1791.

Accounts relative to the Settlements in New South Wales.

An Account of the Number of Convicts which have been shipped from England for New South Wales, and of the Number intended to be sent in the Ships now under Orders for that Service: Made out pursuant to an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 9th February, 1791.

Convicts shipped	—	—	—	—	N ^o
Convicts intended to be sent in the ships now under orders					2,029
					1,830
					<u>3,859</u>

Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

An

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An Account of the Expence incurred in transporting Convicts to New South Wales, as far as the same can be made up.

<i>Nature of the Expences.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>		
	£.	s.	d.
Freight of the transport ships, with the expence of fitting them for the service	—	—	42,271 0 4
Cloathing, flops, and bedding	—	—	4,939 16 8
Vittualling and providing for the convicts and the marine guard, prior to sailing, as also on the passage, and for a store there, viz.			
	£.	s.	d.
Prior to sailing	—	—	4,324 1 11
On the passage	—	—	7,310 12 2
For a store at New South Wales	16,205	3	0
Wine, essence of malt, &c.	—	—	381 15 1
	<hr/>		
	28,221	12	2
Handcuffs and irons for securing the convicts	—	—	42 0 1
Stationary for the commissary of stores and provisions, and for the commanding officer of marines	—	—	63 19 4
Tools, implements of husbandry, &c.	—	—	3,056 8 7
Marquees and camp equipage for marine officers	—	—	389 4 1
Portable house for the governor	—	—	130 0 0
Medicine, drugs, surgeons' instruments, and necessaries	—	—	1,429 15 5
Seed grain	—	—	286 17 4
Old canvas supplied from Portsmouth dock-yard, for tents, &c. for the convicts, until huts could be erected	—	—	69 0 9
Hearths, coppers, &c. for the use of the settlement	—	—	118 10 3
Pay and disbursements of the agent to the transports employed on this service	—	—	881 6 6
	<hr/>		
	81,899	11	6

This expence has been incurred upon the first expedition, and is all paid.

Charge of cloathing, vittualling, and transporting Female Convicts in the Lady Juliana, hired in December 1788, viz.

Paid already upon account	—	—	4,269 18 9
Estimate of what more may be due, upon the supposition that the ship may have been discharged at Port Jackson from the pay of this board, at the end of August last	—	—	3,454 3 2
	<hr/>		
	7,724	1	11
	<hr/>		
Carried forward	£.	89,623	13 5

* H 2

Charge

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	Brought forward	—	£. 89,623	13	5
Charge of the <i>Justinian</i> , hired in Nov. 1789, for a store-ship to Port Jackson, and from thence to proceed to China to bring home teas for the East-India Company, viz.					
Freight for two years, the time calculated for the performance of those services out and home					
	—	7,389	0	0	
Deduct what may be expected to be received from the company for freight of teas home					
	—	5,000	0	0	
	There remains the sum of			2,389	0 0
Note.—623l. 2s., part of the sum of 2,389l., being the amount of the expence incurred on account of this ship, according to the above estimate, has been already paid; which leaves a balance due of 1,765l. 18s.					
Pay and disbursements of the two agents who went out in the <i>Lady Juliana</i> and <i>Justinian</i>					
	—			1,500	0 0
Charge of victualling, cloathing, and transporting convicts, according to agreements with Mr. Whitlock, in August 1789, and with Messrs. Camden, Calvert, and King, in Nov. 1790:					
Paid upon account to Mr. Whitlock					
		17,463	3	9	
Ditto to Messrs. Camden and Co.					
	—	30,100	0	0	
		£. 47,563	3	9	
The total expence cannot be known until the service is over, and the accounts are settled; but it is estimated that what will remain due upon the above two agreements will not probably be less than					
	—	20,000	0	0	
				67,563	3 9
				£. 161,075	17 2

The expence incurred on his majesty's ships sent on service to New South Wales, is estimated to be as under, viz.

On the <i>Sirius</i>	—	45,183	0	0
Supply tender		17,283	0	0
<i>Guardian</i>		22,924	0	0
<i>Gorgon</i>	—	10,211	0	0
		£. 95,601	0	0

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONE.

N. B.—In the preceding account, the charges incurred for the transport of 200 convicts from Ireland are included.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. * 101

An Account of the Quantity and Cost of the Provisions and Stores which have been sent to New South Wales for the Maintenance and Support of the Settlements there, as far as the same can be made up,

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
600 tons of provisions shipped in June and July 1789	—	12,034	8	6			
300 tons of provisions shipped in December 1789	—	6,178	4	0			
450 tons ditto, February 1791	—	9,514	10	2			
		27,727	2	8			
Cloathing, viz. leather, shoes, stockings, hats, cloths, Ozenburgs, blankets, rugs, tape, thread, &c.		16,865	2	3½			
Implements, &c. comprehending implements of husbandry, iron, steel, blacksmith, armourer, carpenter, bricklayer, and masons tools, nails, hoes, axes, glass, iron pots, tin plates, fishing tackle, hooks, twine, thread, rope, hawsers, pig and sheet lead, shot, ball, gunpowder, bowls, paints, oil, canvas, bibles, prayer and other books, weights, scales, measures, waggons, &c.		11,772	10	3½			
Medicines, hospital stores, comprehending a moveable hospital, sheets, blankets, rugs, palliasses, chirurgical instruments and necessaries, pewter, tin, and copper ware, kettles, wine, vinegar, groceries, flannel, salt, hammocks, soup, oatmeal, barley, rice, sago, &c.		23,129	8	0			
		£. 51,767	0	7½			
Off discounts	—	2,011	2	1			
		49,755	18	6½			
Amount of bills drawn by Governor Phillip and Commissary Miller on the Lords of the Treasury for provisions, stores, and necessaries, for the use of the settlement	—				7,070	3	6
					£. 84,553	4	8½

In the foregoing account is included the cost of 12 months provisions, cloathing, stores, &c. for 200 convicts from Ireland, after their arrival.

Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

102 * ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791.

An Account of the Charge and Expence of the Civil and Military Establishments in the Settlements of New South Wales.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Civil establishment, to 10th Oct. 1790	—	—	—	13,190	17	3
Military Establishment.						
Pay of marines, to 1st Jan. 1791, about	18,784	0	0			
Charge of the New South Wales corps, from 5th June to 24th December, 1789, including levy money, the allowance for cloathing and accoutrements, and contingencies	4,751	8	11			
The charge of the said corps for the year 1790, according to the establishment	6,134	7	3			
	<hr/>			29,669	16	3
Total expence of the civil and military establishment, from the commencement thereof in 1787, to the present period	<hr/>			42,860	13	10
Future annual expence of the civil establishment	3,856	0	0			
Future annual charge of the military establishment	6,134	7	3			
	<hr/>			9,990	7	3
	<hr/>					

Treasury Chambers,
18th March, 1791.

CHARLES LONG.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. * 103

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of RUM and MELASSES exported from the *British West Indies* to all Parts, in the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789; distinguishing each Year, and the Countries to which exported. Laid before the House of Commons.

	1787.		1788.		1789.	
	RUM.	MELASSES.	RUM.	MELASSES.	RUM.	MELASSES.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
Great Britain	2,251,346	—	3,646,667	—	3,396,653	—
Ireland	344,150	—	688,050	—	754,700	—
British Colonies	885,186	26,380	652,200	24,889	668,470	20,192
States of America	1,660,155	4,200	1,541,093	3,923	1,485,461	1,000
Foreign West Indies	345,750	—	222,512	—	143,443	—
Southern Parts of Europe	9,560	—	19,810	—	43,450	—
Africa	—	—	—	—	—	—
	5,496,147	30,580	6,770,332	28,812	6,492,177	21,192

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of SUGAR imported from the *British West-India* Islands into *Great Britain*, in the under-mentioned Years.—Also, an Account, for the same Periods, of the Quantity of RAW and REFINED SUGARS exported from *Great Britain*; distinguishing the Quantity exported to *Ireland*, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity exported to Foreign Parts.

Year	Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported.		Raw Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire.		Refined Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire.		Raw Sugar exported to Foreign Parts.		Refined Sugar exported to Foreign Parts.			
	Cwt.	grs. lbs.	Cwt.	grs. lbs.	Cwt.	grs. lbs.	Cwt.	grs. lbs.	Cwt.	grs. lbs.		
1772	—	—	1,786,045	0 1	172,269	2 5	27,623	3 23	1,391	2 26	3,677	0 0
1773	—	—	1,762,387	3 15	184,252	2 17	23,771	3 17	2,397	1 2	5,772	9 0
1774	—	—	2,015,911	1 15	211,304	1 25	28,139	3 25	11,950	0 2	5,949	0 17
1775	—	—	2,002,224	3 8	255,686	2 16	23,034	3 26	89,325	3 12	46,755	3 22
1787	—	—	1,926,121	0 3	196,616	3 20	24,261	2 0	2,779	1 16	52,473	3 19
1788	—	—	2,065,700	0 12	138,681	3 19	17,150	3 9	6,575	0 20	58,250	2 6
1789	—	—	1,935,223	2 21	149,351	2 0	20,506	1 17	4,461	3 15	118,033	1 22
1790	—	—	1,882,005	0 17	127,104	4 3	13,968	1 17	15,011	2 15	105,892	2 4

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of *British* and Foreign Plantation SUGARS, imported into *North America*, in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and the *British* from the Foreign Sugars.

Years	British Plantation Sugar.		Foreign Plantation Sugar.	
	Cwt.	grs. lbs.	Cwt.	grs. lbs.
1769	49,672	0 0	45,437	0 0
1770	66,417	2 3	35,035	1 1
1771	47,870	0 0	21,466	0 0
1772	44,611	0 0	51,333	0 0

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of SUGARS, being *British* Plantation Produce, imported into *Great Britain* in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and each Island from whence imported.

	1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.	1787.	1788.	1789.	1790.
Antigua	Cwt. gr. lb. 11564 1 23	Cwt. gr. lb. 83965 1 20	Cwt. gr. lb. 235815 1 23	Cwt. gr. lb. 255861 1 26	Cwt. gr. lb. 254575 1 18	Cwt. gr. lb. 181813 2 0	Cwt. gr. lb. 144204 0 11	Cwt. gr. lb. 62022 1 26
Anguilla	—	—	—	1288 0 0	2129 2 16	3728 1 4	3 2 12	2156 2 18
Barbadoes	141341 1 3	110911 2 4	139564 1 3	70181 1 25	130242 0 16	110955 0 19	97389 2 24	113038 3 21
Dominica	10376 2 8	66705 1 5	51464 2 12	40683 1 21	28665 1 21	42640 1 24	24709 3 5	50036 0 23
Grenada	198362 2 5	202679 0 0	185542 0 10	199824 1 23	172880 0 9	193783 0 25	164338 3 9	191625 1 6
Jamaica	874560 1 20	1057958 0 23	947073 1 1	995387 2 18	824706 2 15	1124087 0 4	1236603 1 27	1185519 2 7
St. Kitt's	220716 2 14	110637 3 3	212267 0 15	206049 3 17	231397 2 12	187379 1 23	89755 1 23	113379 1 16
Nevis	63125 1 26	30369 1 20	68408 0 9	50288 0 10	72475 1 11	30050 1 4	28151 3 0	35467 3 1
Montserrat	58008 2 0	23776 0 21	47590 3 9	39327 2 9	35849 3 10	25113 0 13	25089 2 16	19186 3 24
St. Vincent's	55909 1 18	61084 0 18	65177 0 17	54071 2 16	64449 1 27	76735 2 24	81283 0 18	76747 2 1
Tortola	34660 0 3	30126 3 24	33962 3 4	38665 2 7	78749 1 6	24513 3 22	33704 0 23	29830 1 14
Tobago	13625 2 21	14153 3 17	27045 2 24	50385 2 4	—	—	—	—
Total	1786045 0 1	1762387 3 15	2015911 1 15	2002224 3 8	1926121 0 3	2065700 0 12	1915223 2 21	1882085 0 17

Average of the annual produce of the first period. | Average of the annual produce of the last period. | Increase in the last period.

Cwt. gr. lb. 3,891,642 1 0

Cwt. gr. lb. 1,495,262 0 0

Cwt. gr. lb. 60,620 0 0

Equal to about 4,040 Hogheads.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 14, 1790, to DECEMBER 13, 1791.

Christened { Males 9394 } Buried { Males 9577 } Increased in the Burials
 { Females 9102 } { Females 9183 } this Year 722.

Total Males and Females Christened 18496.—Total Males and Females Buried 18760.

Died under Two Years	6556	—Forty and Fifty	1766	A Hundred and Two	0
Between Two and Five	1878	—Fifty and Sixty	1654	A Hundred and Three	0
—Five and Ten	589	—Sixty and Seventy	1365	A Hundred and Four	2
—Ten and Twenty	636	—Seventy and Eighty	940	A Hundred and Five	0
—Twenty and Thirty	1332	—Eighty and Ninety	351	A Hundred and Seven	0
—Thirty and Forty	1641	—Ninety and a Hundred	50		

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.	
A Bortive and Still-born	681	Dropsy	869	B Broken Limbs	3
Abscess	21	Evil	4	Bruised	2
Aged	1078	Fever, malignant Fe-		Burnt	29
Ague	1	ver, Scarlet Fever,		Cramp	1
Apoplexy & Sudden	55	Flux		Drowned	93
Asthma and Phtisic	337	Spotted Fever, and		Excessive Drinking	6
Bed-ridden	11	Purples	2013	Executed	6
Bleeding	14	Fistula	5	Found Dead	7
Bloody Flux	0	French Pox	33	Fractured	2
Bursten and Rupture	17	Gout	53	Frighted	2
Cancer	46	Gravel, Strangury, and		Frozen	0
Chicken Pox	1	Stone	40	Killed by Falls and	
Childbed	160	Grief	9	several other Ac-	
Cholic, Gripes, twist-		Head-Ach	1	cidents	53
ing of the Guts	9	Headmouldshot, Hor-		Killed themselves	26
Cold	3	shoehead, and Wa-		Locked Jaw	1
Consumption	5090	ter in the Head	57	Murdered	2
Convulsions	4386	Jaundice	61	Overlaid	0
Cough and Hooping-		Imposthume	0	Poisoned	4
Cough	279	Inflammation	220	Scalded	3
Diabetes	0	Itch	0	Smothered	0
		Leprosy	0	Starved	2
		Lethargy	1	Suffocated	4
		Livergrown	3		
		Lunatick	52		
		Measles	156		
		Miscarriage	1		
		Mortification	229		
		Palsy	90		
		Pleurisy	14		
		Quinsy	6		
		Rash	0		
		Rheumatism	13		
		Rickets	1		
		Rising of the Lights	0		
		Scald Head	0		
		Scurvy	6		
		Small Pox	1747		
		Sore Throat	10		
		Sores and Ulcers	12		
		St. Anthony's Fire	2		
		Stoppage in the Sto-			
		mach	7		
		Suddenly	132		
		Surfeit	0		
		Swelling	1		
		Teeth	418		
		Thrush	38		
		Tympany	1		
		Vomiting and Loofe-			
		ness	1		
		Worms	8		
				Total	252

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry 37; of which number 6 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

108* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of January 1792.

		E X P O R T E D.		
1791.		BRITISH:	FOREIGN.	Bounties and
ENGLAND.		Quarters.	Quarters.	Drawbacks paid.
				£. s. d.
Wheat	- - -	31,008	15,187	} 7,168 19 4½ Bo. Drawbacks Nil.
D ^o Flour	- - -	19,968	11,834 <small>cwt. qrs. lbs.</small> 3 7	
Rye	- - -	2,343	1,185 <small>qrs.</small>	
Barley	- - -	2,390		
Malt	- - -	34,409		
Oats	- - -	13,686	957	
Oatmeal	- - -	569	69	
Beans	- - -	6,906	1,000	
Pease	- - -	5,388		
Indian Corn	- - -	-	1,246	
SCOTLAND.				} 754 8 10 Bo. Drawback Nil.
Wheat	- - -	-	2,079	
D ^o Flour	- - -	345		
Barley	- - -	4		
D ^o , hulled	- - -	145		
Malt	- - -	4,787		
Oats	- - -	918		
Oatmeal	- - -	160		
Groats	- - -	10		
Beans	- - -	370		
Pease	- - -	57		
Bear	- - -	473		
Biscuit	- - -	405		

		I M P O R T E D.		
ENGLAND.		Quarters.	Duties received,	
			£. s. d.	
Wheat	- - -	357,999 <small>cwt. qrs. lbs.</small>	} 15,561 18 0	
D ^o Flour	- - -	113,258 1 7 <small>qrs.</small>		
Rye	- - -	56,124		
Barley	- - -	43,718		
Oats	- - -	637,717		
Oatmeal	- - -	1,251		
Beans	- - -	12,615		
Pease	- - -	1,939		
Indian Corn	- - -	1,240		

I M P O R T E D.

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat - - -	72,798	} £. s. d. 3,248 3 5
D ^o Flour - - -	cwt. qrs. lbs. 1,517 3 25	
Rye - - - -	qrs. 254	
Barley - - -	17,417	
Oats - - - -	115,530	
Oatmeal - - -	27,040	
Oatmeal - - -	bolts. 9,015	
Beans - - - -	qrs. 127	
Peafe - - - -	45	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Winchester Bushel, for the Year 1791.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 10½	3 11	3 2½	2 3½	3 9½

N. B. The price of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1791.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

Month	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc	3 pr Ct. Confol.	1 pr Ct. Confol.	5 pr Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bon.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January	190	82 1/2	83	103 1/2	123	24 1/2	13 1/2	175 1/2	77 1/2	113	93 1/2	82 1/2	81 1/2	17 1/2	16	16
February	188 1/2	80 1/2	79 1/2	101 1/2	77 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	168	76	100	92 1/2	80 1/2	80 1/2	13 1/2	18	16
March	187 1/2	81 1/2	80 1/2	102 1/2	119 1/2	24 1/2	13 1/2	170	76 1/2	109	91 1/2	81 1/2	80 1/2	18 1/2	13	16
April	191 1/2	80 1/2	82 1/2	101 1/2	118 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	166 1/2	76	95	90 1/2	80 1/2	80 1/2	16 1/2	16	16
May	178 1/2	78	75 1/2	98 1/2	113 1/2	22 1/2	12 1/2	159	77	110	91 1/2	82 1/2	82 1/2	20	20	16
June	188 1/2	80 1/2	81 1/2	101 1/2	119 1/2	23 1/2	12 1/2	167 1/2	74 1/2	38	87 1/2	81 1/2	76 1/2	19	19	16
July	187 1/2	77 1/2	76 1/2	100 1/2	114	22 1/2	12 1/2	159 1/2	73 1/2	91	90 1/2	80 1/2	80 1/2	5 Par.	5 Par.	16
August	183 1/2	81 1/2	82 1/2	101 1/2	121	23 1/2	12 1/2	167 1/2	75 1/2	33	90 1/2	79 1/2	76 1/2	8	8	16
September	195 1/2	82 1/2	80 1/2	102 1/2	118 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	163 1/2	74 1/2	85	89 1/2	79 1/2	81 1/2	10	10	16
October	183 1/2	80 1/2	81 1/2	101 1/2	120	24 1/2	12 1/2	166 1/2	75 1/2	96	90 1/2	80 1/2	80 1/2	17	13	16
November	190 1/2	83 1/2	83 1/2	103 1/2	120	24 1/2	12 1/2	172 1/2	77 1/2	84	89 1/2	80 1/2	80 1/2	12	12	16
December	183 1/2	80 1/2	81 1/2	102 1/2	119 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	165 1/2	75 1/2	87	91 1/2	80 1/2	81 1/2	26	26	16
	204	90	89 1/2	107	122 1/2	26 1/2	13 1/2	186 1/2	83 1/2	116	97 1/2	80 1/2	88 1/2	20	20	16
	194 1/2	83 1/2	83 1/2	103 1/2	115 1/2	24 1/2	13 1/2	173 1/2	78 1/2	106	93 1/2	84 1/2	83 1/2	28	28	16
	204 1/2	90 1/2	89 1/2	105 1/2	118 1/2	25 1/2	13 1/2	195 1/2	83 1/2	117	97 1/2	90 1/2	89 1/2	28	28	16
	200 1/2	89 1/2	88 1/2	104 1/2	116 1/2	26 1/2	13 1/2	185 1/2	83 1/2	112	96 1/2	89 1/2	88 1/2	25	25	16
	203	80 1/2	89 1/2	104 1/2	118 1/2	26 1/2	12 1/2	194 1/2	81 1/2	117	96 1/2	87 1/2	88 1/2	23	23	16
	194 1/2	87 1/2	87 1/2	100 1/2	116 1/2	25 1/2	12 1/2	188 1/2	81 1/2	106	95 1/2	85 1/2	87 1/2	6	6	16
	196 1/2	87 1/2	88 1/2	101 1/2	118 1/2	25 1/2	12 1/2	193 1/2	82 1/2	109	96 1/2	87 1/2	88 1/2	12	12	17
	194 1/2	85 1/2	86 1/2	100 1/2	117 1/2	25 1/2	12 1/2	181 1/2	81 1/2	89	96 1/2	87 1/2	87 1/2	7	7	16
	200 1/2	89 1/2	89 1/2	103 1/2	120	26 1/2	12 1/2	187 1/2	84 1/2	94	96 1/2	88 1/2	89 1/2	16	16	17
	196 1/2	87 1/2	88 1/2	101 1/2	118 1/2	25 1/2	12 1/2	183 1/2	84 1/2	85	96 1/2	87 1/2	87 1/2	12	12	17

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 171

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER, for the Year 1791.

N. B.—The highest and lowest Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer stood in each Month is set down.

	Days.	Barometer.		Days.	Thermometer.
January	- { 20 24	- 28—13. 30—52.	—	{ 3 7	- 31. 51.
February	- { 5 18	- 30—48. 29—20.	—	{ 4 14	- 30. 54.
March	- { 9 26	- 30—65. 29—75.	—	{ 16 3	- 61. 27.
April	- { 16 21	- 30—07. 29—04.	—	{ 3 10	- 42. 58.
May	- { 8 13	- 30—30. 29—55.	—	{ 4 27	- 45. 62.
June	- { 7 16	- 30—20. 29—38.	—	{ 11 29	- 50. 74.
July	- { 11 15	- 29—42. 30—21.	—	{ 12 18	- 58. 70.
August	- { 20 28	- 30—50. 29—59.	—	{ 15 31	- 73. 55.
September	- { 4 16	- 29—47. 30—28.	—	{ 18 26	- 72. 48.
October	- { 21 28	- 28—85. 30—48.	—	{ 3 24	- 60. 36.
November	- { 7 18	- 30—18. 28—70.	—	{ 7 28	- 28. 51.
December	- { 4 17	- 28—89. 30—35.	—	{ 12 23	- 24. 45.

Principal

212 * ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791:

Principal Public Acts passed in the First Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

DEC. 29, 1790.

Land tax act.

Malt duty act.

Act for an additional duty on malt.

MARCH 23, 1791.

Mutiny act.

Marine mutiny act.

APRIL 11.

Act for an additional duty on sugar.

Militia pay and cloathing bill.

JUNE 6.

Act to settle an annuity on the duke of Clarence.

Act for new duties on receipts, bills of exchange, &c.

Act for new duties on game certificates.

Act to grant a compensation to the officers of the wine licence office, for the loss of their offices.

Act to prohibit the importation of silk crapes and tiffanies of Italy.

Act for new duties on tanned goat and sheep skins.

Act to allow the importation of seal skins, cured with foreign salt, for a limited time, free of duty.

Act to indemnify all persons concerned in carrying into execution an order of council, respecting the importation of salt-petre, &c.

Act to amend an act 28 George III. for regulating the trade between the British colonies and the United States of America.

Act for the better regulation and government of seamen employed in the coasting trade.

Act for establishing a court of civil judicature in Newfoundland.

Act for allowing a farther bounty on pilchards.

Act to render persons guilty of petty-larceny competent witnesses.

Act respecting the powers of the governor-general of Bengal.

JUNE 10.

Act for regulating the importation and exportation of corn.

Act to make farther provisions for the government of the province of Quebec.

Act to relieve Roman catholics from certain penalties and disabilities.

Act to amend the act for regulating the shipping of slaves.

Act to protect the oyster-fisheries.

Act for the better regulation of gaols.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1791.

N A V Y.

	DECEMBER 7, 1790.	£.	s.	d.
FOR 24,000 men, including 4,800 marines	—	1,248,000	0	0
	DECEMBER 13.			
Expences of the late armament	—	1,565,000	0	0
	MAY 16, 1791.			
Ordinary of the navy.	—	689,395	13	4
Extra navy	—	506,010	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£.	4,008,405	13 4
			<hr/>	

A R M Y.

	DECEMBER 13, 1790.	£.	s.	d.
Expences of the late armament	—	64,000	0	0
Provisions for the troops in the East and West Indies, in consequence thereof	—	41,000	0	0
	FEBRUARY 8, 1791.			
For 17,013 men, as guards and garrisons	—	570,499	11	2½
Forces in the plantations	—	329,544	10	0
Difference between the British and Irish establishments	—	8,487	10	7
Troops in the East Indies	—	11,435	12	10½
Recruiting land forces and contingencies	—	64,500	0	0
Full pay to supernumerary officers	—	15,551	14	5½
General and staff officers	—	6,409	8	0
Allowance to the pay-master-general, &c. &c.	—	63,276	5	8
	MARCH 29.			
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	—	155,287	5	5
Ditto of independent companies	—	10,000	0	0
Ditto horse guards	—	212	14	7
Ditto officers of British American forces	—	55,092	10	0
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	—	4,907	10	0
Officers late in the service of the States-general	—	3,161	10	10
Widows pensions	—	9,710	4	3
Chelsea pensioners	—	174,167	4	3½
Scotch roads and bridges	—	5,911	4	3

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	£.	s.	d.
Hessian subsidy	—	—	—
Extraordinaries	—	—	—
	36,093	15	0
	335,234	18	0
MAY 16.			
Augmentation of a corps of foot in New South Wales	2,754	5	8½
	<u>£. 1,967,237</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>1½</u>

ORDNANCE.

	£.	s.	d.
DEC. 13, 1790.			
Expences of the late armament	—	—	—
	151,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 8, 1791.			
Ordnance, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for	3,857	5	1
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1789	30,613	19	1
Ditto, sea service, ditto	25,278	12	0
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1790	2,159	4	5
Ditto, for 1791	381,769	18	3
	<u>£. 594,678</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>

MILITIA.

Pay and cloathing of the militia	—	£.	95,311	0	0
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MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 7, 1790.			
For paying off exchequer bills	—	—	—
	3,500,000	0	0
APRIL 18, 1791.			
American and East Florida sufferers	—	—	—
	324,124	6	1½
APRIL 19.			
For paying off exchequer bills	—	—	—
	3,000,000	0	0
Catwater harbour	—	—	—
	2,000	0	0
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia	—	—	—
	6,376	17	6
Ditto of New Brunswick	—	—	—
	4,400	0	0
Ditto of St. John's island	—	—	—
	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Cape Breton	—	—	—
	2,100	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	—	—	—
	1,182	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama islands	—	—	—
	4,180	0	0
Chief justice of the Bermuda islands	—	—	—
	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	—	—	—
	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales	—	—	—
	4,758	6	3½
APRIL 21.			
Somerfet house	—	—	—
	25,000	0	0

MAY

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MAY 12.		£.	s.	d.
Prosecution of offenders against the coin laws	—	1,565	0	3
Extraordinary expences of the mint	—	12,016	18	7½
African forts	—	13,000	0	0

MAY 19.		£.	s.	d.
To the prince of Wales, to discharge a debt for stone-masons work	—	3,500	0	0
To Mr. Cotton, for American sufferers	—	31,000	0	0
Ditto, to pay fees for receipts of money for compensation to the loyalists of Georgia	—	1,271	17	0
Ditto, to pay bills of exchange, &c.	—	775	18	8½
Purchase of hemp-seed for Canada	—	766	16	6
Arrears of contingencies due from the auditors office	—	4,237	4	1
Provisions for New South Wales	—	29,613	1	8
Convicts on the Thames	—	41,716	10	7
Ditto at Plymouth	—	10,849	1	6
Address money	—	67,948	12	10
Expences of Mr. Hastings's prosecution	—	14,153	3	9
Secretary of commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves	—	500	0	0
Board of land revenue	—	4,000	0	0
Secretary of commissioners for the American loyalists	—	3,600	0	0
Arrears of the salary of Mr. Johnston, formerly governor of North Carolina	—	2,018	19	2
Commissioners of American loyalists	—	24,000	0	0
Ditto of East Florida sufferers	—	5,100	0	0

MAY 21.		£.	s.	d.
For money issued out of the civil list for the duke of Clarence	—	34,210	9	0
To discharge the annuity due to the late duke of Cumberland	—	1,546	7	10
A claim of the sons of the late Bey of Algiers	—	6,762	19	0
		£. 7,191,294	16	4½

DEFICIENCY.

APRIL 19.		£.	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1790	—	207,728	3	1

Navy	—	4,008,405	13	4
Army	—	1,967,237	15	1½
Ordnance	—	594,678	18	10
Militia	—	95,311	0	0
Miscellaneous services	—	7,191,294	16	4½
Deficiency	—	207,728	3	1

£. 14,064,656 6 9½

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WAYS and MEANS for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1791.

	DECEMBER 9, 1790.			
Land Tax	—	—	2,000,000	0 0
	DECEMBER 16.			
Exchequer bills	—	—	1,833,000	0 0
Surplus of the consolidated fund on April 5	—	—	1,300,000	0 0
Malt duty	—	—	750,000	0 0
	APRIL 18, 1791.			
Surplus of the consolidated fund on April 5	—	—	303,221	9 ½
	APRIL 19.			
Part of interest on foreign secret-service money	—	—	4,026	6 0
	MAY 17.			
To be lent, without interest, by the bank	—	—	500,000	0 0
	MAY 19.			
Surplus of the consolidated fund	—	—	2,375,000	0 0
Profit in 50,000 lottery tickets, at 16 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	—	—	306,250	0 0
Exchequer bills	—	—	5,500,000	0 0
Surplus of hemp and flax bounty money	—	—	10,137	4 0
			<hr/>	
	Total Ways and Means	—	14,881,634	19 0 ½
	Total Supplies	—	14,064,656	6 9 ½
			<hr/>	
	Excess of Ways and Means	—	£. 816,978	12 3
			<hr/>	

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. *117

An ACCOUNT of the Net Produce of the Duties of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, between the 6th Day of January 1790, to the 5th Day of January 1791, both Days inclusive.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,784,974	0	1½
EXCISE	7,154,735	2	9½
STAMPS	1,332,530	13	3
INCIDENTS.			
Seizures, anno 1760	14,897	5	0½
Proffers, D°	624	1	2
Alum mine, D°	960	0	0
Compositions, D°	3	16	8
Alienation duty, D°	2,767	5	4
Fines and forfeitures, D°	40	0	0
Rent of a light-house, D°	6	13	4
Letter money, D°	196,000	0	0
6d. per lib. on pensions, 24th June 1721	44,440	0	0
1s. deduction on salaries, 5th April 1758	47,135	15	4
Houses and windows, 10th October 1766	360,651	17	9½
Houses, 5th April 1778	123,970	14	4½
Hawkers and Pedlars, 5th July 1710	4,169	1	8½
Hackney coaches, 1st August 1711	12,700	0	0
D°, 1784	15,000	0	0
First fruits of the Clergy	4,587	1	10½
Tenths of the Clergy	10,014	18	5
Male servants, anno 1785	88,929	7	0½
Female D°	28,464	5	10½
Four-wheel carriages, D°	141,055	15	0½
Two-wheel D°	29,803	3	1¼
Horses,	98,621	6	0½
Waggons,	14,596	11	4
Carts,	9,734	16	1¼
Shops,	6,142	18	8½
Male Servants, 1777 (arrears)	4	10	0
Consol. Letter Money, anno 1787	156,000	0	0
D°, Salt D°	389,417	19	1
Total of Incidents	1,800,739	3	5½
Total of Customs, Excise, Stamps, } and Incidents	14,072,978	9	7½

Exchequer,
21st March, 1791.

ROBERT JENNINGS.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the Session of Parliament, November 26th, 1790.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me to inform you, that the differences which had arisen between me and the court of Spain, have happily been brought to an amicable termination.

I have ordered copies of the declarations exchanged between my ambassador and the minister of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has since been concluded, to be laid before you.

The objects which I have proposed to myself in the whole of this transaction, have been to obtain a suitable reparation for the act of violence committed at Nootka, and to remove the grounds of similar disputes in future; as well as to secure to my subjects the exercise of their navigation, commerce, and fisheries in those parts of the world which were the subject of discussion.

The zeal and public spirit manifested by all ranks of my subjects, and the disposition and conduct of my allies, had left me no room to doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support; but no event could have afforded me so much satisfaction, as the attainment of the

objects which I had in view, without any actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

Since the last session of parliament a foundation has been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte; and I am now employing my mediation, in conjunction with my allies, for the purpose of negotiating a definitive treaty between those powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands, in whose situation I am necessarily concerned, from considerations of national interest, as well as from the engagements of treaties.

A separate peace has taken place between Russia and Sweden, but the war between the former of those powers and the Porte still continues. The principles on which I have hitherto acted, will make me always desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the accounts of the expences of the late armaments, and the estimates for the ensuing year, to be laid before you.

Painful as it is to me, at all times, to see any increase of the public burthens, I am persuaded you will agree with me in thinking that the
extent

extent of our preparations was dictated by a due regard to the existing circumstances; and that you will reflect with pleasure on so striking a proof of the advantages derived from the liberal supplies granted since the last peace for the naval service. I rely on your zeal and public spirit to make due provision for defraying the charges incurred by this armament, and for supporting the several branches of the public service on such a footing as the general situation of affairs may appear to require. You will at the same time, I am persuaded, shew your determination invariably to persevere in that system which has so effectually confirmed and maintained the public credit of the nation.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

You will have observed with concern the interruption which has taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian possessions, in consequence of the unprovoked attack on an ally of the British nation. The respectable state, however, of the forces under the direction of the government there, and the confidence in the British name, which the system prescribed by parliament has established among the native powers in India, afford the most favourable prospect of bringing the contest to a speedy and successful conclusion.

I think it necessary particularly to call your attention to the state of the province of Quebec, and to recommend it to you to consider of such regulations for its government, as the present circumstances and condition of the province may appear to require.

I am satisfied that I shall, on every occasion, receive the fullest proofs of your zealous and affection-

ate attachment, which cannot but afford me peculiar satisfaction, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the immediate sense of my people.

You may be assured that I desire nothing so much, on my part, as to cultivate an entire harmony and confidence between me and my parliament, for the purpose of preserving and transmitting to posterity the invaluable blessings of our free and excellent constitution, and of concurring with you in every measure which can maintain the advantages of our present situation, and promote and augment the prosperity and happiness of my faithful subjects.

The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled. December 1st, 1790.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us, Sir, to condole with your majesty on the loss your majesty and your royal family have sustained, by the death of his late royal highness the duke of Cumberland, whose many amiable qualities, as they had endeared him to the nation, cannot but excite universal regret for his untimely loss.

It is with the sincerest joy that we receive from your majesty the information of the differences which had subsisted between your majesty and the court of Spain, having been happily brought to an amicable termination; and at the same time that

we offer to your majesty our hearty congratulations on so happy and important an event, we beg leave to return your majesty our thanks, for having been graciously pleased to order copies of the declarations exchanged between your majesty's ambassador and the minister of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has since been concluded, to be laid before us.

We acknowledge, with the highest gratitude, your majesty's paternal care for the national honour, and for the interests of your people, manifested by your majesty, in having, in the whole of this transaction, made it your object to obtain a suitable reparation for the act of violence committed at Nootka, and to remove the grounds of similar disputes in future, as well as to secure to your majesty's subjects the exercise of their navigation, commerce, and fisheries, in those parts of the world which were the subject of discussion.

We are truly sensible of the approbation your majesty is graciously pleased to express of the zeal and public spirit manifested by all ranks of your majesty's subjects; and we learn, with sincere pleasure, that the disposition and conduct of your majesty's allies had left your majesty no room to doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support: but we most heartily unite with your majesty in declaring, that nothing could afford us so much satisfaction as the attainment of the objects which your majesty had in view, without any actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

We beg leave to assure your majesty of the sincere pleasure we feel in learning that a foundation has been laid for a pacification between

Austria and the Porte, and that your majesty is now employing your mediation, in conjunction with your allies, for the purpose of negotiating a definitive treaty between those powers, and of endeavouring to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands, in whose situation your majesty, in your great goodness, has been pleased to declare you are necessarily concerned, from considerations of national interest, as well as from the engagements of treaties; and we beg leave to assure your majesty of our hearty concurrence in the benevolent principles on which your majesty has hitherto acted, and in such measures as your majesty, in your wisdom, shall think proper to pursue for employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity.

Convinced as we are that the extent of the late preparations was dictated by a due regard to the existing circumstances, we reflect with the highest pleasure on so striking a proof of the advantages derived from the liberal supplies granted since the last peace, for the naval service; and we beg leave to assure your majesty of our utmost readiness to concur in making due provision for defraying the charges incurred by this armament, and for supporting the several branches of the public service, on such a footing as the general situation of affairs may appear to require, as well as for the invariable adherence to that system which has so effectually confirmed and maintained the public credit of the nation.

The interruption which has taken place in the tranquillity of our Indian possessions, in consequence of the unprovoked attack on an ally

of the British nation, has afforded us much concern; we reflect, however, with sincere satisfaction, on the respectable state of the British force under the direction of the government there, and on the confidence in the British name, which the system prescribed by parliament has established among the native powers in India, as affording the most favourable prospect of bringing the contest to a speedy and successful conclusion.

We beg leave to assure your majesty, that we shall bestow the most particular attention to the state of the province of Quebec; and to the consideration of such regulations for its government as the present circumstances and condition of the province may appear to require.

Conscious as we are of the inestimable blessings we enjoy under your majesty's mild and auspicious government, we beg leave with grateful hearts to assure your majesty of our most zealous and affectionate attachment, and of our firm reliance on your majesty's most gracious assurances of your desire to cultivate an entire harmony and confidence between yourself and your parliament, in which we shall ever most cordially unite, for the purpose of preserving and transmitting to posterity the invaluable blessings of our free and excellent constitution, and of concurring with your majesty in every measure which can maintain the advantages of our present situation, can promote and augment the prosperity and happiness of your majesty's subjects, or can evince the just and grateful sense we entertain of your majesty's paternal regard and watchful care for the rights, interests, and welfare of your faithful people.

To which address, his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

My Lords,

I return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. Your condolence on the loss I have sustained, by the death of my late brother the duke of Cumberland, is an additional proof of your attachment to my person and family.

Your congratulations on the amicable termination of the differences which had subsisted between me and the court of Spain, are extremely acceptable to me; and your concurrence with my wishes to cultivate the utmost harmony between me and my parliament, is an additional satisfaction to me, as affording the best grounded hopes of preserving inviolate our excellent constitution, and of course contributing essentially to the general prosperity of my subjects.

The humble Address of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, Dec. 2d, 1790.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble and hearty thanks, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We cannot omit taking the first opportunity to offer to your majesty our sincere condolence on the loss which your majesty has sustained, by the untimely death of your royal brother, the late duke of Cumberland.

It affords us the greatest satisfaction that the differences which had arisen

relative to a proposed Division of Canada, and to the Establishment of a Government in the divided Provinces.

George R.

HIS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint parliament, that it appears to his majesty, that it would be for the benefit of his majesty's subjects in his province of Quebec, that the same should be divided into two separate provinces, to be called the province of Upper Canada, and the province of Lower Canada; and that it is accordingly his majesty's intention so to divide the same, whenever his majesty shall be enabled, by act of parliament, to establish the necessary regulations for the government of the said provinces. His majesty therefore recommends this object to the consideration of parliament.

His majesty also recommends it to parliament to consider of such provisions as may be necessary to enable his majesty to make a permanent appropriation of lands in the said provinces, for the support and maintenance of a protestant clergy within the same, in proportion to such lands as have already been granted within the same by his majesty; and it is his majesty's desire that such provision may be made, with respect to all future grants of land within the said provinces respectively, as may best conduce to the same object, in proportion to such increase as may happen in the population and cultivation of the said provinces; and for this purpose his majesty consents that such provisions or regulations may be made by parliament, respecting all future grants of lands to be made by his majesty within the said provinces, as parliament shall think fit.

Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, March 28th, 1791, relative to an Augmentation of the Naval Force of the Kingdom.

George R.

HIS majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint parliament, that the endeavours which his majesty has used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte, having hitherto been unsuccessful, and the consequences which may arise from the farther progress of the war being highly important to the interests of his majesty and his allies, and to those of Europe in general, his majesty judges it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some farther augmentation of his naval force; and his majesty relies on the zeal and affection of parliament that it will be ready to make good such additional expence as may be incurred by these preparations, for the purpose of supporting the interests of his majesty's kingdom, and of contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity on a secure and lasting foundation.

Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, May 18th, 1791, relative to the Establishment of the younger Branches of the Royal Family.

George R.

HIS majesty, finding that the additional charges incurred on account of the establishment of the younger branches of his royal family, cannot be defrayed out of the monies applicable to the purposes of his majesty's civil government, is under the necessity of desiring the

the assistance of parliament for this purpose; and his majesty relies on the affection of parliament, that it will make such provision, as the circumstances may appear to them to require.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the Close of the Session, June 10th, 1791.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IN closing the present session of parliament, I cannot omit expressing my satisfaction in that zeal for the public interests with which you have applied yourselves to the consideration of the different objects which I recommended to your attention.

The measures which have been adopted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the last year, in such a manner as not to make any permanent addition to the public burthens, and the provisions which have been made for the good government and prosperity of my subjects in Canada, call for my particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my thanks for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies necessary for the public service, and for the proof of your affectionate attachment, in enabling me to provide for a part of the charges of the younger branches of my family, out of the consolidated fund.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am not yet enabled to inform you of the result of the steps which I have taken with a view to the re-

establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte: it is my earnest wish, that this important object may be effectuated in such a manner as may contribute to the preservation and maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe. I feel, with the greatest satisfaction, the confidence which you have reposed in me; and my constant endeavours will be directed to the pursuit of such measures as may appear to me best calculated to promote the interests and happiness of my people, which are inseparable from my own.

Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, January 20th, 1791.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I Have some pleasure in acquainting you, by the king's command, that the differences which had arisen between his majesty and the court of Spain have happily been brought to an amicable termination. Copies of the declarations exchanged between his majesty's ambassador and the minister of the Catholic King, and of the convention which has been since concluded, will be laid before you.

Had the honour of his majesty's crown, and the protection of the rights and interest of the empire, involved this kingdom in the calamities of war, the zeal manifested by all his subjects, and by none more than his loyal people of Ireland, had left him no doubt of the most vigorous and effectual support. It is a source of peculiar satisfaction to his majesty, that those objects have been accomplished without any actual

actual interruption of the blessings of peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you, fully relying upon your accustomed zeal to provide for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

I have also ordered an account of the extraordinary expences of government, which have been incurred during the negotiation with Spain, to be laid before you; and I trust you will find that the confidence you reposed in me has not been misplaced.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

Your disposition to facilitate the business of commerce, and to consult the ease of the merchants, will induce you to consider, and if possible to accomplish, during this session, such regulations as may tend to simplify the collection of the various articles of the public revenue.

Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, at the Close of the Session, May 5th, 1791.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

HIS majesty having directed an augmentation to be made of his naval forces, in order to add weight to his representations for the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte, has commanded me to communicate this circumstance to his parliament of Ireland, on whose zealous and affectionate attachment to the interests of his

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majesty's crown his majesty places the firmest reliance.

The unremitting application you have given to your parliamentary duties, enables me now to close the session, and to relieve you from any further attendance. And I have the king's direction to express his perfect satisfaction in the zeal and dispatch with which you have brought the public business to a conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His majesty directs me to thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the maintenance of the establishments, and the honourable support of his government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have observed, with peculiar satisfaction, the attention you have shewn to the interests of your country, by facilitating the business of the merchants in the payment of duties, by providing accommodations for the shipping and trade of the metropolis, and by extending the operation of national credit. The salutary provisions you have made to check the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, afford the strongest proof of your regard for the public welfare. Success in this desirable measure can alone be expected from your continued and well-directed efforts.

I therefore trust, that in your respective counties, you will particularly apply yourselves to give efficacy to the regulations you have adopted upon this subject. On my part, no endeavours shall be wanted

to

to enforce the execution of laws so judiciously calculated to preserve the healths and amend the morals of the people, and to advance the industry and prosperity of Ireland. To these objects my exertions are directed by his majesty's commands, and by every impulse of inclination and duty.

Letter of the Emperor of Germany to the King of the French; dated Vienna, December 14th, 1790.

YOUR majesty knows with what sincerity we wish to be in peace with all the world, but more particularly with our neighbours; and how much we are attached to your majesty, our ally, and the kingdom of France:—it is that attachment, which, in unison with our own inclination to consolidate the harmony existing between the German empire and the French nation, induces us, on our accession to the imperial throne, agreeably to the unanimous request of our electoral college, to lay before your majesty their prayer relative to your national assembly. During the month of August last the French assembly issued decrees, by which a number of the members of our empire, contrary to the tenor of public treaties, feel themselves very much injured, and the electoral college now *claim* redress for those grievances. It must be known to your majesty what has been stipulated by the peace of Munster, and by other subsequent treaties between our empire and the kingdom of France, with respect to certain places in Alsatia and Lorraine, ceded under the express and positive conditions that the rights of bishopricks, and the property of the

members of our empire, should be preserved inviolate and untouched. It would be injurious to the religion of the treaties of peace, which your illustrious nation will, no doubt, ever respect, to overturn the barriers established on those conditions: as to the jurisdiction not made over by the emperors our predecessors, and by the empire, to the kingdom of France, but appertaining to the supremacy of the emperor and the empire—your majesty knows that nobody has a right to transfer to a foreign nation a supreme title over possessions, which title belongs only to the emperor and the empire. The whole duly weighed and considered, according to the rules of law and equity, it appears that, by what the electoral college and the different members of the empire set forth, they are injured in their privileges, and their possessions; and it is in consequence that we recommend to your majesty that the decrees of the assembly do not extend to the empire and its members.

That all the orders of our empire may know how friendly the dispositions of your majesty are towards them, and how much the treaties existing between France and the German empire are respected, it is necessary that all the innovations which have taken place in consequence of the decrees of last August be forthwith done away, and matters put on the ancient footing—The equity of your majesty, and of the illustrious French nation, our very dear friend does not allow us to doubt but that the answer we solicit will be fully conformable to our desires; as soon as we shall have received it, we shall eagerly communicate it to all the orders of our empire, as a new evidence of the good
under-

understanding between us.—May
God preserve your majesty!

*Proclamation for the Discovery of the
Publishers of a certain seditious Pa-
per, circulated, on the 11th of July,
in the Town of Birmingham.*

George R.

WHEREAS it hath been re-
presented unto us, that on
the 11th day of this instant July, a
certain scandalous and seditious pa-
per was printed and published in the
town of Birmingham, and published
in the parts thereunto adjacent, in
our counties of Warwick and Wor-
cester, of the following tenor: " My
countrymen! the second year of
Gallic liberty is nearly expired.
At the commencement of the
third, on the 14th of this month,
it is devoutly to be wished that
every enemy to civil and religious
despotism would give his sanction
to the majestic common cause, by
a public celebration of the anni-
versary. Remember that, on the
14th of July, the Bastile, that
high altar and castle of despotism,
fell. Remember the enthusiasm,
peculiar to the cause of liberty,
with which it was attacked. Re-
member that generous humanity
that taught the oppressed, groan-
ing under the weight of insulted
rights, to save the lives of oppres-
sors. Extinguish the mean pre-
judices of nations, and let your
numbers be collected, and sent
as a free-will offering to the na-
tional assembly. But is it possible
to forget that your own parlia-
ment is venal! Your ministers
hypocritical! your clergy legal
oppressors! the reigning family
extravagant! the crown of a cer-

tain great personage becoming
every day too weighty for the
head that wears it, too weighty
for the people who gave it! Your
taxes partial and excessive—Your
representation a cruel insult upon
the sacred rights of property, re-
ligion, and freedom! But on the
14th of this month prove to the
political sycophants of the day
that you reverence the olive
branch, that you will sacrifice to
public tranquillity, till the ma-
jority shall exclaim, the peace of
slavery is worse than the war of
freedom. Of that moment let
tyrants beware!" We, therefore,
in order to bring to a speedy condign
punishment the publishers of the
paper aforesaid, and that practices
so highly dangerous to the public
tranquillity and welfare may here-
after be prevented, have thought fit,
by and with the advice of our coun-
cil, to publish this our royal pro-
clamation, hereby requiring and en-
joining all justices of the peace,
sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables,
and all other our loving subjects, to
be aiding and assisting to the utmost
of their power, in detecting, appre-
hending and bringing to justice the
publishers of the paper aforesaid:
and for the better detection of the
said publishers, we are graciously
pleased to promise, that if any per-
son shall discover any other person
or persons concerned in publishing
the printed paper aforesaid, by dis-
tributing the same, or otherwise, so
as the persons discovered may be
brought to justice for the same, such
discoverers shall have and receive as
a reward, upon conviction of such
offender or offenders, the sum of one
hundred pounds for each and every
such offender, and also our gracious
pardon, in case the person making such

such discovery shall himself be liable to be prosecuted for the same, except the person or persons so discovering be the author or authors of the paper aforesaid: and the commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of our exchequer are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the said rewards.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 27th day of July 1791, in the thirty-first year of our reign.

God save the King.

Letter of Instructions from M. Montmorin, Minister of France for Foreign Affairs, sent by Order of the King to all his Ministers at Foreign Courts, April 23d, 1791.

Sir,

THE king has charged me to inform you of his earnest desire that you make known his sentiments respecting the revolution and the French constitution to the court at which you reside. The same orders are transmitted to the ambassadors and ministers of France, at all the courts of Europe, to the end that no doubt may remain with regard to his majesty's intentions, his free acceptance of the new form of government, or his irrevocable oath to maintain it. His majesty convoked the states-general of his kingdom, and resolved in his council, that the commons should, in that assembly, have a number of deputies equal to those of the two other orders there existing. This act of provisional legislation, which the circumstances of the times did not allow to be more favourable, sufficiently announced his majesty's wish

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to restore to the nation all its rights.

The states-general met, and took the title of the national assembly; and in a short space of time, a constitution fit to secure the happiness of France, and of the monarch, took place of the ancient order of things, under which the apparent power of the kingdom only served to conceal the real power of the abuses of certain aristocratic bodies.

The national assembly, the form of a representative government, conjoined with an hereditary monarchy, the legislative body, was declared to be permanent; the choice of the ministers of public worship, of magistrates, and judges, was given to the people; the executive power was conferred on the king, the formation of laws on the legislative body, and the power of sanction on the monarch; the public force, both internal and external, was organized on the principles, and in conformity to the fundamental distinction of powers: such is the new constitution of the kingdom.

That which is called a revolution, is no more than the abrogation of numerous abuses, that have been accumulating for ages, through the errors of the people, or the power of the ministers, which was never the power of the king. Those abuses were no less prejudicial to the monarch than to the nation. Those abuses, authority, under happy reigns, had never ceased to attack, but without the power to destroy. They exist no longer. The nation, now the sovereign, has no citizens but such as are equal in rights; no despot but the law; no ministers but public ministers, and of those ministers, the king is the chief. Such is the French revolution.

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This

This revolution must naturally have for its enemies all those who, in the first moment of error, regret, on account of their private interest, the abuses of the ancient government. Hence the apparent division in the kingdom, which is daily becoming less; hence perhaps some severe laws and circumstances which time will correct: but the king, whose true power can never be distinct from that of the nation, who has no aim but the happiness of the people, and no authority but that which is delegated to him; the king has adopted, without hesitation, a happy constitution, which will at once regenerate his authority, the nation, and the monarchy. All his powers are preserved to him, except the dreadful power of making laws. He remains charged with the power of negotiating with foreign powers, with the care of defending the kingdom, and repelling its enemies; but the French nation will in future have no external enemies but its aggressors; no internal enemies but those who, still flattering themselves with vain hopes, believe that the will of twenty-four millions of men, restored to their natural rights, after having organized the kingdom in such a manner as to leave only the memory of ancient forms and abuses, is not an immoveable and irrevocable constitution.

The most dangerous of those enemies are they who affect to disseminate doubts of the intentions of the monarch. They are much to blame, or much deceived. They suppose themselves the only friends of the king, and they are the only enemies of royalty. They would have deprived the king of the love and the confidence of a great nation, if his principles and his probity had been

less known. What has the king not done to shew that he considered both the revolution and the French constitution as his titles to glory? After having accepted and sanctioned all the laws, he has neglected no means of causing them to be executed. Since the month of February, of the year preceding, he has promised in the midst of the national assembly to maintain them. He has taken an oath to do so in the midst of the general federation of the kingdom. Dignified by the title of the Restorer of French liberty, he will transmit to his son more than a crown—he will transmit a constitutional royalty.

The enemies of the constitution are constantly repeating that the king is not happy; as if it were possible for a king to enjoy any happiness but the happiness of his people. They say that his authority is lessened, as if authority founded on force, were not less powerful, and more precarious, than authority founded on law. They say that the king is not free—a calumny atrocious, if they suppose that his will must be constrained: absurd, if they take for a want of freedom the consent repeatedly expressed by his majesty to remain among the citizens of Paris; a consent that was due to their patriotism, even to their fears, but above all to their love.

Those calumnies, however, have reached foreign courts; they have been repeated there by Frenchmen, who are voluntary exiles from their country, instead of sharing its glory, and who, if they were not enemies, have deserted their station as citizens. The king, sir, charges you to defeat their intrigues and their projects. The same calumnies, while

while they spread the falsest ideas respecting the French revolution, have rendered the intentions of French travellers suspected by several nations; and the king expressly orders you to protect and defend them. Represent the French constitution in the same light as that in which the king views it; and leave no doubt of his intention to maintain it to the utmost of his power. By securing the liberty and the equality of the citizens, that constitution founds the national prosperity on the most immovable basis; it confirms the royal authority by the law; it prevents, by a glorious revolution, the revolution which the abuses of the old government would probably soon have effected by a dissolution of the empire; and finally, it will constitute the happiness of the king. To justify it, to defend it, and to consider it as the rule of your conduct, ought to be your first and most important duty.

I have frequently before communicated to you his majesty's sentiments on this head; but, after the information he has received of the opinion endeavoured to be established in foreign courts respecting what is passing in France, he has ordered me to make known the contents of this letter to the court at which you reside; and that it may be still more public, his majesty has ordered it to be printed.

MONTMORIN.

April 23, 1791.

Memoir, left by the French King, on his departure from Paris, and presented to the National Assembly of France, on Tuesday, June 21st, 1791.

WHILE the king had any hope of seeing order and happiness restored, by the means employed by the national assembly, and by his residence near the assembly, no sacrifice would have appeared to him too great, which might conduce to such an event; he would not even have mentioned his own personal deprivation of liberty, from the month of October 1789. But at present, when the result of every transaction is only the destruction of royalty, the violation of property, and the endangering of persons; when there is an entire anarchy through every part of the empire, without the least appearance of any authority sufficient to controul it; the king, after protesting against all the acts performed by him during his captivity, thinks it his duty to submit to the French nation the following account of his conduct.

In the month of July 1789, the king, he declares it upon his conscience, had no fear on coming amongst the Parisians. In the month of October of the same year, being advised of the conduct of some factious persons, he apprehended that his departure might afford them a pretence for somenting a civil war. All the world is informed of the impunity with which crimes were then committed. The king, yielding to the wish of the army of the Parisians, came with his family, and established his residence at the Thuilleries. No preparations had been made for his reception, and the king was so far from finding the accommodations to which he had been accustomed, that he was even without the comforts common to persons of any condition.

Notwithstanding every constraint, he thought it his duty, on the morn-

ing after his arrival, to assure the provinces of his intention to remain in Paris. A sacrifice still more difficult was reserved for him; he was compelled to part with his body guards, whose fidelity he had experienced: two had been massacred, and several wounded, while in obedience to the order which they had received not to fire. All the art of the factious was employed in misrepresenting the conduct of a faithful wife, who was then confirming all her former good conduct; it was even evident, that all their machinations were directed against the king himself. It was to the soldiers of the French guard and of the Parisian national guard that the custody of the king was committed, under the orders of the municipality of Paris.

The king thus saw himself a prisoner in his own state; for in what other condition could he be, who was forcibly surrounded by persons whom he suspected? It is not for the purpose of censuring the Parisian national guard, that I recal these circumstances, but for that of giving an exact statement of facts; on the contrary I do justice to their attachment, when they were not acted upon by factious persons.—The king convened the states-general; granted to the Tiers Etat a double representation; the union of the orders, the sacrifices of the 23d of June were all his work, but his cares were not understood. When the states-general gave themselves the name of the national assembly, it may be recollected how much influence the factious had upon several provinces, how many endeavours were used to overcome the principle, that the confirmation of the laws should be given in concert with the king.

The assembly ejected the king from the constitution, when they refused him the right of sanctioning the *constitutional laws*, and permitted themselves to arrange in that class those which they pleased, at the same time limiting the extent of his refusal, in any instance, to the third legislature. They voted him 25 millions per annum, a sum which was totally absorbed by the expences necessary to the dignity of his house. They left him the use of some domains under certain restrictions, depriving him of the patrimony of his ancestors; they were careful not to include in the list of his expences those for services done to himself, as if they could be separated from those rendered to the state.

Whoever observes the different traits of the administration, will perceive, that the king was excluded from it. He had no part in the completion of laws; his only privilege was to request the assembly to occupy themselves upon such and such subjects. As to the administration of justice, he could only execute the decrees of the judges, and appoint commissioners, whose power is much less considerable than that of the ancient attorney-general.

There remained one last prerogative, the most acceptable of the whole, that of pardoning criminals, and changing punishments: you took it from the king, and the juries are now authorized to interpret, according to their pleasure, the sense of the law. Thus is the royal majesty diminished, to which the people were accustomed to recur, as to one common centre of goodness and beneficence.

The societies of friends of the constitution are by much the strongest power,

power, and render void the actions of all others. The king was declared the head of the army; yet the whole conduct of it has been in the committees of the national assembly, without any participation: to the king was granted the right of nomination to certain places, but his choice has already met with opposition. He has been obliged to alter the duty of the general officers of the army, because his choice was not approved of by the clubs.

It is to these that the revolt of several regiments is to be imputed. When the army no longer respects its officers, it is the terror and the scourge of the state; the king has always thought that officers should be punished like the soldiers, and that these latter should have opportunities of promotion according to their merit.

As to foreign affairs, they have granted to the king the nomination of ambassadors, and the conduct of negotiations; but they have taken from him the right of making war. The right of making peace is entirely of another sort. What power would enter into a negotiation when they knew that the result must be subject to the revision of the national assembly? Independent of the necessity for a degree of secrecy, which it is impossible should be preserved in the deliberations of the assembly, no one will treat but with a person, who, without any intervention, is able to fulfil the contract that may be agreed upon.

With respect to the finances, the king had recognized, before the states-general, the right of the nation to grant subsidies; and, on the 23d of June, he granted every thing required from him upon this sub-

ject. On the 4th of February the king intreated the assembly to take the finances into their consideration, with which they somewhat slowly complied. But they have not yet formed an exact account of the receipt and expenditure; they have adopted hypothetical calculations; the ordinary contribution is in arrears, and the resource of twelve hundred millions of assignats is nearly perfected. Nothing is left to the king but barren nominations; he knows the difficulty of such a government; and, if it was possible that such a machine could go on without his immediate superintendance, his majesty would only have to regret, that he had not diminished the taxes, which he has always desired, and, but for the American war, should have effected.

The king was declared the head of the government of the kingdom, and he has been unable to change any thing without the consent of the assembly. The chiefs of the prevailing party have thrown out such a defiance to the agents of the king, and the punishment inflicted upon disobedience has excited such apprehensions, that these agents have remained without power.

The form of government is especially vicious in two respects. The assembly exceed the bounds of their power, in taking cognizance of the administration of justice, and of the interior parts of the kingdom; and exercises, by its committee of researches, the most barbarous of all despotisms.—Associations are established under the name of friends of the constitution, which are infinitely more dangerous than the ancient corporations. They deliberate upon all the functions of government,

vernment, and exercise a power of such preponderance, that all other bodies, without excepting the national assembly itself, can do nothing but by their order.

The king thinks it impossible to preserve such a government; and as a period approaches to the labours of the assembly, so do they lose their credit. The new regulations, instead of applying a balm to former wounds, on the contrary, increase the pain of them; the thousand journals and pamphlets of calumination, which are only the echoes of the clubs, perpetuate the disorder; and never has the assembly dared to remedy them—All this tends only to a metaphysical government, which is impossible in the execution.

Frenchmen! was it this that you intended in electing representatives? do you wish that the despotism of clubs should be substituted for the monarchy under which the kingdom has flourished for fourteen centuries? The love of Frenchmen for their king is reckoned amongst their virtues. I have had too affecting proofs of it to be able to forget it. The king would not offer this memoir but for the purpose of representing to his subjects the conduct of the factious. Persons torn away by the triumph of M. Neckar affected not to pronounce the name of the king: they pursued the archbishop of Paris; one of the king's couriers was arrested, and the letters which he carried opened.

During this time the assembly appeared to insult the king; he determined to carry to Paris the words of peace: upon the journey, it was resolved that no cry of *Vive le Roi!* should be permitted. There was even a motion for carrying off the

king, and putting the queen in a convent, which was loudly applauded.

In the night of the 4th and 5th, when it was proposed to the assembly to repair to the king, it was replied, that, consistently with its dignity, it could not remove: from this moment the scenes of horror were renewed. On the arrival of the king at Paris, an innocent person was massacred almost within his sight, in the garden of the Thuilleries; all those who had declared against religion and the throne, received the honours of a triumph. At the fœderation, upon the 14th of July, the national assembly declared, that the king was the chief, by which it was implied that they had a right to name another. His family was placed in a situation apart from himself, but that was, notwithstanding, one of the happiest moments they have passed since their stay in Paris.

Afterwards, when, on account of their religion, Mesdames the king's aunts wished to go to Rome, their journey was opposed, in contradiction to the declaration of rights, and both at Bellevue and Arnay le Duc, the orders of the assembly were necessary to release them, those of the king being despised. In the tumult factiously excited at Vincennes, the persons who remained about the king were ill-treated, and they carried their audacity so far, as to break the arms of those persons in the presence of his majesty.

Upon the king's recovery from his illness, he intended to go to St. Cloud, and was detained. In vain did M. de la Fayette endeavour to protect his departure; the faithful servants who surrounded his majesty were torn away from him, and he was taken

taken back to his prison. Afterwards he was obliged to dismiss his confessor, to approve the letter of the minister to the foreign powers, and to attend mass performed by the new rector of St. Germain Auxerrois. Thus perceiving the impossibility of averting any public evil by his influence, it is natural that he should seek a place of safety for himself.

Frenchmen! and you the good inhabitants of Paris, distrust the suggestions of the factious; return to your king, who will always be your friend; your holy religion shall be respected; your government placed upon a permanent footing; and liberty established upon a secure basis.

— LOUIS.

Paris, June 20, 1791.

P. S. The king forbids his ministers to sign any order in his name, until they shall have received his further directions; and enjoins the keeper of the seals to send them to him, when required on his behalf.

LOUIS.

*Address of the National Assembly
to the French.*

A Great attempt has just been made.—The national assembly was near the conclusion of its long labours; the constitution was almost completed; the tumults of the revolution were about to cease; and the enemies of the public welfare were eager, therefore, to sacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king and the royal family were carried off on the 21st instant.

[When this part of the address was read in the assembly, there was a murmur of discontent. The reporter of the committee of constitution, in which it had been drawn up, requested, that it might be heard with attention, and the members became silent.]

But your representatives will triumph over all these obstacles. They estimate calmly the extent of the duties imposed upon them. The public liberty shall be maintained; conspirators and slaves shall understand the intrepidity of the French nation; and we make, in the name of the nation, a solemn engagement to revenge the law or die.

France would be free, and she shall be so. It is intended to make the revolution recede, but it recedes not. It is the effect of your will, and nothing can retard its progress. It is necessary to accommodate the law to the state of the kingdom. The king, in the constitution, exercises the power of the royal sanction over the decrees of the legislative body; he is the head of the executive power, and, in that capacity, causes the laws to be executed by his minister.

If he quits his post, although carried off against his will, the representatives of the nation have the right to supply his place. The national assembly has in consequence decreed, that the seal of state, and the signature of the ministers of justice, shall be added to all its decrees, to give them the character of laws. As no order of the king would have been executed without being countersigned by the responsible minister, nothing was necessary but a simple delegation by the assembly to authorize him to sign the orders, and those only issued by them. In this circumstance

cumstance they have been directed by the constitutional law relative to a regency, which authorises them to perform the functions of the executive power until the nomination of a regent.

By these measures your representatives have ensured order in the interior part of the kingdom; and, to repulse any attack from without, they add to the army a reinforcement of three hundred thousand national guards.

The citizens then have, on all sides, the means of security. Let them not be overcome by their surprize; the constituent assembly is upon its duty; the constituted powers are in activity; the citizens of Paris, the national guards, whose patriotism and fidelity are above all praise, watch round your representatives; the active citizens throughout the kingdom are in arms, and France may wait for its enemies.

Are they to fear the consequences of a writing forced, before his departure, from a seduced king? It is difficult to conceive the ignorance and blindness that have dictated this writing, which may deserve to be further discussed hereafter; at present, your representatives content themselves with examining some particular sentiments.

The national assembly has made a solemn proclamation of political truths, and of rights, the acknowledgment of which will one day produce the happiness of the human race: to engage them to renounce this declaration of rights, the theory of slavery itself has been presented to them.

Frenchmen! we have no fear in recalling to your memories the famous day of the 23d of July 1789; that day, on which the chief of the

executive power, the first public functionary of the nation, dared to dictate his absolute will to your representatives, charged by your orders to form a constitution. The national assembly lamented the disorders committed on the 5th of October, and ordered the prosecution of the persons guilty of them; but, because it was difficult to discover some rioters amongst such a multitude of people, they are said to have approved all their crimes. The nation is, however, more just. It has not reproached Louis XVI. with the violences that have occurred under his reign and those of his ancestors.

They are not afraid to call to your recollection the federation of July. What are the statements of the persons who have dictated the letter of the king with respect to this august act? That the first public functionary was obliged to put himself at the head of the representatives of the nation. In the midst of the deputies of all the kingdom, he took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution. If the king does not hereafter declare, that his good faith has been surprized by seditious persons, he has, of course, announced *his own perjury* to the whole world! Is it necessary to go through the fatigue of answering the other reproaches of this letter?

The king is said to have experienced some inconveniences in his residence in Paris, and not to have found the same pleasures as formerly; by which it is implied, no doubt, that a nation ought to regenerate itself without any agitation, without disturbing for an instant the pleasures and the indulgencies of courts. As to the addresses of congratulation and adherence to your decrees,

decrees, these, say they, are the works of the factious.—Yes—no doubt, of *twenty-six millions of the factious!*

It was necessary to re-constitute all powers, because all the powers were corrupted, and because the alarming debts accumulated by the despotism and the disorders of government would have overwhelmed the nation. But does not royalty exist for the people? And if a great nation obliges itself to maintain it, is it not solely because it is believed to be useful? The constitution has left to the king this glorious prerogative, and has confirmed to him the only authority which he should desire to exercise. Would not your representatives have been culpable, if they had sacrificed twenty-six millions to the interest of one man?

The labour of citizens supports the power of the state: but the maxim of absolute power is to consider the public contributions as a debt paid to despotism. The national assembly has regulated its expenses with the strictest justice; they thought themselves bound, when acting in the name of the nation, to act munificently; and when they were to determine what part of the public contributions should be allowed to the first functionary, thirty millions were allotted for him and the royal family; but this is represented as a trifling sum!

The decrees upon the subject of peace and war have taken from the king and his ministers the power of sacrificing the people to the caprices of courts, and the definitive ratification of treaties is reserved to the representatives of the nation. The loss of a prerogative is complained of. What prerogative? That of not being obliged to consult the national will, when the blood and the

fortunes of citizens were to be sacrificed. Who can know the wish and the interests of the nation better than the legislative body? It is wished to make war with impunity. But have we not had, under the ancient government, sufficient experience of the terrible effects produced by the ambition of ministers?

We are accused of having despoiled the king, in forming the judicial power; as if he, king of a great nation, ought to appear in the administration of justice for any other purpose than that of causing the law to be observed, and its judgments executed. It is wished that he should have the right of granting pardons and changing punishments; but does not all the world know, how such a right would be exercised, and upon whom the benefit of it would fall? The king could not exercise it by himself, and after having prohibited royal despotism, it was very natural to prohibit that of the ministers.

The necessity of circumstances has sometimes obliged the national assembly to meddle, contrary to its inclination, in the affairs of administration. But ought it not to act, when the government remained its blameable inertness? Is it, therefore, necessary to say, that neither the king nor the ministers have the confidence of the nation?

The societies of friends of the constitution have supported the revolution; they are more necessary than ever, and some persons presume to say that they govern the administrative bodies and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies.

Frenchmen! all the powers are organized; all the public functionaries are at their posts; the national assembly

assembly watches over the safety of the state: may you be firm and tranquil! One danger alone threatens us. You have to guard against the suspension of your labours; against delay in the payment of duties; against any inflammatory measures which commence in anarchies, and end in civil war. It is to these dangers that the national assembly calls the attention of citizens. In this crisis, all private animosities and private interests should disappear.

Those who would preserve their liberty should shew that tranquil firmness which appals tyrants. May the factious, who hope to see every thing overturned, find order maintained, and the constitution confirmed, and rendered more dear to Frenchmen, by the attacks made upon it! The capital may be an example to the rest of France. The departure of the king excited no disorders there, but, to the confusion of the malevolent, the utmost tranquillity prevails in it. To reduce the territory of this empire to the yoke, it will be necessary to destroy the whole nation. Despotism, if it pleases, may make such an attempt. It will either fail, or at the conclusion of its triumphs will find only ruins.

Declaration of Two Hundred and Ninety Members of the National Assembly, on the Decrees which suspend the Exercise of the Royal Authority, and which infringe the Inviolability of the sacred Person of the King.

THREE months have scarcely elapsed since we made known to our constituents our pro-

test against a decree which attacked the sacred principle of the inviolability of the king's person. The zeal with which many of us defended it on the 28th of March, the conviction which we entertained that it was impossible to violate with impunity this principle essential to all monarchy, are too well justified by the events now passing under our eyes, and by the afflicting spectacle of which we have the misfortune to be witnesses.

The king and royal family conducted as prisoners, by authority of the decrees of the national assembly; the monarch guarded in his palace by soldiers not subject to his command; the royal family entrusted to a guard, over whom the king has no authority; the right of directing the education of the presumptive heir of the throne taken from him, who, both as king and father, had the most undoubted right, and the strongest obligation to direct it; in fine, the monarch, whose inviolability was declared even by the new constitution, suspended by a decree from the exercise of his authority; such is the afflicting spectacle which we and all good Frenchmen lament, and such are the too obvious and too fatal consequences of the first violation offered to this sacred and fundamental principle.

And we ought to declare it, since we are compelled to refer to the decree itself against which we have protested, and against which we still protest, there is none of those measures which was not before proscribed by the constitution, in the name of which they are taken. The sacred person of the king was declared inviolable; one only case was provided for, in which, contrary

trary to all the principles essential to monarchy, it was supposed that that inviolability might cease. This case has not yet occurred; nevertheless the king is dragged as a criminal into his own capital, and made a prisoner in his own palace, and despoiled of his prerogative. Thus, after having infringed the inviolability of the king by decrees, they annul them in order completely to destroy it.

Amidst these outrages offered to the monarch, to his august family, and in their persons to the whole nation, what has become of the monarchy? The decrees of the national assembly have centered in themselves all the royal power; the seal of the state has been deposited on their table; their decrees are rendered executory without requiring sanction; they give direct orders to all the agents of the executive power; they impose, in their own name, oaths, in which Frenchmen do not even find the name of their king; commissioners, who have received their mission from them alone, traverse the provinces, in order to receive oaths which they exact, and give directions to the army: thus, at the moment at which the inviolability of the king was annulled, monarchy was destroyed; the appearance of royalty no longer exists; a republican interjtm has succeeded.

Far from all those who are acquainted with the rules of our conduct (and, we believe, there are very few Frenchmen who do not rightly appreciate them), be the idea that we could concur in such decrees. They are not less unpleasant to our feelings, than repugnant to our principles. Never have we more severely felt the rigour of our duty,

never have we more lamented the fatal consequences resulting from the mission with which we were charged, than when forced to remain witnesses of acts, which we regarded as culpable attempts; while those who are most frequently our organ, became timid, for the first time condemned themselves to silence, that they might not involve the sacred cause in that unpopularity which had so ingeniously been contrived to be thrown upon our party. Without doubt, if we were guided by common rules; if we yielded to the horror with which we are inspired by the idea of being thought to approve, by our presence, decrees, to which we were so averse, we would fly without delay, we would without hesitation separate from an assembly, who have been able to break through principles which they had been forced to preserve. But in circumstances so singular, we can neither assume common rules nor our own sentiments as the basis of our own conduct. When our principles, our honour, may perhaps, in the opinion of a great number, command us to fly, motives more imperious still exact of us a painful sacrifice, that of remaining in a situation where we preserve the hope of preventing greater evils.

Before the calamitous epoch at which we are arrived, we could at least grasp the shadow of monarchy; we fought upon the wreck; the hope of preserving it justified our conduct. Now, the last blow has been given to monarchy. But, in addition to that great motive, we were bound by other duties. The monarch exists; he is captive; it is for the king's sake that we ought to rally our strength; it is for him, it is for his family, it is for the precious blood

blood of the Bourbons, that we ought to remain at the post, where we can watch over a deposit so valuable.

We will discharge then this sacred duty, which alone ought to be our excuse, and we will prove, that in our hearts the monarch and the monarchy can never be separated.

But whilst we comply with this urgent duty, let not our constituents expect to hear us come forward upon any other subject. While one interest alone can force us to sit along with those who have raised a misshapen republic upon the ruins of monarchy, it is to that interest alone that we are wholly devoted. From this moment the most profound silence, on whatever shall not relate to this subject, shall express our deep regret, and at the same time our invariable opposition to every decree that may be passed.

In fine, let our constituents turn their attention to the circumstances in which we are placed; if, in the present moment, we have not gloried in marching foremost in the path of honour, our situation now imposes, both with regard to them and to ourselves, duties which do not go beyond ourselves alone. For us, honour lies no longer in the common track; our sole object is the triumph of the sacred cause with which we are entrusted; but let them be beforehand assured, that whatever may happen, to whatever extremities we may be reduced, nothing will efface from our hearts the unalterable oath which irrevocably binds us to the monarch and to monarchy.

After these considerations, which appear to us founded upon the true interest of the nation, and the eternal advantage of the people, essen-

tially dependant on monarchy, we declare to all Frenchmen—

That after having constantly opposed all those decrees, which in attacking royalty, either in its essence, or in its privileges, have prepared the people to receive without indignation, as without examination, the anti-monarchical principles to which these days of anarchy have given birth;

That after having defended till the last moment, monarchy undermined in its foundations;

That after having seen its ruin completed by the deliberations of the national assembly; for to attack the person of the monarch, is to annihilate monarchy; to suspend monarchy, is in fine to destroy it;

Nothing can authorize us any longer to take part in deliberations, which become in our eyes guilty of a crime which we do not wish to participate;

But that monarchy existing always in the person of the monarch, from whom it is inseparable; that his misfortunes and those of his august family imposing upon us a stronger obligation always to surround his august person, and defend it from the application of principles which we condemn; we place our sole honour, our most sacred duty in defending, with all our might—with all our zeal for the blood of the Bourbons—with all our attachment to the principles which our constituents have transmitted to us, the interests of the king and the royal family, and their indefeasible rights.

That in consequence we shall continue, from the sole motive of not abandoning the interests of the person of the king and the royal family, to assist at the deliberations of the national assembly; but being neither

neither able to avow their principles, or recognize the legality of their decrees, we will henceforth take no part in deliberations which have not for their object the only interest which it now remains for us to defend.

Paris, June 29, 1791.

Letter from the King of France to the National Assembly, announcing his Resolution to accept the Constitution, Sept. 13th, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I Have attentively examined the constitutional act, which you have presented for my acceptance. I accept it, and I will cause it to be executed. At another time this declaration might have been sufficient; at present, I owe to the interests of the nation, I owe to myself, to make known my motives.

I have always, since the commencement of my reign, desired the reform of abuses, and in all acts of government wished to be regulated by the public opinion. Different causes, among the number of which may be placed the situation of the finances at my accession to the throne, and the immense expences of an honourable war, long supported without increase of imposts, had established a considerable disproportion between the revenues and the expences of the state.

Impressed with the extent of the evil, I not only sought the means of remedying it; I felt the necessity of preventing its return. I had formed the project of securing the happiness of the people upon a fixed basis, and of subjecting to invariable rules, even that authority of which I was the depositary. I called on the nation to execute it.

In the course of the events of the revolution, my intentions never varied. When, after having reformed the ancient institutions, you began to substitute in their stead the first essays of your work, I did not delay the expression of my sentiments till the whole constitution should be known to me; I favoured the establishment of its parts, even before I could judge of the whole: and if the disorders which have attended almost all the periods of the revolution have too frequently afflicted my heart, I hoped that the law would resume force in the hands of new authority; and that, in approaching the term of your labours, every day would restore to it that respect, without which the people can neither enjoy liberty nor happiness. I long persevered in this hope, and my resolution only changed at the moment when it abandoned me. Let every one recollect the moment at which I quitted Paris; the constitution was almost completed; and, nevertheless, the authority of the laws seemed to diminish every day; opinion, far from concentrating in any point, was divided into a number of parts. The most violent counsels alone seemed to be received with any degree of favour; the licentiousness of the press was at its height; no power was respected.

I could no longer perceive the expression of the general will in the laws which I every where saw without force, and without effect. Then, I am bound to declare, if you had presented to me the constitution, I should have been of opinion that the interest of the people (the constant and uniform rule of my conduct) did not permit me to accept it. I had only one sentiment; I formed only one project; I wished to get at a distance from all parties,

parties, and learn what was the real wish of the nation.

The motives by which I was then influenced no longer subsist; since that time, the inconveniences and the evils of which I complained have struck you in the same light as me; you have testified an inclination to re-establish order; you have directed your attention to the want of discipline in the army; you have perceived the necessity of restraining the abuses of the press. The revision of your labour has placed among the number of laws of regulation, several articles which had been presented to me as constitutional. You have established legal forms, for the revision of those which you have placed in the constitution. In fine, the sentiments of the people appear to me no longer doubtful: I have seen them at once displayed, both by their adherence to your work, and by their attachment to the support of monarchical government.

I accept then the constitution; I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it against attacks from abroad, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts in my power.

I declare that, informed of the adherence of the great body of the people to the constitution, I renounce the right of concurring, which I had claimed in this work; and being responsible only to the nation, no other, while I renounce it, can have a right to complain.

I should, however, deviate from truth, if I affirmed that I perceived in the means of execution and administration, all the energy necessary to give motion and preserve the unity in all the parts of so vast an empire; but since opinions are divided upon

these subjects, I consent that the decision should be left to the test of experience alone. While I shall have faithfully employed all the means which are entrusted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whose interest alone ought to be the supreme rule, will explain itself by those means which the constitution has reserved to it.

But, gentlemen, for the security of liberty, for the stability of the constitution, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, there are interests in which an imperious duty prescribes to us to combine all our efforts: these interests are, respect for the laws, the re-establishment of order, and the re-union of all citizens. Now that the constitution is definitively settled, Frenchmen living under the same laws ought to know no enemies but those who infringe them.—Discord and anarchy; these are our common enemies.

I will oppose them with all my power: it is necessary that you and your successors second me with energy; that the law, without attempting to establish its dominion over the mind, may equally protect all those who submit their conduct to it; that those, whom the fears of persecution and of trouble have driven from their country, be assured of finding at their return safety and tranquillity. And, in order to extinguish the animosities, to soften the evils which a great revolution always brings in its train; that law may, from this day, begin to receive a full execution, let us consent to an oblivion of the past. Let those accusations, and prosecutions which originate solely from the events of the revolution, be for ever extinguished in a general reconciliation. I speak not of those who have been
solely

solely influenced by their attachment to me—can you regard them as criminals? As to those who by excesses, in which I can perceive personal injuries have brought upon them the prosecution of the laws, I shall prove in my conduct to them, that I am the king of all the French.

LOUIS.

P. S.—I was of opinion, gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my solemn acceptance of the constitution in the very place in which it was formed—of consequence I shall come in person to-morrow at noon to the national assembly.

The French King's Speech to the National Assembly on accepting the Constitution, Sept. 14th, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I Come to consecrate, in this place, solemnly, the acceptance which I have given to the constitutional act: in consequence of which I swear to be faithful to the nation and the law; and to employ all the power that is delegated to me, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituting national assembly. May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-establishment of peace and union, and become the surety of the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the empire!

The President's Answer.

Abuses of long standing, which had triumphed over the good intentions of the best of kings, and had incessantly braved the authority of the throne, oppressed France. Depository of the wishes, rights, and power of the people, the na-

tional assembly has established, by the destruction of all abuses, the solid basis of public prosperity. Sire, what this assembly has decreed, the national concurrence has ratified. The most complete execution of its decrees, in all parts of the empire, attests the general sentiment. It deranges the weak plans of those whom discontent has too long kept blind to their own interests. It promises to your majesty, that your wishes for the welfare of the French will no longer be vain.

The national assembly has nothing more to desire, on this ever-memorable day, in which you complete, in its bosom, by the most solemn engagement, the acceptation of constitutional royalty. It is the attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which confers upon you that pure and respectable title to the most desirable crown in the universe; and what secures it to you, Sire, is the unperishable authority of a constitution freely decreed. It is the invincible force of a people who feel themselves worthy of liberty. *It is the necessity which so great a nation will ever have for an hereditary monarchy.*

When your majesty, waiting from experience the lights which are about to be spread by the practical result of the constitution, promises to maintain it at home, and to defend it from external attack, the nation, trusting to the justice of its rights, and the consciousness of its force and courage, as well as to the loyalty of your co-operation, can entertain no apprehension of alarms from without, and is about to contribute, by its tranquil confidence, to the speedy success of its internal government.

What ought to be great in your eyes,

eyes, Sire, dear to our hearts; and what will appear with lustre in our history, is, the epoch of this regeneration; which gives to France, citizens—to the French, a country—to you, as king, a new title of grandeur and of glory—and to you again, as a man, a new source of enjoyment, and new sensations of happiness.

The French King's Speech to the National Assembly, the last Day of their Meeting, Sept. 30, 1791.

Gentlemen,

YOU have terminated your labours: the constitution is finished. I have promised to maintain it, to cause it to be executed: it is proclaimed by my orders. This constitution, from which France expects prosperity, this fruit of your cares and watchings will be your recompence. France, made happy by your labours, will communicate her happiness to you.

Return to your homes, and tell your fellow-citizens, that the happiness of the French ever has been, and ever will be, the object of my wishes; that I neither have, nor can have, any interest but the general interest; that my prosperity consists only in the public prosperity; that I shall exert all the powers entrusted to me to give efficacy to the new system; that I shall communicate it to foreign courts; and shall, in every thing, prove that I can be happy only in the happiness of the people of France.

Tell them also, that the revolution has reached its period, and that the firmest support of the constitution is now the re-establishment of order. You, gentlemen, in your several departments, will undoubt-

edly second my vigilance and care with all your power; you will give the first example of submission to the laws which you have framed; in the capacity of private citizens you will display the same character as in the capacity of public men; and the people, seeing their legislators exercise, in private life, those virtues which they have proclaimed in the national assembly, will imitate them, discharge with pleasure the obligations which the public interest imposes on them, and cheerfully pay the taxes decreed by their representatives. It is by this happy union of sentiments, of wishes, and exertions, that the constitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it guarantees.

The President's Answer.

Sire,

The adherence of the nation ratifies the constitution decreed by the assembly of the representatives of the nation. Your majesty has accepted it, and the public joy is a sufficient testimony of the general assent. It promises that your majesty will no longer desire in vain the happiness of the French. On this memorable day, the national assembly has nothing more to wish; and the nation, by its tranquil confidence, is ready to co-operate for the prompt success of its internal government.

*Proclamation of the French King,
Sept. 30, 1791.*

Louis,

By the grace of God, and by the constitutional law of the state,
king

king of the French. To all citizens—greeting :

I Have accepted the constitution : I will use all my endeavours to maintain it, and cause it to be executed.

The revolution is completed. It is time that the re-establishment of order should give to the constitution the support which is still most necessary ; it is time to fix the opinion of Europe on the destiny of France, and to shew that the French are worthy to be free.

But my vigilance and my cares ought still to be seconded by the concurrence of all the friends of their country, and of liberty. It is by submission to the laws ; it is by abjuring the spirit of party, and all the passions which accompany it ; it is by a happy union of sentiments, of wishes, and of endeavours, that the constitution will be confirmed, and that the nation will enjoy all the advantages which it secures.

Let every idea of intolerance then be abandoned for ever ; let the rash desire of independence no longer be confounded with the love of liberty ; let those pernicious terms of reproach, with which it has been attempted to inflame the people, be irrevocably banished ; let religious opinions no longer be a source of periecutation and animosity ; let all who observe the laws be at liberty to adopt that form of worship to which they are attached ; and let no party give offence to those who may follow opinions different from their own from motives of conscience. But it is not sufficient to shun those excesses to which you might be carried by a spirit of violence ; you must likewise fulfil the

obligations which are imposed by the public interest. One of the first, one of the most essential, is the payment of the contributions established by your representatives. It is for the observance of engagements, which national honour has rendered sacred, for the internal tranquillity of the state, for its external security ; it is for the stability of the constitution itself that I remind you of this indispensable duty.

Citizens, armed for the maintenance of the law ; national guards never forget that it is to protect the safety of persons and of property, the collection of public contributions, the circulation of grain and provisions, that the arms which you bear have been delivered into your hands. It belongs to you to feel that justice and mutual utility demand, that, between the inhabitants of the same empire, abundance should be applied to the aid of indigence ; and that it is the duty of public force to promote the advancement of commerce, as the means of remedying the intemperance of seasons, correcting the inequality of harvest, uniting together all the parts of the kingdom, and establishing a community of the various productions of their soil and industry.

And you, whom the people have chosen to watch over their interests ; you also, on whom they have conferred the formidable power of determining on the property, the honour, and the life of citizens ; you too, whom they have instituted to adjust their differences, members of the different administrative bodies, judges of tribunals, justices of peace, I recommend to you to be impressed with the importance and dignity of your functions. Fulfil them with

zeal, with courage, with impartiality. Labour with me to restore peace, and the government of laws; and, by thus securing the happiness of the nation, prepare for the return of those whose absence has only proceeded from the fear of disorder and violence.

And all you, who from different motives have quitted your country, your king invites you to return to your fellow-citizens; he invites you to yield to the public wish and the national interest. Return with confidence under the security of law; and this honourable return, at the moment when the constitution is definitively settled, will render more easy, and more expeditious, the re-establishment of order and of tranquillity.

And you, French people, a nation illustrious for so many ages, show yourselves magnanimous and generous at the moment when your liberty is confirmed; resume your happy character; let your moderation and wisdom revive among you the security which the disturbances of the revolution had banished; and let your king henceforth enjoy without inquietude, and without molestation, those testimonies of attachment and fidelity which can alone secure his happiness.

Done at Paris,
28th Sept. 1791.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(and underneath) DE LESSART.

The French King's Speech to the new National Assembly, Oct. 7th, 1791.

Gentlemen,
ASSEMBLED by virtue of the constitution to exercise the powers which it delegates to you,

you will undoubtedly consider as among your first duties, to facilitate the operations of government; to confirm public credit; to add, if possible, to the security of the engagements of the nation; to shew that liberty and peace are compatible; and, finally, to attach the people to their new laws, by convincing them that those laws are for their good.

Your experience of the effects of the new order of things, in the several departments from which you come, will enable you to judge of what may be yet wanting to bring it to perfection, and make it easy for you to devise the most proper means of giving the necessary force and activity to the administration.

For my own part, called by the constitution to examine, as first representative of the people, and for their interest, the laws presented for my sanction, and charged with causing them to be executed, it is also my duty to propose to you such objects as I think ought to be taken into consideration in the course of your session.

You will see the propriety of fixing your immediate attention on the state of the finances, and you will feel the importance of establishing an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure, of accelerating the assessment and the collection of taxes, of introducing an invariable order into all parts of this vast administration, and thus providing at once for the support of the state, and the relief of the people.

The civil laws will also demand your care, which you will have to render conformable to the principles of the constitution. You will also have to simplify the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, and

render

render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

You will perceive the necessity of establishing a system of national education, and of giving a solid basis to public spirit. You will encourage commerce and industry, the progress of which has so great an influence on the agriculture and the wealth of the kingdom; and you will endeavour to make permanent dispositions for affording work and relief to the indigent.

I shall make known my firm desire for the re-establishment of order and discipline in the army; and I shall neglect no means that may contribute to restore confidence among all who compose it, and to put it into a condition to secure the defence of the realm. If the laws in this respect are insufficient, I shall make known to you the measures that seem to me to be proper, and you will decide upon them.

I shall in the same manner communicate my sentiments respecting the navy, that important part of the public force destined to protect trade and the colonies.

We shall not, I hope, be troubled with any attack from abroad. I have taken, from the moment that I accepted the constitution, and I still continue to take, the steps that appear to me the most proper to fix the opinion of foreign powers in our favour, and to maintain with them the good intelligence and harmony that ought to secure to us the continuance of peace. I expect the best effects from them; but this expectation does not prevent me from pursuing, with activity, those measures of precaution, which prudence ought to dictate.

Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal may

produce the effects expected from them, it is necessary that constant harmony and unalterable confidence should reign between the legislative body and the king. The enemies of our repose are but too studious to disunite us: the love of our country must therefore rally us, and the public interest render us inseparable. Thus the public force will be exerted without obstruction, the administration will not be harassed by vain alarms, the property and the religion of every man will be equally protected, and no pretext will be left for any person to live at a distance from a country where the laws are in vigour, and men's rights respected.

It is on this great basis of order that the stability of the constitution, the success of your labours, the safety of the empire, the source of all kinds of prosperity, must depend. It is to this, gentlemen, that we all ought to turn our thoughts in this moment with the utmost possible vigour; and this is the object that I recommend the most particularly to your zeal, and to your patriotism.

The President's Answer.

Sire,

Your presence in the midst of us is a new engagement which you take to the country. A constitution is established, and with it the liberty of Frenchmen. You are to cherish it as a citizen; as king you are to maintain and to defend it. Instead of violating, it ascertains your power; it has given you, as friends, all those who formerly called themselves only your subjects. [*Here a burst of applause.*] You have reason to be beloved by Frenchmen. You

said

said so, sire, some days ago, in this temple of the country, *and we also have reason to love you.* [*The plaudits are reiterated.*] The constitution has made you the first monarch in the world. Your love for it places your majesty in the rank of the most favoured kings, and the welfare of the people will make you the most happy. May our mutual union make us speedily feel its happy influence, purify legislation, re-confirm public credit, overthrow anarchy! Such is our duty, such are our wishes, such are your's, sire. Such are our hopes, and the benediction of Frenchmen will be our reward.

Message from the National Assembly to the French King, Nov. 29, 1791.

Sire,

SCARCE had the national assembly cast their eyes on the situation of the kingdom, when they perceived that the troubles which still agitate it have their source in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants.

Their audacity is supported by German princes, who misunderstand the treaties signed between them and France, and who affect to forget, that to the empire of France they are indebted for the treaty of Westphalia, which guarantees their rights and their safety.

Their hostile preparations—their menaces of invasion call for armaments that absorb immense sums, which the nation would have joyfully paid to its creditors.

To you, sire, it belongs to put a stop to them; to hold to foreign powers the language that becomes the king of the French. Tell them that wherever preparations against

France are permitted, France can see only enemies; that we will religiously observe the oath to make no conquests; that we offer them the good neighbourhood, the inviolable amity of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we insist upon our own being respected. Tell them, that if the German princes continue to favour preparations directed against the French, we will carry among them not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what may be the consequences of the alarm of nations.

For two years that French patriots have been persecuted on the frontiers, and that rebels have there found succour, what ambassador has spoken in your name as he ought? Not one.

If the French who were driven from the country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes had assembled in arms on the frontiers, if they had been protected by the princes of Germany, sire, we appeal to you, what would have been the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth? Would he have suffered such assemblies? Would he have permitted succours given by princes who, under the name of allies, act like enemies? What he would have done for his authority, let your majesty do for the safety of the empire, and the maintaining of the constitution.

Sire, your interest, your dignity, the insulted greatness of the nation, all dictate a language very different from that of your ambassadors. The nation expects from you energetic declarations to the circles of the Upper and the Lower Rhine, the electors of Treves and Mentz, and the bishop of Spire.

Let

Let them be such as that the hordes of the emigrants may be instantly dispersed. Prescribe an early period, beyond which no dilatory answer shall be received. Let your declaration be supported by movements of the forces entrusted to you, and let the nation know who are its friends and its enemies. In this splendid measure we shall recognize the defender of the constitution.

You will thus assure the tranquillity of the empire inseparable from your own; and you will hasten those days of national prosperity, in which peace shall restore order and the reign of the laws, in which your happiness shall be united with that of all the French,

Answer.

I will take the message of the national assembly into the most serious consideration. You know that I have omitted nothing to secure the public tranquillity at home, to maintain the constitution, and to make it respected abroad.

The French King's Speech to the National Assembly, December 14th, 1791.

Gentlemen,

I Have taken your message of the 29th of last month into deep consideration. In a case that involves the honour of the French people, and the safety of the empire, I thought it my duty to be myself the bearer of my answer. The nation cannot but applaud these communications between its elected and its hereditary representative.

You have invited me to take decisive measures to effect a cessation

of those external assemblages which keep up a hateful disquiet and fermentation in the bosom of France, render necessary an oppressive augmentation of expence, and expose liberty to greater danger than an open and declared war. You desire me to cause declarations to be made to the neighbouring princes, who, contrary to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the principles of the law of nations, protect these assemblages, that the nation can no longer suffer this want of respect and these sources of hostility. Finally, you have given me to understand, that one general sensation is felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French is for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience.

Gentlemen, I have long thought that our circumstances required great circumspection in our measures; that having scarcely yet weathered the agitations and storms of a revolution, and in the first essays of an infant constitution no means ought to be neglected that could preserve France from the incalculable evils of war. These means I have always employed. On the one hand, I have done every thing to recal the French emigrants to the bosom of their country, and induce them to submit to the new laws which a great majority of the nation has adopted; on the other, I have employed amicable intimations; I have caused formal and precise requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their rash designs.

The emperor has done all that was to be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dis-

* L 3 persing

persing all assemblages within his states.

My measures at the courts of other princes, have not been equally successful. Unaccommodating answers have been given to my requisitions.

These unjust refusals call for resolutions of another kind. The nation has manifested its wishes. You have collected them, you have weighed the consequences, you have expressed them to me by your message. Gentlemen, you have not anticipated me. As the representative of the people, I felt the people's injuries; and I am now to inform you of the resolution I have taken to pursue—demand [*Repeated applausus, and shouts of Vive le Roi!*]

I have caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he do not put a stop, within his states, to all collecting of troops, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the French, who have taken refuge in them, I shall no longer consider him but as the enemy of France. [*Shouts of applause, and Vive le Roi!*]—I shall cause similar declarations to be made to all who favour assemblages contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and, by securing to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I shall have a right to demand a speedy and complete reparation of all the injuries which Frenchmen may have received.

I have written to the emperor, to engage him to continue his good offices, and, if necessary, to exert his authority, as head of the empire, to avert the evils which the obstinacy of certain members of the Germanic body, if longer persisted in, cannot

fail to occasion. Much may undoubtedly be expected from his interposition, supported by the powerful influence of his example; but I am, at the same time, making the most proper military arrangements to render these declarations respected.

And if they shall not be attended to, then, gentlemen, it will only remain for me to propose war; war, which a people, who have solemnly renounced conquest, never make without necessity; but which a nation, happy and free, know how to undertake when their safety—when honour commands.

But in courageously abandoning ourselves to this resolution, let us hasten to employ the only means that can assure its success. Turn your attention, gentlemen, to the state of the finances; confirm the national credit; watch over the public fortune. Let your deliberations, ever governed by constitutional principles, take a grand, high-spirited, and authoritative course, the only one that befits the legislators of a great empire. Let the constituted powers respect themselves to be respected; let them give mutual aid instead of mutual impediment; and finally, let it appear that they are distinct, but not enemies [*applauded*]. It is time to shew to foreign nations that the French people, their representatives, and their king, are but one [*applauded*].

It is to this union, and also, let us never forget it, to the respect we pay to the government of other states, that the safety, consequence, and glory of the empire are attached.

For my part, gentlemen, it would be in vain to endeavour to surround with disgusts the exercise of the authority

thority which is confided to me. In the face of all France I declare, that nothing shall weary my perseverance, or relax my efforts. It shall not be owing to me that the law does not become the protection of the citizen and the terror of the disturber [*shouts of Vive le Roi!*] I shall faithfully preserve the deposit of the constitution, and no consideration shall determine me to suffer it to be infringed [*applauded*]. If men, who only wish for discord, and trouble, take occasion from this firmness, to calumniate my intentions, I will not stoop to repel by words the injurious suspicions they may choose to circulate. Those who watch the progress of government with an attentive, but unprejudiced eye, must see that I never depart from the constitutional line, and that I feel profoundly how glorious it is to be the king of a free people.

The President's Answer.

The assembly will take the propositions you have made into consideration, and communicate their determination by a message.

Address from the National Assembly to the French King, December 16th, 1791.

Sire,

IN the language which your majesty held to them, the national assembly recognize the king of the French. They feel more than ever how truly valuable is harmony between the two branches of power, and a frank communication, which is the desire, and will be the welfare of the empire.

Sire, the assembly will fix all their

attention on the decisive measures which you announce; and if the order of events shall make these measures necessary, they promise to your majesty more true glory than was ever obtained by any of your ancestors.

They promise to Europe the new spectacle of a great people, outraged in its immutable love of liberty, arming the hand in union with the heart.

Every where the French people will oppose themselves with vigour to their enemies, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the Ocean. All French shall be covered by the regards of a good king, and by soldiers intrepid and faithful.

Behold, sire, the family that deserve your heart—these are your friends—these will never abandon you:

All the representatives of the French people—all true Frenchmen guarantee, on their heads, the defence of a constitution to which they have sworn, and of a beloved king whose throne they have established.

Authentic Copy of the French Constitution, as revised and amended by the National Assembly, and presented to the King on the 3d of September, 1791.

N.B. Alterations and additions are marked with turned commas.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF A MAN AND A CITIZEN.

THE representatives of the people of France formed into a national assembly, considering that

ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of men, are the sole causes of public grievances; and of the corruption of government, have resolved to exhibit, in a solemn declaration, the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, ever present to all the members of the SOCIAL BODY, may incessantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the end that the acts of the legislative power, and those of the executive power, being every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect; in order also that the remonstrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on simple and incontestible principles, may ever tend to maintain the constitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reason the national assembly recognizes and declares, in the presence, and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of a man and a citizen:

I. All men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: social distinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man: these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance against oppression.

III. The principle of *sovereignty* resides essentially in the nation: no body of men, no individual, can exercise an authority that does not emanate expressly from that source.

IV. *Liberty* consists in the power of doing every thing, except that which is hurtful to another: hence, the exercise of the natural rights of every man has no other bounds than

those that are necessary to ensure to the other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights: those bounds can be determined by the law only.

V. The law has a right to forbid those actions alone, that are hurtful to society. Whatever is not forbidden by the law, cannot be hindered; and no person can be constrained to do that which the law ordaineth not.

VI. The law is the expression of the general will: all the citizens have a right to concur personally, or by their representatives, to the formation of the law: it ought to be the same for all, whether it protect, or whether it punish. All citizens being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admissible to dignities, places, and public offices, according to their capacity, and without any other distinction but that of their virtue, and their talents.

VII. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law hath prescribed. Those who solicit, dispatch, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; but every citizen that is summoned or seized in virtue of the law, ought to obey instantly—he becomes culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to establish such punishments only as are strictly and evidently necessary; and no person can be punished, but in virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till such time as he has been declared guilty, if it shall be deemed absolutely necessary to arrest a man, every kind of rigour employed,

ployed, not necessary to secure his person, ought to be severely repressed by the law.

X. No person shall be molested for his opinions, even such as are religious, provided that the manifestation of those opinions does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The free communication of thought, and of opinion, is one of the most precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments; subject, however, to answer for the abuse of that liberty, in cases determined by the law.

XII. The guarantee of the rights of man and citizens involves a necessity of *public force*: this force is then instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular utility of those to whom it is confided,

XIII. For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expenses of administration, a common contribution is indispensably necessary: this contribution should be equally divided amongst all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himself, or by his representatives, to decide concerning the necessity of the public contribution; to consent to it freely, to look after the employment of it; to determine the quantity, the distribution, the collection, and duration.

XV. The society has a right to demand from every public agent, an account of his administration.

XVI. Every society, in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, nor the separation of powers determined, has *no constitution*.

XVII. Property being a right

inviolable and sacred, no person can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, shall evidently require it, and on condition of a just and previous indemnification.

The national assembly, meaning to establish the French constitution on the principles recognized and declared above, abolishes irrevocably, the institutions that injure liberty and equality of rights.

There is no longer nobility, or peerage, or hereditary distinctions, or distinction of orders, or feudal system, or patrimonial jurisdictions, or any of the titles, denominations, and prerogatives derived from them, or any orders of chivalry, corporations, or decorations, for which proofs of nobility were required, "or which supposed distinctions of birth," or any other superiority, but that of public officers in the exercise of their functions.

No public office is any longer saleable or hereditary.

There is no longer, for any part of the nation, or for any individual, any privilege or exception to the common right of all Frenchmen.

There is no longer wardenships, or corporations of professions, arts, and crafts.

The law no longer recognizes religious vows, or any other engagements contrary to natural rights, or to the constitution.

PART I.

FUNDAMENTAL DISPOSITIONS
GUARANTEED BY THE CON-
STITUTION.

The constitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

1. That

1. That all citizens are admissible to places and employments without any distinction, but that of ability and virtue.

2. That all contributions shall be divided equally among all the citizens, in proportion to their means.

3. That the same crimes shall be subject to the same punishments, without any distinction of persons.

The constitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

Liberty to all men of going, staying, or departing, without being arrested, or detained, but according to the forms prescribed by the constitution ;

Liberty to all men of speaking, writing, printing, and " publishing their thoughts, without having their writings subjected to any examination or inspection before " publication ;" and of exercising the religious worship to which they are attached ;

Liberty to all citizens of assembling peaceably, and without arms, complying with the laws of police ;

Liberty of addressing to all constitutional authorities petitions individually signed ;

" The legislative power cannot " make laws that infringe or impede the exercise of the natural " and civil rights recorded in this " part, and guaranteed by the constitution ;" but as liberty consists only in the power of doing whatever neither injures the rights of another, nor the public safety, the law may establish penalties against acts, which, attacking either the public safety, or the rights of others, would be injurious to society.

The constitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a just

and previous indemnity for that of which public necessity, legally proved, shall require the sacrifice.

The effects destined to the expenses of worship, and services of public utility, belong to the nation, and are at all times at its disposal.

" The nation preserves and as-
" sures the alienations which have
" been, and which shall be made,
" according to the forms established
" by the law.

" The citizens have a right to
" elect or chuse the ministers of
" their worship."

A general establishment of *public succours* shall be created and organized, " for bringing up deserted
" children, relieving the infirm
" poor, and providing work for the
" poor not infirm, who cannot pro-
" cure it for themselves."

A *public instruction* shall be created and organized, common to all citizens, gratuitous with regard to those parts of tuition indispensable for all men, and of which the establishment shall be gradually distributed in a proportion combined with the division of the kingdom.

" National festivals shall be es-
" tablished to preserve the memory
" of the French revolution, main-
" tain fraternity among the citi-
" zens, and attach them to their
" country and the laws."

" A code of civil law shall be
" framed for the common use of the
" whole kingdom."

PART II.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE KING-
DOM, AND THE STATE OF CITI-
ZENS.

1. " The kingdom is one and
" indi-

indivisible;" its territory, for administration, is distributed into eighty-three departments, each department into districts, each district into cantons.

II. Those are French citizens,

Who are born in France, of a French father;

Who having been born in France of a foreign father, have fixed their residence in the kingdom;

Who having been born in a foreign country, of a French father, have returned to settle in France, and have taken the civic oath;

In fine, who having been born in a foreign country, being descended in whatever degree from a Frenchman or Frenchwoman, who have left their country from religious motives, come to reside in France, and take the civic oath.

III. Those who being born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, reside in France, become French citizens after five years of continued residence in the kingdom; if, besides, they have acquired real property, or married a Frenchwoman, or formed "an agricultural or" commercial establishment, and if they have taken the civic oath.

IV. The legislative power may, for important considerations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other condition, than that of residing in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is:—*I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, with all my power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituting national assembly, during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791.*

VI. The right of French citizenship is lost,

1st, By naturalization in a foreign country;

2dly, By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the person condemned be not reinstated;

3dly, By a sentence of contumacy, provided the sentence be not annulled;

4thly. By initiation into any foreign order or body, which supposes either proofs of nobility, "or distinctions of birth, or requires religious vows."

VII. "The law considers marriage only as a civil contract. The legislative power will establish for all inhabitants, without distinction, the mode by which births, marriages, and deaths shall be proved; and it will point out the public officers who shall receive and preserve the authentications of them."

VIII. French citizens regarded in the light of those local relations which arise out of their association in cities, and in certain divisions of territory, in the country, form the *communities*.

The legislative power may fix the extent of boundary of each community.

IX. The citizens who compose each community, have the right of choosing, from time to time, according to the forms prescribed by the law, those among them who, under the name of *municipal officers*, are charged with the management of the particular affairs of the community.

To the municipal officers may be delegated certain functions relative to the general interest of the state.

X. The rules which the municipal officers shall be bound to follow in the exercise, both of the municipal functions, and of those which shall

shall be delegated to them for the general interest, shall be fixed by the laws.

PART III.

OF THE PUBLIC POWERS.

I. The sovereignty is one, indivisible, "inalienable, and imprescriptible," and it belongs to the nation: no section of the people, or individual, can arrogate the exercise of it.

II. The nation, from which alone flow all powers, cannot exercise them but by delegation.

The French constitution is representative: the representatives are the legislative body and the king.

III. The legislative power is delegated to a national assembly, composed of temporary representatives, freely chosen by the people, to be exercised by this assembly, with the sanction of the king, in manner afterwards determined.

IV. The government is monarchical: the executive power is delegated to the king, to be exercised under his authority, by ministers and other responsible agents, in manner afterwards determined.

V. The judicial power is delegated to judges chosen from time to time by the people.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Legislative National Assembly.

I. The national assembly, forming the legislative body, is permanent, and consists of one chamber only.

II. It shall be formed by new elections, every two years.

Each period of two years shall form one legislature.

III. "The dispositions of the preceding article shall not take place, with respect to the next legislative body, whose powers shall cease on the last day of April, 1793."

IV. The renewal of the legislative body shall be matter of full right.

V. The legislative body cannot be dissolved by the king.

SECT. I. *Number of Representatives.* *—Basis of Representation.*

I. The number of representatives to the legislative body shall be seven hundred and forty-five, on account of the eighty-three departments of which the kingdom is composed; and independent of those that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The representatives shall be distributed among the eighty-three departments, according to the three proportions of land, of population, and the contribution direct.

III. Of the seven hundred and forty-five representatives two hundred and forty-seven are attached to the land.—Of these each department shall nominate three, except the department of Paris, which shall nominate only one.

IV. Two hundred and forty-nine representatives are attributed to the population. The total mass of the active population of the kingdom is divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts, and each department nominates as many of the deputies as it contains parts of the population.

Two hundred and forty-nine representatives are attached to the contribution direct. The sum total of the direct contribution of the kingdom,

kingdom, is likewise divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts; and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

SECT. II. *Primary Assemblies—Nomination of Electors.*

I. In order to form a legislative national assembly, the active citizens shall convene, in primary assemblies, every two years, in the cities and cantons.

“ The primary assemblies shall
 “ meet of full right on the
 “ first Sunday of March, if not
 “ convoked sooner by the
 “ public officers appointed to
 “ do so by the law.”

II. To be an active citizen, it is necessary,

To be a Frenchman, or to have become a Frenchman;

To have attained twenty-five years complete;

To have resided in the city of the canton from the time determined by the law;

To pay in any part of the kingdom a direct contribution, at least equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance;

Not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a servant receiving wages;

To be inscribed in the municipality of the place of his residence in the list of the national guards;

To have taken the civic oath.

III. Every six years the legislative body shall fix the *minimum* and the *maximum* of the value of a day's labour; and the administrators of the departments shall determine the rate for each district.

IV. None shall exercise the rights of an active citizen in more

than one place, or employ another as his substitute.

V. Those shall be excluded from the rights of an active citizen who are in a state of accusation.—Those who, after having been in a state of failure, or bankruptcy, proved by authentic documents, shall not produce a general discharge from their creditors.

VI. The primary assemblies shall name electors in the proportion of the number of active citizens residing in the city or canton;

There shall be named one elector to the assembly, or not, according as there shall happen to be present a hundred active citizens;

There shall be named two, when there shall be present from one hundred fifty-one to two hundred and fifty, and so on in this proportion.

No man can be nominated an elector, if, to the qualifications of an active citizen, he do not join the following; *viz.* “ In towns of
 “ above six thousand souls, that of
 “ having property, or the usufruct
 “ of property, valued on the rolls of
 “ contribution at a rent equal to the
 “ local value of two hundred days
 “ labour; or of being the renter of
 “ a habitation valued on the same
 “ rolls at a rent equal to the value
 “ of one hundred and fifty days la-
 “ bour;

“ In towns of less than six thou-
 “ sand souls, that of having pro-
 “ perty, or the usufruct of property,
 “ valued on the rolls of contribu-
 “ tion at a rent equal to the value
 “ of a hundred and fifty days la-
 “ bour; or being the renter of a
 “ habitation valued on the same
 “ rolls at a rent equal to the value
 “ of a hundred days labour;

“ And in the country, that of
 “ having property, or the usufruct
 “ of

“ of property, valued on the rolls of
 “ contribution at a rent equal to
 “ the local value of a hundred and
 “ fifty days labour; or of being *fer-*
 “ *mier* or *metayer* of property, va-
 “ lued on the same rolls at a rent
 “ equal to the value of four hundred
 “ days labour. With respect to
 “ those, who may rent and have the
 “ usufruct of one part, and be rent-
 “ ers, *fermiers*, or *metayers* of ano-
 “ ther, their means and their con-
 “ tribution shall be estimated in the
 “ gross, to the proportion neces-
 “ sary for establishing their eligibi-
 “ lity.”

SECT. III. Electoral Assemblies. —
Nomination of Representatives.

I. The electors named in each department shall convene, in order to chuse the number of representatives, whose nomination shall belong to their department, and a number of substitutes equal to the third of the representatives.

“ The assemblies shall be held of
 “ full right, on the last Sunday of
 “ March, if they have not been be-
 “ fore convoked by the public of-
 “ ficers appointed to do so by the
 “ law.”

II. The representatives and substitutes shall be chosen by an absolute majority of votes;—“ and can-
 “ not be chosen but from among
 “ the active citizens of the depart-
 “ ment.”

III. All active citizens, whatever be their state, profession, or contribution, may be chosen representatives of the nation.

IV. Excepting, nevertheless, the ministers and other agents of the executive power, holding their places at pleasure; the commissioners of the national treasury; the collectors and receivers of the direct contributions;

those who superintend the collection and management of the indirect contributions, “ and national domains;” and those who, under whatever denomination, hold any employment in the civil or military household of the king.

“ Excepting also the administra-
 “ tors, sub-administrators, munici-
 “ pal officers, and commanders of
 “ the national guards.”

V. The exercise of the judicial functions, shall be incompatible with the functions of a representative of the nation during the whole duration of the legislature.

“ The judges shall be replaced
 “ by their substitutes, and the king
 “ shall provide by brevets of com-
 “ mission for replacing his commis-
 “ sioners in the courts of justice.”

VI. The members of the legislative body may be re-elected to a subsequent legislature, but not till after an interval of one legislature.

VII. The representatives named in the departments, shall not be representatives of a particular department, but of the whole nation; and no instructions can be given them.

SECT. IV. Holding and Regulation of
the primary and electoral Assemblies.

I. The functions of the primary and electoral assemblies are limited merely to the right of electing; as soon as the election is over, they shall separate, and shall not meet again till they shall have been summoned, “ unless in case of the first
 “ article of the second section, and
 “ the first article of the third sec-
 “ tion above.”

II. No active citizen can enter or vote in an assembly, if he is armed.

†

III. No

III. No armed force can be introduced in the meeting, except at the express desire of the assembly, unless in the case of actual violence, when the order of the president shall be sufficient to call in the aid of the public force.

IV. Every two years there shall be drawn up in each district, lists, by cantons, of the active citizens, and the list of each canton shall be published, and posted up two months before the meeting of the primary assembly.

The protests which may be made either against the right of citizens, named in the list, or on the part of those who shall affirm that they are unjustly omitted, shall be carried to the tribunals, in order to be there decided upon summarily.

The list shall serve to regulate the admission of citizens in the next primary assembly, in every point that shall not have been rectified by a sentence pronounced before the sitting of the assembly.

V. The electoral assemblies have the right of verifying the quality and powers of those who shall present themselves, and their decisions shall be provisionally executed, with a reserve for the sentence of the legislative body, at the time of the verification of the powers of the deputies.

VI. In no case, and under no pretence whatever, shall the king, or any agents named by him, interfere in questions relative to the regularity of the convocation, the sitting of the assemblies, the form of elections, or the political rights of citizens; "without prejudice, however, to the functions of the king's commissioners in cases determined by the law, in which questions relative to the civil rights of citi-

zens are to be brought before the tribunals."

SECT. V. *Meeting of the Representatives in the Legislative National Assembly.*

I. The representatives shall meet on the first Monday of May, in the place of the sittings of the last legislature.

II. They shall form themselves provisionally into an assembly, under the presidency of the eldest of their number, in order to verify the powers of the representatives present.

III. As soon as these shall be verified, to the number of three hundred and seventy-three members, they shall constitute themselves under the title of Legislative National Assembly; they shall name a president, vice-president, and secretaries, and enter upon the exercise of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of representatives present fall short of three hundred and seventy-three, the assembly cannot perform any legislative act.

They may issue an arret, enjoining absent members to attend their functions, within fifteen days at farthest, under a penalty of 3,000 livres, if they do not produce an excuse which shall be deemed lawful by the assembly.

V. On the last day of May, whatever be the number of members present, they shall constitute themselves a legislative national assembly.

VI. The representatives shall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people, the oath, "we live FREE, or DIE!"

They shall then individually take the oath, *to maintain, with all their power,*

power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituting national assembly, during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; to propose or assent to nothing in the course of the legislature, which may at all tend to infringe it; and to be in every respect faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.

VII. The representatives of the nation are inviolable. They cannot be examined, criminated, or judged, at any time, with respect to what they may have said, written, or performed, in the exercise of their functions of representatives.

VIII. They may, for a criminal act, be seized as guilty of a flagrant crime, or in virtue of an order of arrest, but notice shall be given of it, without delay, to the legislative body, and the prosecution cannot be continued, till after the legislative body shall have decided that there is ground of accusation.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Royalty, the Regency, and the Ministers.

SECT. I. *Of the Royalty and the King.*

I. The royalty is indivisible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants.

Nothing is prejudged on the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne.

II. The person of the king is inviolable and sacred; his only title is 'King of the French.'

III. There is no authority in France superior to that of the law. The king reigns only by it; and it

is only in the name of the law that he can require obedience.

IV. The king, on his accession to the throne, or at the period of his majority, shall take to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, the oath—"To be faithful to the nation and the law;" to employ all the power delegated to him, to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituting national assembly, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and to cause the laws to be executed.

If the legislative body be not assembled, the king shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it, as soon as the legislative body shall be met.

V. If, a month after the invitation of the legislative body, the king has not taken the oath; or if, after taking it, he retracts, he shall be held to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himself at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it against the nation, or if he do not oppose, by a formal act, any such enterprize undertaken in his name; he shall be held to have abdicated.

VII. If the king, having gone out of the kingdom, do not return to it, after an invitation by the legislative body, within the space which shall be fixed by the proclamation, "and which cannot be less than two months," he shall be held to have abdicated the royalty.

"This space of time shall be counted from the day in which the proclamation shall have been published, in the place of the sittings of the legislative body. The ministers shall be charged, under their responsibility, to do all the
"acts

“ acts of the executive power, the
 “ exercise of which shall be suspend-
 “ ed in the hands of the absent
 “ king.”

VIII. After abdication, express
 or legal, the king shall be in the class
 of citizens, and may be accused and
 tried like them, for acts posterior to
 his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which
 the king possesses at his accession to
 the throne are irrevocably united to
 the domain of the nation; he has the
 disposition of those which he acquires
 on his own private account; if he
 has not disposed of them, they are
 in like manner united, at the end of
 his reign.

X. The nation makes provision
 for the splendour of the throne by a
 civil list, of which the legislative
 body shall fix the sum at the com-
 mencement of each reign, for the
 whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king shall appoint an
 administrator of the civil list, who
 shall institute civil suits in the name
 of the king, and against whom shall
 all prosecutions for debts, due by the
 civil list, be brought, and judgments
 given.

“ Judgments obtained by the cre-
 “ ditors of the civil list, shall be ex-
 “ ecutable against the administrator
 “ personally, and his property.”

XII. “ The king, independent
 “ of the guard of honour provided
 “ for him by the citizens, national
 “ guards of the place of his resi-
 “ dence, shall have a guard paid
 “ from the funds of the civil list.—
 “ It cannot exceed the number of
 “ twelve hundred infantry, and six
 “ hundred cavalry; the ranks and
 “ the rules of promotion in it shall
 “ be the same as in the troops of the
 “ line.

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“ Those who shall compose the
 “ guard of the king shall go through
 “ all the ranks exclusively in their
 “ own corps, and cannot obtain any
 “ rank in the troops of the line:
 “ the king cannot choose the men
 “ of his guard but from among those
 “ who are actually in service in the
 “ troops of the line, or from among
 “ the citizens who have served a
 “ year in the national guard, pro-
 “ vided they be resident in the
 “ kingdom, and have previously
 “ taken the civic oath. The guard
 “ of the king cannot be commanded
 “ or called out on any other public
 “ service.”

SECT. II. *Of the Regency.*

I. The king is a minor till the
 age of eighteen complete; and du-
 ring his minority there shall be a re-
 gent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the
 relation of the king, next in degree
 according to the order of succession
 to the throne, who has attained the
 age of twenty-five; provided he be
 a Frenchman, resident in the king-
 dom, and not presumptive heir to
 any other crown, and have pre-
 viously taken the civic oath.

Women are excluded from the re-
 gency.

III. “ If a minor king have no
 “ relations uniting the qualities
 “ above expressed, the regent of the
 “ kingdom shall be chosen in the
 “ manner prescribed in the follow-
 “ ing articles.”

IV. “ The legislative body can-
 “ not elect the regent.”

V. “ The electors of each dis-
 “ trict shall meet in the chief town
 “ of the district, after a proclama-
 “ tion which shall be made in the
 “ first week of the new reign by the
 “ legislative

• M

“ legislative body, if it is sitting ;
 “ and if it is not sitting, the minister of justice shall be bound to
 “ make this proclamation in the same week.”

VI. “ The electors shall nominate in each district, by individual
 “ scrutiny, and the absolute plurality of suffrages, a citizen eligible and resident in the district,
 “ to whom they shall give, by the minute of election, a special mandate, limited to the sole function
 “ of electing a citizen, whom he shall judge in his soul and in his conscience the most worthy to be
 “ regent of the kingdom.”

VII. “ The mandatory citizens nominated in the districts shall be
 “ bound to assemble in the city where the legislative body shall
 “ hold its sitting, on the fortieth day at the latest from the minor
 “ king’s accession to the throne, and they shall there form an electoral
 “ assembly, which shall proceed to the nomination of the regent.”

VIII. “ The election of the regent shall be made by individual
 “ scrutiny, and the absolute plurality of suffrages.”

IX. “ The electoral assembly can attend to no business but that
 “ of the election, and shall separate as soon as it is terminated.
 “ Every other act which it shall attempt to perform is declared unconstitutional and null.”

X. “ The electoral assembly shall present by its president the
 “ minute of election to the legislative body, who, after verifying the regularity of the election,
 “ shall cause it to be published throughout the kingdom by a
 “ proclamation.”

XI. The regent exercises, till the king’s majority, all the functions

of royalty, and is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

XII. The regent cannot begin the exercise of his functions till after taking to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, an oath,
 “ *To be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king ;*” to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exercise is confined to him during the minority of the king ; to maintain the constitution decreed by the constituting national assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791 ; and to cause the laws to be executed.

If the legislative body is not assembled, the regent shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall be assembled.

XIII. As long as the regent is not entered on the exercise of his functions, the sanction of laws remains suspended ; the ministers continue to perform, under their responsibility, all the acts of the executive power.

XIV. As soon as the regent shall take the oath, the legislative body shall fix his allowance, which shall not be altered during his regency.

XV. “ If, on account of the minority of the relation called to the regency, it shall be given by election, or devolved to a relation more distant, the regent, who shall have entered on the exercise of his functions, shall continue them till the king’s majority.”

XVI. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the person of the minor king.

XVII. The care of the minor king shall be confided to his mother ; and if he has no mother, or if she be

married again, at the time of her son's accession to the throne, or if he marry again during the minority, the care of him shall be delegated by the legislative body.

For the care of the minor king, neither the regent, nor his descendants, nor a woman can be chosen.

XVIII. In case of the king's mental incapacity, notoriously admitted, legally proved, and declared by the legislative body, after three successive deliberations held monthly, there shall be a regency, as long as such incapacity continues.

SECT. III. Of the Royal Family.

I. The presumptive heir shall bear the name of prince royal.

He cannot go out of the kingdom, without a decree of the legislative body, and the king's consent;

If he is gone out of it, and, "after attaining the age of eighteen," he do not return to the kingdom, on being required to do so by a proclamation of the legislative body, he is held to have abdicated the right of succession to the throne.

II. If the presumptive heir is a minor, the relation; of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reside within the kingdom:

In case of his going out of it, and not returning on the requisition of the legislative body, he shall be held to have abdicated his right to the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elect, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge:

If the mother of the presumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, she cannot, even after her return, have the care of her minor

son become king, but by a decree of the legislative body.

IV. A law shall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir presumptive.

V. "The members of the family of the king, called to the eventual succession to the throne, enjoy the rights of active citizens, but they are eligible to no places; employments, or functions which are in the nomination of the people;

"Excepting the departments of the ministry, they may obtain the places which are in the nomination of the king; nevertheless, they cannot be commanders in chief of any army by land or sea, or execute the functions of ambassadors, but with the consent of the legislative body, granted on the proposition of the king."

VI. "The members of the king's family, called to the eventual succession of the throne, shall add the denomination of French prince to the name which shall be given them in the civil act proving their birth; and this name can neither be patronymic, nor formed of any of the qualifications abolished by the present constitution."

VII. "The denomination of prince cannot be given to any individual, and shall not carry with it any privilege or exception to the common right of all French citizens."

VIII. "The acts by which shall be legally ascertained the births, marriages, and deaths of French princes, shall be presented to the legislative body, which shall order them to be deposited in its archives."

* M 2

IX. No

IX. No *real apanage* (in land) shall be granted to the members of the royal family.

The younger sons of the king shall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which shall be fixed by the legislative body, and which shall terminate with the extinction of their male heirs.

SECT. IV. *Of Ministers.*

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and dismissal of ministers.

II. "The members of the present national assembly, and of the subsequent legislatures; the members of the tribunal of appeal, and those who shall be of the high jury, cannot be advanced to the ministry, cannot receive any place, gift, pension, allowance, or commission of the executive power, or its agents, during the continuance of their functions, or during two years after ceasing to exercise them; the same shall be observed respecting those, who shall only be inscribed on the list of high jurors, as long as their inscription shall continue."

III. "No man can enter upon the exercise of any employment, either in the offices of the ministry, or in those of the administrations of public revenues, and in general of any employment in the nomination of the executive power, without taking the civic oath, or proving that he has taken it."

IV. No order of the king can be executed, if it be not signed by him, and countersigned by the minister, or comptroller of the department.

V. The ministers are responsible for all the offences committed

by them against the national safety and the constitution;

For every attack on individual property and liberty;

For every abuse of the money allotted for the expences of their department.

VI. In no case can the written or verbal order of a king shelter a minister from responsibility.

VII. The ministers are bound to present every year to the legislative body, at the opening of the session, the amount of the expences of their department; to give an account of the employment of the sums destined for that purpose; and to point out the abuses which may have crept into the different parts of the government.

VIII. No minister, in or out of place, can be criminally prosecuted for any transaction of his administration, without a decree of the legislative body.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Exercise of the Legislative Power.

SECT. I. *Powers and Functions of the Legislative National Assembly.*

I. The constitution delegates exclusively to the legislative body, the powers and functions following:

1. To propose and decree laws — The king can only invite the legislative body to take an object into consideration;

2. To fix the public expences;

3. To establish the public contributions, to determine the nature of them, the amount of each sort, the duration, and the mode of collection;

4. To

4. To make the distribution of them among the several departments of the kingdom, to watch over the application of all the public revenues, and to demand an account of them;

5. To decree the creation or suppression of public offices;

6. To determine the quality, the impression, and the denomination of money;

7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of the kingdom;

8. To vote annually, on the king's proposition, the number of men and ships of which the sea and land forces shall be composed; the pay and the number of each rank; the rules of admission and promotion; the forms of enrollment and discharge; the formation of naval equipments; the admission of foreign troops or naval forces into the French service, and the pensions to troops on being disbanded;

9. To regulate the administration and the alienation of the national domains;

10. To prosecute, before the high national court, the ministers and principal agents of the executive power, on their responsibility;

To accuse and prosecute, before the same court, those who shall be charged with any offence or conspiracy against the general safety of the state or the constitution;

11. To establish the rules according to which marks of honour or decorations, merely personal, shall be granted to those who have done service to the state.

12. The legislative body has the sole right of decreeing posthumous

honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be resolved on but by a decree of the national assembly, passed on the formal and necessary proposition of the king, and sanctioned by him.

In case of hostilities, imminent or commenced, of an ally to be supported, or a right to be maintained by force of arms, the king shall give notification without delay to the legislative body, with an explanation of the reasons.

If the legislative body be not sitting, the king shall immediately convoke it.

If the legislative body decide that war ought not to be made, the king shall instantly take measures to prevent, or put a stop to hostilities, the ministers being responsible for all delays.

If the legislative body find that the hostilities commenced are a culpable aggression on the part of ministers, or any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggression shall be prosecuted criminally.

During the whole course of war the legislative body may require the king to negotiate peace; and the king is bound to yield to this requisition.

On the immediate conclusion of war, the legislative body shall fix the time within which the troops, levied above the peace establishment, shall be discharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary establishment.

III. It belongs to the legislative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; and no treaty shall have effect, but by this ratification.

IV. The legislative body has the

the right of determining the place of its sittings; of continuing them as long as it shall think necessary, and of adjourning: at the commencement of each reign, if it is not sitting, it shall be bound to meet without delay:

It has the right of police in the place of its sitting, and to such extent around it as shall be determined:

It has the right of discipline over its members; but it can pronounce no heavier punishment than censure, arrest for eight days, or imprisonment for three:

It has the right of disposing, for its security and the maintaining of the respect that is due to it, of the forces which shall be established by its consent, in the city where it shall hold its sittings.

V. The executive power cannot march, or quarter, or station, any troops of the line, within thirty thousand toises of the legislative body, except on the requisition, or by the authority of that body.

SECT. II. *Holding of the Sittings, and Form of deliberating.*

I. The deliberations of the legislative body shall be public, and the minutes of the sittings shall be printed.

II. The legislative body may, however, on any occasion, form itself into a general committee:

Fifty members shall have a right to demand it:

During the continuance of the general committee, the assistants shall retire, the chair of the president shall be vacant; order shall be maintained by the vice-president.

A decree cannot be passed except in a public sitting.

III. No legislative act can be debated and decreed, but in the following form:

IV. The plan of a decree shall be read thrice, at three intervals, the shortest of which cannot be less than eight days;

V. The discussion shall be open after every reading; nevertheless, after the first or second reading, the legislative body may declare that there is reason for adjournment, or that there is no room for deliberation—in this last case the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the same session.

VI. After the third reading, the president shall be bound to propose to their deliberation, and the legislative body shall decide, whether they are qualified to pass a definitive decree, or would rather chuse to postpone their decision to another time, to collect more ample information on the subject.

VII. The legislative body cannot deliberate, if the sitting do not consist of at least two hundred members; and no decree shall be made, except by the absolute majority of votes.

VIII. No plan of a law which, after having been submitted to discussion, shall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the same session.

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree, shall announce, 1st, The dates of those three sittings, at which the plan of the decree was read; 2d, The decree by which it shall have been appointed after the third reading to decide definitively.

X. The king shall refuse his sanction to decrees, whose preamble shall not attest the observance of the above forms; if any of those de-

crees

crees be sanctioned, the ministers can neither put to it the seal, nor promulgate it, and their responsibility in this respect shall continue six years.

XI. Excepting from these regulations, decrees recognized, and declared urgent by a previous deliberation of the legislative body; but they may be modified, or revoked, in the course of the same session.

XII. "The decree by which the matter shall be declared urgent, shall state the reasons; and mention shall be made of this previous decree in the preamble of the definitive decree."

SECT. III. *Of the Royal Sanction.*

I. The decrees of the legislative body are presented to the king, who may refuse them his consent.

II. In case of a refusal of the royal consent, that refusal is only suspensive.—When the two following legislatures shall successively present the same decree in the same terms on which it was originally conceived, the king shall be deemed to have given his sanction.

III. The assent of the king is expressed to each decree, by the following formula, signed by the king—*The king consents, and will cause it to be executed.*

The suspensive refusal of the king is thus expressed—*The king will examine.*

IV. The king is bound to express his consent or refusal to each decree, within two months after its presentation.

V. No decree, to which the king has refused his consent, can be again presented to him by the same legislature.

VI. The decrees sanctioned by the king, and those which have been presented to him by three successive

legislatures, bear the name and title of laws.

VII. Those acts of the legislative body shall nevertheless be executed as laws, without being subject to sanction, which relate to its constitution, as a deliberating assembly;

Its interior police; "and what it may exercise in the external circuit which shall be determined;"

The verification of the powers of the members present;

The injunctions to absent members;

The convocation of the primary assemblies in delay;

The exercise of the constitutional police on the administrators "and municipal officers."

Questions of eligibility, or the validity of elections;

Acts relative to the responsibility of ministers; and all decrees importing that there is ground of accusation, are also exempted from sanction.

VIII. "The decrees of the legislative body, respecting the promulgation, and the collection of the public contributions, shall bear the name and title of law; they shall be promulgated and executed without being subject to sanction, except with regard to those regulations which shall establish any penalties but fines; these decrees cannot be passed, without observing the formalities prescribed by articles V. VI. VII. VIII. and IX. of Sect. II. of this chapter; and the legislative body cannot insert any disposition foreign to the subject of them."

SECT. IV. *Connection of the Legislative Body with the King.*

I. When the legislative body is definitively constituted, it shall send a deputation

deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the session, and propose the objects, which during its continuance he thinks ought to be taken into consideration: this form, however, is not to be considered as necessary to the activity of the legislative body.

II. When the legislative body wishes to adjourn longer than fifteen days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at least eight days previous to the adjournment.

III. Eight days, at least, before the end of each session, the legislative body shall send a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it proposes to terminate its sittings; the king may come to close the session.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the state, that the session be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place for a shorter time, he may send a message to this effect, on which the legislative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king shall convoke the legislative body during the interval of its sessions, as often as the interest of the state shall appear to him to require it, as well as in those cases which the legislative body shall have foreseen and determined previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king shall visit the place of meeting of the legislative body, he shall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any, except "the prince royal," and his ministers.

VII. The president can in no case form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legislative body shall

cease to be a deliberating body, whilst the king shall be present.

IX. The acts of correspondence of the king with the legislative body, shall be always countersigned by a minister.

X. The ministers of the king shall have admission into the legislative national assembly—they shall have a particular place; they shall be heard as often as they shall demand a hearing on all subjects which relate to their administration, and as often as they shall be required to give explanations. "They shall likewise be heard on subjects which do not relate to their administration, when the national assembly shall grant them leave to speak."

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Exercise of the Executive Power.

I. The supreme executive power resides exclusively in the hands of the king:

The king is the supreme head of the general administration of the kingdom; the care of watching over the maintenance of public order and tranquillity is entrusted to him:

The king is the supreme head of the land and sea forces:

To the king is delegated the care of watching over the external security of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and possessions.

II. The king names ambassadors, and the other agents of political negotiations:

He bestows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of marshal of France and admiral:

He

He names two-thirds of the rear-admirals, one-half of the lieutenant-generals, camp-majors, captains of ships, and colonels of the national gendarmerie :

He names a third of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and a sixth of the lieutenants of ships :

The whole in conformity to the laws with respect to promotion :

He appoints, in the civil administration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treasurers of the arsenals, the masters of the works, the under masters of civil buildings, half of the masters of administration, and of the under masters of construction.

He appoints the commissaries of the tribunals :

He appoints the superintendants in chief of the management of contributions indirect, " and the administration of national domains."

He superintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers entrusted with this superintendance in the general commission and the mints :

The effigy of the king is struck on all the coinage of the kingdom :

III. The king orders letters patent, brevets, and commissions to be delivered to all the public officers that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a list of pensions and gratifications to be made out for the purpose of being presented to the legislative body each session, " and decreed, if there is reason."

SECT. I. *Of the Promulgation of Laws.*

I. The executive power is entrusted with ordering the seal of

state to be put to laws. and causing them to be promulgated. It is also charged with causing those laws of the legislative body which are exempted from the royal sanction, to be published and executed.

II. Two copies of each law shall be made, both signed by the king, countersigned by the minister of justice, and sealed with the seal of state :

The one shall be deposited in the archives of the seal, and the other shall be sent to the archives of the legislative body.

III. The promulgation of laws shall be in these terms :

N. (the king's name) by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, to all present and to come, greeting, The national assembly has decreed, and we will and ordain as follows :

[Here a literal copy of the decree shall be inserted without any variation.]

We command and ordain all administrative bodies, and courts of justice, to cause these presents to be transcribed on their registers, read, published, and posted up in their departments, and respective places of resort, and executed as a law of the realm ; in witness of which we have signed these presents, to which we have caused the seal of the state to be put.

IV. If the king is a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts proceeding from the royal authority during the regency, shall be conceived in these terms :

N. (the name of the regent) Regent of the kingdom in the name of N. (the king's name) by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, &c. &c.

V. The executive power is bound to send the laws to the administrative

ministrative bodies and courts of justice, to see that they are so sent, and to answer for it to the legislative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even provisional, but merely proclamations, conformable to the laws, to ordain or recal the execution of them.

SECT. II. *Of the internal Administration.*

I. There is in each department a superior administration, and in each district a subordinate administration.

II. The administrators have no character of representation.

They are agents chosen for a time by the people, to exercise, under their superintendance and the authority of the law, the administrative functions.

III. They can assume no authority in legislative or judicial proceedings, or over military dispositions and operations.

IV. "The administrators are specially charged with distributing the contributions direct, and with superintending the money arising from the contributions, and the public revenues in their territory."

It belongs to the legislative power to determine the extent and the rules and the mode of their functions, "both with respect to the objects above expressed, and with respect to all the other parts of internal administration."

V. The king has the right of annulling such acts of the administrators of department, as are contrary to the law, or the orders transmitted to them.

He may, in case of obstinate dis-

obedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the public, suspend them from their functions.

VI. The administrators of department have also the right of annulling the acts of sub-administrators of district, contrary to the laws or the resolution of administrators of department, or to the orders which the latter shall have given or transmitted. They may likewise, in case of obstinate disobedience on the part of the sub-administrators, or if the latter endanger, by their acts, the public safety or tranquillity, suspend them from their functions, with the reserve of informing the king, who may remove or confirm the suspension.

VII. The king, if the administrators of department shall not use the power which is delegated to them in the article above, may directly annul the acts of sub-administrators, and suspend them in the same cases.

VIII. Whenever the king shall pronounce or confirm the suspension of administrators, or sub-administrators, he shall inform the legislative body.

This body may either remove or confirm the suspension, or even dissolve the culpable administration; and, if there is ground, remit all the administrators, or some of them, to the criminal tribunals, or enforce against them the decree of accusation.

SECT. III. *Of external Connections.*

I. The king alone can interfere in foreign political connections, conduct negotiations, make preparations of war proportioned to those of the neighbouring states, distribute

bute the land and sea forces as he shall judge most suitable, and regulate their direction in case of war.

II. Every declaration of war shall be made in these terms: *By the king of the French, in the name of the nation.*

III. It belongs to the king to resolve and sign with all foreign powers all treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, and other conventions, which he shall judge necessary for the welfare of the state, with a reserve for the ratification of the legislative body.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Judicial Power.

I. The judicial power can in no case be exercised either by the legislative body or the king.

II. Justice shall be gratuitously rendered by judges chosen from time to time by the people, and instituted by letters patent of the king, who cannot refuse them. They cannot be deposed, except from a forfeiture duly judged; or suspended, except from an accusation admitted.

“The public accuser shall be nominated by the people.”

III. The tribunals cannot either interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or suspend the execution of the laws, or undertake the administrative functions, or cite before them the administrators on account of their functions.

IV. The citizens cannot be withdrawn from the judges whom the law assigns to them by any commission, or by any other attributions or evocations than those which are determined by the laws.

V. “The right of citizens to

“ terminate disputes definitively by arbitration, cannot receive any infringement from the acts of the legislative power.”

VI. “The ordinary tribunals cannot receive any civil action without its being proved to them that the parties have appeared, or that the plaintiff had cited the adverse party before the mediators to obtain a conciliation.”

VII. There shall be one or more judges of the peace in the cantons and in the cities. The number shall be determined by the legislative power.

VIII. It belongs to the legislative power to regulate the number and jurisdiction of tribunals, and the number of judges, of which each tribunal shall be composed.

IX. In criminal matters, no citizen can be judged, except on an accusation received by jurors, or decreed by the legislative body in the cases in which it belongs to it to prosecute the accusation:

After the accusation shall be admitted, the fact shall be examined, and declared by the jurors:

The person accused shall have the privilege of challenging twenty, “without assigning any reason.”

The jurors who declare the fact shall not be fewer than twelve:

The application of the law shall be made by the judges:

The process shall be public, “and the person accused cannot be denied the aid of counsel.”

No man acquitted by a legal jury can be apprehended or accused on account of the same fact.

X. “No man can be apprehended, but to be conducted before the officer of police; and no man can be arrested or detained, but by
“ virtue

“ virtue of an order of the officers
 “ of police, a warrant of arrest
 “ from a tribunal, a decree of ac-
 “ cusation by the legislative body,
 “ in cases in which it belongs to it
 “ to pronounce, or of a sentence
 “ of imprisonment or correctional
 “ detention.”

XI. “ Every person arrested,
 “ and taken before the officer of
 “ police, shall be immediately ex-
 “ amined, or at farthest within 24
 “ hours.

“ If it appear from the exami-
 “ nation that there is no ground of
 “ accusation against him, he shall
 “ immediately be liberated; or if
 “ there is ground for sending him
 “ to the house of arrest, he shall be
 “ sent to it with the least possible
 “ delay, which can in no case ex-
 “ ceed three days.”

XII. “ No person arrested, can
 “ be detained if he give sufficient
 “ bail, in all those instances in
 “ which the law allows to remain
 “ free under bail.”

XIII. “ No person, in cases
 “ where confinement is authorized
 “ by law, can be conveyed or de-
 “ tained, except in such places as
 “ are legally and publicly appoint-
 “ ed houses of arrest, of justice, or
 “ imprisonment.”

XIV. “ No keeper or gaoler
 “ can receive or detain any person,
 “ but by virtue of the warrants,
 “ orders of arrest, or sentences,
 “ enumerated in the tenth article,
 “ and except they shall have been
 “ transcribed upon his register.”

XV. “ Every keeper or gaoler
 “ is bound, without a special or-
 “ der to the contrary, to produce
 “ the prisoner to the civil officers
 “ entrusted with the care of the po-
 “ lice of the house of confinement

“ as often as he shall make the de-
 “ mand.”

“ The sight of the prisoner can-
 “ not be denied to his relations,
 “ friends, and neighbours, bearing
 “ an order of the civil officer, which
 “ he shall always be bound to grant,
 “ except the keeper or gaoler pro-
 “ duce an order of the judge,
 “ transcribed upon his register,
 “ for keeping his prisoner secret.”

XVI. “ Every person, what-
 “ ever be his place or employment,
 “ except those to whom the law
 “ gives the power of arrest, who
 “ shall give, sign, execute, or cause
 “ to be executed, an order for ar-
 “ resting a citizen; or whoever,
 “ even in cases of arrest authorized
 “ by law, shall conduct, receive, or
 “ detain a citizen in a place of con-
 “ finement not publicly and legally
 “ appointed; and every keeper or
 “ gaoler, who shall transgress the
 “ regulations of articles XIV. and
 “ XV. above, shall be guilty of the
 “ crime of arbitrary imprison-
 “ ment.”

XVII. “ No person can be en-
 “ quired after, or prosecuted, on
 “ account of writings which he shall
 “ have printed or published, if he
 “ has not inculcated disobedience
 “ to the law, contempt of the con-
 “ stitutional powers, and resistance
 “ to their acts, or some of those ac-
 “ tions declared crimes or offences
 “ by law.

“ Censure on the acts of the con-
 “ stituted powers is permitted: but
 “ voluntary slanders against the
 “ probity of public officers, and the
 “ rectitude of their intentions in the
 “ exercise of their offices, may be
 “ prosecuted by those against whom
 “ they are directed.

“ Slanders, or injurious reports
 “ against

“ against any person whatsoever, relative to the actions of their private life, shall be punished upon their prosecution.”

XVIII. “ No person can be tried either by a civil or criminal action on account of any writings printed or published, except it shall have been examined and declared by a jury, sst, whether there is any thing criminal in the writing complained of? zdly, whether the person prosecuted has been guilty of it?”

XIX. For the whole kingdom there shall be one tribunal of appeal, established near the legislative body. Its functions shall be to pronounce

On appeals from the judgment of the tribunals;

On appeals from the judgment of one tribunal to another, on lawful cause of suspicion;

On the regulations of judges, and exceptions to a whole tribunal.

XX. The tribunal of appeal can never enter into an original examination of a case; but after annulling a judgment in a process, in which the forms have been violated, or which shall contain an express contravention of law, it shall refer the merits of the case to the tribunal that ought to take cognizance of them.

XXI. When after two appeals, the judgment of the third tribunal shall be questioned in the same way as that of the former two, the case shall not be carried again to the tribunal of appeal, without being first submitted to the legislative body, which shall pass a decree declaratory of the law, to which the tribunal of appeal shall be bound to conform.

XXII. The tribunal of appeal

shall be bound to send every year to the bar of the legislative body a deputation of eight of its members, to present a statement of the judgments given, with an abstract of the case annexed to each, and the text of the law, which was the ground of the decision.

XXIII. A high national court, composed of members of the tribunal of appeal and high jurors, shall take cognizance of the crimes of ministers, and the principal agents of the executive power; and of crimes which attack the general safety of the state, when the legislative body shall pass a decree of accusation:

It shall not assemble but on the proclamation of the legislative body; “ and at the distance of 30,000 toises, “ at least, from the place of meeting of the legislative body.”

XXIV. The orders issued for executing the judgments of the tribunals, shall be conceived in these terms:

N. (the name of the king), by the grace of God, and by the constitutional law of the state, king of the French, to all present and to come, greeting: the tribunal of ——— has passed the following judgment:

[Here shall follow a copy of the judgment, in which shall be mentioned the names of the judges].

We charge and enjoin all officers, upon the present demand, to put the same judgment into execution, our commissioners of the tribunals to enforce the same, and all the commanders and officers of the public force to be assisting with their force, when it shall be legally required: In witness of which the present judgment has been sealed and signed by the president of the tribunal, and by the register.

XXV. The functions of the king's

king's commissioners in the tribunals, shall be to require the observance of the laws in the judgments to be given, and to cause them to be executed after they are passed:

They shall not be public accusers; but they shall be heard on all accusations, and shall require, during process, regularity of forms, and before judgment, the application of the law.

XXVI. The king's commissioners in the tribunals shall represent to the director of the jury, either officially or according to orders given them by the king,

Offences against the individual liberty of citizens, against the free circulation of provisions, "and other articles of commerce," and the collection of contributions;

Offences by which the execution of orders given by the king, in the exercise of the functions delegated to him, shall be disturbed or impeded;

Offences against the rights of persons, and opposition to the execution of judgments, and all executive acts proceeding from the constituted powers.

XXVII. The minister of justice shall represent to the tribunal of appeal, by means of the king's commissioner, "and without prejudice to the rights of the parties interested," the acts by which the judges shall have exceeded the limits of their power.

The tribunal shall annul these acts, and if they give ground for forfeiture, the fact shall be represented to the legislative body, which shall pass the decree of accusation, and refer the parties informed against to the high national court.

PART IV.

OF THE PUBLIC FORCE.

I. The public force is instituted to defend the state against external enemies; and to maintain internal order, and the execution of the laws.

II. It is composed,
Of the land and sea force;

Of the troop specially destined for home service;

And, subsidiarily, of the active citizens and their children of age to bear arms, registered in the roll of national guards.

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an institution in the state; they are the citizens themselves called to assist the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themselves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a requisition, or a legal authority.

V. They are subject in this quality to an organization, determined by the law:

They shall be distinguished in the whole kingdom by only one form of discipline, and one uniform:

Distinctions of rank and subordination subsist only relatively to the service, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are chosen for a time, and cannot again be chosen, till after a certain interval of service as privates.

None shall command the national guard of more than one district.

VII. All the parts of the public force employed for the safety of the state from foreign enemies, are under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of

of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can enter the house of a citizen, if it is not in order to execute the instructions of police and of justice, or in cases formally provided for by the law.

X. The requisition of the public force in the internal part of the kingdom belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legislative power.

XI. When any department is in a state of commotion, the king shall issue, subject to the responsibility of ministers, the necessary orders for the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of order; but with the reserve of informing the legislative body, if it is assembled, and of convoking it if it be not sitting.

XII. The public force is essentially obedient; no armed body can deliberate.

XIII. "The land and sea force, and the troops destined for the internal security, are subject to particular laws, both with respect to the maintenance of discipline, and the form of trial, as well as the nature of punishment in case of military offences."

P A R T V.

OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. Public contributions shall be debated and fixed every year by the legislative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the last day of the following session, if they are not expressly renewed.

II. The funds necessary to the discharge of the national debt, and

the payment of the civil list, can under no pretext be refused or suspended.

"The allowances to the ministers of the catholic religion pensioned, retained, elected or nominated, in virtue of the decrees of the constituting national assembly, forms part of the national debt.

"The legislative body can in no case charge the nation with the payment of the debts of an individual."

III. "Detailed accounts of the expence of the ministerial departments, signed and certified by the ministers or comptrollers general, shall be printed and published at the commencement of the sessions of each legislature.

"The same shall be done with the statements of the receipt of the different taxes, and all the public revenues.

"The statements of the expediture and receipts shall be distinguished according to their nature, and shall express the sums received and expended year by year in each district.

"The particular expences for each department, and those that relate to the tribunals, the administrative bodies, and other establishments, shall also be published."

IV. The administrators of department and sub-administrators can neither establish any public contribution, or make any distribution beyond the time and the sums fixed by the legislative body, nor deliberate, or permit, without being authorized by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

V. The executive power directs and superintends the collection and paying

paying in of contributions, and gives the necessary orders to this effect.

PART VI.

OF THE CONNECTION OF THE FRENCH NATION WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view of making conquests, and will never employ its forces against the liberty of any people.

The constitution no longer admits the *droit d'aubaine*.

Foreigners, whether settled in France or not, inherit the property of their relations, whether foreigners or Frenchmen. They can contract, acquire, and receive property situated in France, and dispose of it, as well as any French citizen, in every mode authorized by the laws.

Foreigners in France are subject to the same criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens, "with a reserve for conventions made with foreign powers." Their persons, effects, industry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

PART VII.

OF THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL DECREES.

I. "The constituting national assembly declares, that the nation has the imprescriptible right of changing its constitution; and nevertheless, considering that it is more conformable to the national interest to employ only by

" means provided in the constitution itself the right of reforming those articles of it, of which experience shall have shewn the inconveniences, decrees, that the proceeding by an assembly of revision shall be regulated in the form following:

II. "When three successive legislatures shall have expressed an uniform wish for the change of any constitutional article, the revision demanded shall take place."

III. "The next legislature, and the following, cannot propose the reform of any constitutional article."

IV. "Of the three legislatures, who may afterwards propose any changes, the two first shall only occupy themselves on this object the two last months of their last session; and the third, at the end of its first annual session, or at the commencement of the second.

"Their deliberations on this subject shall be conducted with the same forms as their legislative acts; but the decrees by which they shall express their wish shall not require the king's sanction."

V. "The fourth legislature, augmented with two hundred forty-nine members, chosen in each department, by doubling the ordinary number which it furnishes in proportion to its population, shall form the assembly of revision.

"These two hundred forty-nine members shall be chosen after the nomination of the representatives to the legislative body shall be terminated, and separate minutes shall be made of it.

"The assembly of revision shall be

be composed only of one chamber."

VI. "The members of the third legislature, which shall have demanded the change, cannot be chosen to the assembly of revision."

VII. "The members of the assembly of revision, after having all pronounced in a body; the oath — 'TO LIVE FREE OR DIE'—shall take individually an oath to confine themselves to determine on the objects which shall have been submitted to them by the uniform wish of three preceding legislatures; to maintain, besides, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituting national assembly, during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to be in all respects faithful to the nation, the law, and the king."

VIII. "The assembly of revision shall be bound then, without delay, to enter upon the objects which shall have been submitted to their consideration. As soon as their labour shall be finished, the two hundred forty-nine members named in addition shall retire, without being able, in any case, to take part in the legislative acts."

The French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, though they form part of the French empire, are not included in the present constitution.

None of the powers instituted by the constitution have a right to change it in its form, or in its part; excepting the reforms which may be made by the mode of revision, conformable to the regulation of Part VII.

The constituting national assembly commits the deposit to the fidelity of

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the legislative body, of the king, and of the judges; to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives, and to mothers; to the attachment of young citizens; to the courage of all Frenchmen.

With respect to the laws made by the national assembly, which are not included in the act of constitution, those anterior laws, which it has not altered, they shall be observed, so long as they shall not be revoked or modified by the legislative power.

(Signed) VERNIER, President;

POUGHARD, COUPE, MAILLY-CHATEAURENAUD, CHAILLON, AUBRY (Bishop of the Meuse), DARCHE, Secretaries.

Authentic Copy of the new CONSTITUTION of POLAND, established on the 3d of May 1791.

In the Name of God, one in the Holy Trinity!

Stanislaus Augustus, by the grace of God, and the will of the nation, King of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, &c. &c. together with the confederate states assembled in double number to represent the Polish nation.

PERSUADED that our common fate depends entirely upon the establishing and rendering perfect a national constitution; convinced by a long train of experience of many defects in our government, and willing to profit by the present circumstances of Europe, and by the favourable

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vourable

Yourable moment which has restored us to ourselves; free from the disgraceful shackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life, and every personal consideration, the political existence, external independence, and internal liberty of the nation, whose care is entrusted to us; desirous, moreover, to deserve the blessing and gratitude, not only of our cotemporaries, but also of future generations; for the sake of the public good, for securing our liberty, and maintaining our kingdom and our possessions; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we do solemnly establish the present constitution, which we declare wholly inviolable in every part, till such period as shall be prescribed by law, when the nation, if it should think fit, and deem it necessary, may alter by its express will such articles therein as shall be found inadequate. And this present constitution shall be the standard of all laws and statutes for the future diets.

Article I. *The Dominant National Religion.*

The holy Roman-catholic faith, with all its privileges and immunities, shall be the dominant national religion. The changing of it for any other persuasion is forbidden under the penalties of apostacy: but as the same holy religion commands us to love our neighbours, we therefore owe to all people of whatever persuasion, peace in matters of faith, and the protection of government; consequently we assure, to all persuasions and religions, freedom and liberty, according to the laws of the country, and in all dominions of the republic.

Article II. *Nobility, or the Equestrian Order.*

Revering the memory of our ancestors with gratitude, as the first founders of our liberties, it is but just to acknowledge, in a most solemn manner, that all the pre-eminence and prerogatives of liberty, both in public and private life, should be insured to this order; especially laws, statutes, and privileges, granted to this order by Casimir the Great, Lewis of Hungary, Ladislaus Jagellon, and his brother Wittoldus, grand duke of Lithuania; also by Ladislaus and Casimirus, both Jagellons; by John Albertus, Alexander, Sigismundus the first, and Sigismundus Augustus, (the last of the Jagellonic race) are by the present act renewed, confirmed, and declared to be inviolable. We acknowledge the rank of the noble Equestrian order in Poland to be equal to all degrees of nobility—all persons of that order to be equal among themselves, not only in the eligibility to all posts of honour, trust, or emolument, but in the enjoyment of all privileges and prerogatives appertaining to the said order: and in particular, we preserve and guarantee to every individual thereof personal liberty and security of territorial and moveable property, as they were formerly enjoyed; nor shall we even suffer the least encroachment on either by the supreme national power (on which the present form of government is established), under any pretext whatsoever, contrary to private rights, either in part, or in the whole; consequently we regard the preservation of personal security and property, as by law ascertained, to be a tie of society, and the very essence of

of civil liberty, which ought to be considered and respected for ever. It is in this order that we repose the defence of our liberties, and the present constitution: it is to their virtue, valour, honour, and patriotism, we recommend its dignity to venerate, and its stability to defend, as the only bulwark of our liberty and existence.

Article III. *Towns and Citizens.*

The law made by the present diet, entitled, *our royal free towns within the dominions of the republic*, we mean to consider as a part of the present constitution; and promise to maintain it as a new, additional, true, and effectual support, of our common liberties, and our mutual defence.

Article IV. *Peasants and Villagers.*

This agricultural class of people, the most numerous in the nation, consequently forming the most considerable part of its force, from whose hands flows the source of our riches, we receive under the protection of national law and government, from the motives of justice, humanity, christianity, and our own interest well understood: enacting, that whatever liberties, grants, and conventions, between the proprietors and villagers, either individually or collectively, may be allowed in future, and entered authentically into; such agreements, according to their true meaning, shall import mutual and reciprocal obligations, binding not only the present contracting parties, but even their successors by inheritance or acquisition—so far that it shall not be in the power of either party to alter at pleasure such contracts, importing grants on one side, and voluntary promise of duties, labour, or payments on the other, ac-

ording to the manner and conditions therein expressed, whether they are to last perpetually, or for a fixed period. Thus having insured to the proprietors every advantage they have a right to from their villagers, and willing to encourage most effectually the population of our country, *we publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people*, either who may be newly coming to settle, or those who, having emigrated, would return to their native country; and we declare most solemnly, that any person coming into Poland, from whatever part of the world, or returning from abroad, as soon as he sets his foot on the territory of the republic, becomes free and at liberty to exercise his industry, wherever and in whatever manner he pleases, to settle either in towns or villages, on tenures and contracts, for as long a term as may be agreed on; with liberty to remain, or to remove, after having fulfilled the obligations he may have voluntarily entered into.

Article V. *Form of Government, or the Definition of Public Powers.*

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people; its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty, and the good order of society, on an equal scale, and on a lasting foundation. Three distinct powers shall compose the government of the Polish nation, according to the present constitution; viz.

- 1st. *Legislative* power in the states assembled.
- 2d. *Executive* power in the king and the council of inspection.
- 3d. *Judicial* power in jurisdictions.

ditions existing, or to be established.

Article VI. The Diet, or the Legislative Power.

The diet, or the assembly of states, shall be divided into two houses; viz. *the house of nuncios*, or deputies, and *the house of senate*, where the king is to preside. The former, being the representative and central point of supreme national authority, shall possess the pre-eminence in the legislature; therefore all bills are to be decided first in this house.

1st. *All general laws*, viz. constitutional, civil, criminal, and perpetual taxes; concerning which matters the king is to issue his propositions by the circular letters sent before the dietines to every palatinate and to every district for deliberation, which coming before the house, with the opinion expressed in the instructions given to their representatives, shall be taken the first for decision.

2d. *Particular laws*, viz. temporal taxes; regulations of the mint; contracting public debts; creating nobles, and other casual recompences; reparation of public expences, both ordinary and extraordinary; concerning war; peace; ratification of treaties, both political and commercial; all diplomatic acts and conventions relative to the laws of nations; examining and acquitting different executive departments, and similar subjects arising from the accidental exigencies and circumstances of the state; in which the propositions, coming directly from the throne into the house of nuncios, are to have preference in discussion before the private bills.

In regard to the house of senate, it

is to consist of bishops, palatines, castellans, and ministers, under the presidency of the king, who shall have but one vote, and the casting voice in case of parity, which he may give either personally, or by a message to the house. Its power and duty shall be,

1st. *Every general law* that passes formally through the house of nuncios is to be sent immediately to this, which is either accepted, or suspended till farther national deliberation, by a majority of votes, as prescribed by law. If accepted, it becomes a law in all its force; if suspended, it shall be resumed at the next diet; and if it is then agreed to again by the house of nuncios, the senate must submit to it.

2d. *Every particular law* or statute of the diet in matters above specified, as soon as it has been determined by the house of nuncios, and sent up to the senate, the votes of both houses shall be jointly computed, and the majority, as described by law, shall be considered as a decree and the will of the nation.

Those senators and ministers who, from their share in executive power, are accountable to the republic, cannot have an active voice in the diet, but may be present in order to give necessary explanations to the states.

These ordinary legislative diets shall have their uninterrupted existence, and be always ready to meet; renewable every two years. The length of sessions shall be determined by the law concerning diets. If convened out of ordinary session, upon some urgent occasion, they shall only deliberate on the subject which occasioned such a call, or on circumstances which may arise out of it.

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No law or statute enacted by such ordinary diet can be altered or annulled by the same.

The compliment of the diet shall be composed of the number of persons in both houses, to be determined hereafter.

The law concerning the dietines, or primary elections, as established by the present diet, shall be regarded as a most essential foundation of civil liberty.

The majority of votes shall decide every thing, and every where; therefore we abolish, and utterly annihilate, *liberum veto*, all sorts of confederacies and confederate diets, as contrary to the spirit of the present constitution, as undermining the government, and as being ruinous to society.

Willing to prevent, on one hand, violent and frequent changes in the national constitution, yet considering, on the other, the necessity of perfecting it, after experiencing its effects on public prosperity, we determine the period of every twenty-five years for an *extraordinary constitutional diet*, to be held purposely for the revision and such alterations of the constitution as may be found requisite; which diet shall be circumscribed by a separate law hereafter.

Article VII. *The King, or Executive Power.*

The most perfect government cannot exist or last without an effectual executive power. The happiness of the nation depends on just laws, but the good effects of laws flow only from their execution. Experience has taught us that the neglecting this essential part of government has overwhelmed Poland with disasters.

Having, therefore, secured to the free Polish nation the right of enacting laws for themselves, the supreme inspection over the executive power, and the choice of their magistrates, we entrust to the king, and his council, the highest power of executing the laws.

This council shall be called *Straz*, or the council of inspection.

The duty of such executive power shall be to watch over the laws, and to see them strictly executed according to their import, even by the means of public force, should it be necessary.

All departments and magistracies are bound to obey its directions. To this power we leave the right of controlling such as are refractory, or of punishing such as are negligent in the execution of their respective offices.

This executive power cannot assume the right of making laws, or of their interpretation. It is expressly forbidden to contract public debts; to alter the repartition of the national income, as fixed by the diet; to declare war; to conclude definitively any treaty, or any diplomatic act; it is only allowed to carry on negotiations with foreign courts, and facilitate temporary occurrences, always with reference to the diet.

The crown of Poland we declare to be *elective* in regard to families, and it is settled so for ever.

Having experienced the fatal effects of interregna, periodically subverting government; and being desirous of preventing for ever all foreign influence, as well as of insuring to every citizen a perfect tranquillity, we have, from prudent motives, resolved to adopt *hereditary succession* to our throne: therefore we enact and declare, that, after the expiration

tion of our life, according to the gracious will of the Almighty, the present elector of Saxony shall reign over Poland.

The dynasty of future kings of Poland shall begin in the person of Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, with the right of inheritance to the crown to his male descendants. The eldest son of the reigning king is to succeed his father; and in case the present elector of Saxony has no male issue, a husband chosen by him (with the consent and approbation of the republic) for his daughter, shall begin the said dynasty. Hence we declare the princess Mary-Augusta Nepomucena, only daughter of the elector of Saxony, to be *Infanta* of Poland.

We reserve to the nation, however, the right of electing to the throne any other house or family, after the extinction of the first.

Every king, on his accession to the throne, shall take a solemn oath to God and the nation, to support the present constitution, to fulfil the *pacta conventa*, which will be settled with the present elector of Saxony, as appointed to the crown, and which shall bind him in the same manner as former ones.

The king's person is sacred and inviolable; as no act can proceed immediately from him, he cannot be in any manner responsible to the nation; he is not an absolute monarch, but the father and the head of the people; his revenues, as fixed by the *pacta conventa*, shall be sacredly preserved. All public acts, the acts of magistracies, and the coin of the kingdom, shall bear his name.

The king, who ought to possess every power of doing good, shall

have the right of pardoning those that are condemned to death, except the crimes be against the state.

In time of war he shall have the supreme command of the national forces—he may appoint the commanders of the army, however, by the will of the states. It shall be his province to patentee officers in the army, and other dignitaries, consonant to the regulations hereafter to be expressed, to appoint bishops, senators, and ministers, as members of the executive power.

The king's council of inspection is to consist,

1st. Of the primate, as the head of the clergy, and the president of the commission of education, or the first bishop in ordine.

2d. Of five ministers, viz. the minister of police, minister of justice, minister of war, minister of finances, and minister for the foreign affairs.

3d. Of two secretaries to keep the protocols, one for the council, another for the foreign department; both, however, without decisive vote.

The hereditary prince coming of age, and having taken the oath to preserve the constitution, may assist at all sessions of the council, but shall have no vote therein.

The marshal of the diet, being chosen for two years, has also a right to sit in this council, without taking any share in its resolves; for the end only to call together the diet, always existing, in the following case: should he deem, from the emergencies hereunder specified, the convocation of the diet absolutely necessary, and the king refusing to do it, the marshal is bound to issue his circular

ular letters to all nuncios and senators, adducing real motives for such meeting.

The cases demanding such convocation of the diet are the following :

1st. In a pressing necessity concerning the law of nations, and particularly in case of a neighbouring war.

2d. In case of an internal commotion, menacing with the revolution of the country, or of a collision between magistratures.

3d. In an evident danger of general famine.

4th. In the orphan state of the country by demise of the king, or in case of the king's dangerous illness.

All the resolutions of the council of inspection are to be examined by the rules above mentioned.

The king's opinion, after that of every member in the council has been heard, shall decisively prevail.

Every resolution of this council shall be issued under the king's signature, countersigned by one of the ministers sitting therein; and, thus signed, shall be obeyed by all executive departments, except in cases expressly exempted by the present constitution.

Should all the members refuse their countersign to any resolution, the king is obliged to forego his opinion; but if he should persist in it, the marshal of the diet may demand the convocation of the diet; and if the king will not, the marshal himself shall send his circular letters as above.

Ministers composing this council cannot be employed at the same time in any other commission or department.

If it should happen that two-thirds of secret votes in both houses demand the changing of any person, either in the council, or any executive department, the king is bound to nominate another.

Willing that the council of inspection should be responsible to the nation for their actions, we decree that, when these ministers are denounced and accused before the diet (by the special committee appointed for examining their proceedings) of any transgression of positive law, they are answerable with their persons and fortunes.

Such impeachments, being determined by a simple majority of votes, collected jointly from both houses, shall be tried immediately by the comitial tribunal, where the accused are to receive their final judgment and punishment, if found guilty; or to be honourably acquitted, on sufficient proof of innocence.

In order to form a necessary organization of the executive power, we establish hereby separate commissions, connected with the above council, and subjected to obey its ordinations.

These commissions are, 1st, of education; 2d, of police; 3d, of war; 4th, of treasury.

It is through the medium of these four departments that all the particular *orderly* commissions, as established by the present diet, in every palatinate and district, shall depend on, and receive all orders from, the council of inspection, in their respective duties and occurrences.

Article VIII. *Judicial Power.*

As judicial power is incompatible with the legislative, nor can be administered by the king, therefore tribunals and magistratures ought to be

be established and elected. It ought to have local existence, that every citizen should know where to seek justice, and every transgressor can discern the hand of national government. We establish, therefore,

1st. Primary courts of justice for each palatinate and district, composed of judges chosen at the dietine, which are always to be ready to administer justice. From these courts appeals are allowed to the high tribunals, erected one for each of three provinces, into which the kingdom is divided. Those courts, both primary and final, shall be for the class of nobles, or equestrian order, and all the proprietors of landed property.

2dly. We determine separate courts and jurisdictions for the free royal towns, according to the law fixed by the present diet.

3dly. Each province shall have a court of referendaries for the trial of causes relating to the peasantry, who are all hereby declared free, and in the same manner as those who were so before.

4thly. Courts, curial and assessorial, tribunals for Courland, and relational, are hereby confirmed.

5thly. Executive commissions shall have judicial power in the matters relative to their administration.

6thly. Besides all these civil and criminal courts, there shall be one supreme general tribunal for all the classes, called a comitial tribunal, or court composed of persons chosen at the opening of every diet. This tribunal is to try all the persons accused of crimes against the state.

Lastly, we shall appoint a committee for the forming a civil and criminal code of laws, by persons

whom the diet shall elect for that purpose.

Article IX. *Regency.*

The same council of inspection is to compose the regency, with the queen at their head, or, in her absence, with the primate of the kingdom. The regency may take place only,

1st. During the king's minority.

2d. In case of the king's settled alienation of reason.

3d. In case of the king's being made a prisoner of war.

Minority is to be considered till eighteen years are completed; and the malady must be declared in the existing diet by the plurality of three-fourths of votes of both combined houses against one-fourth.

When the king comes of age, or recovers his health, or returns from captivity, the regency shall cease, and shall be accountable to him, and responsible to the nation in their persons and fortunes, for their actions during their office,

Article X. *Education of Kings Children.*

The king's sons being designed successors to the crown, are the first children of the country. Thence the care of their proper education, without encroaching, however, on the right of their parents, devolves naturally upon the nation.

During the king's life, the king himself, with the council, and a tutor, appointed by the states, shall superintend the education of the princes.

In time of a regency, it shall be intrusted with this direction, jointly with the above-mentioned tutor.

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In both cases this tutor, named by the states, is to make his report before each ordinary diet of the education and progress of the princes. The commission, or board of education, is obliged to bring before the diet, for their approbation, an instruction or plan for the education of the princes, founded on religion, love of virtue, of country, of liberty, and the constitution.

Article XI. *National Force, or the Army.*

The nation is bound to preserve its possessions against invasion; therefore all inhabitants are natural defenders of their country and its liberties.

The army is only an extract of defensive regular force, from the general mass of national strength.

The nation owes to the army reward and respect, because of its devoting itself wholly for the defence of the country.

The army owes to the nation, to guard the frontiers against enemies, and to maintain public tranquillity within: in a word, it ought to be the strongest shield in the nation.

That these ends may be fully answered, the army should ever remain under the subordination and obedience to the executive power; it shall therefore take an oath, according to law, of fidelity to the nation, and to the king, and to maintain the national constitution. This national force, therefore, shall be employed for the general defence of the country, for garrisoning fortresses, guarding frontiers, and assisting the civil power in the execution of the law against those that are refractory.

DECLARATION OF THE STATES
ASSEMBLED.

All laws and statutes, old and new, contrary to the present constitution, or to any part thereof, are hereby abolished; and every paragraph in the foregoing articles, to be a competent part of the present constitution is acknowledged. We recommend to the executive power to see the council of inspection immediately begin its office under the eye of the diet, and continue its duties without the least interruption.

We swear before God and the country to maintain and defend, with all possible human power, the present constitution; and considering this oath as a proof of real love of our country, we command all magistrates and troops here present to take it immediately. The commission of war shall issue orders to the rest of the army, quartered in the kingdom, and in the grand duchy of Lithuania, to do the same within one month at farthest from the date of the present law.

We recommend to our bishops to appoint one and the same day of public thanksgiving to God Almighty, in all churches over the kingdom; also, we appoint a day, *N. Y.* for the solemn celebrating, by us and our posterity, of a commemoration anniversary for the mercies of the Supreme Being shewn to us after so many public calamities.

And that future ages may know and feel that it is by the assistance of the Supreme Disposer of nations we have surmounted the greatest difficulties and obstacles, and effected this happy Revolution, we decree, that a church shall be erected and consecrated to Divine Providence in memory of this event, and at the expense of the states.

Having

Having thus satisfied our general feelings on this event, we turn our attention towards securing the same constitution, by declaring and enacting, that *whoever* should dare to oppose it, or to disturb the public tranquillity, either by exciting mistrust, or by perverse interpretation of this constitution, and much more by forming insurrections and confederacies, either openly or secretly, such person or persons are declared to be *enemies and traitors to their country*, and shall be punished as such with the utmost rigour by the comital tribunal. For this purpose we order this tribunal to sit uninterruptedly at Warsaw, proroguing their sessions from day to day, and to try all persons so accused by any citizen of property, with the assistance of the attorneys general of Poland and Lithuania, seizing all indicted persons, with the aid of the national troops, which shall be ready to act on the first order from the executive power as they shall be directed, and occasion may require.

Law concerning Dietines, or primary Assemblies of Poland.

Section I. *Place for Dietines.*

1st. FOR each dietine, a *certain town*; and in such town, a *fixed place* for the meeting of the assembly, shall be for ever ascertained.

* *Orderly commissions* are newly instituted; each palatinate and district chooses a certain number of commissaries; their office lasts two years; their principal duty is to maintain police and good order in their district; to put into execution decrees and regulations of supreme departments; to collect taxes; to keep cash; to make such payments as assigned by the commission of finances; to protect citizens from the military oppression; to furnish recruits; besides many other duties of internal management.

2d. These constitutional towns and places for holding dietines shall be specified at the end of this law.

3d. In case of any such town or place being destroyed by fire, or other accident, the *orderly commission**, within whose jurisdiction it should lay, shall give notice of it to the *council of inspection*, proposing at the same time the most convenient place in lieu thereof; and the council is to appoint it, and to make it public by issuing *royal circular letters*.

4th. Such substitute places are only to serve for a time, till the original ones are rebuilt and repaired; and as soon as they are put in good order, the *orderly commission* shall acquaint the council of inspection therewith, which is to direct, by the like circular letters, the return of dietines to their primitive constitutional spot.

5th. There shall be placed in the middle of the hall, or room, designed for the assembly, a table, around which is to be formed a circle of principal men of the palatinate, or district, whom we may call a *committee of the county, or grand committee*.

6th. It belongs to *orderly commissions* to prepare every accommodation for the assembly, viz. ballotting-box, balls, &c.; for which necessary, but moderate, expences shall be either proportionably assessed, or paid by the voluntary contribution of inhabitants.

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Section

Section II. Time of Dietines.

1st. Every two years dietines are to meet for the *election of nuncios*, or representatives of the diet, and of the commissaries of orderly commiffions.

2d. Every one year they shall be held for *electing deputies* to the high tribunal, and for regulating internal *economical concerns* of the district.

3d. As the representatives are accountable to their constituents, dietines for receiving their reports, after every *ordinary diet*, are fixed on the following day, after the election of deputies and the economical affairs are settled.

4th. After every *extraordinary session* of the already-existing diet, convened by the council of inspection, or, in certain cases, by the marshal of the diet, these *dietines of report* shall be held at the end of eight weeks, unless the ordinary dietine happens sooner. If, however, the ordinary period of the dietines of report falls in with the extraordinary session of the diet, the nuncios are to make their report at the first dietine on their return.

5th. Whenever any vacancy happens in the elective office, it is to be filled up at the first meeting of the dietine.

6th. Dietines are to meet always on the day fixed by law, even if no writ or circular letters are issued for that purpose.

Section III. Concerning the Time of Sessions of Dietines.

1st. Sessions shall begin every day at nine o'clock in the morning.

2d. On the day of opening of the dietine the president shall order

all the bells of the town to be rung at half past eight, and to continue till nine; during which time a mass shall be celebrated before the assembly.

3d. The session is to last till three o'clock in the afternoon, unless it be unanimously agreed on to prorogue it sooner: it may, however, continue longer, if the polling be not ended at three.

4th. Session can only be prorogued till next day. In case of a holiday, it shall be resumed after the church service.

Section IV. Concerning Persons having Right to vote.

All nobles of the equestrian order are entitled to vote in their respective palatinates and districts:

1st. All hereditary proprietors of landed property, or possessed of estates by adjudication for a debt, paying territorial tax to government: sons also of such proprietors, during the life of their parents, before the ex-division of patrimony.

2d. Brothers, inheriting estates, before they have shared their succession.

3d. All mortgagees who pay one hundred florins (fifty shillings) of territorial tax per year from their possessions.

4th. All life-holders of lands paying territorial tax to the same amount.

5th. All nobles in the army, possessed of such qualifying estates, have a vote in their respective districts in time of peace, and properly furloughed by their commanders.

6th. Legal possession is understood to be qualifying, when it has been formerly acquired and actually enjoyed for twelve calendar months previously.

Section

Section V. *Concerning those that have no Right to vote.*

1st. Those of the equestrian order that are not actually possessed of a property, as described in the foregoing article.

2d. Such as hold royal, ecclesiastical, or noble lands, even with right of inheritance, but on condition of some duty or payment to their principals, consequently dependent thereon.

3d. Gentry possessing estates on feudal tenure, called *Ordynackie*, as being bound to certain personal service thereby.

4th. All renters of estates that have no other qualifying property.

5th. Those that have not accomplished eighteen years of age.

6th. *Crimine notati*, and those that are under a decree passed in default, even in the first instance, for having disobeyed any judicial court.

Section VI. *Of those that are eligible.*

1st. Every person of the equestrian order that pays territorial tax to government for his freehold, let it be ever so small, is eligible to all elective offices in his respective district.

2d. Gentlemen actually serving in the army, even possessed of landed hereditary estate, must have served six complete years before they are eligible to the office of a nuncio only. But this condition is dispensed with in favour of those that have filled before some public function.

Section VII. *Of those that are not eligible.*

1st. Whoever is not personally present at the dietine.

2d. Whoever has not completed twenty-three years of age.

3d. Whoever has not been in any public function, nor passed the biennial office of a commissary in the orderly commission.

4th. Those that are not exempted by law from obligations of *scarta bellatus*, which subjects all newly-nobilited persons to certain civil restrictions until the next generation.

5th. And, lastly, all those against whom may be objected a decree in *contumaciam* in a civil cause.

Section VIII. *The Manner of offering oneself for a Candidate.*

Any person desirous of being chosen for any public function, is allowed either to declare his intention before the chancery of the county before the dietine, or at the dietine to tender the same to the president in writing. Electors, however, are at liberty to propose and chuse even those that have not offered themselves, by either of the above modes, for candidates.

Section IX. *Regulations for beginning Dietines.*

1st. A day before the time fixed by law for the dietines, the troops of the republic, quartered in the town where they are to be held, shall withdraw, and not return there till they are over. This rule, however, does not extend to the royal residence, fortresses of the republic, or detachments assigned to wait on high tribunals.

2d. The circle that surrounds the table placed in the middle of the assembly room, or the committee of the county, shall be composed of senators, dignitaries, state and local civil officers, commissaries of orderly commission,

mission, nuncios, and tribunal deputies that have already ended their functions, and military staff officers, to the major inclusively.

3d. Either first senator in rank, or, in his absence, first dignitary, shall open the meeting as a president; in absence of both, first local civil officer of the district, or the first in order of the commissaries of orderly commission, and so on through all different members of the committee. In case there should be none present of the above dignified persons, the oldest in the assembly shall be their president.

4th. If any of the above-mentioned officers, being present at the dietine, should refuse accepting of the presidency, or should be himself a candidate for the office to be filled, then the next to him in rotation is to preside in his room at the assembly.

5th. The circle being formed round the table, and the president having opened the meeting, shall order to be read, loudly and audibly, the whole tenor of the present law concerning dietines.

6th. Orderly commission of the district shall deliver to the president the *county book*, containing the list of all qualified voters, as regulated by a separate article.

7th. Then the notary of the chancery shall return to the president the names of such candidates as inscribed themselves at this office: and in this stage, those that have not made previously their declarations before the chancery may signify their intention in writing to the president.

8th. After which the president shall proclaim the names of candidates.

Section X. *Qualification of the County Committee, and the Candidates.*

1st. The foregoing preliminary ceremonies of the dietine being settled, if any body has an objection to make against the president, or any member of the committee, or any of the candidates, he is to deliver it to the president in writing.

2d. In case the president himself should lay under an objection, he is to quit his place to the next in order till the objection is decided.

3d. The president, together with the members of the committee (except those that are objected to and the candidates), are to try and determine the merit of objections according to the rules laid down by the present law, either unanimously, or by majority of *secret votes*, taken by ballot.

Section XI. *Concerning the Election of the Marshal of Dietines, and the Assessors in Poland; and of the Assessors only in Lithuania.*

1st. Having thus cleared and decided all objections against the committee and the candidates, the president is to propose immediately the election of the marshal of the dietine and six assessors, in Poland, who form a sub-committee for managing the election business at the dietine.

2d. In the province of Lithuania the president of the assembly shall be also the marshal of the dietine. His obligations are the same, in every point, as those of a marshal of dietines in Poland.

3d. The marshal of the dietine in Lithuania, thus becoming the president, shall immediately, after all the objections are removed, proceed to an election of six assessors.

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4th. In *Poland*, both marshal of the dietines and the six assessors; in *Lithuania* the assessors shall be chosen out of the number of the committee, excepting senators and candidates.

5th. Proceedings at these elections in *Poland* are as follow: An urn shall be placed on the table, wherein the president shall put as many balls, of equal size (but seven of them of a different colour), as there are eligible persons in the committee of the county. This urn, having an aperture at the top, is to be covered with cloth: the president then reads the names in order of all eligible persons, and a child draws out of the urn a ball against each name. White balls are reckoned negatives; the first coloured drawn falls for the marshal of the dietine, and the remaining six for the assessors, who are to take their seats in the same order as they were drawn.

6th. The same mode of proceeding is to be observed in *Lithuania* for the choice of six assessors; with this difference only, that the president, being *ipso facto* already marshal of the dietine, needs not to be put on the list of eligible persons: consequently only six coloured balls are to be thrown into the urn: whereof the first drawn shall design the first assessor.

7th. The marshal of the dietine and the assessors in *Poland*, likewise the assessors in *Lithuania*, shall take their oaths before the president, as prescribed hereunder. But the marshal of the dietine in *Lithuania*, being president at the same time, shall take his oath before the next member to him.

8th. Thus elected and sworn in, marshal and assessors are to fulfil all

duties of their office in that and subsequent dietines according to law.

9th. In case of the marshal's indisposition, or refusing to perform his obligations as prescribed by law, the first assessor is to take his place.

Section XII. *The Method of Proceeding at an Election.*

1st. Before the opening of the business of election, the marshal of the dietine shall order to be read aloud the circular letter, propositions, and projects, sent down by the king and the council of inspection for their deliberation.

2d. All voters divided into parishes, except those that are of the grand committee, are to be arranged around the said committee by the local inferior officers.

3d. Any of the candidates giving up his pretension, is obliged to declare the same in writing to the marshal of the dietine: but it shall not be in his power to recede from it after the election has begun by voting.

4th. The marshal of the dietine shall read the list of candidates for the function or office which is the object of election, mentioning those that have either legally been struck out, or renounced voluntarily in form.

5th. Having read this list of remaining candidates, the marshal shall repeat singly the name of each, and ask thrice the consent of the assembly. When an unanimity appears in favour of such candidate, the marshal and the assessors shall immediately certify it by their signature. But should there be one dissentient vote, declared in writing to the marshal, he is bound to proceed directly to polling

polling for all the candidates, by *secret votes*, as regulated by the next article.

Section XIII. *Mode and Order of voting per Vota Secreta, or by Ballot.*

1st. Near the table of the committee, just by the marshal of the dietine, shall be placed the balloting box.

2d. This box shall have an inside partition; one part of it is to be painted *black*, with the inscription *negative*; and the other painted *white*, with the word *affirmative*. In front of this box there shall be two locked doors to each partition; At the top, a convenient opening for putting in a hand, and throwing a ball on either side of the partition, shall be left. The inside of the box is to be lined with cloth.

3d. All balls for balloting are to be of the same equal size, form, and colour; their number shall be sufficient for the number of voters in that district.

4th. The balloting box is to be publicly shewn that it is empty, and then locked. One key is to remain with the marshal of the dietine, the other with the last assessor.

5th. The candidates are proposed for balloting in the following order: The names of all candidates, being written on separate and uniform cards, are thrown into the urn covered with cloth: a child is to draw one card at a time, and to deliver it to the marshal, who shall proclaim the name of the candidate so drawn out; and having given his vote, shall invite to ballot one after another; first the assessors, next the members of the committee at the table, then all the electors, giving each one ball as he comes to vote.

6th. When the members round

the table have done voting, one of the assessors shall open the book of the palatinate, or district, containing the authentic list of voters, and read in regular order of parishes the names of each elector, whilst another of the assessors is giving the ball to the person approaching the box. At the same time, other assessors shall write down on a sheet of paper the names of voters in the same order as they are called on.

7th. If any one of the voters, being called by the assessor, do not answer and appear in their place to ballot, he loses his right of voting after in that election for that candidate.

8th. In the course of balloting, if the right of voting is controverted to any of the electors, the marshal of the dietine, with the assessors, shall immediately decide the question, according to the fifth article, specifying those that have no right to vote.

9th. The objection of want of property, or of its inadequate amount, as prescribed by law, shall be determined by the proofs taken from the county book.

10th. After all the electors have voted for one candidate, the marshal, with the assessors, are to count separately the *affirmative* balls, and afterwards the *negative*, and to write down their exact number under the name of each candidate.

11th. One candidate being thus dispatched, a child shall draw out of the urn the name of another. The marshal having declared the second candidate, shall proceed to vote, and collect such votes of the assembly in the same manner as above, repeating the same formalities in respect to each candidate.

12th. Balloting being begun for
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one candidate, is to continue without interruption; nor is the session to be prorogued before it is entirely finished.

13th. When the balloting for each candidate is over, the marshal of the dietine and the assessors shall make out the list of votes for every candidate, according to their respective majority. Such list, being signed by the marshal and the assessors, shall be read audibly, and the successful candidates declared in the same order of precedency as they stand in the different numbers of votes, beginning from the highest, and ending with the lowest, till the number of persons requisite for each elective office is completed.

14th. In case of *parity* of votes between two or more candidates, it is to be resolved in the following manner:

15th. The marshal shall put the names of candidates, having equal number of votes, on separate cards of the same size, and throw them into the urn, covered as before. A child is to draw out singly each name; and in the same order as they are drawn, their precedence shall be placed, and affirmed by the signature of the marshal and the assessors. This rule is to be observed successively in all elective offices.

16th. After this resolution of *parity*, the marshal and the assessors shall finally sign and publish the list of the elected persons.

17th. Each candidate may be present at the voting, to be witness himself of the fairness of all proceedings.

18th. No candidate is allowed to transfer his votes in favour of another.

19th. This method and order

of elections shall be strictly observed at all elective dietines for all public functions, offices, and places.

20th. As a document to the elected persons shall be given a *laudum*, or *diploma*; signed by the marshal and the assessors, to be inserted in the records of the respective chancery. The act of election of nuncios, and their instructions, shall be contained in the same diploma. The elected persons are to be placed in the diploma according to the seniority of their offices and dignities.

21st. The lists of all the electors that have voted at the dietine, which was written by the assessors during the election, being signed by the marshal and the assessors, shall be deposited in the chantery.

22d. Elected deputies, civil officers, and the commissaries of orderly commissions, shall immediately be sworn in, according to the *formula* prescribed by law.

Section XIV. *Concerning Instructions.*

1st. During the business of election, the president who opened the meeting, with the rest of the committee, except those who are assessors, shall prepare instructions for procedure.

2d. Thus assembled, persons are to examine propositions intimated by the king and the council of inspection, and projects relating to legislature; also particular projects and wishes, formed either by the orderly commission, or any individual, of their respective palatinate or district.

3d. All *particular projects*, either from the orderly commissions, or from individuals, are to be presented to the president immediately after
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the election of the marshal of the dietine and the assessors in Poland, and, after that, of the assessors in Lithuania, under their own signature, as on the following day no project for instructions can be received.

4th. After the election of nuncios is determined, the projects for instructions are to be ready before the assembly. In case any part thereof should not meet with unanimous consent, the marshal of the dietine and the assessor shall form a distinct proposition or question for the opinion of the assembly.

5th. In order to come at the sense of the assembly on it, the marshal shall divide them into *ayes* and *noes*; and, after counting each side, with the assistance of the assessors, shall declare the majority. But instructions are never to be decided by secret votes or ballot.

6th. In regard to the propositions sent by the king and the council of inspections, instructions shall be worded thus: "Our nuncios shall vote *affirmative* to the article *N*;" or, "Our nuncios shall vote *negative* to the article *N*,"—in case it is found contrary to the opinion of the dietine: and should any amendment or addition be deemed necessary, and agreed on, it may be inserted in the instructions at the end of the relative proposition.

Section XV. Oeconomical Dietines.

1st. The object and the business of these dietines are to consult about the particular concerns of the palatinate or districts; and having determined any point, it shall be recommended to the orderly commission to prepare projects for instructions relative thereto.

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2d. On every meeting of these dietines, the orderly commission shall account for the funds entrusted to them for the particular purposes of the palatinate or district.

Section XVI. Dietines of Report (Relationis.)

1st. At the meeting of the dietines the nuncios are bound to appear before their constituents, and to bring their report of the whole proceedings of the diet; first, respecting the acts of legislature; next, with respect to the particular projects of their palatinate or district, recommended to them by the instructions.

2d. It is at these dietines that nuncios, after they have rendered to their constituents a clear account of their proceedings and of the diet, may be either confirmed or changed, and new ones elected in their stead till the general election for the following ordinary diet.

3d. New nuncios are chosen.—
1st. In the room of the deceased.
2d. In the room of those that are become senators, or ministers of state.
3d. In case of resignation. 4th. In the room of such as are disqualified by the diet. 5th. When any of the assembly desires a new election, to substitute another nuncio in the room of another expressly pointed out; which request must be made in writing, signed by twelve members besides, and be delivered to the marshal of the dietine.

4th. Those nuncios that will no longer remain in their functions, shall present their declaration in writing, to the marshal of the dietine.

5th. If none of the cases stated in the third paragraph of this article

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happen to occasion a vacancy among the nuncios, and no demand of a new election for a substitute be made in the regular and legal way, the marshal and the assessors shall indorse on the diploma, or laudum, the act of confirmation.

6th. Whenever a vacancy of nuncios should happen by either accident specified above, the marshal of the dietine shall declare such vacancy, and immediately proceed to a new election.

7th. But in case a new election should be moved for by any person, and seconded by twelve others consonantly to the above-mentioned paragraph, either in the room of one, or of all former nuncios, the marshal of the dietine is to read the name of the nuncio objected to, and to make the following proposition: "Shall the nuncio *N* be confirmed in his function? or shall there be a new election made in his stead?" The opinion of the meeting being taken by a division, the majority shall decide the question, and be declared by the marshal. If the majority approves the conduct of the nuncio, the marshal and the assessors shall certify this confirmation on the diploma; and in case of disapprobation, the marshal shall declare the vacancy, and begin the form of a new election.

8th. In this manner shall be performed either confirmation of each nuncio separately, or a new election decided.

9th. The mode of proposing oneself for a candidate, and proceedings of elections by ballot, are to be equally adhered to at the dietines of report, as are prescribed by the present law for all elective functions and other offices.

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Section XVII. Concerning the Invalidity of Dietines in toto, or in part.

1st. Dietines are null and of no effect: 1st. When they are held in any other town and place but such as are appointed by law as constitutional, according to the tenor of the first article. 2d. If they are presided by any other person than those that are legally empowered by the present law for being presidents. 3d. Every dietine where the marshal and the assessors are not legally chosen. 4th. When the voting by ballot is refused, notwithstanding the request being formally made and presented to the marshal.

2d. Dietines are void in part whenever a person, having no requisite qualification, should offer himself as a candidate for any elective office, and be chosen.

Section XVIII. Punishments for the Transgressors against Dietines.

1st. All transgressions which invalidate the whole dietine in the election of nuncios shall be tried and decided by the diet. With respect to other elective functions, offices, and places, their trial shall belong to the high tribunal of the respective province. In order to prove the nullity of the dietine, the accuser is to summon the guilty of any transgression to this court, which is bound to judge definitively such causes before any other in the provinces of Poland from the register *Diretti Maudati*, and in Lithuania from the register *Officy*.

2d. For all transgressions annihilating dietines in toto, we decree the following penalties: The principals are to be imprisoned for half a year

a year *in fundo* *, and to be for ever deprived of the active right of a citizen. The accomplices are to be sentenced to a prison *above ground* †, and to be suspended from the active right for a certain time, according to the degree of guilt.

3d. If president, marshal, or assessors, transgress the obligations prescribed to them by the present law, each of them shall be punished by the high tribunal with twelve weeks imprisonment *above ground*, and 2,000 florins for the informer.

4th. Besides, we decree the primary terrestrial court, in every palatinate and district wherein the offence shall be committed, for trying transgressors from the register, "*Termini tacti*," (with liberty of appeal to the high tribunal) and punishment as follows:—1st. Whoever brings with him soldiers, or any armed band, and violates the peace of the dietine, shall be punished with half a year's imprisonment *in fundo*, and the loss of active right for ever.

2d. Whoever brings only with him any armed attendants during the meeting of dietines, shall be condemned to half a year's imprisonment *above ground*, and pay 6,000 florins to the informer. 3d. Whoever, in time and place of dietines, draws out, with an offensive design, his sword or sabre, even without hurting any person, shall be punished with twelve weeks imprisonment *above ground*, and 2,000 florins for the informer: and in case of any

person being wounded, both the person wounding, if not in his own defence, and the person first drawing out the sabre, are to be capitally punished.

4th. Whoever should bring to a constitutional place of dietines, citizens that have no vote, either from his own, or from other districts, and thereby disturb the public tranquillity and order of the meeting, whether by threats or facts; both the principals and the accomplices shall be sentenced to half a year's imprisonment *above ground*, and 6,000 florins for the informer. This punishment is to extend to each person separately.

5th. Whoever, having no right to vote, or to the eligibility for functions and offices, should pretend forcibly either to vote, or set up for a candidate, shall be subject to six weeks imprisonment *above ground*.

6th. Whoever comes to the meeting with fire-arms shall be punished with twelve weeks imprisonment *in fundo*. 7th. Both buying votes and the selling are to be deprived of the right of activity for ever.

5th. The informer or the accuser bringing an action against the transgressors at the dietine, must have legal property in the district where the crime is committed, and have a sufficient responsibility equal to those penalties which are to ensue for the offence he is accused of: he is obliged to make his declaration or manifesto before the court,

* A well under ground, two or three fathoms deep, six feet square.

† These two kinds of prisons, or rather voluntary confinements in obedience to decrees, are designed for the members of the equestrian order only, without any civil or military guard over them, with liberty to the civil prisoner *above ground*, to walk within the rules; but if any one trespasses the limits, he is to begin anew the term of his confinement; and if he escapes, he is to be outlawed.

signed, besides himself, by twelve persons of credit and property present at the dietine: an accuser, unable to prove the offence, shall be punished in the same manner as the accused would be, if convicted, and is to pay besides all costs of suit to the person innocently accused.

Section XIX.

It shall not be in the power of dietines to lay any taxes on the inhabitants of the district under any pretence. This law, however, shall not prevent voluntary contributions.

Section XX.

The order of dietines, with every regulation thereof, as defined by the present law, is to serve for the only rule of their proceedings; and all former customs and practices, not included herein, are entirely abolished and annulled.

Section XXI. *Formula of the Oath for the Marshal of the Dietine and the Assessors.*

I, N. N. swear before the God Almighty, one in the Holy Trinity, that I shall fulfil my office according to law and justice in every part, as if the whole of my duty was verbally inserted in this oath, without being influenced to the contrary, either by fear or hope, either friendship or revenge, either gift or promise, so help me God, and his holy passion. Amen.

Law concerning Towns and Citizens within the Dominions of the Republic.

Section I. *Of Towns in general.*

1st. ALL our royal towns within the dominions of the republic we acknowledge and declare to be free.

2d. We recognize as *freemen* all the inhabitants of such towns. Their houses, lands, villages, and territories, as they are now belonging to, and possessed by them, to be their perpetual property, without prejudicing, however, controverted rights and depending law-suits concerning the same.

3d. To such towns whose original *charters* are lost, on proving their pre-existence, we shall issue our royal *diploma of renovationis*, with a fresh grant of territory as legally belonging unto them.

4th. If the towns named for constitutional places of dietines have no *charters*, we shall grant them new ones.

5th. When a settlement of freemen on the royal estates, favoured by a happy situation, prospers so far as to form a town, we shall issue our *diploma erectionis*, or the original charter, with a perpetual grant of proper territory to it.

6th. It shall be permitted to any hereditary proprietor to build and erect towns on his estate, composed either of freemen, or of his own emancipated villagers, and to grant them a *particular charter*. But such towns cannot be ranked among the *free ones* until the proprietor grants them in perpetuity a sufficient territory, and applies to us for the *diploma confirmationis*, wherein the original charter is to be inserted.

7th. One and the same law being made for all towns, it follows, that every citizen of every town shall equally enjoy all rights and privileges in common with the rest.

8th. All inhabitants of towns, either of the equestrian order, or citizens by birth, having their freeholds therein, and willing to carry on any trade in *retail*, must accede and be subject to the municipal laws; others

others of the equestrian order are at liberty to inscribe themselves on the town-book, and receive the right of citizens.

9th. The mode of acquiring the right of a citizen is this: The person desirous of obtaining it in any town, shall appear in person, or apply by his attorney to the magistrate, and make the following declaration:—
 “ I, *N. N.* promise allegiance and
 “ fidelity to his majesty the king
 “ and to the republic, obedience to
 “ the laws and statutes of the diet,
 “ submission to the magistrates of
 “ this town, *N.* whereof I wish to
 “ become a fellow citizen; and, as
 “ such, I shall fulfil all obligation
 “ which I accept in my name, and
 “ that of my successors.” In consequence of this declaration, persons names shall be inserted into the town-book of citizens.

10th. Magistrates cannot refuse the right of citizenship to any foreigner, artist, or manufacturer, of character and good behaviour. In a word, all *Christians*, freemen, independent of any person, may become citizens without any fee or expence.

11th. Neither admission into the class of citizens living in towns, and filling therein municipal offices, nor carrying on commerce, manufactures, and trade, either wholesale or retail, shall by any means be prejudicial to the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, attached and inherent to the equestrian order, either of those that are originally of that class, or of those that are admitted to it, of citizens, or of their posterity.

12th. A free choice of all magistrates and officers of towns, by their own citizens, being the essence of liberty, it is declared here-

by to be inherently their right: every town besides is allowed to make such internal regulations for itself, and to put them into execution, with reference, however, to the commission of police.

13th. Therefore all citizens inscribed on the town-book, and possessed of freeholds or hereditary property therein, have a right of voting, and are eligible, by a majority of votes, to magistracies and other municipal offices. Persons, however, filling any executive office in the palatinate or district, cannot be elected as plenipotentiaries for towns, under the penalty of losing both offices. ~~Military~~ officers are likewise excluded from the eligibility to all municipal functions.

Section II. *Prerogatives of Citizens*

1st. That cardinal law, “ *Ne-
 “ minem captivabimus nisi jure vic-
 “ tum,*” we extend to all persons as citizens established in towns, except fraudulent bankrupts, unable to give proper bails, and seized on commission of a flagrant recent crime.

2d. Such towns as are appointed for holding courts of appeal, shall chuse each of them one plenipotentiary, by a majority of votes, out of their own citizens, or out of other towns, who have hereditary property therein, well qualified for a public function, have served some municipal offices, neither *crimine notati*, nor being under a decree passed in *contumaciam*, at a meeting before each ordinary diet. These plenipotentiaries are to assemble in a place where the diet is to be holden, and on the day of its opening to produce before the marshal of the diet their credentials. Out of their number, in the provincial sessions,

sessions, shall be chosen commissaries or assessors, and distributed for the commissions of treasury, police, and the assessorial court. Although all of them may assist at the above commissions, no more, however, than two for each province, in the departments of treasury and police, and three for each province in the assessorial court, shall have an active place.

Such commissaries and assessors shall have a *decisive vote* in matters relating to trade and commerce, and to towns; but on all other subjects they can only give their *consultative vote*, or advice and opinion. These plenipotentiaries may be confirmed and continued by their constituents for the space of another two years. In regulating public expences, we shall assign a certain pension out of the treasury for the support of these commissaries.

3d. In order to extend protection of government to all our towns, and to show our just regard for their welfare, we grant to their commissaries and assessors admitted already to the above commissions, full liberty to make representations to the diet concerning the interests of towns, by demanding of the marshal leave to speak, which cannot be refused to them in the manner used by the delegates of various departments when they make their reports, or by petitions expressing the wishes of any town.

4th. These plenipotentiaries having accomplished two years of their public function in the above commissions, shall be ennobled at the first diet, without any fee or stamp-tax for their *diploma nobilitatis*, in case they are not out of the equestrian order.

5th. It is allowed to all citizens to buy landed estates, with an hereditary right of enjoying and leaving them to their heirs and posterity, as well as of holding estates by adjudication for debts; but on account of such territorial possessions, they are amenable to courts of the palatinate or district where this property is situated.

6th. Whenever any of the citizens buy a whole village or borough of an hereditary nature that pays at least 200 florins of territorial tax, he may, if he should wish it, present his petition to the marshal of the first diet, in order to obtain nobility thereon, which shall be granted to him accordingly.

7th. Besides the above-named persons, thirty citizens, who are possessed in any town of an hereditary property, shall be admitted into the equestrian order at every ordinary diet, having principal regard for those that have distinguished themselves in the military service, or sat in orderly commissions; that have established any manufactory, or have carried on extensive commerce with country productions; for which they must have sufficient testimonies, and recommendations of the nuncios, and of their respective towns.

8th. It is permitted to all citizens to serve in the *army* in any regiment or *pulk* (except the national cavalry) and to advance therein regularly to the rank of officers. When any of them arrive at the post of a staff-captain, or captain of a company, either of foot or horse, he shall become *ipso facto* ennobled, and likewise his posterity; in consequence we shall grant him *diploma nobilitatis*, on his producing the patent,

tent, without any fee or stamp-tax.

9th. The same class of citizens is allowed to follow the *profession of law* in all courts, departments, and tribunals, and may advance gradually in that line according to merit and capacity. When any of them arrives to the rank of a regent or recorder, he shall be ennobled at the first diet, and the *diploma nobilitatis* issued by us gratis.

10th. In the *church* the citizens have the following privileges: They may be prelates, canons, and prebendaries, in the *collegiates*; in the *cathedrals* they may possess doctoral canonicries; they may enjoy both *secular* and *regular* benefices, except such as are established by their founders expressly and exclusively for the nobles of the equestrian order.

11th. In every orderly commission of palatinates and districts three citizens are to be placed as commissaries chosen out of towns lying within their jurisdiction, whether they be of the equestrian order, or only citizens, but possessed of an hereditary property in such towns.

12th. As to our cities, *Dantzic* and *Thorn*, when they should have any request or petition to present to the states, they may do it either by their *secretaries* residing at Warsaw applying to the marshal of the diet, or by their *delegates*, who are to ask leave to speak at the diet in order to represent their business; which leave shall not be denied to them.

13th. To prevent fraudulent qualifications by lending *pro tempore* a certain property for the purpose of a vote, we enact the following penalty: Whoever grants any estate for the sake of a vote, and takes a reversional promise to get it returned

after the election, he shall forfeit it for ever in behalf of any person who will prove it before any court; and if the person in whose favour this fictitious grant or sale of qualification should be made declares it before the court of the district, he shall have such property adjudged to him without appeal.

14th. All former laws and statutes contrary to the present constitution concerning towns are entirely hereby abolished, and the present is declared to be a cardinal constitutional law in favour of towns and citizens.

Section III. *Of Justice for the Citizens.*

1st. Having determined certain boundaries and proper limits of the jurisdiction of towns, we exempt them and their suburbs from all former authorities to which they were subject, without prejudicing, however, the pending law-suits which are now in the way of being finally decided by the supreme tribunals. As far as it concerns the power of the grand marshal in our residential town, it shall be ascertained by the regulation of his department.

2d. All private jurisdictions formerly exercised, either by the clergy or laity, over certain parts of any town situated within the territories granted by the original charters, shall now cease, and be transferred to their proper magistrates, so far as they concern judicial power and the police, without infringing the right of property, and the revenues of their legal proprietor.

3d. If the towns or citizens are possessed of estates out of their limits, they are subject to local jurisdictions of the district wherein such estates are situated.

* O 4

4th. All

4th. All inhabitants of towns established therein, and carrying on commerce, trade, traffic, or any business and profession whatsoever, are subject to the authority of magistrates, and shall bear, in just proportion, all taxes, without any exception or distinction.

5th. Every town shall have a judicial magistrate, where all *civil causes*, not surpassing 300 florins in the first instance, and all *criminal causes*, which may only be punished with three days imprisonment, shall be finally decided without any appeal; but in cases of a higher importance, the appeal to a higher court shall be allowed.

6th. For such *courts of appeal* we appoint seven principal towns in each of the three provinces, or one-and-twenty in all, making as many divisions, and each of them shall have its extent and boundaries specified.

7th. In each of these towns where the *court of appeal* is fixed, five persons shall compose this court, being chosen every two years either out of the equestrian order, or out of citizens or property, of their division at large; with this clause only, that if any of the inferior magistrates of a particular town should be chosen to the court of appeal, he cannot sit any longer in the inferior one until his office in the court of appeal is expired.

8th. This *court of appeal* is to try and decide finally all causes coming from inferior magistrates and towns situated within its division. The extent of power of this court is ascertained to lay in cases between 300 and 3,000 florins, and between three days and three weeks imprisonment: in all other suits and actions happening before the pri-

mary magistrates, where the value is above 3,000 florins, or the punishment of prison above three weeks, the appeal lays no longer to these *courts of appeal*, but to the supreme court of assessorial commission.

9th. The primary courts of magistrates in each particular town shall have no power of trying *criminal causes*, but they are to refer them to the *court of appeal*, which has only a right to punish, without any appeal, by the imprisonment for a certain limited time.

Whenever the prisoner is condemned either to death or imprisonment for life, the court of appeal shall make the report of the trial and the sentence to our *assessorial commission*, in order to be examined and revised; after which, should the decree be confirmed by this commission, then the sentence shall be put into execution, and not before.

The same assessorial commission has the right to superintend all magistrates of towns in their judicial conduct, to punish transgressors, try causes concerning rents and revenues in towns, &c.

10th. All towns, in regard to their internal regulation and government, their general municipal revenues, and their management, are put under the control and supreme inspection of the *commission of police*.

FINANCE REPORT,

Presented to the House of Commons, May 10, 1791.

Report from the SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to examine and state the several Accounts and

and other Papers, presented to the House in this Session of Parliament, relating to the PUBLIC INCOME and EXPENDITURE; and to report to the House what has been the whole Amount of the Public Income and Expenditure during the last Five Years, and what may be expected to be the Annual Amount thereof in future; and also what Alteration has taken place in the Amount of the Public Debt, since the 5th Day of January, 1786.

YOUR Committee have proceeded to consider the matter referred to them, under the several heads of Income, Expenditure, and National Debt, and have thought it right to state separately, under each of these heads, the result of their inquiries, as it applies either to the last five years, or to the expectations which may be formed for the future.

I. INCOME.

PAST INCOME. PERMANENT TAXES.

§ 1. The net produce of the different branches of the ordinary revenue (exclusive of land and malt) for each of the five years, from the 6th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1791, both inclusive, appears to have been,

1786	-	£. 11,867,055*
1787	-	12,923,134
1788	-	13,007,642
1789	-	13,433,068
1790	-	14,072,978

§ 2. Your committee, observing

that the report of the former committee, in 1786, has been referred to them, have thought it their duty, in considering the past income of the country, to compare the expectations then formed with the actual produce of the taxes upon which they were grounded.

The committee of 1786 proceeded upon a supposition that the permanent taxes then subsisting were likely to produce annually

£. 12,797,471

It appears, that those taxes, according to the best information which your committee have been able to collect, have produced,

In 1786	£.	11,836,531
1787	-	12,754,795
1788	-	12,812,952
1789	-	13,209,871
1790	-	13,782,393

Making, upon an average

- - - £. 12,879,308

It is to be observed, that an alteration was made in the horse tax, in the session of 1786, by which persons of certain descriptions were exempted from it; and that, in consequence, the assessment, which in the year ending the 5th day of April 1787, was 133,087l. in the subsequent year fell to 101,284l. The accounts from the tax office calculate the diminution, by comparing the assessment of 1786 with that of 1789, and make it amount to 37,687l. Some allowance ought evidently to be made for this circumstance, in comparing the produce of the four last years with the expectations of the former committee. But, as a small part of this decrease may be supposed to have arisen, either from the operation of the tax in reducing the number of horses, or from the increase of eva-

* After deducting 522,500l. of respited duties paid by the East-India company.

sions, which, from information given to your committee, have been considerable, they have not thought proper to state any particular sum on this account.

Some farther allowance ought to be made on account of a tax upon linens and stuffs, imposed in 1784, which produced, in 1785, 27,655 l. and which was also a part of the income upon which that committee grounded their expectations. This tax was repealed in 1785; and the *ad valorem* duty, which was imposed in that year to replace it, having proved unproductive, was also repealed by the Consolidation act in 1787.

§ 3. It appears that the committee of 1786, in addition to their calculation of the general produce of the permanent taxes, had made a particular estimate of what might be expected to be raised by certain duties, the future annual produce of which they considered as likely to be different from their actual amount in the year immediately preceding.

These duties were expected to produce annually £. 2,107,186

And have produced, upon an average - - - £. 2,122,600

Notwithstanding the diminution of the horse tax.

ANNUAL TAXES.

§ 4. Your committee have hitherto confined themselves, in their statements, to the permanent taxes.

With respect to those which are annually granted, the land tax, after deducting all the charges previous to its coming into the exchequer, except the payments on account of the militia, was calculated at - - - £. 1,967,650

This estimate was formed upon the average produce of the aids for the seven years from 1776 to 1782, both inclusive, upon which the payments were supposed to be complete at the period to which the accounts before that committee referred. It appears, however, that, subsequent to this period, a sum of 34,106 l. was received on account of the aids for the said seven years, which would have made an addition of 4,872 l. to the average stated by them, and would have raised their calculation to - - - £. 1,972,522

From the manner in which this duty is collected, the accounts of the payments of the aids granted for the service of the years 1789 and 1790, cannot yet be made up, and there are still some small arrears on the aids of 1787 and 1788. Your committee, however, think it right to observe, that the sum charged annually upon the country on account of the land tax, is exactly the same, and is subject to no other deductions (except the payments for the militia) than what arise from the poundage, which is also invariable, and from some other small charges, the fluctuations of which do not appear to have been such as to deserve particular notice. Whatever, therefore, may be the accidental variations in the times of payment, the real produce on account of each year must ultimately prove nearly the same. If your committee had taken it at the full amount of the assessment, deducting only the poundage and the above charges, upon an average of the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, the result would have been - £. 1,973,651

But, allowing a small sum for any casual loss, it may be stated at - - - £. 1,972,000

The

The malt tax was estimated at - - - £. 632,350

The accounts of the actual produce of the several annual malt taxes appear complete only for the years 1786, 1787, and 1788.

The average produce paid into the exchequer, of the aids granted for the service of those years, has been - - - £. 597,171

count for the next year includes the same number of days of weekly payment upon the customs, excise, stamps, and salt; and that the amount of the payment upon all those articles together, on the 4th and 5th days of January 1791, has been - - - £. 193,657

As this circumstance must recur rather oftener than in the proportion of once in every six years, if the above total had been formed upon the produce of six years, it would not have been necessary to make any deduction upon this account. But that total having been formed (for the reasons already stated) upon the produce of three years only, half the amount of that weekly payment, being a sum of 96,828l. must be deducted, and would leave - £. 40,416,860
The average of those three years would then be - £. 13,472,286

It is also to be observed, on the other hand, that, in order to form as accurate a calculation as possible, some addition ought to be allowed for beyond this average, on account of whatever may be the excess of the taxes imposed in 1789, above what may be sufficient to replace the shop tax, which was repealed in that year.

It appears, that the actual receipt on account of those taxes, cannot be accurately ascertained; but if a calculation were to be formed, by deducting from the produce of the three last years what was received on account of the shop tax, and what is calculated to have been received on account of the duties imposed in 1789, and by substituting in each year what may be expected as the future produce of the last-mentioned duties, the result would be an addition to the average of between

FUTURE INCOME. PERMANENT TAXES.

§ 5. Your committee proceeded to consider what may be expected to be the future income of the country. And, in order to estimate the produce of the permanent taxes, they have not thought it necessary to go back to a more distant period than three years. The successive alterations which have taken place in various branches of the revenue, the material changes arising from the Consolidation act, and from the commercial treaty with France, and the particular circumstances attending the preceding years, seem to make a more remote retrospect inapplicable to this view of the subject.

The produce of the permanent taxes, from the 6th day of January 1788 to the 5th day of January 1791, both inclusive, appears to have been,

In 1788	-	£. 13,007,642
1789	-	13,433,068
1790	-	14,072,978

Making a total of £. 40,513,688

Your committee, however, think it necessary to remark, that the account for the year ending the 5th day of January 1790 includes fifty-three days of weekly payment upon the letter money; that the ac-

between 20,000l. and 30,000l. But, from the shortness of the period since they were imposed, the several accounts from the stamp and tax offices do not appear sufficiently clear and distinct, to enable your committee to state any precise sum upon this account.

A similar observation arises from the increase of the revenue upon the article of tobacco, since it has been put under the management of the excise; and though your committee are here also unwilling to hazard any particular calculation, it may be supposed, from the papers referred to, that if this regulation, which took place only in October 1789, had existed during the whole of the three years, it would have added a considerable sum to the average above stated.

ANNUAL TAXES. LAND TAX.

In considering what is to be taken on account of the land tax, your committee have adopted the estimate already mentioned, for the reasons there given, and state it at - - - - - £.1,972,000

MALT DUTY.

The produce of the duty on malt, not being, like that of the land tax, uniform in its amount, can only be estimated from some former average. If this estimate were formed from its produce in 1786, 1787, and 1788, the result would be - - - - - £. 597,171

But as the reasons which led the committee to confine their con-

sideration of the permanent taxes to three years, do not apply to this, it may be proper to include a greater number of years in the average; especially as the produce of this duty depends so much on the variations of the seasons. If taken upon an average of the last complete five years, included in the account given in, it would amount to about - - - - - £. 586,000

The total average arising from the permanent taxes, and the annual duties upon land and malt, exclusive of any additional allowance for the taxes imposed in 1789, or for the increase upon tobacco, would be, upon the above estimate,

Permanent taxes	£.13,472,286
Land tax	- 1,972,000
Malt duty	- - 586,000

£. 16,030,286

§ 6. Your committee are sensible, that any estimate which can be formed of the future produce of a revenue, arising from so great a number of articles, and necessarily varying with the fluctuations of an extensive commerce, must be liable in its nature to uncertainty. They think it right, however, to remark, that the average on which they have grounded their expectations, is formed upon a revenue which has been annually increasing*; and that a considerable proportion of this increase (as appears from the papers referred to) has taken place

* Permanent taxes, and land and malt, without any deduction on account of the fifty-third weekly payment.

5 years average	— — —	£. 15,618,775
4 years	— — —	15,917,205
3 years	— — —	16,062,562
2 years	— — —	16,311,023
Last year's income	— — —	16,630,978

upon

upon articles of general consumption; and particularly upon those to which the attention of parliament has lately been directed.

—————

EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.

§ 7. Your committee, having stated all that they think necessary to observe relative to the past or future produce both of the permanent taxes, and of those which, though annually voted, form a part of the ordinary income of the country, have judged it proper, before they proceed to the other branches of their inquiry, to take notice of such extraordinary resources, exclusive of money raised by loans, as have arisen during the period referred to them.

There appears to have been applied to the public service,

From respited duties paid in by the East-India company	£. 522,500
From arrears of aids of land tax granted prior to 1786	131,467
Ditto malt, ditto	14,875
From sums remaining in the exchequer on the 5th day of January 1786	1,172,119
From imprest monies, and monies repaid	820,165
From money repaid on account of an advance for foreign secret service	34,000
From sale of French prizes	3,000
From army savings, and Chelsea pensioners	1,091,147
And from profit on the annual lottery	£. 1,212,692

From the nature of the articles which have composed these extraordinary aids, it is evidently impossi-

ble to form any estimate of what farther receipt may be expected under such of those heads as can recur in future.

The repayment of imprest and other monies may still be supposed to yield some additional sums; but as these principally arise from the settlement of accounts for monies issued during the last war, this resource cannot be relied on for any length of time; and even while it lasts must be expected to become every year less productive.

The extent of the resource of a lottery (which has become within these few years an object of increased importance) necessarily depends upon circumstances, which make it impossible to form any certain estimate of the profit to be expected from it: but there is no apparent reason to imagine, that, as long as parliament thinks proper to avail itself of this mode of raising money, it may not continue to furnish as large a sum in time of peace as it has lately produced.—No notice is here taken of army savings, as they are allowed for, to a certain extent, in the army estimates.

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II. EXPENDITURE.

PAST EXPENDITURE.

§ 1. The total expence incurred in the last five years, under the heads of—interest and charges of the national debt—interest of exchequer bills—civil list—charges on the aggregate and consolidated funds—navy—army—ordnance—militia—miscellaneous services—and appropriated duties—appears to have been *

* The expence of the armament of the year 1790, being a part of the charge of the year 1791, and having been separately provided for by parliament, is not here included.

The grants on this account, as far as they appear in the papers referred to, under the heads of—navy—army—and ordnance, have been £. 2,821,000.

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For the year 1786 £. 15,720,543
 1787 - 15,620,783
 1788 - 15,800,796
 1789 - 16,030,204 *
 1790 - 15,912,597 *

rest according to this proportion, it
 would stand at - - - £. 42,862

The whole amount of the interest
 and charges would then be
 - - - - - £. 9,317,972

§ 2. No precise estimate having been formed by the committee of 1786 of what might be expected to be the total expence of all those services previous to a permanent peace establishment, it is impossible to draw the same kind of comparison as to the expenditure, which your committee have attempted to do as to the income.

FUTURE EXPENDITURE.

§ 3. The next object pointed out for their inquiry, was the probable future expenditure, which they have stated in the same order.

The annual interest and other charges payable upon the public debts, as they stood on the 5th day of January 1791, including the interest on the stock which has been purchased by the commissioners, was - - - £. 9,289,110

From this is to be deducted 14,000l. being the interest of the short annuities granted in 1789, because the fund from whence this interest is paid does not appear as part of the income - - - £. 14,000

There must be added, on the other hand, the interest on the ton-tine loan. It appears that, on the 5th of April 1791, 21,431l. was set apart in the exchequer to pay half a year's interest on that loan, but that the future annuity cannot be ascertained with perfect accuracy. Taking, however, the whole year's inter-

§ 4. Your committee called upon the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury for an estimate of the expence likely to be annually incurred under the head of exchequer bills, upon the land tax, the malt duty, and the supplies. The future charge upon this article is stated by them at - - - £. 260,000

§ 5. The sum charged upon the consolidated fund, for the support of his majesty's household, is £. 898,000; and, together with 2,000l. which is paid by the alienation office, before the neat produce of that revenue is paid into the exchequer, forms the whole of the civil list.

§ 6. The remaining charges upon this fund in the last year (exclusive of 4,000l. paid to his late royal highness the duke of Cumberland) appear to have been £. 105,385

§ 7. Your committee called upon the different offices for estimates of the future annual expence of the navy, army, and ordnance; and, according to the statements received from them, it is calculated to be as follows, subject to the observations subjoined to those estimates.

For the navy £. 2,000,000
 For the army - 1,748,842
 For the ordnance - 375,000

§ 8. The annual charge of the militia, during the only three years since the reductions in that branch

* Exclusive of the militia.

of the national service for which the accounts are yet made up, appears to have been, upon an average,

£.93,110

But, by an estimate delivered in for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, it is stated at - £.95,311

§ 9. The expected expence upon the articles usually included under the head of miscellaneous services, is stated according to the estimate received from the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and amounts to - - - £.128,416

§ 10. The amount of the taxes which still remain appropriated for particular purposes, not included under any of the preceding heads of charge, appears to have been, upon the average of the three last years - - - £.40,252

§ 11. The sum directed to be issued in each year, to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, is - - - £.1,000,000

The total of the sums above stated is - - - £.15,969,178

§ 12. It does not appear to your committee, that it falls within their province to consider what other extraordinary expences, not included in any estimate before them, may occur in a course of years, as the nature and extent of such services depend upon circumstances which cannot be foreseen, and must be decided upon, by the wisdom of parliament, as the occasions arise.

The only article of this nature which has been brought distinctly under the view of your committee, is the amount of the money remaining due upon the principal and in-

terest of the American and East-Florida claims, which has been directed by parliament to be paid by installments.

The principal appears to have amounted, on the 10th of October 1790, to the sum of £.1,546,062, exclusive of the interest payable half-yearly upon such part of it as remains undischarged, and exclusive of such further annual payments as are made for the temporary support and pensions of American loyalists, the present amount of which appears to be - - - £.54,211

As, however, in the estimate of the income of the country, no credit is taken for any aid from a lottery, or from any incidental payments, those additional resources may be considered as applicable towards defraying this and other charges of the like description.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

§ 13. Your committee have hitherto stated the result of their examination respecting the past and future income and expenditure, considering them in the same view, and arranging them under the same heads, as the former committee. These heads appear to comprehend all the articles which are necessary to be included on each side of the account in that view of the subject.

But in order to ascertain, with as much precision as they were able, the means by which the whole amount of the public expence, during the last five years, has been defrayed, they have thought it necessary to consider the income and expenditure of that period in another point of view, for the purpose of forming such a comparative

state-

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statement of their total amount as may render the account as distinct as possible, according to the several heads of service under which money is issued from the exchequer.

The total produce of the permanent taxes, for the five years, has been - - - £.65,303,877

There was received from the East-India company in 1786, on account of duties due before that time, the payment of which had been postponed - £.522,500

The whole sum of 2,750,000 l. raised upon the credit of the land and malt-tax acts, is actually received from the bank in each year. Exchequer bills to this amount are made out, and deposited from time to time with the bank; and the sum by which the produce of those duties paid into the exchequer, up to the time of settling the respective accounts with the bank, falls short of repaying both the principal and interest of such exchequer bills, is paid over at such time to the bank, and is annually stated as an article of expenditure, under the head of deficiency of land and malt. It will be inserted as such on the other side of the account now to be formed; and it is evident, therefore, that in this view of the subject, the full sum so raised must be taken as a part of the receipt for the last five years - £.13,750,000

Arrears of land-tax - 171,166

Arrears of malt-duty - 16,489

These are sums received at the exchequer subsequent to the period at which the respective accounts were closed with the bank, and the balance paid, and therefore form a part of the public income, in addition to the whole annual sum of - - - £.2,750,000

The whole sum raised by way of lottery is placed upon this side of

the account; the amount of the prizes, and of the charges of management, being stated as an article of expenditure - £.3,758,724

Imprest monies, and monies repaid - 820,165

It appeared, upon examination, that the whole of the sums contained in the papers referred to under this head were applied to the public service of the years in question, either by specific votes, or by being carried to the consolidated fund, except 100,000 l. paid by the East-India company in part of the 400,000 l. voted for the supply of 1781, and 5,000 l. which belonged to the civil list. The remainder, after deducting both these sums, forms the total above stated.

Monies in the exchequer on the 5th of January 1786 - - £.1,172,119, which were applied to the public service in that and the subsequent year, as appears by the explanation subjoined to the account referred to.

It appears further, that there have been applied, as part of the ways and means, during this period, the following sums:

Arising from army savings,	£.
	1,091,147
Raised by way of tontine	1,002,140
Raised by granting short annuities	187,000
Re-payment in part of a loan for foreign secret service	34,000
Arising from the sale of French prizes	3,000
The total amount of the receipts appears to have been	£.87,832,327

It is to be observed, that the annual exchequer bills, furnishing in the ways and means exactly the same

same sum by which they increase the charge on the supply, are omitted on both sides of the account.

The first great article of expenditure, is the interest and charges of the public debt; and it appears that there has been issued from the exchequer, during the last five years, under that head, the sum of - - - £. 46,187,010

The charges upon the aggregate and consolidated funds have been, on account of the civil list £. 4,481,000

And upon sundry other accounts 474,751

The sums granted by parliament (exclusive of the armament of 1790) for the service of the navy, have been - - - £. 11,649,539

Of the army - - - 9,639,626

And of the ordnance 2,308,344

The expences incurred under the name of miscellaneous services include a variety of articles of different descriptions, and among them some of those which have been already stated as appearing on both sides of the account; your committee, therefore, have thought proper to distinguish them under several heads.

It has been already observed, that the deficiencies of land and malt are annually stated as articles of expenditure, and would be inserted on this side of the account; and the manner in which they arise has been sufficiently explained. It must, however, farther be remarked, that the ways and means are usually opened to parliament, and the committee of supply closed, some months before the accounts with the bank, relative to the exchequer bills issued upon the credit of those duties are actually settled. This deficiency, therefore, is then only stated upon calculation; and, as its real amount, whatever it

may prove, must be paid out of the supplies of the current year, it follows, that if it should turn out more than the calculation, it would be one cause of a deficiency in the whole of the grants for that year. If it should be less, it would either occasion a surplus of those grants, or diminish by so much any deficiency which might arise from other causes.

The sum stated by your committee is not the estimated, but the actual deficiency of land and malt; and as this is in part occasioned by the expence of the militia, the whole of which is paid out of the land tax before it comes into the exchequer, no separate charge is made for that branch of service in this statement of the account.

The sums stated under the head of interest and charges of exchequer bills, in the paper referred to, are the amount of the interest paid out of the supplies in each year respectively, upon exchequer bills issued by virtue of acts passed in the preceding year. As it has been the constant practice not to make any provision for this interest beforehand, either a part or the whole of this expence (according to the excess or deficiency of the ways and means, compared with the other charges upon the supplies) is thrown upon the year subsequent to that in which it is actually paid, and appears annually under the head of deficiency of grants. From what has been just observed, it follows, that, in addition to the charges incurred during the last five years, and stated in this account as the interest of exchequer bills, any sum which was paid in the year 1786, to make good the deficiency of grants in 1785, must be inserted amongst the expences de-

frayed out of the ways and means of that period.

It appears equally evident, that any sums voted under the head of deficiency of the grants of any of the succeeding years, must be omitted in this statement of the account, as all the services of each year (including what is paid for the interest of exchequer bills, and for the deficiency of land and malt, as above explained) are stated at their full amount, under their proper heads, as articles of expenditure.

It is necessary, however, here to observe, that the interest of exchequer bills, paid in 1790, will be provided for in 1791, under the head of deficiency of grants of the preceding year, and will account for a difference, to that amount, between the apparent receipt and expenditure of the whole five years.

Having premised these remarks, your committee proceed to state the deficiencies of land and malt at - - - - £. 2,033,764

The deficiency of grants of the year 1785, at - - - - £. 127,138

And the interest and charges of exchequer bills, issued on the credit of the supplies, at - - - - £. 914,144

The amount of the prizes in the lotteries of the several years, and of the charges attending them, has been - - - - £. 2,546,032 and requires no particular explanation.

The expence incurred upon those articles of miscellaneous services, which were expressly stated by the former committee, has been - - - - £. 507,580

Other miscellaneous articles, consisting principally of incidental or temporary demands, have amounted to - - - - £. 929,676

The total expence occasioned by

the relief of the American loyalists, appears to have been £. 1,336,377

Your committee have omitted a sum of 33,890l. for the purchase of lands at sundry places, as it is included in the ordnance account. They have also thought proper to leave out in this place a sum of 112,101l. stated as the deficiency of the consolidated fund on the 5th day of January 1789, being the sum which was then wanted to complete the quarterly issue to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and which was defrayed out of the supplies of that year; because the sum of 4,750,000l. which is inserted below, is the full amount of all the quarterly issues under this head, and consequently includes, as a part thereof, the sum of 112,101l. above stated.

The whole produce of the appropriated duties having been comprehended in the total produce of the taxes, such part of it as has been applied to the services to which they were appropriated, and which do not appear in this statement of the account, must be considered as an article of expenditure: this has been - - - - £. 231,935

The sum issued to the commissioners for discharging the national debt has been, as above stated - - - - £. 4,750,000 exclusive of what they have received from the interest of stock bought, or of annuities expired or fallen in.

The total expence, under all these heads, amounts to - - - - £. 88,116,916

But the total receipt for the last five years is stated to have been only - - - - £. 87,832,327

To this will be to be added (for reasons already explained) the amount of the deficiency of grants for

for 1790, which remains to be defrayed out of the ways and means of 1791 - - - £. 207,728

The total, applicable to the expences of the five years, will then appear to have been £. 88,040,055

There will be then left unaccounted for a sum of - - £. 76,861 by which the disbursement will have exceeded the amount of the several articles of receipt which it has been possible in this statement to ascertain.

It would certainly have been more satisfactory if the totals now drawn up had been found to tally with perfect accuracy. It must, however, be recollected, that the accounts referred to your committee include a period when the revenue was encumbered with a variety of minute appropriations: and although the change made, by the consolidation act, in the course and practice of the exchequer, has simplified the accounts since the time when it took place, yet the intricacy of the former system has probably rendered it difficult precisely to ascertain the sums brought forward, under different heads, from an antecedent period; and that difficulty may be supposed to have been in some measure increased by the interval of time which has now elapsed since that system was altered.

§ 14. In order, however, to throw still farther light upon this part of the subject, your committee have thought proper to add a brief statement of the account in a different point of view.

For this purpose they have stated as the income the several surplusses of the sinking and consolidated funds, as they stood at the end of each

quarter, from the 5th of April, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1791, both inclusive; and such farther sums as appear in the ways and means of each year, taken from the accounts laid annually before parliament, shewing how the money given for the service of each year respectively has been disposed of. The expenditure is composed of such sums as have been charged in each year, in consequence of the grants of parliament, excluding only (for reasons above stated) such as have been voted in 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790, under the head of deficiencies of the grants of the years respectively preceding. In this manner of stating the account, no notice is taken, on either side, of the fixed charges upon the income, or of the revenue by which they are defrayed; but the principal of the annual exchequer bills, and the deficiencies of the annuity funds, are included on both sides. These deficiencies were sums which, prior to the consolidation act, were annually made good, out of the sinking fund, to the various other funds appropriated to the payment of particular annuities, and replaced to that fund out of the supplies of the subsequent years.

It appears by the table referred to, that the whole receipt for the last five years (so stated) has been £. 62,519,440

To which must be added 176 347, being the sum wanting, on the 31st day of December, 1790, to make up what had been granted as the growing surplus of the consolidated fund, up to the 5th of April, 1791, to defray the services included on the other side of the account.

And a farther sum of - £. 207,728 under the head of deficiency of grants

of 1790, being that by which the whole of the ways and means granted for the service of that year falls short of defraying the expences incurred in the course of it.

The total will then be

£.62,903,515

The amount of the grants for the same period appears to have been

£.62,903,519

The difference between the totals, which may be supposed to arise only from fractions, may be entirely overlooked.

§ 15. Your committee, desirous of ascertaining in what manner the difference between the receipt and expenditure, as first stated, has arisen, by all the means which occurred to them, proceeded to examine the disposition papers of each year; and have taken the surplusses of the sinking and consolidated funds (as before) for each quarter, from the 5th of April, 1786, to the 5th of January, 1791, both inclusive; deducting only the sums carried to them to make good the annuity funds, which do not appear as articles of expenditure.

As these surplusses arise after defraying the interest of the public debt, the annual million, the civil list, and all other permanent charges upon these funds, the whole of which must have been paid as they became due, at the expiration of each quarter, before any surplus could be applied to the current service of the year, it is evident that the total income arising from the permanent taxes, and other articles, carried, during this period, to the sinking and consolidated funds, must have exceeded the amount of those surplusses by a sum equal to the

amount of the charges above enumerated.

Adding, therefore, to these surplusses, the charges above stated—the amount paid out of the appropriated duties for the purposes to which they are respectively appropriated—the sums separately voted as the ways and means of each year, exclusive of the principal of the annual exchequer bills—the sum wanted, on the 31st of December, 1790, to complete the total for which the growing surplus had been taken, up to the 5th of April, 1791—and the deficiency of grants, 1790, the total will be

£.88,116,918

In order to examine the expenditure in a similar manner, your committee have taken the totals, stated in the disposition papers, as granted by parliament, as the whole amount of the supplies; deducting only the principal of the annual exchequer bills—the deficiencies of the annuity funds—the deficiencies of grants for every year, except 1785—and the deficiency of the consolidated fund on the 5th of January, 1789.

To this they have added the interest of the public debt—the charges on the aggregate and consolidated funds, including the civil list—the quarterly payments to the commissioners for discharging the national debt—and the produce of the appropriated duties, as above stated; being articles of expence which are not included in the annual grants of parliament.

The total of these sums appears, by the papers referred to, to be

£.88,116,926

Which agrees almost exactly with the whole amount of the expenditure, already stated in a different manner, and is an additional proof, that

that there can be no error, which deserves notice, on this side of the account.

The coincidence between the income and expenditure, as here stated, sufficiently proves that the difference which appeared in the former statement, must have proceeded from the omission of sums, to the amount of that difference, on the receipt side; and the cause from which such an inaccuracy may be supposed to have arisen, has already been mentioned.



III. NATIONAL DEBT.

Your committee find, that there has been applied to the discharge of the public debt, during the period referred to them, a sum of - - - £. 4,750,000 arising from the quarterly payments directed by parliament; and a further sum of - - - £. 674,592 arising from the interest of stock bought, and of annuities expired or fallen in; making together a sum of - - - £. 5,424,592

The only increase of the funded debt, during the same period, which is to be set against the above decrease, has been occasioned by a loan raised by annuities with the benefit of survivorship.

The capital so raised was £. 1,002,140

A farther sum of 187,000*l.* was raised by short annuities in 1789, of which 34,000*l.* has been since repaid. But as this loan, which was intended to replace a sum advanced for foreign secret service, is to be repaid by installments, in such proportions as will be equal to the sums necessary for discharging both the principal and interest, by the

time at which the above-mentioned annuities are to determine, it did not appear to your committee of a nature to be stated as an increase of the national incumbrances.

In comparing the outstanding debt of the navy, on the 31st of December, 1785, and on the 31st of December, 1790, there appears to have been an increase of £. 105,530

On the 31st of December, 1789, there had been an increase of 657,950*l.* But in the year 1790, a sum of 200,000*l.* was granted by parliament towards discharging this debt, and has been included in the statement of the expences of the five years, which would have reduced the increase to - £. 457,950

Your committee think it necessary to remark, that, from information received from the navy board, the apparent decrease which has taken place in the year 1790; beyond what can be accounted for by the grant of 200,000*l.*, appears to have been in part occasioned by the circumstances attending the late armament, and the sums voted for defraying it.

Credit has been taken, in making up this account, for so much of those sums as was intended to replace the stores delivered out in the course of the last year, which apparently diminishes the debt, till that service has been fully performed. Some of the works proposed in the extra estimate of 1790 having been necessarily suspended, in consequence of the exertions for the armament, left a part of the sum voted on that estimate applicable, in the course of that year, to the reduction of the debt.

A farther sum arose from the additional expence of the armament having been stated as including the purchase of hemp and other articles,

cles, which, although immediately necessary for the extraordinary preparations then made, are stated to have been in fact defrayed out of the grants of parliament for the current service of the navy. Your committee, therefore, having reason to believe that the great apparent decrease of the debt during the last year would have proved only temporary, (even if the navy had continued this year upon the usual establishment) have thought proper to state the increase of the period referred to them, by comparing the state of the debt on the 31st of December, 1785, with that of the 31st of December, 1789; and, by deducting from this increase the sum of 200,000*l.* voted by parliament,

It would then stand at *£*.457,950

The deficiency of the grants of 1790, which falls upon the revenue of 1791, is - - - *£*.207,728

But the deficiency of grants of 1785, which was defrayed out of the income of 1786, was only

£ 127,138

The difference, therefore, must be added to the increase of the debt in the whole period, and makes a sum of - - - *£*.80,590

There appears by the ordnance account to have been, on the 5th of January, 1791, a sum due, for articles not provided for by parliament, amounting to - *£*.61,909 which has been since voted, and must be considered as a part of the debt incurred in the five years preceding.

The whole excess of the sum applied to the discharge of the public debt, beyond those by which it has been increased (during the last five years) appears to have been, according to the above statement,

£.3,822,003

The amount of the unfunded debt arising from the exchequer bills annually issued by the authority of parliament upon the credit of the supplies, is 5,500,000*l.*, being the same as at the commencement of this period, exclusive of those issued in consequence of the late armament, which are charged upon taxes appropriated to that purpose, and not included in the statement of the future income of the country.

The amount of the exchequer bills annually issued on the credit of the land and malt, which are now outstanding, is not stated by your committee as a part of the unfunded debt, because money applicable to the discharge of those bills is constantly in a course of collection, and no other charge is occasioned by them to the public, except the annual interest, which is already stated as a part of the future expenditure.

It is farther to be observed, that, in the year 1786, the growing produce of the sinking fund was taken up to the 5th of April 1787, which included the surplus of five quarters, and appears to have been for the time an anticipation, to a certain extent, of the revenue of the subsequent year; and that the growing produce of the sinking and consolidated funds has, since that time, been taken from April to April. The surplus of the consolidated fund had produced, on the 31st of December 1790 (being the day on which the account of that fund was made up) within 176,347*l.* of the whole sum for which it had been taken, up to the 5th of April 1791. This sum, therefore, was, on the 31st of December 1790, all that remained of the amount of that anticipation. Your committee

having called for an account of the produce of the taxes from that day to the 5th of January 1791, find that it amounted to £. 200,468

If, therefore, the balance had been struck upon the consolidated fund account on the 5th of January in 1791, as was done in 1786, (instead of so many days earlier than usually happens in the course of the exchequer) the produce of the three last quarters would have been rather more than sufficient to make good the whole charge on the growing produce of that fund for the supplies of the year 1790, without any anticipation.

Your committee beg leave also to remark, that an alteration was made with respect to the time of payment of certain annuities, by an act of the 26th of his present majesty, cap. 34. One quarter was paid on the 10th of October 1786, and the future payments were directed to be made half-yearly, on the 5th of April, and the 10th of October. By this change the public availed itself, in that year, of the amount of one quarterly payment upon these annuities, which would have been payable on the 5th of January 1787, (in addition to that issued on the 10th of October) which quarter was not afterwards to be paid till the 5th of April 1787; and, on the other hand, the public became bound, for the future, to pay, on every 5th of April, half a year's interest, being in fact an advance of one quarter, which would not otherwise have been payable till the 5th of July following. The result of this is, that, on the 5th day of January, 1791, there had been paid, upon the whole, one quarter less, on account of the interest of these annuities, than would have been issued

if the above-mentioned alteration had not taken place.

It is farther to be observed, that the abolition of all the distinct appropriations, and the charging all the quarterly issues for the interest of the public debt on one general fund, to which all the permanent taxes are carried, has produced the effect of making the whole amount of the revenue in the exchequer applicable, at the end of each quarter, to the discharge of the demands then existing; whereas, under the former system, that part of the revenue which consisted of taxes distinctly appropriated to the payment of the interest of particular annuities, could only be applied to the half-yearly payments on those annuities; in consequence of which, there remained, at the expiration of each quarter, certain sums of this description useless, till the expiration of a subsequent quarter.

The capital stock bought by the commissioners for discharging the national debt, up to the 1st day of February, 1791, (being the day on which they made up their accounts of the application of the sums issued in the preceding year) was

£. 6,772,350

The annual interest of the same is - - - - - £. 203,170

To this must be added, the present amount of the annuities expired or fallen in, which appears to be

£. 51,634

Both together make a sum of

£. 254,804

which is at this time an addition to the million annually applied to the reduction of the national debt, resulting from the adoption of the plan for that purpose, and now increasing at compound interest.

216^o ANNUAL REGISTER, 1791.

ABSTRACT of the several Articles of the PUBLIC RECEIPT and EXPENDITURE.

RECEIPT.

Permanent taxes	—	£. 13,472,286	
• Land and malt	—	2,558,000	£.
		<u> </u>	16,030,286

EXPENDITURE.

Interest and charges of the public debt	£. 9,317,972	
Exchequer bills	260,000	
Civil list	898,000	
Charges on consolidated fund	105,385	
Navy	2,000,000	
Army	1,748,842	
Ordnance	375,000	
Militia	95,311	
Miscellaneous services	128,416	
Appropriated duties	40,252	
Annual million	1,000,000	
	<u> </u>	15,969,178
Balance	—	<u> </u> £. 61,103

• Calculated upon the average produce of the three last years, and exclusive of any additional allowance for the taxes imposed in 1789, or for the increase upon tobacco.

S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
S T A T E P A P E R S ;

CONTAINING,

**New and faithful Translations of Two IMPORTANT PAPERS; with
 introductory Remarks on the Falsities of the common Translations.**

THE Reader will see among our State Papers (page *131) the declaration of the king of France on his departure from Paris; and the answer of the national assembly to that declaration, as they are to be found in some of the best English publications of the year. Perceiving, however, that these very important papers were untruly given, that they were disfigured by omissions in some instances, additions in others, and that in many material points they were apparently garbled for the worst of purposes, we have made a new and faithful translation of them from the original copies, which were published by order of the national assembly. We add it here, as a Supplement to the State Papers, that our Readers, by comparing both, may perceive what little arts have been practised on this occasion to mislead public opinion.

In the king's declaration it will be found, that very many circumstances, which were explanatory of the conduct, and reflected honour on the feelings, of the unfortunate monarch, have been either misrepresented or suppressed, especially where the silence or evasion of the answer admitted the fact; and similar falsifications have taken place with respect to other unanswered passages tending to fix on the assembly the guilt of participating in those sanguinary atrocities, which many in this country have insidiously attempted to palliate, but none explicitly to approve and defend. The instances are too numerous to be specified; but they will easily discover themselves, as the paper has been reduced considerably more than two thirds in its bulk, to bring it nearer to the standard of the answer.

In the same spirit too, though in a less degree, these universal lovers of innovation have new-modelled the answer of the national assembly to their own taste. They have generously made a present of two millions to the population of France; and, to balance the account, have subtracted 100,000 men from the number of the

national

national guards, which they knew to exceed the truth. Some of the king's complaints (as with respect to the inconveniencies of his residence in Paris) have been distorted for the purpose of treating them with a ridicule much over-charged in comparison of the original; while admissions, which might serve the king's cause (such as that none of the laws, called constitutional, were submitted to his refusal, and that the interior administration of the kingdom was wholly in the hands of persons elected by the people) have been cut away, and the remaining shreds of invective against despotism awkwardly pieced to other subjects: in short, every thing unfavourable to the revolution (such as confessions of tumults and outrages, or marked recommendations of order, submission, and moderation) has been much weakened, or entirely omitted.

There are† two very material paragraphs, of which no trace is to be found; the one relative to the patronage of the army and navy, the other to the new constitution of the clergy. Though the king is acknowledged in this very answer to be the head of the executive power, yet the assembly intimate, that it was an act of favour and liberality in them to allow him one-third or one-fourth of the military and naval appointments; and that their measures on this head had only restored to their soldiers and seamen the rights which belonged to them. This probably was thought not altogether congenial with the old-fashioned prejudices of Englishmen; and it must be remembered, that the first indications of a breach in opposition shewed themselves on this very subject, when the army estimates were before the house of commons in the year 1790. Nor may the motives have been very dissimilar, which induced the suppression of the second point. The assembly assert the right of the civil power over the church; and in the persecutions of the clergy, which all parties here have joined to condemn, hypocritically assume merit for having restored Christianity to its primitive purity. Such doctrines must have shaken the credit of the assembly with many warm admirers of the French revolution in this country, who dissent from our established church, or, had they not unequivocally expressed their disapprobation, might have been a little unpleasantly retorted in argument against them.

The next example is of a tendency the most personally uncandid to the king. It may be remembered, that a violent cry was attempted to be raised against the king's perjury on his departure from Paris. The assembly did not forget this topic. But to fix perjury, they thought it necessary first to shew, that the oath was free; though they had begun, rather inauspiciously for this purpose,

† p. 236* and *237.

by stating it to have been taken in the midst of the deputies of the national guards, and all the troops of the line. They argue, however, the freedom of the oath, from a passage in the king's declaration, where he† says, that "during the federation he passed the sweetest moments of his stay in Paris," and then goes on to explain himself, by adding some strong expressions of satisfaction in "the attachment and affection, which were then shewn him by the national guards." Yet he had before declared himself to have been in a state of captivity during his whole residence there; and surely it is not very inconsistent for a captive to be pleased with the personal kindness of his keepers. Indeed, the king had before made similar acknowledgments respecting the national guards of Paris and the troops of the line, in the very paragraph where he complains of having been a prisoner in their custody. The weakness of the argument was felt, as well as the imprudence of mentioning the fact, that the oath was taken in the midst of an armed force. So both one and the other have disappeared, and in their room we meet with nothing but a round assertion, that if the king did not declare his good faith to have been surprised, *he had, of course, announced his own perjury to the whole world.* In truth, let the freedom of the oath have been what it might, the king would not therefore have been necessarily implicated in perjury. He would not have been bound on his part, if on the other side that constitution, which all with him had sworn to maintain, was violated to the annihilation of all his authority under it, and the insecurity of his person; and that it was so violated, he has endeavoured to shew at length. The reader will carefully examine, and judge for himself, how far he has been sufficiently contradicted in the answer of the assembly.

These are but specimens, taken as they occurred. Some others will be pointed out in short notes; but we shall here particularize one more, because it goes directly to the whole merits of the revolution. Whence came the first aggression? is the question, on the solution of which must depend the decision of mankind, whether all the horrors of France, from the period of July 1789, were the consequences of a justifiable resistance, or a premeditated rebellion. The defence of the insurrection at Paris in that month has always been rested on the assembling of the troops under Marshal Broglie. Now the king asserts that measure to have been the effect, not the cause, of rebellion in the capital. He says, that † "he did not call them around his person, until a spirit of revolt had manifested itself in Paris, and even in the regiment of his own guards." This is not denied by the assembly, and their silence concedes the question to

† p. *235.

‡ p. *222.

the king. The false translation, therefore, true to its object, strikes every allusion to this leading fact out of both papers.

Some excuse might be attempted in extenuation by the first publishers of this paper, if it had been merely shortened; but there are also interpolations to be found in it. The high tone in which the assembly claims an incontestible right to the exercise of government in the absence of the king, has not only been lowered in the translation, but a new apology for their conduct has been vamped up for them by a reference to the law of regency, which however, unfortunately, rather applies the other way. Another instance relates to the Jacobin clubs. The original intimates, that to be any longer useful, they must change their ardent love of liberty for prudent and enlightened patriotism. The English, on the contrary, pronounces them to be "more necessary than ever," and then, without a syllable of authority, but probably with a view to charges made upon them in our parliament, adds, "some persons presume to say, that they govern the administrative bodies, and the empire, as if they were the deliberating bodies!" The assembly did not think it so presumptuous to say this. On these very grounds, two months after, they decreed, though in vain, the dissolution of those clubs. But, perhaps, the most perfect pattern of insidious alteration in every kind, occurs on the subject of making war and peace. In the first place, an unfair insinuation against the king is aggravated into a direct charge; a complaint of all former treaties, as having sacrificed the territories of France, is then omitted, probably on account of its tendency to give serious alarm in other countries; and finally, the consequent defence of the assembly's right to revise all treaties of peace before they should be valid, is converted, with some additions, into a declamation against the royal prerogative of making war.

It is not the design of these observations to impute any blame to respectable works, which may have incautiously copied these papers from the usual sources of political information. Compilers must, in some degree, rely upon such authorities. It seemed however highly necessary, at the present moment, to put the public on their guard against men, who can carry on a treacherous and malignant warfare by poisoning the springs of history. Some mischief, it is apprehended, may have been already done in this instance; and more might hereafter be the consequence, if the antidotes of detection and exposure were not to be applied.—Two short fabrications, such as our duty has here compelled us to notice, are more calculated to injure the cause of truth, than volumes of detailed misrepresentations in the form of partial narratives: for it is by the test of documents, like these, and not by the catalogue of qualifications, which writers may arrogate, to themselves, that the merits of discordant accounts must be ultimately tried.

Declaration of the King, addressed to all the People of France, upon his Departure from Paris.

intentions, was not afraid to come alone amongst the armed citizens of the capital.

On the 5th of October of the same year, the king, who had long anticipated those commotions which the factious were endeavouring to excite, was informed of what was going forward sufficiently early to allow of his withdrawing to any place he chose; but he feared that his departure might be made a pretext for kindling a civil war; and he chose rather to sacrifice himself, and, what was more agonizing to his heart, to endanger the lives of those persons whom he held most dear. All the world knows the events of the night of the 6th of October, and the impunity which has drawn a veil over them for nearly two years. God alone has prevented the commission of the greatest crimes, and averted from the French nation a stain which would have been indelible.

WHILE the king could hope to see the order and happiness of the kingdom revived by the measures of the national assembly, and by his residence near that assembly, in the capital, he regretted no personal sacrifice; nor should he have objected to the nullity with which an absolute privation of freedom has infected all his proceedings since the month of October 1789, if that hope had been fulfilled: but now that his only recompence for so many sacrifices, is to behold the destruction of royalty; to see all the powers of government disowned; all property violated; personal safety every where endangered; crimes remaining unpunished; and perfect anarchy domineering over the laws, while that semblance of authority given him by the new constitution is insufficient for repairing any one of those evils with which the kingdom is afflicted; the king, after having solemnly protested against all the acts which emanated from him during his captivity, believes that he ought to submit to the view of France, and of the whole world, a detail of his own conduct, and of that of the government which has established itself in the kingdom.

The king, yielding to the manifest desire of the Parisian army, came, and, with his family, established his residence in the palace of the Thuilleries. More than an hundred years had elapsed since any king, except Louis the XVth, during his minority, had made this palace his constant residence. Nothing was ready to receive the king; and the disposition of the apartments is such as by no means to afford the conveniencies to which his majesty was accustomed in the other royal houses, and which every private person in easy circumstances enjoys. Notwithstanding the restraint laid upon him, and the inconveniencies of every kind which attended the king's change of abode; faithful to the system of sacrifice on which his majesty had resolved

In the month of July 1789, his majesty, in order to remove all cause of jealousy, sent away the troops which he had not called around his person until a spirit of revolt had manifested itself in Paris, and even in the regiment of his own guards. The king, relying on his conscience and the rectitude of his

resolved for procuring public tranquillity, he believed it his duty, on the day after his arrival in Paris, to satisfy the provinces concerning his residence in the capital; and to invite the national assembly to come to him, and continue their labours in the same city.

But a sacrifice still more painful was reserved for the heart of his majesty: it was thought necessary to remove from him his body-guards, of whose fidelity he had received a brilliant proof on the fatal morning of the 6th instant. Two of them had fallen victims of their attachment to the king and his family; and many more were severely wounded in consequence of their strict obedience to the orders of the king, who had forbidden them to fire on the deluded multitude. Great art had been employed by the factious to represent in dark colours this corps, so faithful, who had now carried to the highest point that good conduct which they had ever observed. But it was not so much against the body-guards that their designs were levelled, as against the king himself; they sought to insult him entirely, by depriving him of the service of those guards, whose minds they had not been able to delude, though they had succeeded with the French guards, who a short time before were the model of the army.

To the soldiers of this last regiment, already taken into the pay of the city of Paris, and to the national guards of the same city, the guarding of the king has been confided. These troops are entirely under the orders of the municipality of Paris, by whom also their commander in chief is appointed.

The king, thus guarded, saw himself a prisoner in the midst of his states; for what but a prisoner can a king be stiled, who can only command his guard on occasions of parade; who cannot appoint one of them; and who is obliged to endure the sight of many persons round him, with whose ill intentions towards him and his family he is well acquainted? It is not to cruminate the Parisian national guards, or troops of the line, that the king sets forth these facts; it is that the exact truth may be known; and in making it known, he has done justice to that zeal for good order, and that attachment to his person, which, in general, these troops have shewn when left to act from the dictates of their own minds, and not led astray by the clamours and the falsehoods of faction.

But the more the king sacrificed for the good of his people, the more the factious laboured to lessen the value of those sacrifices, and to represent royalty under the falsest and most odious colours.

The calling together the states general; the doubling of the deputies of the third estate; the pains which the king had taken to smooth all the difficulties which could retard the assembling of the states general, and those which arose after their opening; all the retrenchments which the king had made in his personal expences; all the sacrifices he offered to his people in the session of the 23d of June; in fine, the union of the orders, effected by the manifestation of the king's desire, a measure which his majesty then judged indispensable for putting the states general in motion; all his cares, all his labours, all his generosity,

generosity, all his devotion to his people; all has been misconstrued, all has been perverted.

When the states general, having taken upon them the name of the National Assembly, began to employ themselves about the constitution, it must be recollected what memorials the factious had the address to get transmitted from many provinces, and what commotions were raised in Paris, to prevent the deputies from adhering to a very principal clause contained in all their instructions, which imported that *the power of legislation should be exercised in concert with the king*. In contempt of this clause, the assembly put the king altogether out of the constitution; by refusing him the right of granting or denying his assent to such articles as the assembly should deem constitutional; reserving to themselves the right of ranging in that class all such as they thought proper; and with respect to those which are purely legislative, restraining the royal prerogative to a right of suspension to the third legislature: a right wholly illusive, as many examples too evidently prove.

What now remained for the king, but the vain phantom of royalty? They gave him twenty-five millions for the expence of his civil list; but the splendour of the household which it was necessary to maintain for supporting the honour and dignity of the crown of France, and the expences which were thrown upon him even after this establishment was made, must have absorbed it entirely.

They left him the usufruct of some of the domains of the crown, subjecting the enjoyment to many irksome forms. These domains are

but a small part of those possessed by the kings of France from all antiquity, and of the patrimonies of his majesty's ancestors, which had been annexed by them to the crown. It may be confidently advanced, that if all these objects were united, their amount would greatly exceed the sums allowed for the maintenance of the king and his family, and that in such case the people would be at no expence on that account.

One remark, which it afflicts the king to make, is the attention shewn in every arrangement, respecting the finances, and all other objects, to separate the services rendered to the king personally from those rendered to the state; as if these objects were not absolutely inseparable, and that the services done to the king in person, were not done also to the state.

It will be proper now to examine the different parts of the government, as they follow in order.

Department of Justice.—The king has no participation in forming the laws: he has the simple right of suspending to the third legislature such articles as are not reputed constitutional; and of praying the assembly to take into consideration such or such affairs; but without the right of proposing them in form. Justice is administered in the king's name; the judges commissions are issued by him, but this is merely matter of form, and the king has only the nomination of the king's commissioners. These officers, whose offices are newly created, exercise only part of the functions of the late procurators general: they are only to see that all forms are duly executed; the public part of the business has devolved on another officer

officer of justice. These commissioners hold their places for life, and are not removeable; while the judges must be removed every six years. A decree of the assembly has deprived the king of that noblest prerogative which is every where attached to royalty—that of remitting or commuting punishments. Though laws are ever so perfect, there must still be unforeseen cases for which they cannot provide: it must then be the jurors who would in fact have the right of shewing mercy by construing the law according to their pleasure, however the matter might seem otherwise. Besides this, how would such an arrangement diminish the majesty of the king in the eyes of the people, so long accustomed to recur to him in their exigencies and distresses, and to behold him as a common father, able to alleviate all their distresses!

The Interior Administration.—This is entirely in the hands of the departments, the districts, and the municipalities: multitudinous springs, which must embarrass the movement of the grand machine, and frequently thwart the action of each other. All these bodies are elected by the people, and, according to the decrees, have no concern with government but in the execution of decrees, or of those private orders which are as sequels to them. They have, on one side, no favour to expect from government; and on the other side, the modes of punishing or restraining their faults, as established by the decrees, are so complicated, that they can reach none but extraordinary cases, and this almost defeats that superintendence which ministers ought to have over them. These bodies have in

other respects acquired little force or consideration. The societies of the friends of the constitution (of which notice will be hereafter taken) which are not responsible, possess much greater strength, and thus the action of government is annihilated. Since the establishment of these bodies, many examples have proved, that however well they were disposed to maintain good order, they did not dare to employ the means provided by law to effect it, from fear of the people, impelled by very different investigations.

The electoral bodies, although they have no action of themselves, and are restrained to elections, possess real force from their combined numbers and their biennial continuance; and from that fear, so natural to men, more especially to men who have no established situation, of displeasing those by whom they may be served or injured.

The disposal of the military forces is placed by the decrees in the hands of the king. He has been declared supreme head of the army and marine. But the business of forming these two bodies has been transacted in the committees of the assembly, without the king's participation; every thing, even to the least regulation in discipline, has been done by them: and if there has been left to the king a third or fourth part of the nominations, according to circumstances, this right, however, becomes almost nugatory, from the obstacles and contradictions, out of number, which each takes upon itself to oppose to the king's will. He has been seen under the necessity of doing over again all that had been done, by the general officers, in the army, because

because their arrangements did not please the clubs. In yielding thus, his majesty would not expose the virtuous and gallant soldiers, and subject them to that violence which would certainly have been exercised against them, as has been seen in too many afflicting examples. The clubs and the administrative bodies have intermeddled in all the interior regulations of the troops with which even the administrative bodies should not have the least connection, who have only a right to call upon the public force when they think there is occasion for employing it: they have sometimes availed themselves of this right, for thwarting the arrangements made by government in quartering the troops; so that it has often happened where they ought to have been there were none found. It is to the clubs alone that should be attributed that spirit of revolt against their officers, and against military discipline, which has spread through so many regiments; and which, if order is not effectually re-established, will prove the destruction of the army. What must an army become without officers, and without discipline? Instead of being the strength and safety of the state, it will prove its terror and its scourge. How will the French soldiers, when their eyes are opened, blush at their conduct, and in what abhorrence will they behold those who have perverted the good order which reigned in the army and marine of France! Fatal alteration, effected by those who encouraged the soldiers and sailors to frequent clubs! The king has ever thought that the laws should be equal towards all: officers who have done wrong should be punish-

ed; but they should, as well as private soldiers, be punished according to established laws and usages: Every door should be open for merit to display itself, and obtain promotion. Every comfort which can be given to the soldiery is just and necessary; but there can be no army without officers, or without discipline; and neither can exist while the soldiers believe themselves entitled to judge the conduct of their commanders.

Foreign Affairs.—The nomination of ministers to foreign courts has been reserved to the king, as well as the conducting of negotiations: but his power of choosing is equally null and void in this instance as in respect to officers of the army: this was exemplified in the last nomination. The revision and confirmation of treaties being reserved for the national assembly, and the appointment of a diplomatic committee absolutely destroys the second prerogative. The right of making war would be nugatory, because it would be nothing short of frenzy in a king, who neither is or wishes to be despotic, to rush headlong to attack another kingdom, when the will of his people opposed it, and that they would grant no supplies for its support. But the right of making peace is entirely of another kind. The king, who is one with the nation, who has no interest but that of the nation; knows its rights, its wants, and its resources; and is not afraid to enter into such engagements as appear proper to him for ensuring happiness and tranquillity: but when treaties must be submitted for revision and confirmation to the national assembly, no power will be willing to receive engagements which may be broken by others besides

besides the party with whom he contracts; and then all the powers must centre in the assembly. With whatever openness negotiations might be carried on in another place, would it be possible to intrust any secret to an assembly whose deliberations are necessarily public?

Finances.—The king had declared, even before the calling of the states general, that he acknowledged in the assemblies of the nation the right of granting the supplies, and that he would lay no farther imposts on the people without their consent. All the *cabiers** of the deputies to the states general agreed in placing the arrangement of the finances foremost in the list of objects, on which the assembly were to deliberate: and some even added articles of restriction, for the purpose of obtaining a decision of this point previous to any other business. The king removed the difficulties which these restrictions might have occasioned, by freely coming forward, and granting, in the session of the 23d of June, all that had been desired. On the 4th of February 1790, the king himself prayed the assembly to consider effectually this important object, in which they had proceeded but slowly and imperfectly. There has not to this day been drawn up any correct table of the receipts and expenditures; and the resources to make good the deficit, are submitted to hypothetical calculations. The assembly hastened to abolish those imposts, the weight of which did, in truth, press much upon the people, but which furnished a sure income;

and substituted in their room an impost, almost a single one, the exact levying of which might, perhaps, be attended with great difficulty. The ordinary taxes are at present much in arrears, and the extraordinary supply of the first twelve hundred thousand assignats is nearly exhausted. The expences of the departments of war and marine, instead of being diminished, are increased; without including the expence occasioned by the necessary armaments in the course of last year. As to the administration of the department of finance, the wheels of the machine have been greatly multiplied by the administrative bodies of the districts being made receivers of the taxes. The king, who was the first to feel no apprehension at making public the accounts of his administration of the finances, and who had manifested his will that public accounts should be established as a rule of government, has been, if it be possible, more estranged to this department than the others: and the prejudices, the jealousies, and the recriminations against government, have been more abundantly poured forth on this than any other subject. The regulation of the funds, the recovery of the imposts, the sub-division of them amongst the departments, the reward of past services, all have been taken from under the king's superintendance, and nothing is left to him except a few nominations to barren offices: he has not even the disposal of any gratuities for the relief of indigence. The king knows the dif-

* Written instructions delivered by the constituents to their respective deputies previous to their going to the assembly.

faculties of this administration, and if it were possible for the machine of government to go on without his immediate inspection into the management of the finances, his majesty would regret nothing but his want of power to assist personally in establishing such permanent order as might produce a diminution of the imposts (an object which, it is well known, his majesty has always ardently desired, and which he would have effected, had it not been for the expences of the American war) and his having no longer the disposal of succours for the relief of the unfortunate.

In fine, the king has been declared, by the decrees, supreme chief of the administration of the kingdom: but subsequent decrees have directed the organization of the ministry in such a manner that the king, at whom these decrees directly point, can make no change without new decisions of the assembly. The system adopted by the heads of the predominant faction, of making all the agents of government the objects of suspicion and distrust, has been so well followed up, that it is now become almost impossible to fill the offices of administration. No government can proceed or subsist without a mutual confidence between the governors and governed; and the last laws proposed in the national assembly, respecting the punishment to be inflicted on the ministers, or agents, of the executive power, who should be guilty of malversation, or judged to have exceeded their authority, must give life to all manner of inquietudes: these penal arrangements extend even to the subalterns in office,

which must destroy all subordination; as inferiors ought never to judge the orders of their superiors, who are responsible for whatever they command. These regulations, from the multiplicity of provisions, and the kinds of offences which are there indicated, tend only to inspire distrust, instead of that confidence which is so necessary.

This form of government, so vicious in itself, is rendered still more so by the following causes:

First. The assembly, by means of their committees, are every moment exceeding the limits prescribed them: they employ themselves about those affairs which pertain only to the interior administration of the kingdom, and to that of justice, and thus accumulate all the powers. They even exercise, by their committee of researches, a real despotism, more barbarous than any of those which history has ever recorded.

In the second place, there are established in all the cities, and even in many towns and villages, associations known under the name of the Friends of the Constitution: contrary to the tenor of the decrees, these allow no society to exist which is not affiliated with them; by which is formed an immense body corporate, more dangerous than any of those which formerly existed. Without any authority for the purpose, and even in contempt of all the decrees, these societies deliberate on all the parts of government, correspond among themselves on all objects, make and receive denunciations, post up their resolutions about the streets, and have

• The word in the original is *prévaricateurs*.

acquired such a preponderance, that all the administrative and judiciary bodies, not excepting the national assembly itself, are in general obedient to their orders.

The king does not believe it possible to govern a kingdom, so extensive and of such importance as France, by the means established by the national assembly, as they exist at present. His majesty, in granting to all the decrees, indiscriminately, a sanction which he well knew it was not in his power to refuse, has been guided by the desire of avoiding all discussion, which experience taught him was at least of no use; he moreover feared it would be thought that he wished to retard or defeat the labours of the national assembly, in the success of which the nation took so great an interest; he placed his confidence in the sage persons of that assembly, who must have known that it is easier to destroy a government, than to construct another on a very different basis. They have many times perceived the necessity, at the time of the revision of their decrees, of giving a strength of action, and re-action, necessary to all government: they knew also the utility of inspiring for the government, and for the laws, which ought to assure the prosperity and state of each individual, such confidence as should bring back into the kingdom all those citizens who, some by discontent, but more by fear for their lives or their property, had been forced to emigrate.

But the nearer the assembly approach to the conclusion of their labours, the more these sage persons are perceived to lose their credit; while those regulations

which can serve only to impede, and even render impracticable, the conduct of government, and inspire for it nothing but distrust and hatred, are every day augmenting. The other laws, instead of pouring salutary balm into the wounds which are still bleeding in many provinces, tend only to increase their inquietudes, and sharpen their discontents. The spirit of the clubs domineers over and pervades all: the multitude of calumnious and seditious pamphlets, which are every day dispersed, are but their echos, and prepare men's minds to be conducted as they please. The national assembly have never dared to remedy this licentiousness, so very different from true liberty: they have lost their credit, and even the strength which would have been necessary for retracting any of their measures, and altering what they judged to want correction. It is evident from the spirit which reigns in the clubs, and the manner in which they made themselves masters of the new primary assemblies, what is to be expected from them; and if they display any disposition to retract in some points, it is only that they may destroy the remains of royalty, and establish a metaphysical and philosophical government, which can never be reduced to practice.

People of France! was this what you intended by sending representatives to the national assembly? Did you desire that anarchy, and the despotism of clubs, should replace that monarchical government under which the nation has prospered during fourteen hundred years? Did you desire to see your king overwhelmed with outrages, and deprived

prived of his liberty, at the moment he was employed in establishing yours?

The love of their kings is one of the virtues of Frenchmen, and his majesty has personally received such touching marks of it as he never can forget. The factious are well convinced, that while that love subsists, their work can never be completed: they are equally convinced, that in order to weaken that love it is necessary, if possible, to annihilate the respect with which it is always accompanied; and this is the cause of those outrages which the king has received during the two last years, and of all the other ills which he has suffered: his majesty will not here re-trace the melancholy picture; he wishes only to make known to his faithful subjects the temper of the factious, who are tearing the bosom of their country under pretence of regenerating it.

Advantage was taken of the enthusiasm felt for Mr. Neckar, to procure for him, even under the eyes of his majesty, a triumph so much the more splendid, because those who were hired for the purpose affected at the same time to pay no attention to the presence of the king. Emboldened by this first essay, they dared on the ensuing day, at Versailles, to insult the archbishop of Paris, pursue him, throw stones at him, and put his life in imminent danger. When the insurrection broke forth at Paris, a courier whom the king had sent was publicly arrested, his papers rummaged, and the king's letters opened. During this time, the national assembly seemed to insult the sorrows of his majesty, by employing themselves only in heaping marks of esteem on those very mi-

nisters whose recal served as a pretence for insurrection, though they have not since met with better treatment on that account. The king being determined to bear, himself, the words of peace into the capital, these apostates took great care to prevent the shouts of *Vive le Roy!* so natural to the French; and the harangues which they addressed to his majesty, so far from containing expressions of acknowledgment, were filled with the bitterest irony.

At the same time they accustomed the people more and more to despise monarchy and the laws. An attempt was made by the populace at Versailles, to hang two hussars at the gate of the castle; a parricide was rescued by them from punishment, and they made a stand against a detachment of chasseurs intended to maintain order: whilst a maniac made a motion publicly, in the Palais-Royal, to go to Versailles, hurry away the king and his son, bring them under a guard to Paris, and shut up the queen in a convent: and this motion, instead of being rejected with the indignation it deserved, was applauded. The assembly themselves, not contented with degrading royalty by their decrees, affected to despise the person of the king, by receiving, in a manner which could not properly be qualified, the observations of his majesty on the decrees of the nights of the 4th and 5th of October.

In fine, the 5th and 6th of October arrived. To relate the events of those days would be superfluous, and his majesty will spare his faithful subjects the pain of hearing them; but he cannot forbear remarking the conduct of the assembly during those horrible scenes: so far from any thought of preventing them,

them, or at least of stopping them, they remained tranquil, and contented themselves with replying to a motion, which proposed their removing in a body, and taking their station near the king, that it was not consistent with their dignity.

From that moment almost every day has been marked by new scenes more afflicting than the preceding ones to his majesty, or else by new insults offered to his person. Scarcely was the king come to the Thuilleries, when an innocent woman was massacred, and her head paraded through Paris almost under the eyes of his majesty. In many provinces those who appeared attached to the king as their monarch, or to him personally, were persecuted; many even lost their lives; while the king had it not in his power to cause the assassins to be punished, or to shew his concern for the event. Even in the garden of the Thuilleries all the deputies who had spoken against royalty, or against religion, (for the factious in their rage had no more respect for the altar than the throne) received the honours of a triumph; while those who acted differently were every moment insulted, and heard their lives continually menaced.

At the federation of the 14th of July 1790, the assembly, in naming the king, by a special decree, to be the chief at that ceremony, shewed that they thought it in their power to name another. At this same ceremony, notwithstanding the king's desire to the contrary, the royal family were seated in a place separate from that which he occupied; a thing unheard of till the present time.—It was during this federation that the king passed the sweetest moments of his

stay in Paris. He pauses with satisfaction on the remembrance of those proofs of attachment and affection which were given him by all the national guards of France assembled at that ceremony.

The king's ministers; those very ministers whom the assembly had forced the king to recall, or whose nomination they had applauded, have been all, except one, constrained by force of insult or of threats, to quit their situations.

Mesdames, the king's aunts, who had remained constantly with him, determined by a religious motive, were disposed to go to Rome: the factious would not allow them that liberty which belongs to every person, and which is established by the declaration of the rights of man: a crowd of people, urged on by the factious, proceeded to Bellevue, in order to stop the princesses, but this blow having failed by their hasty departure, the mob were not disconcerted, they went to Monsieur, under pretence that he intended to follow the example of the princesses; and though they derived from this expedition nothing more than the pleasure of shewing him an insult, it did not, according to their system, entirely fail of success. But though the princesses could not be overtaken at Bellevue, means were found to stop them at Arnai-le-Duc; and it was necessary to obtain orders from the national assembly, before they were permitted to continue their journey, the orders of the king being despised.

Scarcely had the news of this arrest arrived in Paris, when endeavours were used to make the national assembly approve this violation of liberty; the attempt how-

ever, having failed, an insurrection was excited to constrain the king to oblige the princesses to return: but the good conduct of the national guard (of which the king ardently testifies his satisfaction) having dispersed the crowd, they had recourse to other means. It was not difficult for them to observe that, whenever the least commotion was perceived, a great number of faithful subjects repaired to the Thuilleries, and formed a kind of battalion, capable of restraining the ill-intentioned: they excited a rising of the people at Vincennes, and designedly spread a report that they would seize that opportunity of coming to the Thuilleries: this was to make the defenders of the king assemble as they had done before, and then to misrepresent the intention of their assembling to the national guards, by attributing to them those very designs, and offences, against which they had taken arms. They succeeded so well in frowning the minds of the national guards, that the king had the affliction of seeing ill-treated, under his eyes, and without his having power to defend them, those who had given him the most affecting proofs of their attachment. It was in vain that his majesty demanded in person the arms which had rendered them suspected; it was in vain that they gave him this last mark of their devotion; nothing could restrain their infatuated pursuers, who carried their audacity so far as to seize and break those arms which had been deposited with the king.

At this time the king, having been ill, wished to take advantage of the return of spring for going to Saint Cloud, where he had the

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preceding year spent part of the spring, and the autumn. As this journey took place in the Holy week, they laid hold of his majesty's known attachment to the religion of his fathers, to excite men's minds against him; and on Sunday evening the club of the cordeliers caused a resolution to be posted up, in which the king himself was arraigned as refractory to the law. The next day his majesty got into his carriage, in order to proceed on his journey; but when he came to the gate of the Thuilleries, a multitude of people appeared ready to oppose his passage; and it is painful though necessary to add, that the national guard, far from restraining the seditious, united with them, and stopped the horses of the king's carriage themselves. It was in vain that Mr. de la Fayette did all in his power to make the guard sensible of the enormity of their conduct: nothing had any effect; the most insolent language, the most abominable propositions, rung in his majesty's ears: the persons of the household, who were with the king, hastened to make around him a rampart, at least of their bodies, if the intentions, which were too plainly manifested, should be carried into execution. But it was necessary that the king should drink of the chalice even to the dregs: his faithful servants were now torn from him by violence; and, in fine, after having endured for an hour and three quarters all these outrages, his majesty was constrained to return into his prison; for, after what had just happened, what other appellation can be given to his palace? The king's first care was to send for the director of the department, charged by the state with watching over the

* R public

public tranquillity and safety, and to inform him of all that had happened. The next day the king went himself to the national assembly, to make them sensible how repugnant these proceedings were, even to the new constitution; but new insults were the only fruit which the king derived from these two measures: he was obliged to consent to the removal of his chaplains, and the majority of his great officers; to approve a letter which his minister had written in his name to foreign courts; and, in fine, to assist at the mass on Easter-day with the new vicar of St. Germain l'Auxerrois.

With all these incitements, and finding it impossible for him to effect any good, or to prevent any evil, is it surprising that the king has sought to recover his liberty, and to place himself and his family in a place of safety?

Frenchmen, and you above all, Parisians! you inhabitants of a city which the ancestors of his majesty took a pleasure in calling the good city of Paris, learn to suspect the suggestions, and the untruths, of your false friends: return to your king: he will always be your father, your best friend. What pleasure will he have in forgetting all his personal injuries, and in seeing himself again in the midst of you? when a constitution, which he shall have accepted freely, has made our holy religion respected; when government shall be established on a footing steady, yet allowing useful action; when the property or condition of no man shall be troubled; when the laws shall be no more infringed with impunity; and, in fine, when liberty shall be

settled on a firm and immoveable foundation.

At Paris, the 20th of June, 1791.
Signed Louis.

The king forbids his ministers to sign any order in his name, until they have his farther orders: he enjoins the keeper of the seal of the state to send it to him, when it shall be required on his part.

At Paris, the 20th of June, 1791.
Signed Louis.

•• The following Account of the Manner in which the foregoing Declaration was communicated to the Assembly, is taken from their proceedings of the 21st of June.

Mr. la Porte, intendant of the civil list (being at the bar, in consequence of a decree, requiring him to bring the king's declaration) said, that that morning at eight o'clock, there was transmitted to him, on the part of the king, a packet, in which he found a memorial written in his majesty's hand, of which he had read only the first and the last pages: that he immediately carried this memorial to the minister of justice, who advised him to take it to the president of the national assembly; that he had with this view sought for the president, but could not find him.

The president demanded of him, whether he had the memorial; and by whom it was brought to him?

He answered, that he had the memorial, and that it had been brought to him by a domestic belonging

longing to a valet-de-chambre of the king.

On being interrogated, if he knew the name of that man, he answered, that he did not; but that it would be easy to know it, if the assembly would give the order.

A member demanded, that before the memorial should be read to the assembly, M. la Porte should be required to write down, and deposit on the table, the account which he had to give. M. la Porte in consequence wrote, and delivered to the president, the following declaration.

“ I the undersigned, declare, that at eight o'clock, a domestic belonging to the king's first valet-de-chambre brought to me a sealed packet, on which my name was written, in the hand of his majesty. This packet inclosed a memorial, written in the king's hand, and signed. I have not read it: but having seen a postscript, containing an order to the ministers, I went immediately to M. Duport-Dutertre, minister of justice. This minister advised me to go directly to the president of the national assembly. Not finding him, I returned home, from whence I am now come, only in obedience to the orders of the national assembly, who have directed me to place the memorial on the table,

and to sign the present declaration.

At Paris, June the 21st, 1791.

LA PORTE.”

June the 22d.

Proclamation of the National Assembly to the People of France.

(In answer to the king's declaration.)

AN^o atrocious enterprize against the laws has discovered itself. The National Assembly approached the end of their long labours; the constitution was finished; the tumults of the Revolution were subsiding; and the enemies of the public weal have resolved by one criminal act to sacrifice the whole nation to their vengeance. The king, and the royal family, were carried off in the night between the 20th and 21st of this month.

Your representatives will triumph over this obstacle: they have measured the extent of the duties imposed upon them. Public liberty shall be maintained; conspirators and slaves shall be taught to know the intrepidity of the founders of French liberty; and we solemnly engage, in the face of the nation, to avenge the law or to die.

The French are resolved to be free; and they shall be free. Endeavours are used to make the revolution recede, but it shall not re-

* The original is, *Un grand attentat vient de se commettre*. It is impossible to translate this; the English language has no one word that answers to *attentat*, which properly means, any act of an inferior jurisdiction, in contempt of a superior. Something like the general meaning of the passage is attempted to be given above, but with great distrust.

cede. Frenchmen! such is your will, and your will shall be accomplished.

The business then is to apply the law to the state of the kingdom at this moment. The king in the constitution exercises the royal prerogative of refusing or sanctioning the decrees of the legislative body; he is besides the chief of the executive power; and in this last capacity he causes the laws to be executed by ministers who are responsible. If the first public functionary deserts his post, or is carried off against his will, the representatives of the nation, invested with all the powers necessary for the preservation of the state, and for invigorating government, have a right to supply his place. In pronouncing that affixing the seal of the state, and the signature of the minister of justice, shall give to decrees the character and authority of law, the national constituent assembly have exercised an indisputable right. Under the second relation of the king to the constitution, it is no less easy to find a substitute. In fact, no order from the king can be carried into effect unless countersigned by the minister, who remains responsible for it: a simple declaration, which should order ministers to act provisionally under their responsibility, without the king's signature, would be sufficient.

After having provided the means of complexing and securing the execution of the laws, the dangers of the present crisis are removed with regard to the internal af-

fairs of the kingdom. Against foreign attacks, a first re-inforcement of four hundred thousand national guards is ordered for the army. Thus internally and externally France has every means of security, if men will not suffer their minds to be panic-struck, but preserve moderation. The national constituent assembly is in its place; all the public powers established by the constitution are in action; the patriotism of the citizens of Paris, and its national guards, whose zeal is above all praise, watch around your representatives; the active citizens of the whole kingdom are enrolled, and France is able to expect her enemies.

Ought France to fear the consequences of a writing, extorted, before his departure, from the seduced king,* whom we shall not think inexcusable, except in the last extremity? The ignorance and the pretensions of those by whom it was dictated can scarcely be conceived. This writing, if your interests require it, shall hereafter be considered more at large; but it is our duty to give some idea of it here.

The national assembly have made a solemn declaration of political truths; they have discovered, or rather re-established, the sacred rights of mankind; and this writing presents again the theory of slavery.

Frenchmen! it calls to your recollection the day of the 23d of June, when the chief of the executive power, or the first public functionary, dared to dictate his absolute will to your representatives, charged

* This expression of tenderness toward the king, "that they shall not think him inexcusable but in the last extremity," is wholly suppressed in the false translation.

by your orders to renovate the constitution of the kingdom.

The writers of that paper have not been afraid to make mention in it of that army which menaced the national assembly in the month of July. They have dared to make a merit of having removed it from the deliberations of your representatives.

The national assembly lamented the events of the 6th of October; they ordered the guilty to be prosecuted; and because it is difficult to discover some brigands amidst a general insurrection of the people, the assembly are accused of letting them remain unpunished: great care is taken to avoid relating the outrages which provoked these disorders. The nation was more just and more generous; they no more reproached the king with the violences exercised under his reign, and under the reigns of his ancestors.

They have dared in this writing to advert to the federation of the 14th of July in the last year; but what is the circumstance which remains impressed on the memory of its authors? It is, that the first public functionary was placed only at the head of the representatives of the nation. In the midst of all the deputies of the national guards, and the troops of the line of the kingdom, the king there pronounced a solemn oath: this is the circumstance which they have forgotten! The oath of the king was free; for he says himself, that "it was during the federation he passed the sweetest moments of his stay in Paris; that he paused with satisfaction on the remembrance of the proofs

" of attachment and affection there given him by the national guards of all France." If the king does not one day declare, that he was drawn away by the factious, his perjury ought to be published to the whole world.

Is there occasion for running through so many reproaches so ill founded? They would say, that the people are made for kings, and that clemency is the only duty of those kings; that a great nation ought to regenerate itself without any agitation, without disturbing for a moment the pleasures of the king and his court. Some disorders have attended the revolution; but ought the antient despotism to complain of the evils which it has produced? And is it decent in that despotism to express astonishment, that the people should not always have kept within bounds in dispersing that mass of corruption formed in a series of ages by the crimes of absolute power?

Addresses of felicitation and thanks have come in from all parts of the kingdom, and these, it is said, are the work of the factious: yes, without doubt, of twenty-four millions of factious.

It was necessary that all the powers should be re-constituted, because all were corrupted; because a frightful debt, accumulated by the ignorance and disorders of government, was precipitating the nation into an abyss. We are reproached for not subjecting the constitution to the king's refusal; but royalty is established for the sake of the people only; and* if great nations

* This seems to admit the moral necessity of monarchy for a great nation; but the false translation links it to a voluntary obligation, and weakens the force of the sentence

tions are obliged to maintain a kingly government, it is because that form is the safe-guard of their happiness. The constitution has left the king his prerogative and his true character. Your representatives would have acted criminally if they had sacrificed twenty-four millions of citizens to the interest of one man.

The labours of the people fill the treasury of the state; it is a sacred deposit. The first symptom of slavery is to consider the public contributions as a debt paid to despotism*. France ought to be on this point more strict than any other country. The national assembly has regulated the appropriation of these contributions with exact justice; they have provided munificently for the expences of the king: by a condescension of the assembly he himself has fixed the amount, and nearly thirty millions granted for the civil list are represented as too moderate a sum.

The decree on war and peace takes from the king and his ministers the right of devoting the people to carnage, according to the caprices or the views of the court: and this seems to be a subject of regret! A succession of disastrous treaties has sacrificed the territories of the French empire, the treasures of the state, and the industry of the citizens. The legislative body bet-

ter understand the interests of the nation; and yet we are reproached for having reserved to that body the revision and confirmation of treaties! What then! have you not had sufficiently long experience of the errors of government?

Under the antient regimen, the promotion and the discipline of soldiers and officers of the land and sea service were abandoned to the caprice of ministers. The national assembly, attentive to their welfare, has restored the rights which belonged to them; the royal authority has no more than a third or fourth part of the appointments to dispose of; and this the authors of the paper do not find sufficient.

They attack your judicature without even dreaming that the king of a great people ought not to interfere in the administration of justice any farther than in causing the laws to be observed, and judgment executed. They are disposed to excite dissatisfaction concerning the right of pardoning offences and commuting punishment; and yet it is universally known how this right is exercised, and on whom monarchs bestow such favours.

To complain of being no longer at liberty to direct all the parts of the administration, is to claim ministerial despotism. Certainly the king could not exercise it himself. The choice of their administrators

sentence that follows. The whole passage runs thus: "Does not royalty exist for the people? and if a great nation *obliges itself* to maintain it, is it not solely because it is believed to be useful?"—This shews the aim of all the fraud practised with these papers. It is levelled at the general principle of monarchy, in this and every country, as well as in France.

* As the false translation was intended to operate here, this saving clause in favour of other countries has been omitted; the preceding and subsequent sentences have been also altered.

rests with the people; but these very administrators are under the king's authority in all matters which do not concern the assessment of imposts: he can, under the responsibility of his ministers, annul their irregular acts, and suspend the exercise of their functions.

The powers once separated, the legislative body, like all other public powers, must not go beyond the limits assigned it. In default of ministers, imperious necessity has sometimes forced the national assembly to mingle, in spite of itself, in the administration. It is not for the government to reproach that assembly on this account; it ought to be told that it no longer inspired confidence; and while all the people of France inclined towards the legislative body as the centre of action, that body never busied itself in this respect, but to make such dispositions as were necessary for the preservation of liberty. Ought it to give continuance to any distrust? You may judge after the departure of the king.

The faction which, in consequence of that departure, has drawn up a long list of reproaches, to which it would be so easy to reply, has unmasked itself. Imputations, frequently renewed, betray their source. They complain that the new system is complicated; and, in evident contradiction, complain at the same time of the biennial duration of the functions of electors. They bitterly reproach, in the societies of the friends of the constitution, that ardent love of liberty which has so greatly assisted the revolution, and which may be still so useful, if under the present circum-

stances it is directed by a patriotism always prudent and enlightened.

Is it necessary, in fine, to speak of the insinuation relative to the Catholic religion? The national assembly, you know, have made use only of the rights of the civil power; they have restored the parity of the first christian ages; and it is not the interest of heaven that dictates these reproaches.

Frenchmen! the absence of the king will not arrest the activity of government; and you are threatened only by one real danger. It is your part to provide against the suspension of the labours of industry, for the payment of the public contributions, and against that extreme agitation which may overturn the state by an excess of patriotism, or at the instigation of our enemies, commencing in anarchy, and ending in civil war.

This is the danger to which the national assembly calls the attention of all good citizens; this is the real misfortune which you must avoid. Your representatives exhort you, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, not to lose sight of this object. It is in critical moments that a great character should be developed: it is at such times that private animosities and private interests should disappear. The people who have recovered liberty should, above all things, shew that firm tranquillity by which tyrants are appalled.

The grand, almost the only object which should particularly engage us until the moment now at hand, when the national assembly shall have taken their definitive resolution, is the maintaining of order.

der. Order may exist wherever there is a central point of authority; that point is found in the assembly of your representatives. It will suffice provisionally, if the united voice of citizens pronounce with energy the obligation of respecting the law; if the public force of the army of the national guards, and of all the people of France, support the execution of the law.

* We shall bewail the misfortunes of our king; we shall call down the vengeance of the laws on those who have drawn him from his post; but the empire shall not be shaken; the activity of the administration of justice shall not relax. Rally, therefore, around that centre on which the preservation of France depends; watch those men who consider public calamities but as affording a favourable opportunity for their depredations: unite your efforts for preventing violence; for securing the payment of the contributions and the free circulation of provisions; for maintaining the safety of men's persons, and of all kinds of property. Display the law to the guilty; strengthen the constitutional authorities with all the puissance of the general will; let the factious, who require the blood of their fellow citizens, behold order preserved

in the midst of tempests, and the constitution establishing itself, and becoming more dear to the French from the blows which they direct against it. And, in fine, let the dangers which were designed for you, involve none but the enemies of your welfare. The capital may serve as a model for the rest of France: the king's departure caused no agitation there; and our enemies are filled with despair at seeing Paris enjoy perfect tranquillity.

† There are outrageous attempts against great nations, which nothing but generosity could make them forget. The people of France were fierce in servitude; they will now display the virtues and heroism of liberty. Let the enemies of the constitution know, that to subjugate anew the territories of this empire, they must annihilate the nation: despotism may form such an enterprize if it will; it must either be vanquished, or enjoy a horrid triumph over a pile of ruins.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER BEAUHARNAIS,
President.

Mauriet, Regnier, Lecarlier,
Fricaud, Grenot, Merle,
Secretarii.

* This conciliatory expression towards the king, has not left a trace of itself behind in the false translation. The four last paragraphs of this proclamation (or, as the royal stile of the title has been softened down, this address) are compressed into two, comparatively short.

† The two first sentences of this paragraph are totally suppressed.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Short Account of Mr. Ray; from Dr. Pulteney's Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England, vol. i.

JOHN Wray, or, as he always spelt his name after the year 1669, Ray, was born at Black Notley, near Braintree, in Essex, Nov. 29, 1628. His father, though in so humble a situation as that of a blacksmith, sent his son to the grammar-school at Braintree; and in 1644, entered him at Catherine Hall, in Cambridge; from whence he removed, in less than two years, to Trinity College, where the positive sciences were more cultivated. Dr. Barrow was his fellow pupil, and intimate friend, and, on account of their early proficiencies, both were the favourites of their learned tutor, Dr. Dupont. He was chosen minor-fellow of Trinity, in 1649; in 1651, was made Greek lecturer of the college; in 1653, mathematical lecturer; and in 1655, humanity reader. These appointments were sufficient testimonies of his talents and abilities at this early period. He afterwards passed through the offices of the college, and became tutor to many gentlemen of honourable birth and attainments, who gave him due praise and acknowledgments for his watch-

ful care of them. He also distinguished himself, while in college, as a sensible and rational preacher, and a sound divine. As his favourite study was the works of God, he laid, at this time, in his college lectures, the foundation of his "Wisdom of God in the Creation," and of his "Three Physico-theological Discourses;" which were afterwards so well received by the public.

At the period when Mr. Ray turned his attention to the study of nature, the knowledge of plants was not highly superior to the state in which Turner had found it, in the same place, more than a century before. In this study Ray could find no master. I am not able to say, that a single publication, of a scientific nature, on the subject of plants, had ever appeared at Cambridge; for Mapler's "Green Forest" will scarcely be thought worthy of that appellation. Oxford had, indeed, not only experienced the benefit of private encouragement, but of public munificence, in the establishment of a garden. But at the sister university Mr. Ray stood alone, himself indeed an host! Self-taught as he was, and full of ardour, he so forcibly displayed the utility of botanical knowledge, and its intimate connection with the

arts, and conveniencies of life, independent even of those charms, which the views of nature ever afford to contemplative minds, that he soon made it an object of attention; and numbered among his associates in these studies, Mr. Nid, a senior fellow of his own college, Mr. Francis Willughby, and Mr. Peter Courthope. The first of these gentlemen became his inseparable companion; but he had the misfortune to deplore his death, a little time before the publication of his first work, which came out under the title of "*Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam nascentium. Cantab. 1660.*" pp. 182. *cum Indicibus, &c.* pp. 103. 12°.

These occupations, however, did not divert Mr. Ray from his object of entering into the ministry. He was, in Dec. 1660, ordained both deacon and priest, by Dr. Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, and conti-

nued fellow of Trinity College till the Bartholomew act; which, as he did not subscribe, necessarily superseded him. This event took place Sept. 18, 1662.

He died at Black Notley, and was buried, as Dr. Derham says, according to his own desire, in the church of that parish. The writers of the "*General Dictionary,*" in the mean time, inform us, that, "although the rector of the parish offered him a place of interment in the chancel of the church, yet he modestly refused it, choosing rather to be buried in the church-yard with his ancestors, where a monument was erected to him," as Dr. Derham relates, at the charge of some of his friends, with a Latin inscription; which may be seen in the "*General Dictionary,*" and in Mr. Scott's "*Remains;*" and of which I insert a copy below *.

As Mr. Ray did not inherit any paternal

* The Inscription on Mr. Ray's Monument.

Eruditissimi Viri JOHANNIS RAY, M. A.

Quicquid mortale fuit

Hoc in angusto Tumulo reconditum est,

At scripta

Non unica continet Regio:

Et Fauna undique celeberrima

Vetat Mori.

Collegii SS. Trinitatis Cantab. fuit olim Socius,

Nec nor. Societatis Regiæ apud Londinenses Sodalis,

Egregium utriusque Ornamentum.

In omni Scientiarum Genere,

Tam divinarum quam humanarum

Veratissimus

Et sicut alter Solomon (cui forsitan unico secundus)

A Cedro ad Hyssopum,

Ab Animalium maximis ad minima usque Insecta

Exquisitam nactus est Notitiam.

Nec de tantis solum quæ patet Terræ Facie,

Accuratissimè disseruit;

Sed et intima ipsius Viscera sagacissimè rimatus,

Quicquid notatu dignum in Universi Naturâ

Descripsit.

Apud exteras Gentes,

paternal estate, and had often refused preferment, his circumstances could never have been affluent; and the legacy of Mr. Willughby is said to have been the greatest part of what he enjoyed. His own estate, whatever that might be, he settled on his wife. He had four daughters, three of whom survived him. He left a small legacy to the poor of his own parish, and five pounds to Trinity College, in Cambridge, to purchase books for the library there. All his collections

“ of natural curiosities he bestowed
“ on his friend and neighbour, Mr.
“ Samuel Dale, author of the Phar-
“ macologia, to whom they were
“ delivered about a week before his
“ death.”

Mr. Ray's posthumous papers were entrusted by his widow to the care of Dr. Derham; who, after publishing the “*Historia Insectorum*,” selected a number of his letters, and printed them, in 1718, under the title of “*Philosophical Letters between the learned Mr.*

*Quæ aliorum Oculos fugerant, diligenter exploravit,
Multaque scitu dignissima primus in Lucem protulit.*

*Quod superest, eâ Morum Simplicitate præditus,
Ut fuerit abique Invidia doctus:*

Sublimis Ingenii,

Et (quod raro accidit) demissi simul Animi et modesti.

Non Sanguine et Genere insignis,

Sed (quod majus)

Propriâ Virtute illustris.

De Opibus Titulisque obtinendis

Parum sollicitus,

Hæc potius mereri voluit, quam adipisci,

Dum sub privato Lare sua Sorte contentus,

Fortunâ lautiori dignus consenuit.

In Rebus aliis sibi Modum faciliè imposuit,

In Studiis nullum.

Quid plura?

Hic omnibus

Pietatem minimè fucata adjunct,

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ

(Id quod supremo Habitu confirmavit)

Totus et ex Animo addictus.

Sic bene latuit, bene vixit Vir beatus,

Quem præsens Ætas colit, Postera mirabitur.

This monument beginning to want repair by standing exposed in the church-yard, was removed and set up in the chancel of the church; and to the epitaph is added, on the table of the east side, what follows:

Hoc Cenotaphium

Olim in Cœmeterio sub Dio positum,

Inclementis Cœli Injuriis oblitteratum,

Et tantum non collapsum,

Refecit et sub Tectum transposuit

J. LEGGE, M. D.

xvi kal. Aprilis, A. D. 1757.

On the west side,

*J. RAY, { Nat. 29. Nov. 1628.
 { Ob. 17. Jan. 1705-6.*

B 2

Ray

Ray and several of his Correspondents, natives and foreigners." 8°. pp. 367.

This collection contains 218 letters; of which, sixty-eight were written by Mr. Ray himself. Among his correspondents, the most frequent were Dr. Lister, Sir Philip Skippon, Dr. Tancred Robinson, Sir Hans Sloane, Mr. Llwyd, Mr. Jessop, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Oldenburgh. The first of Mr. Ray's letters bears date in 1667, the last in 1705.

The correspondence of learned and scientific men, seldom fails to be a welcome present to those of similar literature and pursuits; for, besides the personal interest we take in their concerns, they commonly delineate, in the most faithful colours, the characters of the writers, frequently ascertain discoveries, and enable their successors to trace the progress of knowledge in a more interesting manner than by historical detail.

As the general subject of these letters is natural history, so botany bears a prevailing portion. Besides numberless critical observations that occur on particular species, we meet with a long catalogue of the rare plants of the north of England, by Mr. Lawson; Dr. Plukenet's Observations on the first edition of the "Synopsis;" those of Dr. Preston on various British plants; a paper of Thomas Willisel's, specifying the different kinds of trees, on which, in his travels, he had seen the misfetoë growing; and a list of such exotics as were thought rare at that time in the Chelsea Garden, and at Fulham.

There is, moreover, among these letters, an interesting paper, written by Mr. Ray himself, in answer to the question, "What number of

"plants there are in the world?" in which he discusses the difficulty, or impossibility, of gaining satisfaction on this point, arising from the want of sufficient bounds between species and variety. He communicated to the Royal Society some remarks on this head, which were printed by Dr. Birch, in the third volume of the "History of the Royal Society."

Dr. Derham meditated writing the life of Mr. Ray; but he appears not to have fully executed his plan. His papers, however, were published by Mr. Scott, in 1760, under the title of "Select Remains of the learned John Ray." 8°. pp. 336. To these are annexed three of the Itineraries, which constitute the greater part of the book. They are evidently short notes only, never intended for the public eye. Some of Mr. Ray's devotional pieces accompany this collection; and three letters to Dr. Derham; with a Latin letter of advice and instructions to his pupils, the Mr. Willughbys.

There is said to be still extant a manuscript of Mr. Ray's, under the title of "Catalogus Plantarum domesticarum quæ aluntur Catabrigæ in hortis academicorum et oppidanorum." In this, he chiefly makes use of the synonyma of the two Bauhines, and of Gerard and Parkinson.

Mr. Ray had the singular happiness of devoting fifty years of his life to the cultivation of the sciences he loved. Incited by the most ardent genius, which overcame innumerable difficulties and discouragements, his labours were, in the end, crowned with a success, before almost unequalled. He totally reformed the studies of botany and zoology; he raised them to the dignity

dignity of a science, and placed them in an advantageous point of view; and, by his own investigations, added more real improvement to them in England, than any of his predecessors.

He invented and defined many terms, expressive of ideas before unknown to the naturalists of England; and introduced many others, from writers of the best note. As he wrote Latin in great purity, and with great facility, he gave his subjects all the embellishments that learning could bestow; and his extensive erudition, and knowledge of philosophy at large, enabled him to add many collateral ornaments, and useful observations, with an aptitude and judgment that has been much applauded.

The extent of his improvements in science procured him the admiration of his contemporaries, and have justly transmitted his name to posterity, among those who have done honour to their age and country. Even learned foreigners have been eloquent in his praise. French writers have stiled him the "English Tournefort;" an eulogy that sufficiently evinced the high opinion they had of his merit. And the late eminent Haller not only attributes to Ray the merit of improving and elevating botanical knowledge, but from his life dates a new æra in the records of the science.

But Mr. Ray's enquiries were not limited to natural knowledge. His foreign travels and his itineraries prove, that antiquities, polity, government, and legislation, attracted a share of his regard; as his philological books are evidences of his attention to language, and of

his desire to improve and illustrate his native tongue.

To all these endowments he joined an unremitting industry and perseverance in the prosecution of his studies; and, what marks a fortitude of mind as uncommon as it is enviable, his assiduity seemed to strengthen with his age, and to bid a defiance to the encroachments of infirmity, and the prospect of dissolution. I call to witness the magnitude of the attempt, and successful issue of his exertions, in writing the supplemental volume to his "History of Plants," and in beginning the "Historia Insectorum" at so late a period of his life.

His singular modesty, affability, and communicative disposition, secured to him the esteem of all who knew him; and his eminent talents as a naturalist and a philosopher procured him many patrons and friends, and preserved him from that obscurity, which would otherwise probably have been his lot: for, notwithstanding his learning and probity, as his principles did not accord with those of the times, they were adverse to his fortune, and he gained no emoluments in the church. He had relinquished his fellowship at the commencement of the Bartholomew act, not, as some imagined, from his having taken the Solemn League and Covenant (for that he never did, and often declared, that he ever thought it an unlawful oath), but because he could not declare, agreeably to the terms of the act, that the oath was not binding on those who had taken it. Hence too, his constant refusal of preferment afterwards, occasioned him to be ranked, by many, among the non-conformists, although he lived

and died in the communion of the church of England. He had seen, with deep regret, the disorders of the commonwealth and the usurpation, and afterwards, not less, the threatening aspect of the reign of James II.

His strong attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, is manifested by his animated style, in the preface to his "Synopsis;" where he expresses, in glowing terms, his joy and gratitude, for having lived to see those blessings established by the Revolution.

The character of Mr. Ray cannot be contemplated by those who have a true relish for the studies of nature, without a high sentiment of respect and gratitude; nor by those who consider the exemplariness of his life as a man, and his qualifications as a divine, without veneration.

There are two engraved portraits of Mr. Ray prefixed to his works; both from a painting by Faithorne; one by W. Ender, before his "Sylloge," in 1693, which seems to have been copied for the "Methodus emendata," in 1703; and the other by Vertue, in 1713, prefixed to the "Physico-theological Discourses." In both these, he is represented, as Mr. Ames describes it, in "an oval frame, with hair, whiskers, band, and canonical habit." These engravings represent Mr. Ray in the latter stage of his life.

Character of the late Sir William Watson; from the same work, vol. ii.

SIR William Watson had a natural activity both of mind and

body, that never allowed him to be indolent in the slightest degree. He was a most exact economist of his time, and throughout life a very early riser, being up usually in summer at six o'clock, and frequently sooner; thus securing to himself daily two or three uninterrupted hours for study. In his younger days, these early hours were frequently given up to the purposes of simpling; but, in riper years, they were devoted to study. He read much and carefully; and his ardent and unremitting desire to be acquainted with the progress of all those sciences which were his objects, joined to a vigorous and retentive memory, enabled him to treasure up a vast stock of knowledge. What he thus acquired, he freely dispensed. His mode of conveying information was clear, forcible, and energetic, and justified the encomium bestowed upon him by a learned foreigner, in a letter to a correspondent*.

His attention, however, was by no means confined to the subjects of his own profession, or those of philosophy at large. He was a careful observer of men, and of the manners of the age; and the extraordinary endowment of his memory had furnished him with a great variety of interesting and entertaining anecdotes, concerning the characters and circumstances of his time †.

On all subjects, his liberal and communicative disposition, and his courteous behaviour, encouraged enquiry; and those who sought for information from him, seldom departed without it. In his epistolary corre-

* *Watsonius Botanicus et Physicus clarus est et perspicax homo, isidemque humanissimus.* M. Meckel, of Berlin, in *Epistolis ad Hallerum datis.*

† It is to Sir William Watson that we owe the preservation of an anecdote, which tends to illustrate the character, and exalt the sincerity and integrity of the excellent

correspondence he was copious and precise; and such as enjoyed the privilege and pleasure of it, experienced in his punctuality another qualification which greatly enhanced its value.

Some of the first of Sir William Watson's papers in the Philosophical Transactions, evince his early proficiency in the science of Botany, and especially his acquaintance with the English species: nor was he less skilled in exotics in his riper years. That he was very soon considered on the continent as highly respectable in this light, is manifest from his having been one of the few in England, whom Mr. Clifford gratified with a copy of the *Hortus Cliffortianus*; a work, at its first publication, only attainable by those whose studies and acquirements in the subject of it, entitled them to receive it from the munificence of Mr. Clifford himself. In fact, all learned foreigners, of the same bias in their studies, brought letters of recommendation to him; and, on their return, failed not, both in their correspondence and in their writings, to bear honourable testimony to his learning and abilities.

Sir William Watson had learned to know plants by the system and nomenclature of Ray, when trivial names were unknown; and he was so singularly happy in a tenacious memory, as to be able to repeat, with wonderful promptitude, the long names which had been in use from the times of Bauhine, Gerard, and Parkinson; a task from which botanists are relieved, by the intro-

duction of the Linnæan trivial epithets. He lived to see the system of his much-honoured countryman give way to that of the Swede, which began to take place in England about this period; and with which also he made himself acquainted. His knowledge of plants, and the history of them in the various authors, was so eminently extensive, that his opinion was frequently appealed to as decisive on the subject; and by some of his intimate friends he was usually called "The living Lexicon of Botany." Had it been the lot of Sir William Watson to have been devoted to Botany as an official employment; or had the more important avocations of his profession allowed a further indulgence to his favourite bias, such an union of natural endowments and acquired knowledge as he possessed, must have placed him very high among the naturalists of this age.

It remains for me to do justice to the worth of Sir William Watson as a physician, and as a member of society. But as these parts of his character have been already delineated with great truth and discrimination by my much-respected friend Dr. Garthshore, I shall conclude this account by some extracts from the Memorial read by him to a society of physicians, of which Sir William had been the president.

"As a physician, his humanity, assiduity, and caution, were eminently conspicuous; and his exact observance of the duties of social politeness must ever be remembered with pleasure by all

excellent Mr. Addison. It is inserted in the Addenda to his Life, in the third volume of the *Biographia Britannica*. Dr. Kippis also acknowledges himself the most indebted to him for the materials of the life of the late Henry Baker, Esq.

“ those who enjoyed the happiness
 “ of his acquaintance. The smile
 “ of benignity was always displayed
 “ on his countenance; he invari-
 “ ably continued the general, the
 “ ready, and the obliging friend of
 “ mankind; he was respectful to
 “ the elder and superior, encourag-
 “ ing to the younger, and pleasant
 “ and easy to all with whom he had
 “ any intercourse. The same af-
 “ fability and good-humour which
 “ adorned his character in public
 “ life, were preserved also in the
 “ bosom of his family, and endeared
 “ him to those who were more im-
 “ mediately around him. He was
 “ scarcely ever out of temper, was
 “ always benignant and kind to his
 “ friends and relations—and, it
 “ would be injurious to his memo-
 “ ry not to mention an anecdote
 “ which equally displays his huma-
 “ nity, and the warmth with which
 “ he interested himself in the cases
 “ of his patients—Not many years
 “ before his death, he was waked
 “ suddenly one morning very early
 “ by his servant, who came to in-
 “ form him that his house had been
 “ broken open, and that his plate
 “ (which was of considerable value)
 “ was stolen.—“ Is that all?” said
 “ he, coolly—“ I was afraid you had
 “ brought me some alarming mes-
 “ sage from Mr. —, concern-
 “ ing whose dangerous situation I
 “ have been very uneasy all night.”

*Sketch of the Life and Character of
 Dr. Hartley; from the European
 Magazine for August 1791.*

DOCTOR David Hartley was
 born on the 30th of August,
 1705. He was the son of a very
 worthy and respectable clergyman,

vicar of Armley, in the county of
 York. He received the first rudi-
 ments of instruction at a private
 school, and his academical education
 at Cambridge. He was admitted at
 Jesus' College at the age of fifteen
 years, and was afterwards elected a
 Fellow of that Society. He was ori-
 ginally intended for the church, and
 proceeded for some time in his
 thoughts and studies towards that
 object: but upon a closer considera-
 tion of the conditions attached to the
 clerical profession, he was restrained
 by some scruples, which made him
 reluctant to subscribe the Thirty-
 nine Articles. In consequence of
 these scruples he became disqualified
 for the pursuit of his first plan, of de-
 voting himself to the personal func-
 tions and service of the church.
 However, he still continued to the
 end of his life a well-affected mem-
 ber of the church of England, ap-
 proving of its practical doctrines,
 and conforming to its public wor-
 ship. As the church of England
 maintains all the useful and practical
 doctrines of Christian morality, he
 did not think it necessary to separate
 himself from its communion on ac-
 count of some contested articles of
 speculative and abstruse opinion.
 He was a Catholic Christian, in the
 most extensive and liberal sense of
 that term. On the subject of reli-
 gious controversy he has left the
 following testimony of his sentiments,
 in the last section of Proposition
 LXXXVIII. *On Religious Know-
 ledge*; viz. “ The great differences
 of opinion and contentions which
 happen on religious matters, are
 plainly owing to the violence of
 men's passions more than to any other
 cause. When religion has had its
 due effect in restraining these, and
 begetting true candour, we may ex-
 pect

peet a unity of opinion both in religious and other matters, as far as is necessary for useful and practical purposes."

Though his talents were very general, yet undoubtedly his pre-eminent faculties were formed for the moral and religious sciences. These talents displayed themselves in the earliest parts of life, with so much distinction, as could not fail to hold out to his ambition a future career of honest fame, in the service of the national church, if he could have complied with the conditions, consistently with the satisfaction of his own mind. But he had at all times a most scrupulous and disinterested mind, which disposed him in every part of his life, and under all circumstances, to adhere firmly to those principles which appeared to him to form the strict and conscientious line of moral duty. It proceeded, therefore, from the most serious scruples, irresistibly impressed upon his mind, that he relinquished the profession of his first choice, which may properly be called the prerogative profession of moral and religious philosophy.

In consequence of this determination he applied his talents and studies to the medical profession, in which he soon became equally and in the first degree eminent for skill, integrity, and charitable compassion. His mind was formed to benevolence and universal philanthropy. He exercised the healing art with anxious and equal fidelity to the poor and to the rich. He visited, with affectionate sympathy, the humblest recesses of poverty and sickness, as well as the stately beds of pampered distemper and premature decrepitude. His manners were gentle; his countenance affable; his eloquence moral and pathetic, not harsh or im-

portunate; yet he was not unmindful that bodily sickness softens the mind to moral sensibilities, which afforded frequent opportunities to him of exercising mental charities to afflicted minds, whilst he employed the powers of medical science to the restoration of bodily health. He thus united all the talents of his own mind for natural and moral science, conformably to those doctrines which he inculcates, to that universal system of final morality, by which each effort of sensation or science in the various gradations of life must be esteemed defective, until it shall have attained to its corresponding moral consummation.

It arose from the union above-mentioned, of talents in the moral science with natural philosophy, and particularly from the professional knowledge of the human frame, that Dr. Hartley was enabled to bring into one view the various arguments for his extensive system, from the first rudiments of sensation through the maze of complex affections and passions in the path of life, to the final, moral end of man.

He was industrious and indefatigable in the pursuit of all collateral branches of knowledge, and lived in personal intimacy with the learned men of his age. Dr. Law, Dr. Butler, Dr. Warburton, afterwards Bishops of Carlisle, Durham, and Gloucester, and Dr. Jortin, were his intimate friends and fellow-labourers in moral and religious philosophy, in metaphysics, in divinity, and ecclesiastical history. He was much attached to the highly respected character of Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Winchester, for the liberality of his opinions both in church and state, and for the freedom of his religious sentiments. Dr. Hales, and Dr. Smith,

Smith, master of Trinity College in Cambridge, with other members of the Royal Society, were his companions, in the sciences of optics, statics, and other branches of natural philosophy. Mr. Hawkins Browne, the author of an elegant Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, and Dr. Young, the moral poet, stood high in his esteem. Dr. Byrom, the inventor of a scientific short-hand writing, was much respected by him for useful and accurate judgment in the branch of philology. Mr. Hooke, the Roman historian, and disciple of the Newtonian chronology, was amongst his literary intimates.

The celebrated poet Mr. Pope was likewise admired by him, not only as a man of genius, but also as a moral poet. Yet, as Dr. Hartley was a zealous Christian without guile, and (if the phrase may be admitted) a partizan for the Christian religion, he felt some jealousy of the rivalry of human philosophy, and regarded the *Essay on Man*, by Mr. Pope, as tending to irrefute that the divine revelation of the Christian religion was superfluous, in a case where human philosophy was adequate. He suspected the secret influence of Lord Bolingbroke as guiding the poetical pen of his unsuspecting friend, to deck out in borrowed plumes the plagiarisms of modern ethics from Christian doctrines; not without farther distrust of the insidious effect of poetic licence, in softening some rugged points of unaccommodating moral truths. It was against this principle that his jealousy was directed. His heart, from conscious sympathy of human infirmity, was totally devoid of religious pride. His only anxiety was to preserve the rule of life inviolate,

because he deemed errors of human frailty less injurious to the moral cause, than systematical perversions of its principle.

It was in the society and friendly intercourse of the learned men above-mentioned, and many others, that Dr. Hartley arranged his work and brought it to a conclusion. His genius was penetrating and active; his industry indefatigable; his philosophical observations and attentions unremitting. From his earliest youth he was devoted to the sciences; particularly to logic and mathematics. He studied mathematics, together with natural and experimental philosophy, under the celebrated Professor Saunderson. He was an enthusiastic admirer and disciple of Sir Isaac Newton in every branch of literature and philosophy, natural and experimental, mathematical, historical and religious, which that immortal man diffused throughout the world. He received his first principles of logic and metaphysics from the works of that good and great philosopher Locke. He took the first rudiments of his own work from Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Locke; the doctrine of vibrations, as instrumental to sensation and motion, from the former, and the principle of association originally from the latter, farther explained in a dissertation by the Rev. Mr. Gay; as he himself has informed us. His work was begun when he was about twenty-five years of age; which is a very early period for deep and comprehensive researches. And yet it remains upon his own authority, as declared by himself to his private friends and connexions, that the seeds of this work were lying in latent germination for some years antecedent even to

to

to that early bud, which in the work itself has displayed, in full maturity, the mechanical, rational, and moral system of man, respecting his frame, his duty, and his expectations.

Dr. Hartley's work was published in the beginning of the year 1749, when he was a little more than forty-three years of age. It had been completed and finished about two or three years before. He did not expect that it would meet with any general or immediate reception in the philosophical world, or even that it would be much read or understood; neither did it happen otherwise than as he had expected. But at the same time he did entertain an expectation that, at some distant period, it would become the adopted system of future philosophers. That period seems now to be approaching.

He lived about nine years after the publication of his work. The labour of digesting the whole system, and of the composition, was exceedingly great and constant upon his mind for many years, as may easily be supposed, from the very great scope of learning which it embraces. But after the completion and publication of it, his mind was left in perfect repose. He kept a general and vigilant attention upon the work, to receive and to consider any subsequent thoughts which might have occurred from his own reflections, or from the suggestions of others, by which he might have modified or arranged any incongruous or discordant parts. But no such alterations or modifications seem to have occurred to him; and at his death he left his original work untouched, without addition or diminution, without alteration or comment. He

has left no additional paper on the subject whatsoever.

The learned and ingenious Dr. Priestley published, in the year 1775, some parts of Dr. Hartley's works in an octavo volume, entitled, *Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind, on the Principle of the Association of Ideas; with Essays on the Subject of it.* Dr. Priestley had commenced a correspondence with the author a short time before his death, and has in subsequent literary works commented, with great acuteness and erudition upon his metaphysical and moral system.

The system is in itself so extensive, and was at the time of its publication so entirely novel and original, that the author did not appear disposed to multiply his anxieties for the particular fate of each tenet or doctrine; but he bequeathed the whole, as one compact and undivided system, to the candour and mature judgment of time and posterity. There was but one point in which he appeared anxious to prevent any misapprehension of his principles: that point respected the immateriality of the soul. He was apprehensive, lest the doctrine of corporeal vibrations being instrumental to sensation, should be deemed unfavourable to the opinion of the immateriality of the soul. He was therefore anxious to declare, and to have it understood, that he was not a materialist. He has not presumed to declare any sentiment respecting the nature of the soul, but the negative one, that it cannot be material, according to any idea or definition that we can form of matter. He has given the following definition of matter; viz. "That it is a mere passive thing, of whose very essence it is

to be endued with a *vis inertiae*; for this *vis inertiae* presents itself immediately in all our observations and experiments upon it, and is inseparable from it, even in idea." The materiality therefore of the sensitive soul is precluded, by the definition of matter being incapable of sensation. If there be any other element capable of sensation, the soul may consist of that element; but that is a new supposition, still leaving the original question concluded in the negative, by the fundamental definition of matter. If, indeed, we could suppose that matter may have some occult powers and properties, different and superior to those which appear to us, so that it might be endued with the most simple kinds of sensation, it might then attain, according to the demonstrations of the author's theory, to all that intelligence of which the human mind is possessed; that is to say, through all the paths of sensation, imagination, ambition, self-interest, sympathy, and theopathy, finally to the moral sense. And if to the moral sense, whatever may be the origin of the soul by divine creation, whether material or immaterial, transitory, or destined to immortality, it is a moral essence, the noblest work of God.

The philosophical character of Dr. Hartley is delineated in his works. The features of his private and personal character were of the same complexion. It may with peculiar propriety be said of him, that the mind was the man. His thoughts were not immersed in worldly pursuits or contentions, and therefore his life was not eventful or turbulent, but placid and undisturbed by passion or violent ambition. From his earliest youth his mental ambition was pre-occupied by pursuits of

science. His hours of amusement were likewise bestowed upon objects of taste and sentiment. Music, poetry, and history, were his favourite recreations. His imagination was fertile and correct, his language and expression fluent and forcible. His natural temper was gay, cheerful, and sociable. He was addicted to no vice in any part of his life, neither to pride, nor to sensuality, nor intemperance, nor ostentation, nor envy, nor to any sordid self-interest: but his heart was replete with every contrary virtue. The virtuous principles which are instilled in his works were the invariable and decided principles of his life and conduct.

His person was of the middle size, and well-proportioned; his complexion fair, his features regular and handsome; his countenance open, ingenuous, and animated. He was peculiarly neat in his person and attire. He was an early riser, and punctual in the employments of the day; methodical in the order and disposition of his library, papers, and writings, as the companions of his thoughts; but without any pedantry, either in these habits, or in any other part of his character. His behaviour was polite, easy, and graceful; but that which made his address peculiarly engaging, was the benevolence of heart from which that politeness flowed. He never conversed with a fellow-creature without feeling a wish to do him good. He considered the moral end of our creation to consist in the performance of the duties of life attached to each particular station, to which all other considerations ought to be inferior and subordinate; and consequently, that the rule of life consists in training and adapting our faculties, through
the

the means of moral habits and affections, to that end. In this he was the faithful disciple of his own theory, and by the observance of it he avoided the tumult of worldly vanities and their inquietudes, and preserved his mind in serenity and vigour, to perform the duties of life with fidelity, and without distraction. His whole character was eminently and uniformly marked by sincerity of heart, simplicity of manners, and manly innocence of mind. He died at Bath, on the 28th of August, 1757, at the age of 52 years.

He was twice married, and has left issue by both marriages, now living :
From whom this memorable testimony is the tribute of Truth, Piety, and Affection.

Character of the Inhabitants of an Indian Village in Louisiana; from Page's Travels round the World, vol. i.

A Little higher, and on the opposite side of the river, is a savage village, where the natives, like those I met with on the Mississippi, use muskets and tomahawks, and may be said to retain nothing of the savage but the name. In summer they cultivate fields of Indian corn; and in winter they follow the chase, the produce of which, after supplying their own wants, is sold to Europeans. They hire themselves occasionally as servants; for here two of our rowers having fallen ill, were replaced with a couple of savages.

The hair of the beard, which in general they are at much pains to pluck out by the roots, is permitted to grow in length the fifth of an inch as an emblem of mourning. I have had occasion to observe in the

Philippine isles the same paucity of beard, which I believe to be universal among all the natives of hot climates. The savages are often seen to weep over the graves of their departed relations. The wife of one of the Indians we had taken into the boat being lately deceased, his beard was allowed to grow, in testimony of his sorrow; and this poor man engaged in our service for no other reason than to withdraw himself from the presence of those objects which constantly recalled her to his mind. One day, having gone aside to mourn over his departed friend, he unexpectedly spied his own daughter, about the age of twelve years, swimming in the river with her companions. He caught her eye, and instantly turned from her; but the young savage, who had perceived his affliction, quitting her amusement, fell into a fit of melancholy, and retired to the solitude of her hut.

Their mode of swimming is somewhat different from ours. The savage throws himself into the water, and darting forward with astonishing force, beats the river with his feet and hands; an exercise in which both sexes are equally expert.

The other savage was a young man who had been lately married, and his wife expected the moment of their separation with the utmost regret. We were apprehensive she might prevail upon him to renounce his engagement; and it was not without much art and persuasion that we were able to restrain him from complying with her entreaties. The promise, however, of a blanket for himself, and a piece of red cloth for her, cast the balance in our favour! so true it is that self-interest early assumes the controul of

of our best and most social affections. Still, however, he appeared irresolute; and new reasons were constantly assigned for returning to his hut. But perceiving there would be no end to this conflict, I at last proposed to remove the canoe from the view of his dwelling to the opposite extremity of the village, and he was no longer averse from accompanying us.

This village might consist of sixty huts, which, like other savage habitations, are constructed of large trees planted circularly in the ground, and meeting at the top in the shape of a cone. The interstices occasioned by the round figure of the tree being filled up with leaves and branches, are plaistered over with mud, and here the family find shelter from the inclemencies of the season. In the middle of the floor is placed the fire, whose smoke makes its escape either by the door, or an aperture at the junction of the trees in the top of the hut. Round the area stands a kind of bench formed by short portions of trees placed contiguously to each other: it is covered with a mat of reeds, and serves for a bed.

At the distance of three or four paces from the mansion of the chief is a second open hut or gallery, where he enjoys the fresh air, and is sheltered from the heat of the sun. This last is thatched over with leaves, commonly supported by six pillars, and is the hall of the assembly of the tribe. Here the chiefs show their hospitality to strangers, and relax from their cares and fatigues, either by sleeping, or smoking their tomahawks. This piece of native armour is a species of battle-ax, the handle of which is usually perforated, and serves as a tube to an

iron pipe-head, fixed on the back of the instrument.

As soon as a stranger is seen to approach the village, his arrival is announced by a scream from the savages who first happen to perceive him. The chief and principal men of the tribe immediately assemble, each sitting before his own hut, and send him a deputation of one of their number. We commonly made him a present, consisting of a bottle of liquor, and were sure to receive an ample recompence in fruit, fish, and fowls. We were next invited to assist in smoking tobacco, mixed with a certain red leaf, which in its shape resembles that of the peach-tree. In short, I was much better received as a stranger by those savages than I had been by any European I had met with since the commencement of my travels.

The men of this nation are tall and well-proportioned, have large full features, without however any thing disgustingly coarse in their expression. They pay much deference and respect to old age, marry early, and, without being addicted to jealousy, are extremely affectionate to their wives. Divorce, though permitted, very rarely occurs. The chastity observable in savage nations may be owing, among other causes, to the little intercourse that prevails between the sexes. War, hunting, and fishing, are the constant occupations of the men: while the cultivation of the fields, which consists chiefly in rearing peach-trees, sowing a little Indian corn, gourds, and melons; cooking fish and game; and in transporting their baggage, in case of a distant expedition, are those of the women. In the fine season they wear the skin of a roebuck tied round the waist, and in

winter

winter wrap themselves in an European blanket, or in the skin of the buffalo. This animal has much resemblance to the ox, with the difference of a bunch or swelling on his back, like that of the same species in the East Indies. The natives have the art of tanning his hide without stripping off the hair, which, though fine like silk, has the spongy quality of wool, and affords an excellent defence against the cold. I was surpris'd at observing the apparently careless manner in which a mother is accustomed to nurse her infant. Instead of a cradle she uses a kind of frame, in which the child is made fast; but as the upper part of this machine is lower than the shoulders, his head is left to hang in a very awkward position; and, except occasionally offering the breast, she seems to give herself no farther concern about him. In cases of surgical complaints they have recourse to plants, particularly to the leaf of the squine, which they have found to have much efficacy in curing wounds: as to a knowledge in the medical art, they have but small pretensions; abstinence in eating, and drinking water, being esteemed excellent remedies for diseases of every kind.

The natives of these parts are laborious, humane, and a brave race of men. Peace and good order seem equally established in their families and villages. Their regular performance of the reciprocal duties of life, of the young towards the aged, of the father towards his children, of the husband towards his wife; their courtesy to strangers, and the little apprehension they entertain of their enemies, gave me a high opinion of their generosity and courage. In the course of different

wars, the French as well as the Spaniards have experienced their valour in the field. This nation was just returned from an expedition against the English, whom they seem to consider as very restless and troublesome neighbours. In their extensive peregrinations during the hunting-season they encounter perils and hardships which appear almost incredible to the effeminate European. Neither the impetuous current of their rivers, nor the savage asperity of a wild and uncultivated soil, can resist their unabating ardour for the chase.

Account of Mexico, and the Manners of its Inhabitants; from the same.

ON the 28th of February, having travelled a hundred and fifty leagues south from Sartille, I had the pleasure to discover, from the heights, at the distance of about a league, a very extensive lake, in the centre of which is built the city of Mexico. It has the effect of an immense mass of building, connected with the land by causeways or embankments raised to a great height above the water. At the foot of the mountain, and on the borders of the lake, is situated the village of Nostra Senora de Guadalupe, which one might mistake for a little European town. Here the only curiosities worth the traveller's notice are a beautiful church and aqueduct, which, with the whole kingdom of Mexico, are consecrated to the same Nostra Senora. I now proceeded to the capital by a causeway at least a hundred feet in breadth, and three miles in length, which rests upon a series of arches kept

kept in excellent repair, and meant to give free passage to the briny waters of the lake. Five causeways of equal magnificence, leading to the different quarters of this great city, facilitate its communication with the adjacent country. It is about six leagues in circumference, and defended only by barriers in the nature of turnpike-gates.

The lake, containing a bottom of deep mud, which is every where impassable on foot, answers all the purposes of artificial fortifications; whilst an extreme scarcity of wood in the neighbouring country equally secures the Mexicans from every species of invasion by water. The streets in general are broad, run in straight lines, and have their names inscribed on the wall, with the number of each house on the door; a circumstance of great advantage to strangers, who otherwise would be in constant danger of losing their way. The inns, like those in the adjacent country, are large, handsome buildings; but the traveller is not a little mortified upon entering them, to find they contain nothing but empty apartments, destitute both of furniture and provisions. The houses, consisting for the greater part of three or four stories, are good; and the places of public resort, such as walks, squares, and gardens, are delightful. The cathedral, the castle of the Spanish viceroy, and the simple remains of the palace and baths of the ancient emperors of Mexico, occupy three sides of the principal square. Next to these buildings, the mint is an object of curiosity to the traveller, on account of the vast piles of ingots with which its courts are constantly filled, and which are brought hither in order to have

their weight and fineness ascertained. The metal, after passing the assay office, suffers a deduction of the king's fifth, in consideration of liberty granted to work the mines, which in general are the property of private persons.

The Baratillo, a species of exchange, from the regularity and rich ornaments of the building, merits also the attention of the traveller; and if he is not tired, he will find the piazzas, allotted to the purposes of a flower-market, millenary, and pastry shops, as well as for the accommodation of the clothier and jeweller, in the same style of highly ornamented architecture.

Some of the fine arts, particularly painting and sculpture, which are chiefly employed in adorning the churches, are cultivated by the Indians with very considerable success. But of all the trades in this city, the mystery of the goldsmith is held in the highest repute, and his workmanship, though heavy, is far from being deficient either in taste or finishing. Silver, especially in the churches, is applied to an infinity of different purposes. But in order to have an idea of the immense riches of this metropolis, the traveller ought to be here the day on which they commemorate the conquest of Mexico. In honour of this great festival, every Mexican vies with his neighbour in an ostentatious display of whatever is most costly, rare, and splendid, in his possession; and indeed it would be difficult to estimate the value of the prodigious quantities of gold and silver in different forms which on this occasion meet the public eye. Silver is esteemed little above a common metal, and hence is frequently substituted, by the sumptuous Mexican, for the purposes

poses of plating the wheels of his carriage, and shoeing the hoofs of his horses.

The Spaniards and Creoles of the first class, having lost all desire of residing on the opposite shore of the Atlantic, where they would have fewer enjoyments, and much less consequence, live at Mexico in a state of splendour and magnificence. Elegant and fashionable dresses are very dear; but modest and decent apparel, and all kinds of provisions, are remarkably cheap. A distance of two hundred leagues is little regarded by the indefatigable Indian, who, for a small profit, imports the necessaries of life from all corners of the country. By his virtuous toil and industry he escapes that forbidding indigence and misery which devour the lower class of the Spaniards. The luxury of the great families, their gaming, the magnificence of their houses, the splendor of their furniture, the number of their domestics, their carriages drawn by four, perhaps six mules; every thing, in short, conspires to impress the traveller with the highest idea of Mexican wealth. But in proportion as men of the first condition are rich, those of the lower sort among the Spaniards are poor and wretched; insomuch that, under a great coat hanging in a thousand tatters, you will frequently find neither shirt nor breeches. In one word, drunkenness, debauchery, card-playing, and cock-fighting, constitute the habitual occupations of all sexes and conditions of the people.

I observed, that the Mexicans in conversation frequently applied the

term *Mecos* to the northern savages, and spoke of them with every sign of extreme aversion and terror. Chychymecos, when applied by one Mexican to another, seems to denote the highest degree of insult and reproach. Now are the Chychymecos a particular nation of savages, still more cruel and ferocious than the *Mecos*? or is Chychy only an aggravation of what is implied in the word *Mecos*? As to all this I confess myself entirely at a loss. One thing is certain, however, that the Indians who inhabit the northern regions of this kingdom have long renounced the patient and submissive character of their ancestors; and hence the Spaniards are obliged to maintain, at a great expence, a strong body of Creoles, who are constantly employed in carrying on hostilities against those warlike tribes. Upon my arrival here, a detachment of these troops was dispatched to the province of Sonora, and the object of this expedition was to clear the roads leading from Mexico to the mines of Serro Prietto, as well as Metanchel, and other sea-ports, by means of which their trade is carried on with California. These wars all tend to the enlargement of the Spanish dominions, already almost without bounds; and one may safely affirm, that the number of great towns, vast population, fertility of soil, mines, and other rich productions, peculiar to this country, render Mexico, though not one of the most powerful, yet the most magnificent empire in the world*.

During my abode here the Mexican inquisitors, whose discipline is

* Not having had it in my power, however, to visit it as extensively as I could have wished, I will readily admit that my knowledge of this kingdom must be in any respects lame and imperfect.

exercised with great severity, ordered several persons to be whipped through the streets, among whom were a couple of unhappy women, the victims of an absurd and cruel superstition. The crime for which they suffered, was that of creating ulcers and sores on the bodies of their enemies, by means of certain incantations, and particularly by scarifying the corresponding parts of a doll, which they were said to preserve with much care for the diabolical mysteries of witchcraft. The witches appeared with these deadly engines of magic hanging round their necks; while their fellow-criminals wore each a kind of mitre, on the front of which was a label inscribed with the names of their several offences. All punishments inflicted by this ghostly tribunal are regarded by the Mexicans as a service peculiarly acceptable to the Deity, and therefore held in the highest veneration. Among the good and charitable offices we owe our neighbour, and recommended in the Spanish catechism, I took particular notice of one, which is that, not of persuading him to embrace the truth, but of chastising him with stripes if he should be found in error.

Account of the Dress and Manners of the Arabs; from the same Work, vol. ii.

ON the eighth day of our journey, we discovered an Arabian encampment; and here, in order to prevent my being distinguished from my companions, I put on an *abe*, or robe, with a handkerchief floating on my head, in the style of the Arabs of the desert; for hither-

to I had been clad in the Turkish fashion, which is different from that of the Arabs, particularly the Bedouins. The *abe* is made of wool-len stuff, and composes the dress of both sexes. Next the skin is generally worn a white one of a fine quality, over which are two others of a larger size; and while the uppermost remains loose and flowing, the second is fastened about the waist with a girdle. The latter is commonly striped black and white; but the former is for the greatest part entirely black. This robe is of a very simple form; and in order that the reader may have a distinct idea of it, he has only to conceive a sack of an equal width and length, which, being slit lengthways for the convenience of putting it on, and passed over the head, with two holes, one in each corner, to receive the arms, will be an exact model of the Arabian *abe*. This is all the variety of dress that enters into the wardrobe of the Arab; his person, however, is completely covered, and his *abe* being of so close a texture as to be impenetrable to water, is an excellent defence against rain; and, as it is large enough to give free circulation to the air, and dense enough to repel the first blush of the sun's rays, it is equally useful against the burning heat of the desert. No person wears either breeches or drawers, as is customary in towns. On the head of the male is an ample-sized handkerchief of silk and cotton, attached to a large piece of cotton cloth, which, after passing twice round the head, falls upon the shoulders, covering them by its breadth. The ends of the handkerchief having been doubled down on the mouth and nose, are returned under the fillet which binds it to the head, and in this

this manner the Arab endeavours to defend his chest and lungs against the dangerous influence of a most formidably dry and parching wind. The true Bedouin Arab never shaves either his head or beard; and his hair, disposed into ten or twelve tresses, floats carelessly down his shoulders. The head-dress of the women is almost the same; and indeed one perceives very little difference between the dress of the two sexes, except in the colour of the handkerchief, and the jewels employed to adorn the head of the female. The *abs* of the women, serves for a complete veil to the face, there being only a small and necessary aperture for the eyes: in many parts of these deserts, however, the Arabs of both sexes go entirely naked.

The Bedouins, leaving their camels destined for the Aleppo market considerably behind us, proceeded a quarter of a mile from the Arabian camp. One of our men now ran before, to request the friendship of the tribe, a request, which, of course, is complied with almost as soon as a stranger has arrived within the lines of their encampment. It is granted, however, according to custom, under all the formalities of war; and therefore a party of the Arabian warriors, rushing instantly from their camp, ran full speed towards our caravan. The Bedouins dismounted from their dromedaries, and proceeded with equal celerity to meet them, when mingling with much apparent rage, each holding his lance pointed against the breast of his opponent, they exhibited a mock fight, accompanied with loud shouts on both sides. We were soon introduced to the camp, when peace and good order were immediately restored.

My companions were desirous to have some traffic in camels, and we sojourned within the lines of the Arabian encampment two days and a half.

One day I went on a visit to the Arabian camp entirely alone, for my conductor, either really or affecting to be afraid of some disagreeable adventure, declined his attendance. About the distance of forty paces from their tents I was accosted by a single Arab, who desired to know my business. Having made him understand that I was a stranger in the desert, and that curiosity alone had led me that way, he saluted me with much civility, and conducting me to his tent, as a mark of his hospitality placed me in the uppermost seat. He was by profession a smith, and had a little furnace, which he heated with charcoal obtained from the roots of brambles gathered in the desert; and had contrived to piece four skins in the form of a large bladder, which, receiving a constant pressure from two of his children, served in place of a bellows. This, like all the other tents in the camp, was much longer than broad, with a partition in the middle: the first apartment belonged to the master of the family, while the second was occupied by his wife and other females, who were employed in dressing wool. I made it my business to examine the wells of the Arabs, which I found to be nothing more than large holes dug in the earth, without any lining whatever, and in which the water stood at the depth of six feet from the surface. One of the most beautiful mares I had ever seen was standing at the door of a neighbouring tent, which I likewise took the liberty to enter. Here I was extremely well

received by a good old Arab, who was employed in making bottles and troughs of goat-skins; every creature I met, even to the mare and her foal, came to smell me. I proceeded to make the tour of another circle of tents, and found them all open to leeward, but shut against the burning wind of the desert, which prevails six months in the same quarter. It seemed to be the chief employment of this little commonwealth to dress goats hair, and the wool of their sheep and camels. One circumstance which surprized me not a little, was the incurious and indifferent air of the people, who though they treated me with civility, yet never stirred from their seats at my approach. Their tents being open lengthways, I had an opportunity of observing that an Arab's family is remarkably populous. This listless inattention, especially in children, always eager to examine whatever has the air of novelty, appeared to me to be extremely singular; and the more so, since strangers are but seldom seen in this part of Arabia, it being near the centre of the desert.

The whole property of an Arab consists of his herds and flocks; his horses, but more especially his mares, which he considers as much more valuable, are of great use to him in his excursions, and particularly in the pursuits of war: he is eminently distinguished as a horseman, and much more skilful in the management of that animal than the native of any other country. The Arabian horse, which feeds only once a day, and even then makes but a scanty meal, is at the same time the fleetest and most abstemious animal in the world.

The camel is perhaps of no less

consequence to his roving master; he serves to transport his family and property from one part of the desert to another, and is, besides, an article of traffic for grain and other necessaries of life. When, in consequence of extreme drought, his grass begins to fail, or his well to be dried up, the Arab decamps, and goes in quest of water and pasture in less inhospitable regions. The whole desert is covered with a fine sand mixed with gravel, which produces only a few brambles about a foot and a half high, and a kind of grass with a single stalk of four inches, but which is never found incorporated in the manner of our green turf.

During the summer months there prevails in the plains of Arabia a N. W. wind, violently heated by the reflection of the sand; and in winter the scorching heat of the S. E. is perhaps still more insupportable. In this season the rays of the sun are so powerful, that the human skin becomes crisped, and the pores so constricted as to impede the ordinary course of perspiration. Hence the Arabian has been taught to interpose a very dense medium between his body and the solar rays, against which an European winter dress of the most substantial fabric would prove but a slender defence; he doubles down a thick handkerchief tied round the forehead, over his mouth and nose, in order to prevent that moisture which is necessary to the lungs from being entirely exhausted; he is obliged, however, to leave his eyes wholly unprotected, which suffer the most acute pain from the heat and violent reflection of the sand, and which consequently become in an early period of life greatly weakened and impaired.

As

As the general aspect of the desert is that of a vast plain terminated on all sides by the horizon, in vain does the roving eye of the traveller seek to rest on some intervening object; and hence, after flitting over a dismal waste of grey sand and scorched brambles, it returns at last, languid and fatigued, to enjoy a little relaxation in the variety of herds and other Arabian property with which it is surrounded. A deep and mournful silence reigns over the dreary landscape; no beast, no bird, no species of insect, is seen to diversify the sad uniformity of the scene. In the whole extent of Arabia Deserta I saw only four rabbits, five or six rats, three large, and seven or eight small birds. The last were, besides, in the vicinity of an inhabited country, whilst the former were natives of a more earthy soil than is easily to be met with in these regions.

The species of rat I have mentioned is remarkably handsome, and of a breed very different from any I had before met with: his eyes are large and sprightly; the whiskers, snout, and brow, as well as the belly, feet, and end of the tail, are white, whilst the other parts of the body are covered with a long neat fur of a yellow colour: the tail is rather short, thick, yellow, and pointed with white. Some of these animals were killed, and, after being roasted, eaten by the Arabs, who are accustomed to throw their sticks with surprising dexterity at whatever bird or quadruped happens to come in their way.

The small quantity of water found in this vast desert is extremely salt and bitter; but the Arab is trained to the hardships, and attached to the freedom of his native plains. Inured to fatigue, and careless of the con-

veniencies of a wealthier situation, he looks down on the effeminate pleasures of more temperate climates with scorn and contempt. Brave, proud, hospitable, and enterprising, he is true to all his engagements. Being constantly exposed, however, to the inroads of warlike tribes, he is prone to suspicion, and hence receives all strangers whatever with arms in his hands. The individuals of the same tribe, even of the lowest condition, being regarded by the rest of the clan in the light of brothers, any injury done to one is received and resented as an insult offered to the whole. They are extremely cautious of engaging in an affair from which blood may be expected to ensue; but are proportionally stimulated to action, in contempt of every danger, when they have a cause to avenge.

The Arab is unfortunate enough to imagine that he has the same right to interfere with the property of another, which he, in exercising the offices of hospitality with regard to his own, parts with to a stranger, and in this sense may be said to be a robber; but in no case can he be charged nationally with the character of an assassin. From the combination of these virtues and prejudices, seem to result the strength and union of the Arabian tribes; and were their manners a little more humanized by the influence of Christian morality, I know no race of men whose character would bid fairer for happiness, or be less liable to exception. The extreme barrenness of their deserts, which discourages the ambition, and defends them against the yoke, of a conqueror, the certainty of subsistence, and the total exclusion of luxury, constitute their great charter to independence, and

those undepraved and simple manners, by which they have always been distinguished.

His strong attachment to freedom makes an Arab cautious of acknowledging any authority in his chief, which he cannot discover to be expedient for the good of the community; but at the same time, being frequently at war with his neighbours, he is sensible that there must be one man, in whose discretion on such occasions the national will ought to center, in order that the tribe may take the field in a body, and act with proper effect against the enemy. The Arabian tribes in general bear the name of the primitive stock whence they are respectively descended, and have no other appellation than that of his children; the Arabs by whom I was accompanied were called Ben Halet, or the children of Halet.

The Arabs run with extraordinary swiftness, and are singularly dexterous in the management of the lance, have large bones, a deep brown complexion, persons of an ordinary stature, but lean, muscular, active, and vigorous. The Bedouins suffer their hair and beards to grow; and, indeed, among the Arabian tribes in general, the beard is remarkably full and bushy. The Arab has a large ardent black eye, a long face, features high and regular, and, as the result of the whole, a physiognomy particularly stern and severe. This marked expression, meeting with our pre-conceived notions of his character, gives him an air of great ferocity; upon a little acquaintance, however, his formidable aspect settles into something truly noble and manly.

The tribes which frequent the middle of the desert have locks

somewhat crisped, extremely fine, and approaching the woolly hair of the negro: my own, during the short period of my travels in these regions, became more dry and delicate than usual, and, receiving little nourishment from a checked perspiration, shewed a disposition to assume the same frizzled and woolly appearance. An entire failure of moisture, and the excessive heat of climate by which it was occasioned, seemed to be the principal causes of these symptoms; my blood was become extremely dry, and my complexion differed little at last from that of a Hindoo or Arab. It is not my intention, however, to offer any theory relative to the strong influence climate may be supposed to have on the external appearance of the human frame.

Having considered the Arab with much attention, as to his manners and principles of action, I cannot agree in the common opinion which makes a propensity to robbery a natural ingredient in his character. I had the strongest evidence, in various situations, of the honesty and fidelity of my fellow-travellers: I saw them as a little commonwealth living on the most friendly and sociable terms; nor, indeed, have I ever heard that an Arab would be guilty of theft or robbery against those of his own tribe. His appetite for plunder is exerted, in concert with his clan, against strangers, and always within the boundaries of the deserts. In no shape whatever will an Arab invade the property of another man in a town or cultivated country; and hence robbery in him is plainly derived from a prejudice of education, a prejudice in all respects similar to that of the ancient Romans, who regarded every tribe and race of men

not

not in their alliance, as enemies of the republic.

The Arab pays a scrupulous regard to all his engagements with strangers; and therefore the traveller, upon making a certain gratification, in consideration of being suffered to pass unmolested, or upon receiving the protection of any individual Arab, who, in this case, from their fraternal union, is conceived to represent the tribe, enjoys an entire exemption from the ordinary effects of Arabian prejudices against strangers. In such circumstances, a foreigner may cross the deserts with as little apprehension of injustice from the natives, as he ever entertained in travelling a high road in his native country.

That the Arab's right to his deserts is of a less perfect kind than that of other nations to the countries they respectively inhabit, is an argument that will hardly be maintained; since, if long and uninterrupted possession, agreeably to the legal maxims of every civilized people, founds the requisites of dominion, it is evident that his claim to the deserts is much less liable to exception than that of any prince whatever to the domains of his crown. But is there a sovereign or independent state in the world which does not vindicate an exclusive right to all the uses of its soil?—or is this a rule of jurisprudence, in which the Arab alone is excepted?—a prince destitute of authority, even on his own estate, and who must patiently give way to strangers passing at discretion over his grounds? To this right of absolute dominion, however, he has never rigidly adhered; all he requires is a certain tribute or custom, proportioned to the quantity of goods or merchandize meant

to be transported over the deserts; a custom, besides, which every individual of the tribe, as representing the community, has authority to exact or dispense with at his discretion.

This privilege, vested in every member of the clan, is of general notoriety; and therefore intelligent travellers take care to have an Arab in their company, for a pledge of peace and security against the molestation of his tribe.

Such is the political constitution of the desert, and whoever conducts himself in conformity to it has nothing to dread from the depredations of the natives. . . But if men, acting from ignorance, or in contempt of Arabian manners, expose themselves to be pillaged, they have no right to represent the Arabs collectively, and without distinction or enquiry, in the odious colours of robbers and banditti.

The peculiar circumstances of this country must, no doubt, often render his life personally painful to the native; but his hardships are considerably counterbalanced by the sweets of independence, and that confidence and affection which unite him to his tribe in all its interests and pursuits.

The freedom and equality of condition enjoyed by the natives, in spite of the dismal aspect of their deserts, created in my mind many emotions of instinctive pleasure; an admonition which I consider as the voice of nature, and whence I am inclined to infer the real value and importance of these advantages. The circumstances of the Arab by no means preclude him from the enjoyment of pleasure; besides an habitual and animating sense of his independence, he drinks the milk of his

his cattle, and regales himself with many palatable dishes to which we are strangers: he runs and dances with great vivacity, and practises many other manly and useful exercises. His dances are sometimes gay and exhilarating, but he is more particularly addicted to such as are warlike, and have a tendency to train him for the day of battle; in these the Arab goes through various evolutions, his lance in his hand, with the most dexterous agility. These dances are equally in use among the Bissayan and Javanese Indians, with this difference only, that the latter are armed with the buckler as well as the lance. The dances more peculiar to the women are of two kinds, the one sprightly and gay, the other impassioned and voluptuous, the object of which is to excite certain ideas in a manner extremely expressive. As in these it is the principal intention that the ruling sentiment be strongly marked in the eye, and the expression of the features be in harmony with the motions and attitudes of the body, it is necessary to the dancer's performing with approbation, that her imagination be highly inflamed. Of this species of dance, the Spanish fandango, and the calenda of America, afford a faint representation; and it is probable the Spaniards, as well as the negroes of Guinea and Angola, borrowed it from the Arabians.

Their wool, the staple commodity of the deserts, serves as the materials of the cloth and tapestry of the Arabs; and these would by no means disgrace the dexterity of an European manufacturer. Of their goatskins they make bottles and troughs for giving water to their cattle. Their flocks, which, on account of their rapid increase, would soon be-

come a burthen to their owners, they barter in civilized countries for articles of dress, corn, dates, and whatever else their necessities require. Such of the Arabian tribes as border on the Euphrates and improveable lands, cultivate a small portion of ground; but as soon as the seed-time is over they betake themselves to the roving pursuits of the desert, and only return in autumn, in order to reap the benefit of the harvest.

A tribe of Arabs on their march across the desert is a very curious and entertaining object. On this occasion a vast extent of plain presents itself to the eye, covered with herds and flocks, preceded by a troop of camels laden with tents, baggage, and poultry, animals which, at the first signal for their departure, instantly take wing, and perch on the back of the dromedary. Behind these is another set of camels, charged with all the lame and infirm animals, which, by their various and discordant cries, give sufficient notice of the pain and hardships of their confinement. Upon a third set are groupes of women and children, whose painful screams mix in strange confusion with the bleating and bellowing of numberless animals, of all humours, ages, and species. It is difficult to conceive a more irksome situation than that of the Arab's wife, in the midst of her children, weeping, fighting, and scrambling all around her. Such of the women as are exempt from the incumbrance of infants, employ themselves on their camels in spinning, or grinding corn with hand-mills. High above this singular mass of tumult and disorder, appears a forest of lances, at least eight or ten feet in length, while the ear is stunned with the hoarse voice of the Arab, chiding, expostulating,

expostulating, or commanding silence in his family; but whose chief care is to form a strong rampart for the defence of the little commonwealth on its march.

Account of a custom among the Hindoos, of the widow's burning herself with the corpse of her deceased husband; from the second volume of Sketches, chiefly relating to the history, &c. of the Hindoos.

THE practice of burning the dead is almost universal; and that of the widow burning herself on the funeral pile with the body of her deceased husband still exists. It seems to have been the intention of the Mahomedan government to discourage a practice so shocking to humanity; but the governors of the provinces are accused of having employed the prejudice of the Hindoos to gratify their avarice, by conniving at it for a sum of money. It at present prevails most in the Mahratta dominions, and in the countries of the ancient Rajahs, where instances of the kind are frequently to be met with, particularly in families of high distinction. In the territories belonging to the English, it has every where been opposed, and rarely happens there unless it be done secretly, or before those who may have authority to prevent it can be sufficiently apprized. The law rather recommends than requires it, as it only says: "It is *proper* for a woman to burn herself with her husband's corpse;"—and future blessings are promised as a reward for doing so. But in case the widow should prefer to live, she is enjoined to observe inviolable chastity, to cut off her

hair, and not to wear jewels or any other ornament. There are nevertheless some particular cases in which it is even forbidden. A woman is not to burn herself, if she be with child; or if her husband died at a distance from her, unless she can procure his girdle and turban to be placed on the funeral pile. The intention of so barbarous a practice is sufficiently evident; and in all Oriental countries, the superiority and security of the husband, and the preservation of his domestic authority, seem to have been a main object with legislators.

Such is the influence of custom, and the sense of shame, that a woman of the highest birth, brought up with the care and delicacy suitable to her rank, and possessing that timidity and gentleness of manners natural to her sex, and for which the women of Hindostan are so eminently distinguished, will undergo this awful sacrifice with as much fortitude and composure as ever were exhibited by any hero or philosopher of antiquity.

I never was present at such a ceremony, but a person of my acquaintance, who happened to see one, gave me the following description of it:

"A funeral pile being erected
 "on a piece of ground that was
 "consecrated to the purpose, the
 "body of the Rajah was brought
 "from the fort, accompanied by
 "many Brahmans, and others,
 "and followed by the widow, attended by relations of both
 "sexes. Being arrived at the funeral pile, the body was placed on
 "it, and certain ceremonies being
 "performed, the widow took leave
 "of her relations. She embraced
 "those of her own sex; took off
 "some

" some jewels that she wore, and
 " distributed them among them, as
 " the last tokens of her affection.
 " The women appeared to be great-
 " ly afflicted; some silently weep-
 " ing, and others making excessive
 " lamentations. But she was per-
 " fectly composed, smiled, and en-
 " deavoured to comfort them. She
 " then advanced to the pile, and in
 " a solemn manner walked round
 " it. She stopped; and after con-
 " templating the corpse touched the
 " feet with her hand, and raised it
 " to her forehead, inclining her body
 " forwards. She then saluted the
 " spectators in the same manner;
 " and with the assistance of the
 " Brahmans mounted the pile, and
 " seated herself by the side of the
 " corpse. Some who stood near
 " her with torches in their hands,
 " set fire to it, and, as it was com-
 " posed of dry wood, straw, and
 " other combustible materials, it was
 " instantly in a flame. The smoke
 " was at first so great, that I ima-
 " gine this unfortunate young vic-
 " tim must have been immediately
 " suffocated; which, I own, afforded
 " me a sort of melancholy comfort,
 " from the idea that her sufferings
 " would soon be ended."

The Hindoos sometimes erect a
 chapel on the spot where one of these
 sacrifices has been performed; both
 on account of the soul of the deceas-
 ed, and as a trophy of her virtue.

I remember to have seen one of
 these places, where the spot on which
 the funeral pile had been erected
 was inclosed, and covered with bam-
 boos, formed into a kind of bower,
 planted with flowering creepers.
 The inside was set round with flow-
 ers, and at one end there was an
 image.

Diodorus Siculus gives a remark-
 able instance of a young Indian
 princefs that burnt herself with the
 body of her husband, who was kil-
 led while commanding the Indian
 troops that assisted Antigonus against
 Eumenes.

The funeral obsequies are always
 performed at night, generally with-
 in twenty-four hours after decease;
 and the heat of the climate renders
 it necessary not to delay them. As
 soon as a person dies, advice is sent
 to all the relations, and those who
 live in the neighbourhood repair to
 the house, to condole with the family,
 and attend the funeral. A Brahman
 presides over the ceremony, and all the
 kinsmen who are to assist at it shave
 and wash themselves. The Brahman
 having likewise performed his ablu-
 tions, blesses and purifies the house,
 sprinkling it with consecrated water.
 The principal relation, or mourner,
 addressing himself to the dead, calls
 out his name, and, with those pre-
 sent, joins the Brahman in praying
 the gods to be favourable to him.
 The prayer being ended, they per-
 form a kind of sacrifice with a fire
 made of the sacred grass, *koas*, into
 which they throw incense and the
 ashes of burnt cow-dung. The
 Brahman again repeats several pray-
 ers; a barber shaves the deceased,
 and pares his nails; after which
 the assistants wash the body, rub it
 with the dust of sandal wood, paint
 on the forehead the mark of the
 cast, and cover it with a clean robe.
 It is then placed on a palankeen,
 adorned with flowers; and, preceded
 by persons with large trumpets, and
 tam-tams, or small drums, it is car-
 ried to the ground destined for the
 performance of the funeral rites,
 which is always at some distance
 from

from the towns. The relations and friends follow it, and when the procession arrives near to the funeral pile, the corpse is put down, and a sacrifice is performed to the aerial spirits, or genii of the place. After the body has been examined, to see if there be any signs of life, it is placed on the pile, and one of the relations, having a torch given to him by a Brahman, sets fire to it, with his back turned towards the corpse. The others assist in lighting it; some are employed in burning perfumes; and all make lamentations, or repeat prayers, accompanied by the tam-tams and other instruments. A sacrifice is afterwards performed to the manes of the deceased, which is repeated on the same spot for several days successively. When the pile is burnt out, they sprinkle the ashes with milk and consecrated water. The bones are gathered up with great care, and put into an earthen vase, which is kept until an opportunity be found of throwing it, if possible, into the Ganges, or, if that be at too great a distance, into some other sacred river.

Anecdotes of Voltaire during his visit to the late king of Prussia; from the first vol. of the Life of Voltaire, by the Marquis de Condorcet, translated from the French.

IN the palace of the king of Prussia, he found peace, and even the semblance of freedom; feeling at first no kind of subjection, except that of passing some hours with the king to correct his works, and to teach him the art of writing. He usually supped with his majesty; and these sup-

pers, at which there was freedom in excess; where every question of metaphysics and morals was discussed without restraint; where the most unbounded pleasantry enlivened, or cut serious argument short; and where the king generally disappeared to give place to the man of wit, were moments of agreeable relaxation to Voltaire. The remainder of his time was consecrated to study.

Here he improved some of his tragedies, finished his Age of Louis the XIVth, corrected his poem of the Maid of Orleans, wrote part of his Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations, and composed the poem on Natural Law; while Frederic governed his estates without a minister, inspected and improved his army, composed poetry and music, and wrote philosophy and history.

The royal family encouraged Voltaire in his pursuits; he addressed verses to the princesses, acted tragedy with the brothers and sisters of the king, and while he taught them to declaim, led them to feel the beauties of French poetry: for poetry ought to be spoken aloud; nor can it be understood, in a foreign tongue, by those who are not in the habit of hearing it recited by speakers, who can give it that accent and force which are its characteristics.

This, Voltaire called the palace of Alcina; but the enchantment was of too short duration. The men of literature, who had been longer at Berlin than himself, were jealous of preference which was too conspicuous, especially of that kind of independence which he preserved, that familiarity which the charms and brilliancy of his wit gave him,

and

and that art of mingling truth with panegyric, and of imparting to flattery the tone of jocular ease.

La Métrie told Voltaire that the king, to whom he was one day mentioning those marks of kindness he discovered for his chamberlain, replied, "I want him at present to revise my works; but having sucked the orange, we throw away the rind." When Voltaire heard this, the enchantation was over; and his mind felt that kind of suspicion which never suffered him to lose sight of his project for escaping.

In the mean time the king was informed that Voltaire, being pressed by general Manstein to revise his memoirs, had answered, "The king has sent me his dirty linen to wash, yours must wait;" and that, another time, he had said, in a fit of ill-humour, pointing to some poetical papers of the king, lying on the table, "That man is Cæsar and the Abbé Cottin."

Mutual inclination, however, acted on the monarch and the philosopher. Frederic said, long after their separation, that he had never met with so amiable a man as Voltaire; and Voltaire, notwithstanding his resentment, which never was entirely effaced, confessed, that when Frederic thought proper, he was the most pleasing of mankind. They likewise united in their open contempt for prejudice and * superstition, the pleasure they took in making them the eternal objects of their jests; their common love for that philosophy which is cheerful and inviting, and their mutual

disposition to search and to seize on the ridiculous in whatever pretended to superior gravity, were the same. Hence it should have seemed that the storm must have ended in a calm, and that interest and pleasure must have continued them in friendship; but the jealousy of Maupertuis rendered them irreconcilable.

Maupertuis, a man of much wit, but not of too much learning, and of still less philosophy, was tormented by that desire of fame which makes us chuse trifling means when the great are wanting, utter paradoxes when we are unable to discover truths, generalise formula when we cannot invent them, and accumulate incongruities when we are deficient in new ideas. In Paris, he had been seen to leave the company, or hide himself behind a screen, when he could not continue the principal speaker; and in like manner at Berlin, whether at the academy of sciences or the table of the king, he would be the first. He was indebted to Voltaire for a great part of his reputation, as well as for the honour of being perpetual president of the academy of Berlin, and of exercising authority there in his majesty's name.

Some jests which Voltaire had indulged in, when Maupertuis, following the king to the army, was taken prisoner at the battle of Moltwitz, had angered him, and he vented his complaints with ill-humour. Voltaire returned a friendly answer, and appeased him by writing four lines for his portrait. Maupertuis, some years afterward,

* By superstition M. de Condorcet means revealed religion. The reader must make allowances for the freedom of the author's religious as well as political sentiments.

took it much amiss that Voltaire had not mentioned him in his discourse when elected to the French academy; and the arrival of Voltaire at Berlin completed his disgust. He saw him the friend of the sovereign, in whose presence he himself was but a courtier; and beheld him giving lessons to the man from whom he received orders.

Surrounded by enemies, and dissident of the continuance of royal friendship, Voltaire secretly regretted, and endeavoured to recover, his lost independence. He thought proper to employ a Jew to transfer a part of his property out of Prussia. The Jew betrayed his trust; and, to revenge himself on Voltaire, who, having detected him, would not suffer himself to be robbed, he brought an absurd action, knowing that hatred is not difficult in admitting evidence. The king, to punish his friend for having attempted to preserve his liberty and property, pretended to believe him guilty, to deliver him up to justice, and even to exclude him his presence till the cause should be determined.

Voltaire addressed himself to Maupertuis, who had not yet openly testified his sentiments, and requested his interference with the chief judge. Maupertuis returned a haughty refusal, and Voltaire perceived he had another enemy. This ridiculous suit, at length, ended, as it should do; the Jew was condemned, and was pardoned by Voltaire. The king then admitted Voltaire once more, and added new marks of respect to former kindness, by bestowing on him a house near Potsdam.

The eyes of hatred, however, are always open and watchful of

opportunity. La Beaumelle, a protestant, and native of Languedoc, first an apprentice to a gospel minister at Geneva, and afterwards acting the French wit in Denmark, being soon dismissed from Copenhagen, came to seek his fortune at Berlin; having no other title to fame than that of having lately published a libel. He went to Voltaire, and presented the book to him, in which Voltaire himself was ill treated, and in which the men of wit, who had been invited into Prussia, among whom he was come to solicit a place, were compared to apes, or those dwarfs who had formerly been maintained at certain courts. Such a ridiculous oversight was the momentary object of pleasantry at the king's supper; but the jests were reported to La Beaumelle by Maupertuis, who, charging them all to the account of Voltaire, made La Beaumelle his irreconcilable foe, and secured to himself a tool, who aided his malice by shameful libels, without bringing the character of the president of the academy in question.

Maupertuis wanted assistance; he had lately advanced the *least possible action*, as a new mechanical principle, which was much controverted, though the illustrious Euler did it the honour of defending it, and at the same time instructed its author in its full extent and true use. Koëning not only opposed it, but asserted it was not new, and quoted the fragment of a letter from Leibnitz, in which it was contained. Maupertuis, having learnt from Koëning himself that he had only a copy of the letter from Leibnitz, thought proper formally to summons him before the academy of Berlin, to produce the original. Koëning answered,

swered, that he obtained his copy from the unfortunate Hienzi, who had long since been beheaded, for having attempted to deliver the people of the Canton of Berne from the tyranny of the senate. The original was not to be found among the remaining papers of Hienzi; and the academy, from motives partly of fear and partly of meanness, declared Koë nig unworthy of the title of academician, and struck him from their list. Maupertuis seemed not to have known that the general voice of the learned only could bestow, or take from him, the honour of making a discovery, that this opinion must be free and voluntary, and that any formal act, by rendering it suspicious, would but diminish its authority.

Voltaire had been acquainted with Koë nig at Cirey, where he came to give lessons in the doctrines of Leibnitz to Madame du Chatelet. He had preserved a degree of friendship for him, though he had sometimes indulged himself in jests to his disadvantage, during his residence in France. He did not love Maupertuis, and hated persecution, whatever form it might assume to torment mankind; he therefore openly took the part of Koë nig, and published some writings, in which reason and justice were seasoned by delicate and poignant wit. Maupertuis engaged the vanity of the king in behalf of the honour of his academy, and prevailed on him to exact a promise from Voltaire to ridicule neither it nor its president. The promise was

given; but unfortunately the king, who had commanded silence, imagined he himself might speak. He wrote several humorous pieces, which, but with some little inequality, were partly against Maupertuis, and partly against Voltaire. The latter imagined that the king, by this conduct, had released him from his promise, and that the privilege of being the only one who should laugh was not included in the royal prerogative. He, therefore, profited by a general permission which he had formerly obtained, and sent his *Akakia* to the press, in which Maupertuis was devoted to eternal ridicule.

The king laughed. He had little affection, and less esteem for Maupertuis; yet, jealous of his own authority, he caused this piece of humour to be burnt by the hangman. This is a mode of vengeance which it is rather singular that a philosophic king should borrow from the inquisition.

The insulted Voltaire sent the monarch his cross, his key, and the patent for his pension, with the four following lines—

*Je les reçu avec tendresse,
Je les ren-voie avec douleur ;
Comme un amant, dans sa jalousie
ardeur,
Rend le portrait de sa maîtresse *.*

He sighed for freedom, but he could not obtain this by sending back what he at first had called *splendid baubles*, but which he ever afterward named *marks of slavery*. He wrote from Berlin, where he was

* These gifts I took, with joy of heart,
From them with grief, as great, I part;
The jealous lover, thus, returns
Her gifts, for whom his bosom burns.

ill, for permission to depart. The king, who wished to humble but not to lose him, sent him some bark, but no permission. He again wrote that it was necessary he should go and drink the waters of Plombiers; he was answered, those of Silesia were equally salutary.

Voltaire, at length, thought proper to ask to see his majesty, flattering himself that by his presence he could awaken sentiments which were rather wounded than extinct.

The baubles he had formerly possessed were returned to him. He hastened to Potsdam, saw the king, and a few moments produced a total change. Familiarity revived, former cheerfulness was recovered even at the expence of Maupertuis, and Voltaire obtained permission to go to Plombiers, on giving his promise to return.

Voltaire hastened to Leipzig, where he made some stay, to recover his strength, which had been exhausted by this long persecution. Maupertuis sent him a ridiculous challenge, the only effect of which was, that it opened a new source to his inexhaustible pleasantry. From Leipzig he went to visit the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, a princess, who cultivated letters, loved philosophy, and was superior to prejudice. At her request he there began his *Annals of the Empire*.

From Gotha, he departed for Plombiers; and took the road to Frankfort. Maupertuis was determined on revenge; his challenge had been unsuccessful; and the libels of La Beaumelle he thought insufficient. This his contemptible second had been obliged to quit Berlin, after a ridiculous adventure and some weeks imprisonment. He had fled to Gotha with a chamber-

maid, who had robbed the mistress she had left; his libels had driven him from Frankfort; and he had scarcely arrived at Paris before he was thrown into the Bastille. The president of the academy at Berlin had therefore to seek another avenger. He embittered the ill-humour of the king. The slowness with which Voltaire travelled, his stay at Gotha, and a considerable annuity for the lives of himself and his niece Madame Denis, purchased of the Duke of Wirtemberg, all spoke his determination of never returning to Prussia; and he had taken with him a copy of the poetical works of the king, which were then only known to the wits of the court.

A fear was excited in Frederic's mind that a species of vengeance, terrible even to a royal poet, would be taken. It was possible, at least, that Voltaire should imagine he had a right to reclaim the verses he had given, and to specify those he had corrected. The king gave a knave, whom he kept in his pay at Frankfort, an order to arrest Voltaire, and not to release him till he should have yielded up his cross, his key, and the grant of his pension, together with the poems which Freitag called "the work of Poeschys of the king his master." These volumes had unfortunately been left at Leipzig, and Voltaire was kept in close confinement for three weeks. Madame Denis, his niece, who had come to meet him, was treated with like rigour. Guards were placed at the door, and a soldier continued in each of their chambers, who never suffered them to leave his sight, such fears were entertained lest the work of Poeschys should escape. This precious pledge was at length restored to Freitag, and Voltaire

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was released; but not however till he had been obliged to bestow money on certain adventurers who took that opportunity to commence litigious suits: having escaped from Frankfort he went to Colmar.

The king of Prussia, ashamed of his ridiculous anger, disavowed the proceedings of Freitag, but he had so much morality as not to punish him for having obeyed. During the period of his friendship for Voltaire, Frederic, in the transports of enthusiasm, has often kissed his hands; and Voltaire, after his imprisonment, comparing the two periods, said to his friends—"He has a hundred times kissed the hand he so lately manacled."

Life of the late Mr. Duval, superintendent of the imperial library and collection of medals at Vienna; from the European Magazine for October 1791.

VALENTINE Jameri Duval was born in 1695, in the little village of Artonay, in Champagne. At the age of ten years he lost his father, a poor labourer, who left his wife in a state of poverty, and burthened with children, at a time when war and famine desolated France.

In this state of poverty, the young Duval accustomed himself from his infancy to a rude life, and to the privation of almost every necessary. Misery, far from extinguishing the happy dispositions with which he was born, served on the contrary to developé that masculine courage which he retained to the last moment of his life. He had scarcely learned to read, when, at the age

of twelve years, he entered into the service of a peasant of the same village, who appointed him to take care of his poultry. The uniformity of such an employment did not agree with the natural vivacity of his disposition, but he found the means of relieving it by his sports and frolics, which attracted about him all the boys of the village. He presided in their amusements, invented new ones, and his joviality and good-humour made him the delight of all his associates.

It was at the commencement of the severe winter of 1709 that he quitted his native place, and travelled towards Lorraine; but after a few days journey he was seized by an excessive cold, and even attacked by the small-pox. He must have died but for the care of a poor shepherd in the environs of the village of Monglat, who placed him in a stable, or rather a sheep-pen, and whose poverty could supply him with no other articles of subsistence than coarse bread and water, and no other bed than a truss of straw. The breath of the sheep soon dispelled his cold, and occasioned a perspiration that assisted the disorder with which he was infected. His horrible deformity, which scarcely left a trace of the human figure, did not prevent the sheep from frequently visiting him.

"As I had not the strength," says he, "to drive them away, they frequently took the liberty of licking my face; but the roughness of their tongues made me experience the torments of Marsyas. I did all I could to avoid these cruel caresses, as much on my own account, as from the apprehension that the venom with which my face was

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covered might be infectious to these poor animals, not knowing then that this poison was the peculiar lot of beings of my own species."

From the cares he received, aided by the strength of his constitution, he recovered, and quitted his benefactor to continue his route as far as Clezantine, a village situated on the borders of Lorraine, where he entered into the service of another shepherd, with whom he remained two years; but taking a disgust to this kind of life, chance conducted him to the Hermitage of La Rochette, near Deneuvre. The hermit, known by the name of Brother Palemon, received him, made him partake his rustic labours, and embrace his mode of life.

The abode of Duval at La Rochette was not of long duration; he saw himself obliged to resign his place to a hermit sent to Brother Palemon by his superiors, who, to console him, gave him a letter of recommendation to the hermits of St. Anne, at some distance from La Rochette, and a mile or two beyond Luneville.

Our young recluse, forced to abandon his retreat, felt the utmost astonishment in passing through Luneville, which was the first town he had ever seen, and which he regarded as the center of magnificence and pleasure.

It was in the year 1713 that he arrived at the Hermitage of St. Anne. Its four solitary inhabitants received him with kindness, and entrusted him with the care of six cows, which served them for the culture of a piece of arable land of about a dozen acres; the produce of which, together with the milk and fruits of their little farm, were appropriated to their own subsist-

ence, and to the distribution of charity.

He had always discovered an ardour for books, and greedily devoured all that fell in his way, whatever might be their subjects. It was at St. Anne's that he began to learn to write. One of the old men traced for him, with a trembling and decrepit hand, the elements of this ingenious art. So defective a model could produce but very wretched copies; by his zeal and ingenuity, however, he was soon able to write an indifferent hand with tolerable readiness.

One day as he was employing himself, according to custom, in laying snares for game, that he might be able to purchase books and maps of geography, he perceived upon a tree in the forest a large wild cat, whose sparkling eyes and rich fur strongly excited his avarice. Resolved at all events to catch it, he climbed the tree, and perceiving that the animal kept at the extremity of the branches to avoid him, he cut a stick in order to drive it from its station. He gave it a violent blow on the head, and it fell to the ground, but was so little injured as to be able to run away. Our Acteon, enraged at the idea of losing his prey, made a similar leap, pursued it, and pressed it so closely, that the animal, upon the point of being taken, took refuge in a hollow tree. Duval, redoubling his ardour, manœuvred so well with his stick at the bottom of the tree, that the cat, finding itself warmly attacked, bolted from its retreat to make a new escape, and threw itself directly in the arms of its enemy. He exerted all his efforts to stifle the animal, which became furious to an excess; and find-

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ing its head and fore-claws free, it fastened its talons and teeth to the head of the hero. Duval resolved not to let it escape, and, in defiance of the pain he felt, he tore it by its hind feet from his head, which was as it were scalped, and killed it against a tree. Elate with his victory, he fastened the cat to his stick, and returned home. His masters, seeing him covered with blood, were terrified; but he said to them with the utmost indifference, "It is a mere trifle; be so good as to wash my head with a little warm wine, and it will soon be well; and here," shewing the cat, "here is my recompence." Nothing can better depict the firm and determined character of this young recluse, than his conduct in this little adventure.

His persevering zeal in the chase, and the money he procured for his game, had already enabled him to make a small collection of books; when an unexpected occasion furnished him with the means of adding to it some considerable works. Walking in the forest one day in autumn, and striking the dry leaves before him, he perceived something splendid on the ground, and on taking it up, found it to be a gold seal, with a triple face well engraved on it. He went the following Sunday to Luneville, to intreat the vicar to publish it in the church, that the person who had lost it might recover it again by applying to him at the Hermitage. Some weeks after a man on horseback, of genteel appearance, knocked at the gate of St. Anne's, and asked for the her-

mits' boy.—Duval appeared.—“You have found a seal?” said the stranger to him.—“Yes, Sir.”—“I will thank you for it; it belongs to me.”—“A moment's patience; before I give it you, you will be so good as to blazon your arms.”—“You are laughing at me, young man; you can surely know nothing of heraldry*.”—“Be that as it may, Sir, you shall not have the seal till you have blazoned your arms.” The gentleman †, surpris'd at the firm and decided tone of Duval, asked him a variety of questions upon different subjects; and finding him equally informed in all, he described his arms, and gave him two guineas as a recompence. Desirous of being better acquainted with this young lad, he made him promise to come and breakfast with him at Luneville every holiday. Duval kept his word, and received a crown-piece at every visit.

The generosity of Mr. Foster continued during his abode at Luneville, and he added to it his advice respecting the choice of books and maps. The application of Duval, seconded by such a guide, could not fail of being attended with improvement, and he acquired a considerable share of various kind of knowledge.

The number of his books had gradually encreased to four hundred volumes, but his wardrobe continued the same. A coarse linen coat for summer, and a woollen one for winter, with his wooden shoes, constituted nearly the whole of it. His frequent visits at Luneville, the

* Among other books, Duval had fallen by chance upon the Elements of Heraldry, by Father Menestier.

† It was Mr. Foster, an Englishman of merit, who was then at Luneville.

pulence and luxury that prevailed here, and the state of ease he began to feel, did not tempt him to quit his first simplicity; and he would have considered himself as guilty of idleness, if he had spent a farthing of what was given him, or what he gained, for any other purpose than to satisfy his passion for study and books. Economical to excess as to all physical wants, and prodigal in whatever could contribute to his instruction, and extend his knowledge, his privations gave him no pain. In proportion as his mind opened, and the circle of his ideas enlarged, he began to reflect upon his abject state. He felt that he was not in his proper place, and he wished to change it. From this instant a secret inquietude haunted him in his retreat, accompanied him in the forest, and distracted him in the midst of his studies.

Seated one day at the foot of a tree, absorbed in his reflections, and surrounded by maps of geography, which he examined with the most eager attention, a gentleman suddenly approached him, and asked with an air of surprize what he was doing.—“ Studying geography,” said he.—“ And do you understand any thing of the subject ?”—“ Most assuredly; I never trouble myself about things I do not understand.”—“ And what place are you now seeking for ?”—“ I am trying to find the most direct way to Quebec.”—“ For what purpose ?”—“ That I might go there, and continue my studies in the university of that town *.”—“ But why need you go for this purpose to the end of the world? There are universities nearer home, supe-

rior to that of Quebec; and if it will afford you any pleasure, I will point them out to you.” At this moment they were joined by a large retinue belonging to the young princes of Lorraine, who were hunting in the forest with Count Vidampiere and Baron Pfutschner, their governors. A variety of questions were put to Duval, which he answered with equal precision and good-sense, and without being out of countenance. It was at length proposed by Baron Pfutschner and Count Vidampiere, the person who first accosted him, that he should continue his studies in form in the college of Jesuits of Pont-à-Mousson. Duval felt the importance of this proposal, but desired time to consider of it; adding, that he valued his liberty, and would never quit his retreat without being sure of preserving this precious gift of nature. They dispelled his apprehensions on this subject, and Baron Pfutschner promised to call upon him in a few days.

The Baron kept his word, and came to inform him, that Leopold Duke of Lorraine would take him under his protection, and furnish him with the means of pursuing and finishing his studies. He invited him at the same time to go with him to court at Luneville. Our young recluse was attached to the Hermitage, and could not quit it without tears. Having vowed an eternal gratitude to his benefactors, he set off in a chariot and six with the Baron. On his arrival at Luneville he was presented to the Duke, who received him in the midst of a numerous court, whom this singular event had contributed to assemble. He

* He had read in one of his books of this university, which gave rise to his desire.

answered every question that was put to him without being confuted or at a loss, notwithstanding the novelty of the scene to him, and the important part he had to act. Some ladies having expressed their surprize at the beauty of his teeth, he said very ingeniously, "What, ladies, can there be astonishing in this? It is an advantage which I enjoy in common with all the canine species." The Duke, charmed with his simplicity and his happy physiognomy, renewed his promise of protection, and committed the care of his establishment at the college of Pont-à-Mousson to Baron Putschner. His books and effects were conveyed thither; he was clothed, and an annual pension assigned him.

Duval's natural taste for study, added to his desire of answering the expectations of his illustrious patron, made him redouble his zeal. History, geography, and antiquities, were the studies he preferred, and in which his new guides were peculiarly qualified to assist him.

The sedentary life he now led being no longer balanced as heretofore by frequent bodily exercises, his constitution soon felt the effects.

His animal spirits, heated by his close application and his sittings-up, disordered his imagination; and it was in this state that the accidental sight of a young beauty kindled in his heart a sudden and violent love. Fatigued by his repeated struggles with the most impetuous of the human passions, he read one day in St. Jérôme, that hemlock was a certain cure for it. Charmed with this important discovery, he immediately procured a considerable quantity of this herb, and eat it as a salad.

The imprudence nearly cost him his life. The poison having chilled his blood and dried up his lungs, he was seized with a dangerous illness, the fatal effects of which were long felt by him. Weakened however as he was by ill health, his studies were unremitted: constantly attached to his books, he never quitted them but to breathe sometimes a pure air in the woods and forests. These solitary rambles recalled to his mind the pastoral life he had led; and the remembrance was so pleasing, that they became to his death his favourite recreation.

He continued also to find pleasure in taking game, as well as in fishing. Having one day observed that there were eels in the stream that flowed at the foot of the convent in which he resided, he contrived the following means to catch them: He passed a rod through one of the panes of the window, which he balanced on a pivot. To one end of the rod he fixed a line with a hook, and the other communicated to a bell that hung by his bed-side, in such a manner that on the least motion of the rod the bell would ring and awake him. On hearing the bell one night he leaped from his bed, ran to the window, and on drawing the line he found himself scarceely able to support the weight that hung to it. It was an enormous eel, which, the moment he was laying hold of it, escaped from his hand, fell into the room, and became instantly invisible. Having a long time sought for it to no purpose, he at last heard a great bustle in the bake-house under him. The eel, having found a hole in the floor, had fallen into the trough at the very moment the baker was kneading his dough. Terrified at seeing this creature
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writhe and twist, and flounce about in the tub, and fear magnifying the object ten-fold, the baker conceived that he saw the Devil himself in this enormous and frightful shape. He took to his heels, shrieking to such a degree as to alarm the whole convent. The reverend fathers ran from all sides, some agitated themselves by terror, and others trying in vain to discover the cause of this singular event. The enigma must have remained inexplicable, if Duval had not come to their succour.

He lived two years in this house, and the improvement he made was so great, that Duke Leopold, as a recompence, and to give him an opportunity of still further progress, permitted him in 1718 to make a journey to Paris in his suite. On his return the next year, the Duke appointed him his Librarian, and conferred on him the office of Professor of History in the Academy of Luneville.

He shortly after read public lectures on History and Antiquities: they were attended with the greatest success, and frequented by a number of young Englishmen, among whom was the immortal Chatham. Duval, struck with the distinguished air, as well as with the manly and sonorous voice, of this young man, predicted more than once a part of his fate. The generosity of Duval's pupils, added to his own œconomy, soon enabled him to shew his gratitude to the Hermits of St. Anne. He formed the project of building this Hermitage, the cradle of his fortune, anew, and of consecrating to it all his savings. A handsome square building, with a chapel in the middle of it, and surrounded with a considerable quantity of land, con-

sisting of a garden, an orchard, a vineyard, a nursery of the best fruit-trees, and some arable ground, were the result of this generous intention. His principles of beneficence and humanity led him to render this institution useful to the public. The hermits of St. Anne were ordered to furnish gratuitously, and at the distance of three leagues round, the produce of their nursery, and every kind of tree that should be demanded of them, and to every person without exception. They were further obliged to go and plant them themselves, if it were required, without exacting any reward, or even taking refreshment, unless they found themselves at too great a distance from the Hermitage to return to dinner.

Duval, occupied by his studies and the inspection of the Hermitage of St. Anne, had spent many years in perfect content, when an unexpected accident interrupted his felicity. Duke Leopold died in 1738, and his son Francis exchanged the Duchy of Lorraine for the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. King Stanislaus, the new possessor of Lorraine, used indeed the most urgent entreaties to prevail on Duval to continue in the office of Professor in the Academy of Luneville; but his attachment to his old patron would not permit him to listen to the proposal. He went to Florence, where he was placed at the head of the ducal library, which was transferred thither. Notwithstanding the charming climate of Italy, Lorraine, to which he had so many reasons to be attached, did not cease to be the object of his regret. His regret was considerably increased by his separation from the young Duke Francis, who on his marriage with the

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heirefs of the House of Austria was obliged of course to reside at Vienna. The science of Medals, upon which Duval had already read lectures in Lorraine, became now his favourite amusement, and he was desirous of making a collection of ancient and modern coins. He was deeply engaged in this pursuit when the Emperor Francis, who had formed a similar design, sent for him, that he might have the care and management of the collection.

During his abode at Vienna it was customary with him to wait upon the King after dinner. One day he quitted him abruptly, without waiting till he should be dismissed. "Where are you going?" said the Prince.—"To hear Gabrieli, Sire."—"But she sings so wretchedly."—"Let me entreat your majesty not to say this aloud."—"Why not?"—"Because it is of importance to your majesty, that every one should believe what you say; but in this no one will believe you." The Abbe Marcy, who was present at this conversation, said to him, as they came out together, "Do you know, Duval, that you have spoken to the Emperor a bold truth?"—"So much the better," replied he; "I hope he will profit by it." In 1751 he was appointed Sub-Preceptor to the Archduke Joseph, the late Emperor; but he refused this office, flattering as it was to vanity, and gave the reasons of his refusal in writing. He preserved nevertheless the friendship of their majesties, and continued to receive new proofs of it.

Once during the Carnival, the queen laid a bet with his majesty, who piqued himself on being able

to find out all the masks, that she would give her arm at the ball to a mask that he should not discover. Duval, who had never been at a ball in his life, was entreated to wait upon the maids of honour, that he might be dressed for the occasion. He went, and endeavoured to excuse himself, alledging his extreme awkwardness, and entire ignorance how to conduct himself: but he was obliged to yield; and every thing being ready, he was introduced to her majesty. The Empress gave him her arm; and assuming a tone of gaiety to encourage him, she said among other things, as they went to the ball, "Well, Duval, I hope at least you will dance a minuet with me."—"I, Madam! I have learned in the woods no other dance than that of tumbling head over heels." The Empress laughed heartily at his reply, and presently they arrived at the formidable assembly-room. The Emperor, anxious to win his bet, was already there; but his efforts were vain to discover the mask, which, after two hours stay, was suffered to depart. The disguise of Duval, and the constrain: he experienced in so great a croud, had made him very warm; and in returning from the ball he caught a violent cold, which, as he pleasantly said himself, preserved him from the danger of being elated with pride at the distinction conferred upon him.

He was beloved by all the imperial family; but from his extreme modesty he was scarcely acquainted with the persons of many individuals of it. The eldest Archduchesses passing him one day without his appearing to know them, the king of the Romans, who was a little behind

behind them, and who perceived his absence, asked him, if he knew those ladies? "No, Sir," said he ingenuously.—"I do not at all wonder at it," replied the Prince; "it is because my sisters are not antiques."

A philosopher in the strict sense of the word, Duval thus lived, in the midst of luxury and human greatness, a life truly pastoral, never deviating from his first plan, and never more happy than in the depth of his retreat. The person of whose society he was most fond, was Mademoiselle du Guttenberg, first *femme de chambre* of the Empress. She had a cultivated understanding, and a heart ever ready to compassionate and relieve the sufferings of humanity. This character, perfectly analogous to his own, inspired him with the greatest confidence. He not only saw her regularly when at court, but in the frequent absences which she was obliged to make, he wrote to her very assiduously. A considerable part of this correspondence was found among the papers of the deceased, collected together and placed in order by himself.

His health being again impaired by his close application to study, he was advised to take a second journey to re-establish it. He returned into France, and arrived at Paris in 1752, where he found a number of persons who were desirous of shewing him civilities, and rendering his abode agreeable. The Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, M. du Fresne d'Aubigny, the Abbé Barthelemi, M. de Boze, M. Duclos, and Madame de Grassigny, were among the friends whose society he cultivated most. Notwithstanding the distractions of this new kind

of life, his friends at Vienna were not forgotten. Mademoiselle de Guttenberg frequently heard from him; he assumed even in his correspondence with her the style and manners of a *petit-maitre*, and never wrote to her but upon rose-coloured paper.

On his return he passed by Artonay, his native village. He purchased his paternal cottage, which one of his sisters had sold from indigence; and having caused it to be pulled down, he built on the spot a solid and commodious house, which he made a present of to the community for the abode of the schoolmaster of the village. His beneficence distinguished itself also in a hamlet situated near Artonay, where, finding that there were no wells, he had some dug at his own expence.

From his good constitution, hardened by fatigue, he lived to the age of 79 years, without feeling the infirmities of old age. In his eightieth year he was all at once attacked with the gravel, which brought him to the brink of the grave. In this painful state his philosophy gave him a superiority over common minds: a prey to the most excruciating pains, his firmness and intrepidity were invincible, and he preserved all his presence of mind. By the cares, however, of the Empress, his disorder took a favourable turn, and he was snatched from the arms of death; but in the following year he was seized with a fever, occasioned by indigestion, which weakened him every day, and speedily put an end to his existence.

A few days before his death a friend who attended him perceiving a book in his hand, asked him what

it was? "M. de St. Lambert's Poem of the Seasons," he replied. "You are surprized, perhaps, to see the attention of a dying man employed on a book of this nature. A book of devotion may be more suitable to the state in which I am; but tortured with pain, I cannot bear serious reading. Beside, I have reflected with myself, and, having recapitulated with impartiality the actions of my life, I have found my intentions to have been upright and good. As to faults that are involuntary and inseparable from human weakness, God will (I know) pardon them; and I rely without the

smallest apprehension upon his supreme goodness." This perfect tranquillity of soul, the result of innocence and candour, never quitted him to his latest breath. He died November 3, 1775, aged 81 years. Let his ashes repose in peace;—and may Posterity, the arbiter of true merit, never forget a man who, to raise himself from the state of obscurity to which his birth seemed to have condemned him, opened himself a way, and overcame difficulties which the perseverance of genius alone was capable of surmounting!

NATURAL HISTORY.

On the production of Ambergris. A communication from the Committee of Council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations. From the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxxx. part 1.

To Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart.

Office of committee of privy council for trade, Whitehall, 15th January, 1791.

SIR,

LORD Hawkesbury, president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, having received a letter from Mr. Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern whale-fishery, informing him that a ship belonging to him had lately arrived from the said fishery, which had brought home 362 ounces of ambergris, found by Mr. Coffin, captain of the said ship, in the body of a female spermaceti whale, taken on the Coast of Guinea; his lordship thought fit to desire captain Coffin, as well as Mr. Champion, to attend the lords of the committee, that they might be examined concerning all the circumstances of the fact before mentioned; and I am directed by their lordships to transmit to you a copy of the examination of these two gen-

tlemen, that you may communicate the same to the Royal Society, if you should think that any of the circumstances stated in this examination will contribute to remove the doubts hitherto entertained concerning the natural history and production of this valuable drug. I send you also a piece of the ambergris so taken out of the whale, and some of the bills of the fish called squids (which are supposed to be the food of spermaceti whales), and which were found partly in the ambergris taken from this female whale, and partly on the outside of it, and adhering to it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 12th January, 1791.

By the right honourable the lords of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

Read—Letter from Mr. Alexander Champion, a principal merchant concerned in the Southern whale-fishery, to lord Hawkesbury, dated the 2d instant, acquainting his lordship, that captain Joshua Coffin, of the ship *The Lord Hawkesbury*, is lately arrived from the Southern whale-fishery; and that the said ship,

ship, besides a cargo of 76 tons of spermaceti oil and head-matter, has brought home about 360 ounces of ambergris, which the said captain took out of the body of a female spermaceti whale on the Coast of Guinea.

Messrs. Champion and Coffin attending, were then called in, and the following questions were put to Mr. Coffin, viz.

Q. Have any of the whales taken before by ships sailing from Great-Britain, to your knowledge, contained any ambergris?

A. None, that ever I heard of. The American ships have, at times, found some.

Q. Was the ambergris, found by you, in a bull or cow fish?

A. It was found in a cow fish.

Q. Is it usual to look for ambergris in whales that are killed?

A. It has not hitherto been much the practice to do so.

Q. How happened it that you discovered this?

A. We saw it come out of the fundament of the whale; as we were cutting the blubber, a piece of it swam upon the surface of the sea.

Q. In what part of the whale did you find the remainder?

A. Some more was in the same passage, and the rest was contained in a bag a little below the passage, and communicating with it.

Q. Did the whale appear to be in health?

A. No; she did not. She seemed sickly, had no flesh upon her bones, and was very old, as appears by the teeth, two of which I have. Though she was about thirty-five feet long, she did not produce above one ton and a half of oil. A fish

of the same size, in good health, would have produced two tons and a half.

Q. Have you observed the food that whales generally feed upon?

A. The spermaceti whale feeds, as I believe, almost wholly upon a fish called squids. I have often seen a whale, when dying, bring up a quantity of squid, sometimes whole, and sometimes pieces of it. The bills of the squid (some of which Mr. Coffin produced) were found, some in the inside, and some on the outside of the ambergris, sticking to it.

Q. Did you ever find any ambergris floating on the sea?

A. I never did, but others frequently have.

Q. How long have you been engaged in the whale-fishery?

A. It is about sixteen years since I first entered into it.

Q. What is the general proportion of bull and cow whales you have met with?

A. I believe the proportion to be nearly equal. In my last voyage, however, I found only four bulls out of thirty-five whales. I fished upon the Coast of Africa between five north and seven south degrees of latitude. I am inclined to think, that the cow whale goes to calve in the low latitudes, which accounts for more cows being found in those latitudes.

Q. Is there any particular season when the cow whales calve?

A. I do not know that there is.

Q. Does the bull or cow whale, in proportion to their size, produce most oil?

A. The cow whale, when big with calf, produces more oil than a bull whale of the same size; when suckling, she produces less.

Q. Are

Q. Are the whales usually found singly, or in pairs, or in larger numbers?

A. Usually in large numbers, which we call schools, and particularly in the low latitudes. I have seen from fifteen to perhaps a thousand together.

Q. Have you any further information on this subject to give the committee?

A. We have generally observed, that the spermaceti whale, when struck, voids her excrement; if she does not, we conjecture that she has ambergris in her. I think ambergris most likely to be found in a sickly fish; for I consider it to be the cause or the effect of some disorder.

Questions put to Mr. Champion.

Q. At what price does ambergris usually sell; and at what price did that taken by your ship sell?

A. A small quantity had lately sold at 25 s. per ounce; but it was then very scarce. Mine sold for 19 s. 9 d. per ounce. The whole quantity, found in this whale, was 362 ounces Troy. The people who bought it told me, this was a larger quantity than was ever before brought at once to market. It has been generally sold at about four or five pounds at a time.

Q. For the use of what country was this ambergris bought?

A. I do not exactly know. It was bought by a broker, who told me, that his principal, who purchased about one half, bought it for exportation to Turkey, Germany, and France. The other half was purchased by the druggists in town.

Observations on certain horny excrescences of the human body. By Everard Home, Esq; F.R.S. From the same.

THE history of diseases belongs not properly to the province of the naturalist or philosopher; it is intimately connected with the inquiries of the physician and anatomist; but when disease becomes a cause of the formation of parts similar to others existing in nature, but rendered uncommon by novelty of situation, or produced in animals to which they are not naturally appropriated, it may be considered as having instituted a monstrous variety, highly deserving of attention from the naturalist.

To describe such varieties is indeed more fully the office of natural history than of medicine; but the investigation of diseases which are found to subvert the ordinary laws of nature, respecting the situation or production of parts in an animal body, undoubtedly belongs to the medical practitioner.

By these considerations, I have been induced to lay before the Royal Society the following account of a disease which occurs sometimes in the human body, very remarkable in its effects, but very little understood as to its cause; namely, the production of an excrescence similar to a horn. So curious a phenomenon has naturally attracted the attention of the ignorant as well as the philosopher; and the individuals who have had the misfortune to be subject to this disease have been considered as monsters.

Horny excrescences arising from the human head have not only occurred in this country, but have been

been met with in several other parts of Europe; and the horns themselves have been deposited as valuable curiosities in the first collections in Europe.

In giving the history of a disease so rare in its occurrence, and in its effects so remarkable as almost to exceed belief, it might be thought right to take some pains in bringing proofs to ascertain that such a disease does really exist: I consider the doing so as less necessary at present, there being two women now alive, and residing in England, who are affected by the complaint. I shall, however, in the course of this paper, bring other evidence from the testimony of the most respectable authors who have considered this subject.

The two following cases contain a very accurate and distinct history of the progress of the disease through its different stages, and make any further detail of the symptoms entirely unnecessary.

Mrs. Lonsdale, a woman 56 years old, a native of Horncastle in Lincolnshire, fourteen years ago, observed a moveable tumor on the left side of her head, about two inches above the upper arch of the left ear, which gradually increased in the course of four or five years to the size of a pullet's egg, when it burst, and for a week continued to discharge a thick, gritty fluid. In the center of the tumor, after the fluid was discharged, she perceived a small soft substance, of the size of a pea, and of a reddish colour on the top, which at that time she took for proud flesh. It gradually increased in length and thickness, and continued pliable for about three months, when it first began to put on a horny appearance. In two years

and three months from its first formation, made desperate by the increased violence of the pain, she attempted to tear it from her head; and with much difficulty, and many efforts, at length broke it in the middle, and afterwards tore the root from her head, leaving a considerable depression which still remains in the part where it grew. Its length altogether is about five inches, and its circumference at the two ends about one inch; but in the middle rather less. It is *curled* like a ram's horn contorted, and in colour much resembling *insinglas*.

From the lower edge of the depression another horn is now growing, of the same colour with the former, in length about three inches, and nearly the thickness of a small goose quill; it is less contorted, and lies close upon the head.

A third horn, situated about the upper part of the lambdoidal suture, is much curved, above an inch in length, and more in circumference at its root: its direction is backwards, with some elevation from the head. At this place two or three successive horns have been produced, which she has constantly torn away; but as fresh ones have speedily followed, she leaves the present one unmolested, in hopes of its dropping off.

Besides these horny excrescences, there are two tumors, each the size of a large cockle; one upon the upper part, the other about the middle of the left side of the head; both of them admit of considerable motion, and seem to contain fluids of unequal consistence; the upper one affording an obscure fluctuation, the other a very evident one.

The four horns were all preceded by

by the same kind of incysted tumours, and the fluid in all of them was gritty; the openings from which the matter issued were very small, the cysts collapsed and dried up, leaving the substance from which the horn proceeded distinguishable at the bottom. These cysts gave little pain till the horns began to shoot, and then became very distressing, and continued with short intervals till they were removed.— This case is drawn up by the surgeon who attended the woman for many years, which gave him frequent opportunities of seeing the disease in its different stages, and acquiring an accurate history of its systems.

Mrs. Allen, a middle-aged woman, resident in Leicestershire, had an incysted tumor upon her head, immediately under the scalp, very moveable, and evidently containing a fluid. It gave no pain unless pressed upon, and grew to the size of a small hen's egg. A few years ago it burst, and discharged a fluid; this diminished in quantity, and in a short time a horny excrescence, similar to those above mentioned, grew out from the orifice, which has continued to increase in size; and in the month of November 1790, the time I saw it, was about five inches long, and a little more than an inch in circumference at its base. It was a good deal contorted, and the surface very irregular, having a laminated appearance. It moved readily with the scalp, and seemed to give no pain upon motion; but, when much handled, the surrounding skin became

inflamed. This woman came to London, and exhibited herself as a show for money; and it is highly probable, that so rare an occurrence would have sufficiently excited the public attention to have made it answer her expectations in point of emolument, had not the circumstance been made known to her neighbours in the country, who were much dissatisfied with the measure, and by their importunity obliged her husband to take her into the country.

That the cases which I have related may not be considered as peculiar instances from which no conclusions can be drawn, it may not be amiss to take notice of some of the most remarkable histories of this kind, mentioned by authors, and see how far they agree with those I have stated, in the general characters that are sufficiently obvious to strike a common observer; for the vague and indefinite terms in which authors express themselves on this subject shew plainly, that they did not understand the nature of the disease, and their accounts of it are not very satisfactory to their readers.

In the *Ephemerides Academiæ Naturæ Curiosorum*, there are two cases of horns growing from the human body. One of these instances was a German woman*, who had several swellings, or ganglions, upon different parts of her head, from one of which a horn grew. The other was a nobleman†, who had a small tumor, about the size of a nut, growing upon the parts covering the two last or lowermost vertebrae of the back. It continued

* Ephem. Acad. Nat. Cur. Dec. iii. An. V. Append. p. 148.

† Ibid. Dec. i. An. I. Observat. 30.

for ten years, without undergoing any apparent change; but afterwards enlarged in size, and a horny excrescence grew out from it.

In the History of the Royal Society of Medicine *, there is an account of a woman, 97 years old, who had several tumors on her head, which had been 14 years in growing to the state they were in at that time: she had also a horn which had originated from a similar tumor. The horn was very moveable, being attached to the scalp, without any adhesion to the skull. It was sawn off, but grew again; and although the operation was repeated several times, the horn always returned.

Bartholine, in his Epistles †, takes notice of a woman who had a tumor under the scalp, covering the temporal muscle. This gradually enlarged, and a horn grew from it, which had become twelve inches long in the year 1646, the time he saw it. He gives us a representation of it, which bears a very accurate resemblance to that which I have mentioned to have seen in November 1790. No tumor or swelling is expressed in the figure; but the horn is coming directly out from the surface of the skin.

In the Natural History of Cheshire ‡, a woman is mentioned to have lived in the year 1668, who

had a tumor or wen upon her head for 32 years, which afterwards enlarged, and two horns grew out of it; she was then 72 years old.

There is a horny excrescence in the British Museum, which is eleven inches long, and two inches and a half in circumference at the base, or thickest part. The following account of this horn I have been favoured with by Dr. Gray, taken from the records of the Museum. A woman, named French, who lived near Tenterden, had a tumor or wen upon her head, which increased to the size of a walnut; and in the 48th year of her age, this horn began to grow, and in four years arrived at its present size ||.

There are many similar histories of these horny excrescences in the authors I have quoted, and in several others; but those mentioned above are the most accurate and particular with respect to their growth, and in all of them we find the origin was from a tumor, as in the two cases I have related; and although the nature of the tumor is not particularly mentioned, there can be no doubt of its being of the incysted kind, since in its progress it exactly resembled them, remaining stationary for a long time, and then coming forwards to the skin; and the horn being much smaller

* Histoire de la Société Royale de Médecine, 1776, p. 316.

† Epistol. Thom. Barthol.

‡ Lee's Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire.

|| The following extract is taken from the minutes of the Royal Society, Feb.

14, 1704-5.

“ A letter was read from Dr. Charriere, at Barnstable, concerning a horn, seven inches long, cut off the second vertebra of the neck of a woman in that neighbourhood.

“ Dr. Gregory said, that one of seven inches long, and of a dark brown colour, was cut off from a woman's temple at Edinburgh.

“ Dr. Norris said, that two horns had been cut off from a woman's head in Cheshire.”

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than the tumor previously to the formation of the horn, is a proof that the tumor must have burst, and discharged its contents.

From the foregoing account it must appear evident, that these horny excrescences are not to be ranked among the appearances called *lusus naturæ*: nor are they altogether the product of disease, although undoubtedly the consequence of a local disease having previously existed; they are, more properly speaking, the result of certain operations in the part for its own restoration; but the actions of the animal œconomy being unable to bring them back to their original state, this species of excrescence is formed as a substitute for the natural cuticular covering.

Observations on the Decomposition of Fixed Air, tending to prove that Charcoal is one of the constituent principles. By Smithson Tennant, Esq. F. R. S. From the same, part ii.

AS fixed air is produced by the combustion of charcoal, it has long been thought highly probable that vital air and charcoal are its constituent ingredients. This opinion is confirmed by the experiments of M. Lavoisier, from which he discovered that the weight of the fixed air which is formed during the combustion is nearly equal to that of the vital air and charcoal consumed in the process; and that the small difference of weight may, with great reason, be attributed to the production of water arising from inflammable air contained in the charcoal. The composition of fixed air therefore seems to be deter-

mined, by uniting its constituent parts, with as much certainty as by that mode of proof alone it is possible to obtain. But as vital air has a stronger attraction for charcoal than for any other known substance, the decomposition of fixed air has not hitherto been attempted. By means, however, of the united force of *two* attractions, I have been able to decompose fixed air, and thus to determine its constituent parts in consequence of their separation.

It has long been known, that when phosphoric acid is combined with calcareous earth, it cannot be decomposed by distillation with charcoal: for though vital air is more strongly attracted by charcoal than by phosphorus, yet in this compound it is retained by two attractions, by that which it has for phosphorus, and by that which the phosphoric acid has for lime, since the vital air cannot be disengaged unless both these attractions are overcome. As these attractions are more powerful than that which charcoal has for vital air, if phosphorus is applied to fixed air and calcareous earth, the vital air will unite with the phosphorus, and the charcoal will be obtained pure. These substances, in order to act upon each other, must be brought into contact when red-hot; and this may be easily effected in the following manner. Into a glass tube, closed at one end, and coated with sand and clay to prevent the sudden action of the heat, a little phosphorus should be first introduced, and afterwards some powdered marble. The experiment succeeds more readily if the marble is slightly calcined, probably because that part which is reduced to lime, by immediately uniting with the phosphorus,

rus, detains it to act upon the fixed air in the other part. After the ingredients are introduced, the tube should be nearly, but not entirely, closed up; by which means so free a circulation of air as might inflame the phosphorus is prevented, whilst the heated air within the tube is suffered to escape. When the tube has remained red-hot for some minutes, it may be taken from the fire, and must be suffered to grow cold before it is broken. It will be found to contain a black powder, consisting of charcoal intermixed with a compound of lime and phosphoric acid, and of lime united with phosphorus. The lime and phosphoric acid may be separated by solution in an acid, and by filtration, and the phosphorus by sublimation.

Charcoal, thus obtained from fixed air, appears in no respect to differ from the charcoal, of vegetable matters. On deflagrating a little of it in a small retort with nitre, fixed air was immediately re-produced.— Since, therefore, charcoal, by its separation from fixed air, is proved to be one of its constituent principles, it can hardly be doubted, that this substance is present whenever fixed air is produced; and that those experiments, from which it is supposed that this acid may be formed without the aid of charcoal, have not been conducted with the requisite caution.

As vital air is attracted by a compound of phosphorus and calcareous earth more powerfully than by charcoal, I was desirous of trying their efficacy upon these acids,

which may from analogy be supposed to contain vital air, but which are not affected by the application of charcoal. With this intention I made phosphorus pass through a compound of marine acid and calcareous earth, and also of fluor acid and calcareous earth, but without producing in either of them any alteration. Since the strong attraction which these acids have for calcareous earth tends to prevent their decomposition, it might be thought that in this manner they were not more disposed to part with vital air than by the attraction of charcoal. But this, however, does not appear to be the fact. I have found, that phosphorus cannot be obtained by passing marine acid through a compound of bones and charcoal, when red-hot. The attraction, therefore, of phosphorus and lime for vital air exceeds the attraction of charcoal by a greater force than that arising from the attraction of marine acid for lime.

Account of Chermes Lacca. By William Roxburgh, M. D. of Samulcotta. From the same.

SOME pieces of very fresh-looking lac, adhering to small branches of *Mimosa cinerea**, were brought me from the mountains, on the 20th of November, 1789. I kept them carefully in wide-mouthed crystal bottles, slightly covered; and this day, the 4th of December, fourteen days from the time they came from the hills, thousands of exceeding minute red animals were

* Lac, on this coast, is always found upon the three following species of *Mimosa*; 1st, a new species, called by the Gentoos *Conda corinda*; 2d, *Mimosa glauca* of Kœnig; and, 3dly, *Mimosa cinerea* of LINNÆUS.

observed crawling about the lac and the branches it adhered to, and still more were issuing from small holes on the surface of the cells. By the assistance of glasses, small imperforated excrescences were also observed, interspersed among these holes, two, regularly, to each hole, crowned with some very fine white hairs, which being rubbed off, two white spots appeared. The animals, when single, ran about pretty briskly; but, in general, on opening the cells, they were so numerous as to be crowded over one another. The substance of which the cells were formed cannot be better described, with respect to appearance, than by saying it is like the transparent amber that beads are made of: The external covering of the cells may be about half a line thick, is remarkably strong, and able to resist injuries: the partitions are much thinner. The cells are in general irregular squares, pentagons, and hexagons, about an eighth of an inch in diameter, and a quarter of an inch deep: they have no communication with each other. All those I opened, during the time the animals were issuing from them, contained in one side, and which occupied half the cell, a small bag, filled with a thick red jelly-like liquor, replete with what I take to be eggs. These bags, or utriculi, adhere to the bottom of the cells, and have each two necks, which pass through perforations in the external coat of the cells, forming the before-mentioned excrescences, ending in some very fine hairs.

The other half of the cells have

a distant opening, and contain a white substance, like some few filaments of cotton rolled together, and a number of the little red insects themselves crawling about, ready to make their exit. Their portion of each cell is about a half; and, I think, must have contained near one hundred of these animals. Other cells, less forward, contained in this half with one opening, a thick, red, dark blood-coloured liquor, with numbers of exceedingly minute eggs, many times smaller than those found in the small bags which occupied the other half of the cells. Several of these insects I observed to have drawn up their legs, and to lie flat; they did not move on being touched; nor did they shew any signs of life upon the greatest irritation*.

Dec. 5. The same minute hexapodes continue issuing from their cells in numbers.

Dec. 6. The male insect I have found to-day, at least what I think is such. A few of them are constantly running about, and over the little red insects, (which I shall now call the female) most actively: as yet they are scarce, not more, I imagine, than 1 to 5,000 females, but they are four or five times their size.

To-day the female insects continue issuing in great numbers, and move about as before.

Dec. 7. The small red or female insects, are still more numerous, and move about as before. The winged or male insects, are still very few, but continue active. There have been fresh leaves and bits of the branches of *Mimola ciera*

* It will appear in the sequel, that these were on the point of transformation into the pupa state.

nera, and Mimosa intia, put in to them. They go over them indifferently, without shewing any preference or inclination to work, or to copulate. I opened a cell, from whence I thought the winged flies had come, and found several (eight or ten) struggling to shake off their incumbrances. They were in one of those utriculi mentioned before, which end in two mouths, shut up with fine white hairs; but one of them was open for the exit of the flies; the other would, no doubt, have opened in due time. This utriculus I found now perfectly dry; and could plainly see it was divided into minute cells, by exceedingly thin membranous partitions. I imagine, before any of the flies made their escape, it might have contained about sixteen or twenty. In the minute cells, with the living flies, or from whence they had made their escape, were small dark-coloured compressed grains.

March 26, 1790, I found some branches of the same sort of Mimosa, with numbers of the minute red hexapodes, mentioned in December (seemingly in their pupa state), adhering to them. They are of various sizes, from half a line to a line and a half in length, I found many of the large ones empty. They have a round opening at the lower end, with a small round operculum, or lid, which now loosely covers the empty husk or shell: the inside of these is lined with a small white membrane; others were still shut, some were opening, and some half open, with the insects projecting more or less, and soon extricating themselves entirely.

I opened some of the middle-sized, and found they contained a thick deep blood-coloured liquid;

others, still larger, put on the appearance of the fly, which was soon to issue, retrograde.

Description of the male lac insect in its perfect state.

It is then about the size of a very small fly, and exceedingly active; the larva and pupa state, I am as yet unacquainted with.

Head obtuse; between the eyes a beautiful, shining green.

Eyes, black, very large in proportion to the animal.

Antennae, clavated, feathered, about two-thirds the length of the body; below the middle an articulation, such as those in the legs.

Mouth: I could not distinctly see it.

Trunk, oval, brown.

Abdomen, oblong, length of the trunk and head.

Extremities. (See next page.)

Legs, six; with them it runs briskly, and jumps actively.

Wings, four, membranaceous, longer than the abdomen, incumbent; the anterior pair twice the size of the posterior.

Tail, none.

Description of the female lac insect.

Larva, red, very minute, requiring a good lens to distinguish its parts.

Head, scarcely to be distinguished from the trunk.

Antennae, filiform, bifid, hairy, length of the insect.

Eyes: in the back part of the trunk are two minute elevations, which may be they.

Mouth, on the middle of the breast, between the first pair of legs, which the little animal

mal projects on being injured, otherwise it cannot be seen.

Trunk and Abdomen, oblong, compressed, tapering equally towards each end, crossed with twelve annular segments, margins very flat, and seem to be marked with a double line.

Extremities.

Legs, six, running, does not jump.

Wings, none.

Tail, two slender white hairs, as long as the antennæ, with a white point, which may be called the rump, between them.

Pupa: the duration and peregrinations of the larvæ seem very short and confined; for, in a few days after issuing from their cells they fix themselves on the small, but hard, woody branches of the tree they were produced on; it seeming impossible that they can in this state transport themselves to any other. About the end of December, or beginning of January, they have done issuing from their cells, and are sticking fast to the branches, regularly with their heads towards the extremity of the branch. The legs, antennæ, and tail, are now entirely gone. Their progress through this state is slow, requiring about three months. Soon after they have settled themselves, they become covered with a hard, brittle, garnet-coloured crust, similar to the lac of which the cells are made, but of a brighter colour. They retain only a rude resemblance of their former shape. About the end of March

they have acquired three or four times their original size; a small round lid or cover is now observed at the lower part, which opens, but does not always fall off, and gives a retrograde passage for the fly, now in its perfect state.

The insect in its perfect state is rather smaller than the male, of a brighter red colour, and less active.

Head, small in proportion to the body, pointed.

Eyes, very minute.

Antennæ, filiform, not articulated as in the male, spreading, somewhat shorter than the insect.

Mouth: I could not discover it distinctly.

Trunk, red, almost orbicular.

Abdomen, red, oblong, composed of twelve annular segments.

Extremities.

Legs, six, for running of jumping.

Wings, two, incumbent, longer than the abdomen, transparent.

Tail, two white hairs as long as the insect.

With regard to the œconomy of these little animals, I must, for the present, be silent; having little more than conjecture to offer on that head.

The eggs, and dark-coloured glutinous liquor they are found in, communicate to water a most beautiful red colour, while fresh. After they have been dried, the colour they give to water is less bright; it would therefore be well worth while for those, who are situated near places where the lac is plentifully found, to try to extract and preserve the colouring principles by

such means as would prevent them from being injured by keeping. I doubt not but in time a method may be discovered to render this colouring matter as valuable as cochineal.

Observations on the Leprosy, its Cause and Cure. By William Falconer, M.D. F.R.S. and C.M.S. From the Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, vol. iii.

THE *Lepra Græcorum*, although in this part of England (at least) it be no uncommon disease, is seldom described by medical writers from their own experience. Doctor Cullen* says he never saw it; and scarcely any other modern accounts that I have met with, appear to be taken from actual observation. The Bath Hospital affords numerous opportunities of seeing this disease, as the waters have been famous from the earliest times for the relief they give; and it is from the patients of the Bath Hospital that the following account is principally, though not altogether derived.

Description of the Leprosy.

The appearance which the leprosy puts on, is that of large blotches on the skin, generally of a round or elliptical form, which appear in various parts of the body, but principally on the legs, arms, forehead, and breast.

These blotches are of different sizes, from that of a shilling to one considerably exceeding that of the

hand. These are covered with a rough eruption, which is at first red and in its progress becomes white, at least it is so in some parts, and scaly; though in some patients it becomes scaly sooner, and to a greater degree than in others. This eruption is, in some, nearly level with the skin, and in others it is more prominent, even to nearly half an inch above the surface; which last is more common when the leprous eruptions put on a white scaly appearance, than when they remain of a red colour. It is in general dry, though not uncommonly moist, and oozing a thin serous fluid. The parts affected are sometimes rather swelled, but not to any considerable degree, nor are they in an œdematous state. The swelling is most common when the eruption is of the moist kind. When it puts on a scaly appearance, it is often very uneasy to the feeling, and even rather painful; but this seems to arise principally, if not altogether, from the hardness and stiffness of the skin, which renders motion troublesome. The same circumstance causes the outside of the skin to be insensible to slight impressions of the touch, but no real insensibility of the part affected, or of those adjacent to it, has been observed. The breath has been remarked to be rather short in the moist kinds, especially in persons advanced in years; but I am not certain that this was produced by the disease. The appetite, sleep, and strength of the patients have not been apparently affected; and there is very rarely any thirst or fever attending it. The

* De Elephantiaze *Leprâ Framboesiâ* a Trichomate utpote morbis a meipso nunquam visis amplius statuerè non ausus sum, *Genera Morb. Cullen*, p. 295. Note. Edit. 1780.

body is in general costive, but not to any great degree, and what soon yields to common cathartics. This complaint we have no opportunity of seeing in its first stage; but it is said to begin with sickness, and a sensation of weight and oppression at the stomach, which is relieved by vomiting; after which, in a few days, the eruption appears in different parts of the body, and sometimes on the head, in form of pimples with white heads, attended with great itching. These sometimes spread, and discharge a thin corrosive humour; at others they rise and incrust the parts over with a rough scaly coat, not unlike the bark of a decayed tree. Nothing very particular appears to attend the amendment of the patients. The scaly and rough parts fall off gradually, and are not succeeded by fresh eruptions; the itching abates, and in time the skin appears again in a natural state, as before the disorder commenced.

Cause of the Leprosy.

I have been able in numerous instances to trace the cause of this disease to a circumstance so general, that I doubt not it is, if the truth could always be discovered, universal. I mean here the sudden application of cold to the body when in a heated state. This commonly happens from the drinking some cold liquor; but this is not peculiarly necessary to produce the disease, as I have seen it arise from the external application of cold. It matters not in what manner the body be heated, whether by heat of fires, rooms, or by exercise, as cold produces the same effects in all the above cases. Hence such persons are especially liable to it whose

ways of life subject them to such vicissitudes; as smiths and other trades, that oblige those who work at them to be near fires, or in heated rooms; and such as use violent exercise or labour, as huntsmen, porters, and such like, who are too apt to indulge their appetites without caution.

Women, in situations where they are exposed to the same sudden changes of temperature, are liable to the same disease, as cooks, laundresses, &c. several of whom I have seen in the Bath Hospital affected as above described. It is proper to observe, that the danger is much less in those who take cold liquors at the time they are heated with exercise or labour, if they continue to pursue their labour for some time after drinking, than if they leave off their work immediately. Those cases that I have seen were of persons who exposed themselves when at rest to the effects of cold. The same observation holds equally true of cold externally applied. The quality of the liquor drank is, I believe, of less importance than the temperature. I have known the disease to have been produced by the drinking of water, milk, and beer, and I doubt not many other liquors, if cold, would do the same. Whether stronger liquors of the fermented kind, or such as are warmed by aromatics, would be equally dangerous, if drank cold in such circumstances, I cannot determine.

Of the Cure of the Leprosy.

I wish I were able to point out a remedy with as much certainty as I think I have discovered the cause of the disease. The Bath waters, indeed, externally applied, seem to be of more service than any other
remedy;

remedy; but even these sometimes fail, and, when they succeed in apparently clearing the body of all marks of the disease, it is found by experience, that no absolute dependence can be had on such seeming abatement of the disease, as it is apt to recur after some time; and upon this account it is customary, in registering such patients, not to put them down as cured, but as *cleansed* only. Instances however often happen, wherein such patients remain free from the leprous eruption for several years, and some have never experienced any return of it at all, though they lived many years afterwards. The obstinacy of the disease is by no means proportioned to the quantity of the eruption. I have often seen patients with the face, and many parts of the body, almost covered with a white prominent scaly crust, that have been perfectly cleansed in a few weeks; whilst others, that had only a few red blotches that projected but little from the skin, found no alteration of much consequence in a trial of several months.

I have seen many medicines given internally in this disease to assist the efficacy of the Bath water; but I am rather doubtful if the efficacy of *any* is much to be depended upon, farther than as regards the relief of some of the concomitant symptoms.

Mercurials, as calmel, have been given to two, three, four, and five grains at night for three days successively, and carried off by a purgative given on the fourth day, and this course repeated every week for several weeks together, but, as far as I can find, without any remarkable good effect. Decoctions of the woods of sarsaparilla and of mezerion have been given at the same

time, but without much effect. Plummer's pill and the pilul. *Æthiopicæ* have also been administered, but I believe with little advantage. The acrid mercurial preparations have been much in use in this disease. The solution of corrosive sublimate, both that in water and that in spirits, have been given and continued a long time, and joined with decoction of the woods and of sarsaparilla. I am inclined to think that some considerable advantage must formerly have been believed, at least, to have been produced by the use of such preparations, as the name of *guttæ ad lepram* was affixed to a solution of this kind in the old Pharmacopœia of the hospital; and I have been told by persons whose observation I could not but respect, that in the same obstinate cases they had seen much advantage from such a course continued for some time. I cannot however affirm the same from my own experience, though I do not mean to deny it altogether. Mercurius calcinatus, joined with an opiate, and given at night for some time, has also been tried, and I believe with much the same success.

Mercury is also used in external applications, as in the unguentum *mercurio precipitato*, and in the unguentum *citrinum*; but I have not seen any good effects they have produced.

Antimony has been often used, as in the form of *essentia antimonii*, and in a powder composed of crude antimony and the compound powder of gum tragacanth, but with no advantage as far as I can learn.

Sulphur also has been used internally, as in the *aqua sulphurata*, which indeed is no other than the phlogisticated vitriolic acid combined

lined with water, and in form of flowers made up into an electuary, but with no effect worth recording.

Sulphur also has been used externally, made up into an ointment with hog's lard, and sometimes with tar; but I think that the simple tar ointment succeeds better, and in some cases appears to be of real use in softening the stiffness of the skin, and promoting the separation of the scaly eruptions. Elm bark in decoction, so justly recommended by Dr. Lysons, in a disease that resembles this so nearly as to appear to external view to be only a lower degree of it, is in this disease of little efficacy. The tincture of cantharides, so highly commended by Dr. Mead for its efficacy in the leprosy, has not answered to such a character in the trials I have seen made of it. I have several times tried it without being able to perceive any effect worth remarking from it. It never, in my experience, seemed to show any effect as a diuretic.

The method in general pursued is, to order the patients to bathe twice or thrice a week, according to their age, strength, and other circumstances. This, after a few times trial, commonly causes an abatement of the itching, and an incipient desquamation of the leprous eruption, and of consequence renders the skin softer and more pliable. This course is accompanied with a direction to drink the waters, which at a medium are taken in the quantity of about a pint daily, which are thought to second the good effects of the bath, by promoting an easy and gentle perspiration. If the amendment appears to proceed according to expectation, no

other medicines are given, but such as are somewhat gently opening occasionally, if the body should be costive.

In cases where the eruption either shews no signs of abatement, or where, after being removed in one part, it breaks out in another, and a succession of the eruptions is kept up, though in general in no great quantity, recourse is had to the acrid mercurial preparations before mentioned, which, it must be owned, coincide very well with the use of the warm bath, which assists their diaphoretic powers, and obviates any tendency towards a salivation; but whether such medicines act specifically on the disease, or really contribute to its cure or abatement, I cannot take upon me to decide with positive certainty.

It now and then happens that this complaint, although from appearance almost entirely removed, will continue in that state without any farther amendment, resisting every remedy for a long time, and at last oblige us to dismiss our patients, generally indeed in a much better state than at their coming in, but still without even a temporary removal of the disease. It sometimes (though I believe but seldom) happens that the same cause (the sudden application of cold), which originally produced the leprous eruption, will cause it to strike in; and when this occurs, it produces great disturbance in the system. I have before mentioned that vomiting was a symptom that generally, if not always, preceded the eruption at the commencement of the disease; and when the eruption is struck in, this symptom again makes its appearance. A professional gentleman of eminence, who attends this

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hospital.

hospital, mentioned to me a case of this kind, that fell under his own inspection; and a very remarkable instance occurred to my own observation: A girl about sixteen years of age, who had at the time a leprous eruption upon her, drank, when violently heated, a large draught of cold water, presently afterwards the leprous eruption suddenly disappeared, on which she was seized with a perpetual disposition to vomiting; every thing she swallowed was in a few minutes rejected. For this complaint she was sent to the Bath Hospital. Her health in other respects was not much affected, save what the fatigue of straining, and loss of strength by the want of sufficient sustenance, produced. A variety of remedies were tried, both external and internal. Besides the Bath waters, both drank and used as baths, she tried opiates, bitters, aromatics, elix. aloes, the effervescent saline draught, ipecacuanha in small doses, and a multitude of other medicines. Opiates also were externally applied to the stomach, and blisters, but all without the least effect.

After a stay of several months she was discharged no better; and about eight months afterwards was again re-admitted, the disorder having then taken a different turn. The vomiting had ceased; but her limbs and body were almost universally convulsed, though without loss of the senses. She again used the waters in every form, and a great number of other medicines and local applications; but after several months was again discharged without receiving any benefit.

It appears probable to me, that the scurfy redness of the face which we sometimes see among females,

and which is to them so great an object of dread, is nearly allied to this disease. We know that it generally, if not always, owes its origin to the same cause, the drinking of some cold liquor when the body is violently heated, which often happens from dancing and public amusements. We also know how dangerous it is to the health to repel such eruptions; and I recollect a case that fell under my care about twelve years ago, wherein an almost perpetual vomiting was induced by the use of an external application, advised to repel an eruption of this kind that appeared on the face. This however, after continuing above six weeks, was at last cured. Other disorders of a dangerous nature have been brought on by remedies used for the same purpose. I once saw a dropsy of the breast produced by the use of a mercurial remedy for a redness of the face, which it effectually removed, but instantly produced a dropsy of the chest, terminating in death.

The number of persons admitted into the Bath Hospital for this disease in the space of four years, viz. from June 12, 1771, to June 12, 1775, and their state when discharged, is as follows:

Whole number admitted	-	83
Of whom were cleansed	-	52
Much better	-	24
Died of the small pox	-	1
Irregular in behaviour, and discharged without a sufficient trial of the waters	-	2
State in which they were discharged omitted in the register	-	4
		<hr/>
		83

Short

Short explanation of the principles of Dyeing; from the first vol. of Berthollet's Elements of the Art of Dyeing, translated from the French by William Hamilton, M. D.

BERGMAN seems to have been the first who referred phenomena of dyeing, entirely to chemical principles*; having dyed some wool and some silk in a solution of indigo, in very dilute sulphuric acid, he explains the effects he observed in the operation, by attributing them to the precipitation occasioned by the blue particles having a stronger attraction for the particles of the wool and silk, than for those of the acidulated water. He remarks, that this attraction of the wool is so strong, as to deprive the liquor entirely of the colouring particles; but that the weaker attraction of the silk, can only diminish the proportion of these particles in the bath; and he shews, that both the durability of the colour, and the degree of intensity it is capable of acquiring, depend on these different attractions. This is, in fact, the true light in which the phenomena of dyeing should be viewed; they are real chemical phenomena, which ought to be analyzed in the same way as all those dependant on the actions which bodies exert, in consequence of their peculiar nature.

The colouring particles possess chemical properties, that distinguish

them from all other substances; they have attractions peculiar to themselves, by means of which they unite with acids, alkalis, metallic oxyds, and some earths, principally alumine. They frequently precipitate oxyds and alumine, from the acids which held them in solution; at other times they unite with the salts, and form supracompounds †, which combine with the wool, silk, cotton, or linen. And with these, their union is rendered much more close by means of alumine or a metallic oxyd, than it would be without their intervention.

The difference in the attractions of the colouring particles for wool, silk, and cotton, is sometimes so great, that they will not unite with one of these substances, while they combine very readily with another; thus cotton receives no colour in a bath which dyes wool scarlet. Dufay got a piece of stuff made, the warp of which was wool, and the woof cotton, which went through the process of fulling, that he might be certain that the wool and the cotton received exactly the same preparation; but the wool took the scarlet dye, and the cotton remained white. It is this difference of attraction which renders it necessary to vary the preparation and the process, according to the nature of the substance which we wish to dye of a particular colour.

These considerations ought to determine the road to be pursued, for the purpose of improving the art of dyeing.

* Analyse de l'indigo. Mem. des Sav. etran. tom. ix. and in the notes on Scheffer's treatise.

† In the original *surcompositions*, by which is to be understood compounds of more than two ingredients. I have rendered it by the above word, as the idea seems borrowed from Beccher and Stahls mixts, compounds, decompounds, and supradecompounds, though the application of the term is more vague. T.

Observations on the effects produced by the action of Light on Colours; from the same.

THE light of the sun considerably accelerates the destruction of colours; it ought therefore (if the theory I have proposed be well founded) to favour the combination of oxygen, and the combustion thereby produced.

Mr. Sennebier has given us a great number of interesting observations on the effects of light on different substances, and particularly on their colours; he attributes these effects to a direct combination of light with the substances*.

The effects of light on the colour of wood, have been long since observed; it preserves its natural appearance while kept in the dark, but when exposed to the light, it becomes yellow, brown, or of other shades. Mr. Sennebier has remarked the varieties which occur in this particular, in different kinds of wood, and has found, that the changes were proportioned to the brightness of the light, and that they take place even under water, but that wetted wood underwent these changes less quickly than that which was dry; that several folds of ribband were required to defend the wood completely; that a single leaf of black paper was sufficient, but that when paper of any other colour was substituted, the change was not prevented; a single covering of white paper was inefficient, but two intercepted the action of the light.

That philosopher has extended his experiments to a great number

of vegetable substances, in a manner which may serve to illustrate many phenomena of vegetation, which I do not enter into at present. But to shew in what manner the sun acts upon colours, it may be sufficient to examine the appearances, presented by a solution of the green part of vegetables in alcohol.

If such a solution, which is of a fine green colour, be exposed to the light of the sun, it very soon acquires an olive hue, and loses its colour in a few minutes. If the light be weak, the effect is much more slow: and in perfect darkness, the colour remains without alteration, or if any change does take place, it requires a great length of time. Mr. Sennebier asserts that an alkali restores the green colour; but if the change of colour in the liquor has been completed, the alkali has no effect. He has observed that no change of colour takes place in azotic gas (phlogisticated air) nor in a bottle which is quite full.

I inverted over mercury a bottle half full of this green solution, and exposed it to the light of the sun; when the colour was discharged the mercury was found to have risen in the bottle, and consequently, vital air had been absorbed, the oxygen having united with the colouring matter. I did not observe that precipitate which Mr. Sennebier mentions; the liquor had continued transparent, and retained a slight yellow tinge.

I evaporated this liquor; its colour was immediately rendered darker, and became brown; the residuum was black, and in the state of charcoal.

The light therefore produced its

* Mem. physico-chymiques sur l'influence de la lumière solaire, &c. vol. ii. & iii.

effect by favouring the absorption of oxygen, and the combustion of the colouring matter; at first, the marks of combustion are not evident; the liquor retains only a slight yellow tinge, but by the assistance of heat, the combustion is completed, the liquor becomes brown, and leaves a black residuum. If the vessel in which the liquor is, contains no oxygenous gas, the light has no effect on the colouring matter; azotic gas in this situation suffers no diminution.

The above observation, that ribbands, or a single leaf of white paper, do not prevent the action of light, merits attention, by proving that light can pass through coverings which appear to be opaque, and exert its energy at some distance within.

Beccaria, and afterwards Mr. Sennehier, have compared the effects of light on ribbands of various colours; but the differences they have observed, are rather to be attributed to the nature of the colouring matters, than to the colours; for a ribband dyed with brazil wood will lose its colour much sooner than one dyed with cochineal, though the shade should be perfectly the same in both.

Although light greatly accelerates the combustion of colouring matter, and appears even necessary to its destruction in some cases, yet in others it is not required. Having put some plants into a dark place, in contact with vital air, I found that it was absorbed by some. I also remarked that the rose suffers a change, and becomes of a deeper hue, when it is not in contact with the vital air; doubtless, because it contains a little oxygen, the com-

bination of which becomes more intimate; but many flowers retain their colour perfectly in azotic gas.

I placed tincture of turnsole in contact with vital air over mercury, both in the dark, and exposed to the light of the sun; the former continued unchanged for a considerable length of time, and the vital air had suffered no diminution; the other lost much of its colour, became red, and the air was in a great measure absorbed, and a small quantity of carbonic acid was produced, which no doubt had occasioned the change of colour from blue to red.

This observation may lead us to form an idea of some of the changes of colour, produced by a particular disposition of the component principles of vegetable substances, when by their combination with oxygen, they undergo the effects of a slight combustion, which may generate an acid, as in the leaves in autumn, which grow red, before they become yellow, and in the streaks (panachures) observable in flowers, the vegetation of which is growing languid.

It is therefore proved, that light promotes the absorption of oxygen by the colouring matter, and that thence arises a combustion, the common effect of which is, the predominance of carbonic particles.

Account of the three species of the Palm Tree; from the first vol. of Sketches chiefly relating to the History, &c. of the Hindoos.

THE three species of the palm-tree that I have mentioned, are in great abundance over almost the whole peninsula and islands of India.

The

The *cocca*, which is the first in rank, is perhaps of more universal use to man, than any other tree the earth produces. It generally grows almost perfectly straight, is from thirty to forty feet high, and about a foot in diameter. It has no branches; but about a dozen leaves spring immediately from the trunk near the top, which are about ten feet long, and, at the bottom of the leaf, from two to three in breadth. These leaves serve to cover the houses of the common classes of the natives, to make mats for them to sit and lie upon; with the finest fibres of the leaf, very beautiful mats are made, that are bought by the rich; the coarse fibres are made into brooms; and the stem of the leaf, which is about as thick as a man's ankle, is used for fuel. The wood of the tree, when fresh cut, is spongy; but this, as well as that of the *palmyra* tree, becomes hard by being kept, and attains a dark brown colour.—On the top of the tree, a large shoot is found, which, when boiled, resembles brocoli, but is perhaps of a more delicate taste, and though much liked, is seldom eat by the natives, as, on cutting it, the pith being left exposed, the tree dies. Between this shoot and the leaves spring several buds, from which, on making an incision, distils a juice, differing little either in colour or consistence from water. Men, whose business it is, climb to the tops of the trees in the evening, with earthen pots tied round their waists, which they fix to receive this juice, and take away early in the morning, before the sun has had any influence on it. The liquor thus drawn is generally called *Tary*, and by the English *Toddy*. It is in this state cooling, and of a sweet

agreeable taste—after being kept a few hours, it begins to ferment, acquires a sharper taste, and a slighter intoxicating quality. By boiling it, a coarse kind of sugar is made; and by distillation it yields a strong spirit, which being every where sold, and at a low price, contributes not a little to ruin the health of our soldiers. The name given to this spirit by the English is *Parriar arrack*, as it is drank by the Parriars or outcasts.—The trees from which the *toddy* is drawn do not bear any fruit; but if the buds be left entire, they produce clusters of the *cocconut*. This nut, in the husk, is full as large as a man's head; and, when once ripe, falls with the least wind.—When fresh gathered it is green on the outside; the husk and the shell are tender. The shell, when divested of the husk, may be about the size of an ostrich's egg; it is lined with a white pulpy substance, and contains about a pint, or a pint and a half, of liquor like water; and though the taste be sweet and agreeable, it is different from that of the *toddy*.

In proportion as the fruit grows old, or is kept, the shell hardens, the liquor diminishes, and is at last entirely absorbed by the white pulpy substance, which gradually attains the hardness of the kernel of the almond, and is almost as easily detached from the shell. The Indians use this nut in their cookery.—From it great quantities of the purest and best lamp oil is pressed; and the substance, after it has been pressed, serves to feed poultry and hogs, and is found an excellent nourishment for them. Cups, and a variety of small utensils, are made of the shell.—The husk is at least an inch in thickness, and being composed

posed of strong fibres that easily separate, it furnishes all the Indian cordage.

The *palmyra*, or as it is called by the Portuguese (from whom the English, as in many other instances, have borrowed the name) the *palmeiro-brabo*, is taller than the *cocoa*, greater quantities of toddy are drawn from it; for though a small fruit which it yields be sometimes eat, and is thought wholesome, yet it is but little sought after. This tree, like the *cocoa*, has no branches, but only a few large leaves quite at the top, which are also employed to thatch houses, and to make mats and umbrellas. The timber of this tree is much used in building.

The *date-tree* is not so tall as the *cocoa*. The fruit never arrives to maturity in India; toddy is drawn from it, but neither in such quantity, nor of so good a quality, as that which is procured from the two former species. Indeed, the Indian date-tree is but of little value, comparatively with even the *palmyra*, though that be inferior to the *cocoa*.

Experiments concerning the Temperature of the Air at different heights; from an Essay on Fire, by Mark Augustus Picquet, translated from the French under the inspection of the Author.

IN some former experiments I made use of a pole 50 feet high, and afterwards of one of 75 feet high. My first trials were made in the months of August and September, 1778, and discovering some phenomena I did not expect, I repeated them the year following with better instruments, and a more con-

venient apparatus. And it is of these latter experiments I am now about to give an account.

The pole was fixed in a large garden, and supported in its vertical situation by cords or shrouds descending obliquely to the ground. From the top of the pole, an arm of about 18 inches long was extended horizontally, from whose extremity hung a pulley designed to raise and lower one or more thermometers, which was done with the utmost celerity. The upper part of the pole was painted a dead black, in order to avoid all kind of reflection; and that the shadow of the pole should never fall upon the thermometer, I placed the arm in the plane of the meridian.

Besides these thermometers, designed to be raised or lowered, I employed others, suspended at different distances from the earth, from between 5 and 6 feet, to 4 lines. These were suspended by a very thin thread of silk extended vertically; one of them was hung two inches from the pole itself, and 5 feet from the earth. I moved it laterally as the sun advanced, that it might be always diametrically opposite the pole, and by that means constantly in the shade. And finally, I had one on the ground, with its bulb just covered by the earth, intended to shew the temperature of the surface of the soil, whilst the corresponding observations were made in the air.

The instruments were all of mercury, made with great care, and agreeing perfectly with each other. The bulbs and inferior parts were completely insulated and detached from their scales, which were of tin, silver, or ivory. The bulbs were of a moderate size, so as to require 6

or 7 minutes to receive the temperature of the quiet air in which they were suspended. The most tardy was disposed at the top of the pole, that its variations might be as inconsiderable as possible during the 5 or 6 seconds it required to descend.

My design, in general, was to observe, by means of this apparatus, what passed in the stratum of air which reposes upon the earth to the height of 75 feet; to see what progression the augmentation and diminution of the heat produced by the sun's presence, during a calm and serene day, would follow; what was the hottest and coldest moment of the day; what the mean heat of the 24 hours; and finally, to examine the effect of clouds, fogs, winds, &c. upon these results. But above all, I endeavoured to discover if there existed any constant proportion between the temperature of the air at 75 feet, and at 5 feet from the earth; and, supposing this proportion variable, what might be the nature and periods of these variations. Then to apply these results to the nearest approximation of the true temperature of a vertical column of air drawn from the ordinary and only practicable observations, made at 5 feet from the earth.

A more considerable elevation would, perhaps, have furnished the means of establishing, by numerous observations at intermediate heights, some law of the diminution of heat, relatively to the augmentation of vertical elevation; but a column of air of 75 feet was insufficient for such inquiries.

It was at the top of the pole that the augmentation and diminution of heat during the day followed the most uniform progression; and it was

there, likewise, as we shall presently see, that the extremes of heat and cold were nearest each other. The thermometer in the shade at 5 feet from the ground agreed best with the thermometer exposed to the sun 70 feet higher, and they were not only similar in their progression, but in their absolute temperature also, from 9 o'clock in the morning to 3 in the afternoon, although one was in the sun, and the other in the shade.

I usually began to observe these instruments at break of day, and they all agreed in indicating an increasing coolness as sun-rise approached. The coldest moment was during the rising of the sun; and from that time the thermometers began to mount by different progressions, until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, which was commonly the hottest part of the day. The thermometer, whose bulb was covered by the soil, indicated at that time a very considerable degree of heat. I have seen it at 45° of the scale of 80 parts, in a hot day in the month of August.

The winds greatly altered the uniformity of the progression of the thermometers, which, on the days when the air was agitated, moved always by oscillations: a cloud which hid the sun also occasioned a sudden descent; but their motions were never more regular than on those calm and uniformly cloudy days, which we frequently see in this country in autumn.

All these modifications were naturally foreseen. The particular results of these observations, as they relate to barometrical measurements, will make part of another essay directed principally to inquiries of this nature. But the peculiar and unexpected

expected phenomenon of which I am now going to speak, has naturally a place here.

In order to expose it clearly, I shall follow the course of the two thermometers at 5 feet and at 75 feet from the earth, during 24 hours of calm serene weather.

In the morning, about two hours or two hours and a half after sun-rise, these two thermometers agreed, and, except some little oscillations, the effect of accidental circumstances, they indicated the same temperature.

As the sun advanced, the thermometer at 5 feet from the ground acquired a higher temperature; and at the hottest time of the day, it was about two degrees of the scale of 80 parts higher than the thermometer at 75 feet.

The *maximum* of difference once passed, the two thermometers approached, and, before the setting of the sun, again acquired the same temperature; then varied in the opposite sense, and their difference augmented rapidly after sun-set. Towards the end of the twilight, the inferior thermometer was two degrees lower than the other, and sometimes more.

This difference continued the same during the night; at least I have reason to presume so, because, having quitted them at 11 o'clock in the evening, and observed them again at day-break, I constantly found the thermometer at 5 feet lower from one to two degrees than that at 75 feet. They kept the same proportion during the whole twilight of the morning, and it was not till some time after sun-rise that they began to approach, then to acquire the same temperature, and about

two hours afterward to cross each other again.

Such was the constant course of these two thermometers, as often as the weather was calm and serene; and it happened just the same in the different seasons of the year, and notwithstanding winds and clouds, although less sensibly in this last case; and it was only on the days completely and uniformly cloudy, and when the wind was violent, or when there was a thick fog, that the two thermometers, 70 feet distant from each other, nearly agreed during the whole course of the day.

It was with extreme surprize that I beheld, from the very first day of my experiments, this extraordinary phenomenon. I thought, and doubtless I was not singular in this opinion, that the coolness which we experience in the night came from above; nor could I believe my eyes when I saw the thermometer at 75 feet, at that time, nearly two degrees higher than the other at 5 feet. It was from the ground, then, I concluded that this coolness proceeded. And in effect, I found the thermometer at 4 lines from the ground still lower, in general, than that at 5 feet; but the thermometer, whose bulb was covered by the earth, was, on the contrary, much higher than any of the others; and the earth, retaining a part of the heat which it had acquired during the day, formed, as it were, a kind of stove, immediately whereon rested a stratum of cool air, and above that we found the air warmer.

It may be imagined, that this was a local phenomenon, and owing to some particular exhalations; but the soil was not at all moist; the same experiments, repeated in a larger plain,

plain, to which I transported the apparatus, presented the like results; and I have even obtained the same upon an insulated summit of the mountain called the Mole, which is more than 4,200 feet above the level of the sea.

I think I perceive the cause of this phenomenon to be as follows:

When fire is not retained by the ties of chemical affinity, it tends constantly to an equilibrium, as we have already often proved in the course of this essay. The soil, therefore, being hotter than the air, the fire will rise from the interior of the earth upwards, and, being arrived at the surface, will successively convert into vapour the infinitely thin strata of water which moisten the soil in the point of contact between the air and the earth, and evaporation will take place.

If we suppose the ground colder than the air, then the fire will descend into the earth; but evaporation will always take place near its surface; and in this particular union of fire with water, it is known that a part of the sensible fire disappears, and becomes fire of evaporation, that is to say, imperceptible fire, and that cold is produced, unless in circumstances in which the external calorific causes exactly counterbalance the fire that disappears.

During the two twilights and the night, this balance cannot take place. The ambient liberated fire endeavours to re-establish the equilibrium, but the fire that arrives for this purpose from the earth undergoes at its surface the metamorphosis produced by the act of evaporation; and that which exists in the air above is partly united with the water it has evaporated, and not being carried downward by any

great rupture of equilibrium, but having, as we have perceived in another place, a tendency, independent of the attraction of the superior strata, to rise rather than to descend, it moves through the air in a quantity insufficient to re-establish in the inferior stratum the equilibrium of temperature deranged by evaporation. It will, therefore, remain colder than the ground, and than the superior stratum, till some calorific cause shall supply the fire, which disappeared at the surface of the earth.

But as soon as the rays of the sun fall upon the inferior stratum of air, and upon the surface of the earth, their calorific effect is felt. In the first moments, they produce cold rather than heat, because the fire they supply is not, perhaps, sufficient to compensate the quantity absorbed by the increased evaporation.

Their presence, however, and more direct impulse upon the air and the ground soon gain the advantage, and, notwithstanding the increased evaporation, the liberated fire is so much augmented, that the relative heat of the inferior stratum becomes greater; and this stratum and the superior strata also, to the height of 75 feet, which are the limits of these experiments, shortly acquire the same temperature that took place about two hours or two hours and a half after sun-rise. The heat produced by the action of the solar rays upon the earth, became afterwards so great, that the inferior stratum of air, in which, however, the evaporation constantly continued, was heated more than the superior, and we have seen the difference amount to 2 degrees in the hottest time of the day.

After

After this period, the diminution of the intensity of the solar rays brought back, by degrees, the equality between the refrigerant effect of evaporation, and the calorific effect which they produced; and at this moment of equilibrium, the superior and inferior thermometers again exhibited the same degree of temperature; a little afterward the rays, still more oblique and less numerous, were insufficient to counterbalance the cold of evaporation, and the inferior thermometer descended lower than the other; this difference continued till the next day's sun restored the equilibrium, and produced the alternate action which I have described, and endeavoured to explain.

But should this explication be insufficient, the fact is not less certain; and if we add to the conclusions that may be drawn from it, the knowledge we have of the three states or modifications of fire in solid water, liquid water, and water in vapour, the phenomena of dew and of hoar frost will not be very difficult to explain in a satisfactory manner.

Experiments on Heat produced by Friction; from the same.

I WAS persuaded that the heat produced by friction was owing, in a great measure, to a kind of mechanical decomposition of the air between the surfaces rubbing against each other; and this opinion appeared to be probable, from the observation that the fragments of steel detached by the stroke of a flint, were not melted in vacuo as they were in air. This hypothesis seemed also to be supported by con-

siderations on the quantity of fire chemically contained in this elastic fluid. But we shall presently see, that experience has overturned it.

In order to vary the experiments, I employed the following apparatus:

It is a kind of clock-work movement, three inches in diameter, and two in height. The moving power is a spring inclosed after the usual manner in a barrel, the wheel of which has 120 teeth, and runs in a pinion of 12 leaves, whose spindle carries a wheel of 98 teeth. This wheel runs in a pinion of 8 leaves, which drives a third wheel of 60 teeth, and this turns a third pinion of 22 leaves, which occupies the centre of the machine towards the upper plate. The spindle of this pinion projects above the plate, and is terminated by a square, to which the substances designed to make trial of the friction are adapted.

In consequence of such a number of teeth and leaves running in each other, the last pinion makes 334 revolutions for one of the wheel of the barrel.

To this pinion are fitted several little hemispherical cups with the concavity uppermost; and their bottoms being pierced with a square hole corresponding with the square of the spindle, they are placed thereon, and turn with it. The cups I made use of were of steel, of brass, and of wood, and of two different diameters, viz. 7 lines and $3\frac{1}{2}$.

Immediately over the centre of the cup fixed for the experiment, I place a mercurial thermometer, whose bulb is only $2\frac{1}{4}$ lines in diameter. This thermometer may be raised or lowered so as to enter, more or less, the cavity of the cup without touching its sides; by which

disposition it is calculated to receive and shew most readily the heat given to the cup by the friction.

The friction operates on the outer edge of the cup near the brim; and in order to vary it either by the degree of pression, or the nature of the substances rubbing against each other, I employ a horizontal lever, whose point of support is at one of the extremities, the direction of which is parallel to a tangent of the circumference of the cup, and at the other extremity a thread is fixed at right angles, which, passing over a pulley, suspends a weight that may be varied. The lever is furnished with a mouth-piece at its mid-length, resembling that of the cock of a pistol, in which I place the different substances intended to rub against the cup with a pression determinable by the weight. For, as the lever is of the second class, and the distance from the mouth-piece to the point of support is $13\frac{1}{2}$ lines, whilst the weight acts at its extremity at double that distance, or $26\frac{1}{2}$ lines, the action of the weight pressing the substance rubbing against the cup is double the weight itself, which being 4 drachms, 18 grains, its effect is consequently equal to one ounce, 36 grains; and this is the pression I have constantly employed in the experiments of which I am about to render an account.

I found the relative velocity of the substances under friction, in the following manner. When I applied the steel cup of 7 lines diameter to the spindle of the pinion, and suspended to the lever the weight above mentioned, putting in the mouth-piece a bit of brass to rub against the steel, the wheel of the barrel in running down makes five revolutions in eight seconds; it

may therefore be concluded, that in this case the circumference of the cup is moved at the rate of 32 feet in a second. But when instead of the great steel cup, I substitute a brass one of only $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines diameter, leaving the same pression and the same rubbing substance, the wheel of the barrel makes one revolution in a second, which gives the circumference of the cup a velocity of $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet in a second. And these are the extremes of the velocities employed in my experiments.

The apparatus is of a size to admit its being readily introduced into the common receivers; and it may be set in motion in vacuo by means of a rod, which traverses the leather apparatus commonly employed for this purpose, and the extremity of which touches a spring or trigger.

Comparative experiments in the air and in vacuo were the first objects of my inquiries. For this purpose, having adapted a cup of tempered steel, and placed in the mouth-piece a bit of adamant spar, which mineralogists esteem the hardest substance next to the diamond, I set the machine in motion in the air. Sparks flew out during all the revolutions, and formed a radiated sheaf of light, whose top was at the point of contact. The thermometer in the centre of the cup, at some distance, however, from its sides, shewed no signs of heat produced by the friction.

I repeated the experiment, and placed the bulb of the thermometer without the cup, very near its outer edge, presuming that the fire carried away, perhaps, by the rapidity of the revolutions, would form an atmosphere round the edge, and thereby affect the thermometer. But the

the instrument in this new disposition gave no signs of heat.

I repeated the experiment in a vacuum, where the mercury of the gage stood at 4 lines. The thermometer shewed no signs of heat in this case, and I saw no sparks. I even thought that no light was produced; but when I renewed the experiment in complete obscurity, I saw at the place of contact a phosphoric glimmer, like that observed upon rubbing hard stones in the dark.

From the result of these experiments, I naturally concluded that, in the present disposition of my apparatus, the heat produced by the friction was so weak, that the thermometer thus situated could not indicate it in a manner to be depended upon; for, I could perceive no variation in the experiments made alternately in the air and in vacuo, except that in the former I obtained sparks, and in the latter only a feeble phosphoric light.

I now substituted the brass cup of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines instead of the steel cup of 7 lines, and the bulb of the thermometer almost entirely occupying the cavity of the cup, it was so near its sides, that the smallest heat produced must affect it. I placed in the mouth-piece a bit of brass, and the pressure being always the same, I set the machine in motion in the air several times following, and each time obtained an ascension of $\frac{1}{10}$ of a degree of the thermometer.

I observed that the thermometer did not begin to mount till the machine had finished its revolutions. Their rapidity, without doubt, gave to the ambient air a tangential force which carried off the fire in proportion as it was disengaged by the

friction; but as soon as the motion ceased, the thermometer rose during 15 or 20 seconds to a certain *maximum*, which varied, as will be seen, according to circumstances.

I repeated the same experiment in a vacuum which supported an inch of mercury, and I obtained a mean ascension of $1^{\circ},2$; with this difference, that the thermometer rose whilst the machine was in motion, and thereby confirmed the explication I have just given of the cause which rendered it stationary in the air.

In this instance we see fire excited by friction more efficaciously in vacuo than in the air. The specific heat of air, by absorbing a part of the heat produced, tended, without doubt, to increase the difference of these results; but the difference which still remained was sufficient to induce a suspicion of my mistake.

To ascertain whether the heat I had observed was really owing to the friction of the substance in contact with the outer edge of the cup, I put the cup in motion, without any thing touching its edge, and the thermometer remained perfectly stationary.

In these experiments we have seen metallic substances of the same kind in contact; and to know whether the hardness of the rubbing substances was one of the causes which contributed to the production of heat, I let the brass cup remain, and placed in the mouth-piece, instead of the bit of brass, a piece of the soft wood of a pencil, which touched the cup by a very narrow edge only. By this disposition I obtained in the air a mean ascension of $\frac{7}{10}$ of a degree, which

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was greater by $\frac{4}{10}$ than what had been produced by the friction of brass against brass.

To confirm these results I substituted, instead of the brass cup, a cup of very soft wood of the same diameter, leaving in the mouth-piece the same bit of wood which had been made use of in the preceding experiment. This alteration occasioned an ascension of $2^{\circ}, 1$ in the air, which was the mean of three experiments that differed only $\frac{1}{10}$ of a degree from each other. In this case, wood rubbing against wood, produced a heat three times greater than had been obtained by the friction of wood against brass, which perfectly confirmed the first results.

I repeated this experiment in vacuo, and had a mean ascension of $2^{\circ}, 4$; that is to say, a little more heat than in the air, according to the preceding observations.

Still better to determine the influence of the air, I was desirous of repeating the experiment in the extremes; that is, having already made it in vacuo, of trying it in condensed air. The gage of the condensing pump was at 48 inches, and the air within consequently charged with an atmosphere and three-fourths. In these circumstances I obtained only $\frac{1}{10}$ of a degree of heat; whereas I had obtained $2^{\circ}, 4$ in a vacuum which supported one inch of mercury; and the position of the thermometer remaining always the same, in a series of experiments made with the same cup, no accidental variation could have happened.

But chance occasioned the discovery of a circumstance which powerfully modified and still more completely overthrew the ideas I had

formed of the cause of heat produced by friction.

When I employed the brass cup, I was apprehensive, from the smallness of its concavity, that the bulb of the thermometer, owing to some irregular motion, might be broken by the rapid friction of the metallic body, which it almost touched. And to prevent this accident, I lined the inside of the cup with cotton, which touched very slightly, and by some filaments only, the under part of bulb. I now saw with much surprize the thermometer rise five or six degrees during the revolutions of the cup.

This phenomenon took place independent of all external friction against the cup, and was therefore manifestly owing to the friction, although very light, of the cotton under the bulb of the thermometer.

I repeated this experiment in many different ways, and observed, that in proportion as I pressed the thermometer upon the cotton, the heat was increased, and to that degree, that the thermometer I used for these observations having only 15 degrees of movement, I was fearful of breaking it by carrying the experiment to the extreme.

There are certainly few bodies more yielding than the filaments of cotton, and yet it was their friction which was the most energetic of all the means I employed in producing heat. It is true that the cotton rubbed the bulb of the thermometer itself; whereas all the other frictions had been made only against the cup which surrounded it: but I cannot be persuaded that the difference of the results was solely owing to this circumstance. It appeared, that the heat produced in vacuo was, in this case also, greater than

than that produced in the air; but it is evident, that experiments made in this manner cannot be rigorously comparative, because it is impossible to ascertain a perfect equality of pressure upon the cotton in two consecutive experiments.

It is very difficult to reason upon the facts I have just related. They offer only some data for our procedure, by way of exclusion. We see that it is not air which causes heat in friction; we see also that it is not the hardness of the rubbing substances; but we do not perceive what is the quality of bodies on which this effect depends.

The sparks produced by the collision of flint and steel, are probably owing to two causes. 1st, To the hardness of the stone, which enables it to penetrate the steel, and to detach from it very thin fragments in the form of ribbands. 2dly, To the combustibleness of steel. This metal being raised by the friction to a degree of temperature in which it is able to decompose the *oxygenous gas*, and offering by its great

attenuation a considerable surface to the ambient atmospherical air, combustion begins in some part of that surface, and once begun, the *freed caloric* is sufficient to continue it, till the metal becomes entirely *oxidated* or converted into a black ethiops.

This is therefore a chemical phenomenon, which does not take place in vacuo, because there is not any *oxygenous gas* there.

It is perhaps allowable to risk conjectures on a new subject, when the truth is yet undiscovered.

May not the heat produced by a cause so similar to that which generates electricity, depend upon the electric action, which was, without doubt, excited by the gentle friction of the cotton against the surface of the glass bulb? Fire and the electric fluid developed themselves respectively in many other cases; and we have seen an example, in the preceding experiments, which may assist us in conceiving the possibility of a reciprocal action of the two fluids in this last.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the utility of the Spanish Chestnut Tree; by Lewis Majendie, Esq. in a Letter addressed by him to the Secretary of the Society. From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. vol. ix.

SIR,

IN the course of last winter I planted a field, in the parish of Castle Hedingham, containing somewhat less than four acres, with seven thousand two hundred and four Spanish chestnut, and one thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven ash trees. It was my original intention to have composed this plantation totally of chestnut; but not having a sufficient number of that plant, I filled up the remaining ground with ash.

Concerning the latter plant, I shall not trouble you with any mention, because the unusual and very extensive scale on which the culture of the ash has been adopted by Mr. David Day of Rochester, see vol. i, page 9, who has so deservedly been the object of the society's honours, must render any thing I may say on that subject superfluous.

The culture of the Spanish chestnut-tree has, for some years past, been the object of my particular attention; and though, as yet, the time has been too short to allow me to speak from decided experience, yet such has been my success in

cultivating this tree, as to satisfy me of its general utility.

The oak, the pride and glory of the forest, must, from its many excellent qualities, ever maintain the pre-eminence it so justly merits: the chestnut, however, can boast of some qualities, even of the higher order, hardly inferior to the oak; and in the more subordinate line of utility, it may be said even to surpass it; I mean, in its various uses for underwood.

It is much to be lamented, that, in the formation of underwoods, so little attention seems to have been had to the sort of tree requisite for such purposes: instead of the Spanish chestnut or ash, it is too common to see large tracts of woodland whose underwoods consist chiefly of hazel, hornbeam, and others of little use but for fuel; whereas the first-mentioned trees, besides being equally serviceable for that purpose with the latter, are greatly superior to them, as well as to most others in essential uses: so that, at the same time that the refuse of their growths might be consigned to the fire, the better parts might be destined to those purposes for which they are more particularly suited; and by such management a double advantage would arise.

Amidst a variety of subordinate uses to which, from my own observation, the Spanish chestnut seems adapted,

adapted, are those of poles for hops, and stakes for various purposes of husbandry. I have formed several plantations of this tree, with the view of treating it as underwood. The tree itself possesses a peculiar faculty of branching, provincially called *stubbing*, from the roots after being cut down, and this in a much greater degree than any of the useful forest-trees; so strong indeed is its propensity that way, that it is with some difficulty and attention that timber-trees of the chestnut are restrained from this redundancy of growth, which it is apprehended, by preventing part of the nutrition from ascending the stem, is apt to hinder their progress: but this quality, however inconvenient it may be in its effects to trees intended for the purposes of timber, is of eminent advantage to those designed for underwood; since, when the tree, after standing two or perhaps three years, to enable it to form a sufficient root, is cut down to a proper distance from the ground, it throws up in the following summer a profusion of strait shoots, which in due time become poles, such as for strength and durability exceed all others whatsoever, even those from the ash, which is generally considered as the best tree for this purpose.

Chestnut poles, it must be confessed, are slower in growth than those from the ash; but, on account of their greater durability, they are more profitable to the possessor; and I have been credibly informed, that in some parts of Kent, where this

useful tree has been adapted to this purpose, its superiority to the ash is uncontroverted.

For the purposes of stakes for hedges, or other uses of that nature, its superiority seems equally established. I some time since formed a hedge, the stakes of which are wholly from chestnut-trees of my own planting: they are of such a degree of hardness, as to satisfy me, that the character given of its use for such purposes is by no means unfounded*.

The plantations of this tree which I have formed, excepting that above mentioned, are mostly cut down for underwood: the luxuriance and quantity of shoots from the stubs afford me great satisfaction, and will, without doubt, answer my highest expectation.

I transmit to you herewith the stem of a Spanish chestnut-tree, cut down, this day, to a distance within two inches from the ground: this tree was planted by me in December 1785, and was, when planted, of the size of the other tree which also accompanies it. By this specimen the society will be able to judge how well the tree agrees with my soil †.

As it has been with so much earnestness recommended by writers of eminence, as well as by the truly excellent and laudable society to which you, Sir, are attached, to revive the lost culture of the Spanish chestnut, I can but feel an ardent wish, from a conviction of its real use, to second such views, by doing all that is in my power to attract the

* Poles of this tree for hops, vines, &c. will last longer than of any other, and stakes of the underwood will last nearly twice as long as those of any other sort.

Vide Hunter's Evelyn's Silva, 2d edit. vol. i. p. 154.

† These specimens are preserved in the Society's repository.

attention of persons of more experience and penetration than myself to the culture of a plant, which in this part of the country might almost be deemed an exotic.

Observations on the Management of Bees; in a Letter from Thomas Morris to the Secretary. From the same.

AMONG the premiums for 1790, class 108, one is proposed for the most satisfactory account of the managing and preserving of bees, to the best advantage for collecting honey.

If gentlemen would but ornament their gardens with so noble a piece of furniture as an apiary, properly situated and carefully managed, they might be furnished with the valuable article of honey, without adulteration, and also wholesome mead, little inferior to foreign wine.

Give me leave, gentlemen, to lay before you the method of managing my own bees, of which many ladies and gentlemen have been eye-witnesses, and have been served by me with as good honey as any in England.

In April 1789, I had twenty-one stocks of bees, all in good condition, and wanting no feeding: the spring being friendly, they began to swarm in the middle of May, and continued till the latter end of June; and at that time I had about fifty swarms, notwithstanding I endeavoured to prevent such an increase, by glassing them; but many of the stocks swarmed before the glasses or small hives were full, for the mothers of all the stocks bred a prodigious quantity of working bees, which was the reason of their

swarming so many times. What I call a mother, most writers on bees call a queen; but I am clear that she is the mother of the whole empire or stock, and suffers none of the royal seed to live, except what are intended to go forth with the young swarm, and a sufficient quantity of drones, which are the males, and sit upon the eggs, as the mother lays them, in the cells prepared for that purpose; while the working bees continue their labour in gathering honey and wax. I have often seen the drones sit in a formal manner over the combs, where the brood is hatching, while the other bees were very busy at work.

What I mean by a stock of bees, is an united company, consisting of three sorts, viz. a mother, a great number of working bees, and some drones: and they are congregated within themselves, by a strict union, and defend their hive or box from any molestation; for the working bees would instantly resent an injury, with the fury of their stings.

My own hives are made in the following manner: nine inches deep, and fourteen diameter, containing each about five Winchester gallons, with a flat top made of well-seasoned deal, an inch thick, four holes at the top, one exactly over the mouth of the hive, the other three in a right angle; viz. take an inch centre-bit; make three holes as near as possible, so that you have but a small partition of wood between them; let them be made smooth and neat; then take a circular piece of half-inch board, tack it over those holes which are made in the hive, and let them be made to fit so close that no moth can get in among the young bees: so that, when a swarm is put in one of these hives in May,

or

or the beginning of June, and begins to fill the hive with combs, brood, &c. which you may easily perceive, by means of small pieces of glass, three inches square, put in the back of the hive, to observe their operations, and the bees have filled their hive, and appear very busy at the mouth, open gently the hole on the top next the mouth, or rather right over the mouth, and place a proper glass over the hole, with proper flicks placed in the glass for the bees to hang their work upon; otherwise they would be a long time filling their glass, which if they kindly take to, they will fill in twelve or fourteen days.

But if your stock still increases, and, perhaps, lies out at the mouth of the hive, you must open a second hole at the top, and then a third, and so on to the fourth, if the bees increase, and continue to lie out at the mouth: and yet for all this, many of my hives have swarmed, and left their glasses, &c. half full of honey.

Here give me leave to observe, that nature steps in to preserve the bees, when all other efforts are ineffectual. The bees have swarmed, settled on a bush, or about a tree, where there is no hope of their living without being hived; as they have left a good home, well stored with honey, and settled where there is none, and where they cannot make any. This has been the case last summer; for the mothers of the bees, through the kindness of the season, have bred great quantities, so that we had a great many poor stocks that wanted feeding in the months of October and April.

This summer many complain of having what they call bad luck with their bees, and say honey will be

scarce; but, thank God, out of seventy-six or seventy-seven hives, I have had as follows:

Glasses and small hives filled,	lb.
thirty-one, weighing	- 153
Virgin honey	- - 160
Stock, or common honey	- 125
	<hr/>
	438

This I call a good year, though some have been better. I have also furnished many gentlemen and ladies apiaries with bees, and have now thirty-seven good stocks for next season, besides an increase of sixteen stocks, and the honey above mentioned. My bees are, for the most part, well situated for collecting honey, and also for swarming, viz. in the parishes of Isleworth and Twickenham, in Middlesex.

I never intend to prevent my bees from swarming, but leave them at liberty to swarm, or not to swarm. Those stocks, the mothers of which do not breed so fast as others, of course cannot swarm so early; therefore I put on them glasses, or small hives: if the stocks so glassed keep working without swarming, you most likely will get sixteen or seventeen pounds of honey in a month's time, and save all the bees alive; and such a stock will, except by accident, make a good stock next season.

My hives, made as before described, have a board at the top, seventeen inches wide, that is a full inch wider than the outside of the hive, that one may stand on another; and thus you may make complete colonies of bees with a small expence, for three hives make a complete colony. When hives are made in this manner, they cost but 12s. but in octagon boxes, 1l. 10s.

I much

I much prefer straw hives, well made, to wooden ones, because the joints of the wood often give way, by being exposed to the weather and the sweat of the bees; and the moth-fly (the greatest enemy they have) gets in and lays her eggs in the comb, and the warmth of the bees hatches them, to their own destruction; therefore straw hives are preferable, as well as cheaper than wood.

My method of managing straw hives is thus: when I make use of an old straw hive, I dip it into a copper of boiling water, so that, if there should be any moths eggs, they must be destroyed; but I let the hive be perfectly dry, before I use it.

Hives should be well made, and closely sewed together; but many are sold, not worth using.

The best situation for the houses is a little to the west of the south; for the sun shining into the mouth of the hive, too early calls the bees abroad, before the cold stream is exhaled from the flowers, and the vernal juice turned into honey: but in this situation the sun will reach the front of your bee-house about nine o'clock. I would have the front of the house leaning a little inwards, that the mouth of the hive may fit close to the mouth made in the boards, which should be three inches long in summer, and one in winter, and about one fourth of an inch high, the better to keep out cold and the bevering moth, which you may often see, at the latter end of August (when the working of the bees begins to decline), standing at the mouth of the hive, bevering their wings, as if just flying in among the bees: they there lay their eggs, and with the wind of

their wings fan them within the hive; and the warmth of the bees hatches them, to their own ruin. In October every stock should be well examined, and all the maggots brushed out, to prevent danger: for the grub or maggot forms a chrysalis, with a covering so strong, that the bees cannot displace them; and in the spring they creep out of their little sepulchres, and spin a thin web before them, as they march up into the hive among the combs; and the bees endeavouring to dislodge them, are entangled in the web, and there die: and thus, for want of a little trouble, many stocks are destroyed.

To cleanse the hive of these maggots, it must be turned up, and the dust and vermin picked out, and then gently set down in its place. If your bees are well, and in a condition to stand the winter, and have a mother with them, they will sting, otherwise not unless you hurt them: however, a yard and a half of Scotch gauze, sewed round the brim of your hat, and then tied round the waist, having holes for your arms, will completely secure your face.

The hive should be also brushed on the outside very clean, and washed all over with a sponge dipped in brine made with clean salt; a small quantity of lime and hair, made fine, should be put round the bottom, and the hives be covered with hay or haybands; for straw may contain some corn which may attract the mice, who may gnaw the hives.

I have mentioned how the front of the house should be formed, by setting the front board, which the mouth of the hive stands against, on the inside; but let the roof be made

made so as to keep the entrance dry, for a foot, before the mouth: the back-shutter, folding doors, and ends of the roof, should be made very close, to prevent any vermin entering the house: the first floor, or bottom of the house, should be about two feet and a half from the ground, in such places as gardens or orchards; but, on the side of a hill, or where the bees have no obstruction from hedges, &c. it may be but eighteen inches. As bee-houses cannot be very expensive, I would have a house made but for four hives, the second floor two feet from the bottom, and the roof two feet from the second floor; but the second floor may be made moveable, in case you wish to form your bees into a colony, and then you will want the whole depth of your house.

I confine them to four stocks in a house, because I find, when they are too close, they are apt to rob one another; but when there are but four stocks in a house, I have observed one turn out to the right, and the other to the left.

If more than one house be required, they should be placed ten or twelve yards distant, which may be done by driving a strong stump into the ground, and placing on it a piece of elm or oak plank, two or three inches thick. The hives must never be covered with rags, for they are apt to breed moths: the upper and lower floors should be two or three inches thick.

I come now to my method of feeding them, which, I think, is new. Sink a cavity in the middle of the floor, about six inches diameter, like a trencher, deep enough to hold a quarter of a pint of honey, and no more: if the cavity be too deep, the bees may be suffocated.

A channel must be made from the outside of the floor, to communicate with the cavity; and a piece of wood to fit close into it, to keep out the vermin.

If your bees do not weigh sixteen or seventeen pounds, exclusive of the hive, they must be fed in September, October, March, and April, and sometimes in May: they must not be fed in cold weather, for that calls them from sleep, and they then never return to the hive again: nor must they be fed in the sunshine; for when the honey smells strong, it sets them quarrelling and fretting, and the strong injure the weak. The best time is evening, when I take the piece of wood out of the channel, and gently pour a quarter of a pint of honey into the cavity: if the honey will not run freely, I boil up four or five pounds with a quart of strong sweet-wort, which brings it to a proper liquid. This food will be of great service to the mothers, and make them lay eggs in abundance in the spring.

If a stock has been glassed two summers, it should not be worked a third; but if it increase, take a new hive, or a clean old one, and take off all the covers from the top of the hive: let it be stuck the same as if you was to have a new swarm; place it on one of the floors; and having opened the hole on the top nearest the back, place a piece of lath diagonally from that hole to the side of the mouth; let it be made fast with pegs, not nails, lest the honey be stained; then place the old hive upon the new one, and stop the old mouth close; and the bees will then gradually work down the new hive: that will give them sufficient room for the summer. And next spring, take another clean
hive,

hive, and place the two upon it, in the same manner as before: this will serve for the next year. Now having had no honey for two years, the upper hive will most likely be full, and may be taken away as follows:

With a strong chisel separate the top hive from the other two; and in a fine day take it away, twenty or thirty yards, and place it on the ground bottom upwards; and secure the holes on the top of the second hive.

The bees no doubt will rage; but you must secure yourself with gauze, as before directed, and wear black stockings, for that colour is least observed. Place a table even with the mouth of the lowest hive, and spread a cloth over it, near the mouth, and by this time the greater part of the bees that were out will have come home: the middle hive being the breeding-place, it is most likely the mother is in that; but if she was in the top, she may yet be safe. Place a clean hive, of the same diameter as that you have taken away, upon it; then tie a cloth over both (glasses and all, if there be any) so tight, that the bees within may be in darkness: let them remain thus half an hour; then, with a stick, rap the bottom hive, but not so hard as to injure the combs; continue rapping half an hour; then untie the cloth, and take away the upper hive, into which the noise has driven the bees, and place it on the table and cloth from whence you took them, and shake them out on the cloth, and they will run into the mouth of their proper hive. If necessary, repeat this operation, and all the bees will be saved: this saves the trouble and

loss of smothering them with sulphur, as was the custom; and the bees, in one day, will forget the injury, and work as usual. But in case but little honey is left in their two hives, they must be fed; thus, in two hours, your honey may be taken, and the bees preserved: the honey you have obtained in this way may be dark, but will make excellent mead; but better and brighter will be produced by those which work in glasses.

Hives will not be beneficial in barren countries; but should be near gardens, shrubberies, orchards of cherries, or farms where clover, beans, saintfoin, or French wheat, grow. Lime-trees, or green-house plants, set out in the spring, orange or lemon-trees, are useful, and produce excellent honey: where there is room, it is worth while to plant gooseberries, currants, sweet marjoram, peppermint, or the like.

Though I am not for preventing bees from swarming whenever they are inclined, yet I acknowledge that it is sometimes necessary to destroy some stocks.

If they have lost their mother, and neither swarm nor work much, they should not be kept.

The moth, or other accident, will sometimes spoil them, and then they should be destroyed.

My neighbours say, that, when I die, the bees will lose the most compassionate master in this kingdom. Indeed I, however, have destroyed none but from necessity, and have been for near twenty-four years remarkably successful.

I have now forty stocks in good condition, though the loss of mothers, or some unforeseen accident, may happen to some before summer.

The

The loss of a mother may be known, by the bees ceasing to work, and mourning incessantly: they will sometimes in that case leave their hive, and try to force themselves into one that is near.

This circumstance should be noticed; for the old hive may be well stored, and when they have left it as a residence, they will yet return with their companions, and carry away the honey: some, for want of observing this, have wondered how a heavy hive, that has been left, has become light.

But though the mother be lost, if there be eggs, they will sometimes stay and hatch them; and if any royal seed be among the eggs, they may survive, and become a good stock; but this is not often the case.

About a month ago I was desired to look at five stocks at Richmond, in order to purchase them: one of the heaviest was without a mother. I purchased that, and one more, where the mother was lost: I found twelve pounds of honey, but no eggs, and therefore the bees would not have staid long: the other three were old, and the honey black, and therefore of no use but to stand and swarm another year.

If bees continue in one hive for four or five years, they always degenerate, and become both fewer and weaker: the reason is, the combs for breeding are generally made on purpose, and larger than the rest; every time a bee is hatched in one, a skin or coat is left behind, which reduces the size; and in time it becomes too small to produce a bee of its proper dimensions, and occasions a necessity for their having frequently new habitations, which they will always accept, if

you provide them a good situation and clean hives.

My situation is a good one, by accident, or otherwise; for I could not have afforded to have made it so by planting.

In the parish of Isleworth, twenty-four years ago, there were not ten stocks of bees; and now, through the approbation of my management, there are more than two hundred.

I hope what has been thus simply stated may be worthy your attention, and that I may be admitted a claimant.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am your most humble
and obedient servant,

THOMAS MORRIS.

Account of the Process of converting the Smoke arising from Steam Engines, &c. into Tar; by Mr. William Pitt, of Penderford, near Wolverhampton, in a Letter addressed to the Secretary. From the same.

SIR,

HAVING had occasion to spend a good deal of time upon business in the coal and iron works of this country; my situation amidst the smoke of those great works put me upon the idea hinted at in the 153d premium of the eighth volume of the Society's Transactions; namely, that of destroying smoke, in order to prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood.

That the object is not only attainable, will be demonstrated in the following narrative; but also that valuable articles of commerce may be produced in large quantities, whenever the proprietors of such works shall adopt the mode of constructing

structing their buildings proper for such production.

The articles of commerce I allude to, are mineral tar, pitch, and varnish: there are already three considerable works erected on the banks of the canal in this county, for the purpose of converting the smoke of pit-coal into the above articles; the one at Mr. Wilkinson's great works at Bradley, another at Tipton, and a third at the level colliery and iron works upon Dudley Wood: they were erected by Lord Dundonald and Co. and the business is carried on with success.

These tar-works are erected in the vicinity of large iron and coal works: the iron masters furnish the tar-works with raw coal, *gratis*; and receive in return the cokes produced by such coal; and the proprietors of the tar-works have the smoke only for their labour, and interest of capital.

The process is conducted in the following manner: a range of eighteen or twenty stoves is erected, and supplied with coal kept burning at the bottom; the smoke is conducted, by proper horizontal tunnels, into a capacious and close funnel, of one hundred yards or more in length; this funnel is built with brick, supported by brick arches, and covered on the top by a shallow pond of water, which pond is supplied with water, when wanted, by a steam-engine belonging to the coal or iron works; the chill of the water gradually condensing the smoke, it falls upon the floor of the funnel in the form of tar, and is conveyed by proper pipes into a receiver, from whence it is pumped into a large boiler, and boiled to a proper consistence, or otherwise

inspissated into pitch: when the latter is the case, the volatile particles which arise during the inspissation are again condensed into an oil used for varnish.

In this process the smoke is decomposed and destroyed, nothing arising from the work but a white vapour from some small funnels (kept open to give draught to the fires), and a small evaporation of water from the pond, occasioned by the warmth of the smoke within the funnel.

The process requires but little attendance, the principal labour being that of supplying the fuel. In any one of the tar-works the quantity of coal used is about twenty tons per day; three labourers, with a foreman, are sufficient for the whole business: the quantity of tar produced will be about twenty-eight barrels, of two hundred weight and an half, in six days, worth ten shillings per hundred, or twenty-one barrels of pitch, of the same weight, worth fifteen shillings per hundred; though I was assured, upon the spot, by a very intelligent person, that some coal is of so bituminous a quality, as to give one eighth its weight of tar: but the quantity above stated is about the average produce.

In order to bring the above practice within the society's intentions, an alteration in the erection of steam-engines, furnaces, &c. must take place; the alteration will be no more than that of erecting them below ground, instead of above: and when raising water is the main object, an adoption of the forcing or lifting pump instead of the sucking pump, or the sucking pump may be still employed, wherever the fall of
ground

ground gives an opportunity of letting off the water raised, by an aqueduct; in which case, the lift being shortened, and less power necessary, ample amends will be thereby made for the expence of such aqueduct.

Such kind of buildings, from a low situation, within the earth's surface, will certainly acquire additional stability: and to those who are acquainted with the trifling expence of removing soil to only small distances, the additional charge will appear trifling, and will be more than recompensed by such acquired stability. In some local situations, in hilly countries, the smoking works being erected at the foot, and the tar-funnel higher up the hill, a communication may be effected without such alteration. Perhaps it may be right for the society to offer a premium to the first person who shall erect a steam-engine, or other similar work, upon this plan.

To prove the above idea is not ill-founded, I beg leave to report, that about three weeks ago, I particularly examined the tar-work on Dudley Wood; and found the foreman of the work intelligent and communicative; and walking with him on the top of the tar-funnel, observed a prodigious smoke arise from a steam-engine, about thirty yards distant, fresh fuel having just been added. When I put this question, Would that smoke make tar, if it passed into your funnel? he answered, Most certainly. Would your confining it there prevent the fire burning below, sufficient to do its office of working the steam-engines? answer, Certainly not; as our small funnels allow sufficient draught to keep the fire burning, which draught

we can increase or diminish at pleasure.

I find by reports from other quarters, that successful attempts have been made to make cokes of the coal employed in working steam-engines: the additional improvement of making tar from the smoke, would not only prevent annoyance to the neighbourhood, but also apply to the best advantage every particle of that valuable and comfortable article, coal; prodigious quantities of which are at present wasted by being burned in one place for heat only, in another for cokes only; when, by due attention, both purposes may in many cases be effected at the same time.

I was informed upon the spot, from undoubted authority, that the consumption of coal in Mr. Wilkinson's great works, at Bradley, is one hundred tons per day: about one-fifth of the smoke is actually employed in making of tar; and the remainder, or the smoke of eighty tons per day, flies away. This, if collected, would yield upwards of eighteen barrels of tar, of two hundred and a half each: and if the smoke of the great works of the kingdom was in general collected for the same use, what a prodigious addition would it be, to the production of a commercial and necessary article, which always finds a ready market, and will in many instances supply the place of the vegetable tar, at present imported from abroad!

That some idea may be formed of the consumption of coal in steam-engines for raising water, I beg leave to report the following, of which I had certain information upon the spot; namely, that some such

such engines individually consume one hundred tons per week of coal; that others, though powerful, with the improvements of Messrs. Boulton and Watt, are kept on with about twenty-five tons per week; and that the weekly consumption varies between those two quantities, viz. from twenty-five to one hundred tons.

Observations on the curing of Coffee, and of sending it from the West India Islands in a new Mode; by Mr. Isaac Titford, of Spanish Town, Jamaica. From the same.

COFFEE being an article lately much increased in demand in Europe and America, and in consequence commanding a high price, which has induced many planters lately to cultivate it; I beg leave to submit to the society a plan for sending it home in a better and more improved state than now done. The mode now used in general, by the planter, when the coffee is ripe on the trees, is as follows:

They bring the coffee to a machine called a peeling-mill, where it is divested of its outside skin and pulp; after which, it is put in heaps, and undergoes a slight fermentation; then spread out, and dried on platforms or terraces, until it is perfectly cured, when it is stored until all the crop is got in.

The berries ripening so fast, it requires every exertion of the planter's strength to get in the fruit in due time.

When the crop is over, they begin to prepare it for market, by again putting it in the sun, and carrying it to the peeling and win-

nowing mills, where it is totally divested of its coats and impurities, and the broken and bad coffee picked out, &c. after which it is fit for market.

It must be observed, only the most considerable coffee-planters have the above mills: the small and needy planters beat out their coffee in large wooden mortars, or troughs, by which a waste is made by breaking the berry.

When any coffee is kept for private use, or island consumption, it does not undergo the above processes; but the ripe fruit, as it is picked from the trees, is spread out in the sun, and simply well dried, and beat out as it is wanted for use or sale.

Coffee is well known to improve, when so preserved, by drying it in the berry; but to daily impair and fall off, when it is divested of its coverings, as it is now sent to market; for which reason the planter does not beat out his coffee, till ready to send it.

Upon the above facts, I will endeavour to point out the advantages that will be derived by coffee being sent home in the whole berry, well dried, and also the objections and difficulties that will attend such mode.

One advantage will be, the causing less trouble, and requiring less negro-labour, at a time of the year when the planter is the most employed. And this is an object to the planter, by saving the hire of negroes, which is very high during crop; and sometimes they cannot be procured, in which case the coffee drops off the trees, and is lost.

The next is, the prevention of the coffee imbibing the ill flavour of sugar, rum, pimento, &c. which

may be shipped with it, and which, I understand, is the principal objection to this country coffee being used in England.

It is presumed the natural coverings will effectually prevent any bad impregnations in its passage. The increase of freight will be of some importance, particularly if coffee is cultivated as it has been lately: but the translation of labour and trouble from the planter, by tedious negro-labour, to the superior mechanism of Great Britain; and above all, the improved condition, and superior quality, in which it is conceived the coffee will arrive at a foreign port; will make ample compensation for such additional charge.

Also the still farther improvement, until the time it is wanted for sale or use. If wanted for the foreign market; in England, mills could be easily constructed, so as to do many thousand weight a day; whereas the expences of mills and other machines in this country are a very heavy contingency to the planter. For home consumption, a retailer might purchase a small quantity, and beat it out as he wants it, as he certainly would keep it in the state it was improving in; by which the consumer would get coffee of the finest quality, I should hope equal to the Mocha, at a very moderate price.

The sale of coffee in the berry, in point of product and quality, can be easily ascertained, by beating out a certain quantity, and finding the quantity of good clean coffee.

The objections the planters will have to the above mode is, first, the requiring a very great care and attention to the coffee when drying, as well as incurring some expence

by erecting terraces and sheds to keep it from getting wet in curing it. Yet it is hoped they would consider the quickness of its getting to market, which the saving of the time in pulping, peeling, picking it clean, &c. will amply compensate; and the saving the expence of erecting mills would be more than adequate to the extra terraces, &c.

Extra carriage, package, and freight, are inconveniences and objections only to be done away by its fetching a better price when at market: the first is of more consequence than probably may be imagined in England, by reason of bad mountainous roads, where the crops can be only brought to market by negroes or mules.

The novelty of its state for market and sale, is, I presume, an objection only to be remedied, by first encouraging the shipping it for England, that the merchants and dealers may have opportunities to ascertain its value, and render it commercial.

It is for the society to judge whether the proposed mode is worthy their patronage and attention, after comparing the samples sent herewith: nothing but an advantage either in labour or price will induce a planter to alter a mode long established.

This country, I am well assured, is capable of producing coffee equal in quality to any of the West-India Islands; and I hope the society will find the proposed improvement deserving their attention.

I conceive it to be possible to kiln-dry the coffee in the berry, without injuring the quality: this, if found to succeed, will do away one of the principal objections the planter will have to this method, particularly

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particularly those who live in the wet parishes, where the frequency of the rain would make the drying it on terraces very difficult.

From the small quantity of land required, the trifling expence of planting it, and not requiring many labourers, except in crop, and those not of the ablest kind, it is become a great object in this island, and principally with the small settlers of little strength and capital to begin with. I am well informed a plantation of about one hundred and fifty acres, in coffee, made this year one hundred and twenty thousand weight, which sold at Kingston for five guineas per hundred weight, currency; a sum equal to four thousand four hundred pounds sterling.

Description of Four Cases of Gutta Serena, cured by Electricity. By James Ware, Surgeon. From the Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, vol. iii.

CASE I.

ALADY, sixty-three years of age, who had lost the sight of the left eye twenty years, in consequence of a violent ophthalmia, was suddenly attacked, in April 1780, with an appearance like black lace hanging before the right eye, and confusing every object at which she looked. It had continued ten days before I saw her. Each day the blackness became deeper and more extensive; and, at that time, every object presented before the eye was altogether invisible. On examining the eye, I found that the pupil preserved its natural size and colour; and that the power of the iris to dilate and contract this aperture,

according to the greater or less degree of light to which the eye was exposed, was not yet wholly lost. The lady had long enjoyed a good state of health, and, the disorder in her sight excepted, was at the time of consulting me perfectly well. I immediately applied the electric air by means of a pointed conductor, and continued the application about ten minutes. It was repeated the next day; and on the third, immediately after being electrified, she had a stronger perception of the light. The same application was repeated every day for a fortnight, when she distinguished all large objects before her. I now placed her on the glass-footed stool, and took small electric sparks from the eye-lids and integuments surrounding the eye. This experiment, however, was soon followed by a pain in the head, which rendered her sight more confused. For the present, the use of electricity was therefore wholly omitted. Three leeches were applied to the right temple, and afterwards a blister of the size of half-a-crown to the same part. By these means the pain in a few days was removed. The electric air was then again applied, but without sparks. It was continued about ten days longer; at the end of which time she recovered the perfect use of the right eye: and this she preserved till the time of her death, which did not happen till several years after.

CASE II.

Mrs. R. when about thirty years old, was suddenly attacked with a violent head-ach, accompanied with sickness, which continued with little intermission or abatement for the space of three days. After undergoing this

his long paroxysm of severe pain, and probably very much owing to the same cause, the sight of the left eye became impaired in so considerable a degree, as to be incapable of distinguishing any object, though placed immediately before it. At that time the right eye did not appear to be at all affected; and, during a few following days she could see with it as perfectly as before. But soon after, the disorder extended to his eye also; and in eight days from the first seizure of the headache, she so far lost the sight of both eyes, as not to be able distinctly to perceive even the blaze issuing from a large fire. There still, however, remained some degree of a glimmering sight with the right eye, so as to make her sensible of the difference between night and day. But it was not long before she became totally dark in this eye as well as the other: and on the third day of her being so I was first consulted. On examination, I found that both the pupils were considerably dilated, and that their size was unalterably the same, though acted upon by the brightest light. I immediately passed a strong stream of the electric fluid through both eyes, which was continued for about ten minutes. This, though powerful enough to be strongly felt when applied to the eye, and even to the hand, of other persons present, seemed to affect the patient only in a very small degree: and the application was renewed several days before she was sensible of the least amendment. In about a week from the time when the first trial was made, as she was returning home after being electrified, she perceived with her right eye some water collected in a gutter; and the same

evening was able to distinguish the light of a candle. The pain in her head still continuing to rage with violence, I then directed three leeches, and after them a blister, to be applied to each temple, with the use of gentle laxatives occasionally, as the state of the body required. The joint effect of these was not inconsiderable (though but partial and temporary) towards giving relief to the patient for the complaint in her head. But as only the right eye had yet recovered any sensibility, and that in a small degree, I then renewed the electric applications, placing the patient on the glass-footed stool, and taking small sparks from the integuments surrounding the eyes; at the same time continuing to pass the electric stream through the eyes themselves. At the end of three weeks, the sight of the right eye was so much restored, that with it she could distinguish large letters. But the left eye, during the whole of this time remained totally blind; and the patient was still afflicted with severe sensations of pain in her head, particularly on the left side. Having continued the electric applications near a fortnight longer, without making any visible advance in the cure, I was almost ready to despair of their rendering any further service. Yet, unwilling to give up the use of means which had already administered so much relief, I determined on a further trial; and accordingly persevered in the use of them some time longer. I was happy to find that this perseverance was not in vain. For, one day, whilst I was taking electric sparks from the left eye, she suddenly exclaimed that she could now perceive a glimmering of light with this eye as she

had some time before done with the other; and this she imputed to the effect which the electric spark then had on a part of the eye which had not before been touched by it. The very next day a great number of objects became visible to this eye; and from that time there was a progressive daily amendment: within a short space of time the sight of both eyes was perfectly restored: as the sight returned, the sensations of pain in the head gradually abated, till they entirely ceased.

CASE III.

Mrs. S. in February 1784, when she was in her thirtieth year, was brought to-bed; and, being a woman of a healthy constitution, chose to suckle the child herself. This she did for some time without feeling any inconvenience from it; but having continued it for about six weeks, her strength began to fail, and continued to decline daily, till she became incapable even of moving about the house, without experiencing a very painful languor. About the same time her sight also was affected; first only in a smaller degree, but afterwards so considerably that the full glare of the mid-day sun appeared to her no stronger than the light of the moon. At this period of her disorder, no black specks were visible before either eye, nor did objects at any time appear covered with a mist or cloud; but the patient being further afflicted with a violent pain in the neck, which ran in a direction upward to the side of the head, on that account the person who attended her thought proper to take four ounces of blood from the part first affected, by cupping. After this the sight of the patient was worse

than before, and it was not long before she entirely lost the use of both eyes. She had been three days in this state of blindness, when the assistance of my partner, Mr. Wathen, was first called in. On examining the eyes, he found the pupils of both to be very much dilated, and to remain unaltered in the brightest light. Mr. Wathen's first advice was, that the child should be weaned without loss of time; ordering, at the same time, bark draughts to be taken by the mother three times in the day. He also prescribed an opening medicine, to be taken occasionally, on account of a costive state of body, to which she had been almost constantly subject ever since the time of her delivery. With these was united the frequent application of the vapour of æther to the eyes and forehead. On the fourth day after this mode of treatment was adopted, I visited the patient with Mr. Wathen. From the account she gave of herself, her strength and spirits seemed to be in some degree on the return; and she could then perceive faint glimmerings of light, though the pupils of both eyes were in the same dilated and fixed state as before. The use of the bark and æther was still continued, and the following day a strong stream of the electric fluid was poured on the eyes, whilst several small electric sparks were also variously pointed about the forehead and temples. The day after this, to increase the force of the electrical applications, as it was then thought adviseable, the patient was placed on a glass-footed stool, that, being thus insulated, the experiments which had before been tried might be repeated with still greater effect. This process, there

is every reason to think, had a considerable influence towards making a perfect cure. On the first attempt it was almost immediately followed with such a degree of amendment, that the patient, to whose sight every object had before been confused, could now clearly distinguish how many windows there were in the room where she sat, tho' she was still unable to make out the frames of any of them. On the third day, soon after she had been thus electrified, the menstrual discharge came on, for the first time since she had been brought to-bed, and it continued three days. During that time it was certainly proper to suspend the use both of the bark and electricity, which was accordingly done. But no sooner did the cause of the suspension cease, than the use of both was resumed: and the effect was every way to our wishes; for her sight now mended daily. At the end of a week she could perceive all large objects; and in a short time her sight was so much recovered that she could read even the smallest print. Her strength, indeed, was not so quick in its return; on which account she was advised to remove from town into the country, where the change of air, with the help of a mild nutritious diet, soon restored her to perfect health in every respect.

CASE IV.

Mrs. ———, near forty-five years of age, was attacked with a violent pleuritic disorder. It continued several weeks; till at length her strength was so much reduced, that she became even unable to turn herself in bed without assistance. But before this, and near a month after the commencement of the pleurisy,

she was seized with a violent pain in the left eye, which she described as shooting upward to the top of her head, and which was soon followed with a considerable dimness in her sight. The dimness continued increasing five days; at which period she entirely lost the use of this eye. In the space of three weeks afterwards, a violent pain, similar to that which she first complained of in the left eye, attacked the other also; and was accompanied with the like symptom of shooting upward to the top of the head. The sight of this eye, however, though considerably impaired, did not go off so rapidly as the other. The dimness was slower and more gradual in its progress; and, for two or three weeks after, she saw occasionally, or at least fancied she did, a number of bright sparks, which seemed to dart suddenly across the eye. But in less than a month, what remained of the sight of this eye went off also, and she became totally blind of both. On the loss of her sight the pain immediately ceased. It is also to be observed in the case of this patient, that her spirits had often been much agitated by painful occurrences;—that for many years past she had been subject to frequent returns of rheumatic affections in different parts of the body;—and that, in her late illness, she had tried the power of many medicines, in conjunction with bleeding by leeches on the temples, and the application of blisters both to the head and side.—Besides these trials of medical skill, it was thought proper, during the latter part of her illness, that she should be removed into the country, to take the benefit of change of air.—The result of all was that

she recovered her strength: but the blindness still continued. In the left eye she had been blind five weeks, and in the right a fortnight, when I was first consulted. On a careful examination of the pupils of both eyes at this time, I found that, though they retained their usual transparency, they were much dilated, so as not to be in the least affected by any degree of light. My first attempt was with the vapour of vitriolic æther, which I directed her to apply several times in the day to both eyes. With this was united the use of the Peruvian bark, two scruples of which in a glass of white wine were prescribed to be taken three times in the day. Besides which, once in that time, a strong stream of the electric fluid was to have been applied to the eyes, and continued for about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. But the person employed in the business of the electricity being unacquainted with the mode of applying the stream, substituted instead of it, of his own accord, small electric shocks; to which he gave different directions through the head. She had been electrified only three times, and in this way, when her husband was taken ill, and in a few days died. This melancholy event prevented her from attending afterwards to have the electric applications repeated. It is, however, to be noticed, that it had been found not a little serviceable on every trial which had hitherto been made of it; and in particular the last time she was electrified, that the operation was no sooner over than she

instantly perceived a number of objects near her. The bark and æther were still continued as at first ordered; and in about two months the pupils returned to their natural size; and she recovered a sight sufficient to enable her to read common letters with the left eye, and to see all larger objects with the right.

On the Management of Sheep; from a Pamphlet, intitled, "An Address to the Society for the Improvement of British Wool at Edinburgh," by Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

IN the proper management of sheep, the first thing to be considered is to procure the food best calculated for them. The nature of the food has a great influence upon the size and health of the animal, and consequently upon the wool. Where the pasture is rich, either from the natural fertility of the soil, or by the art and industry of man, and where the turnip husbandry or artificial grasses prevail, long and coarse wool is almost the necessary consequence*. Whereas, in the words of an elegant poet, who has celebrated the glory of the fleece,

On spacious airy downs, and gentle hills,
 With grass and thyme o'erspread, and clover
 wild,
 Where smiling Phebus tempers ev'ry
 breeze,
 The fairest flocks rejoice! Wide airy
 downs
 Are health's gay walks to shepherd and
 to sheep †.

* From the experiments of Mr. Ellman, it appears that rich food does not always injure the fleece, if the breed is properly attended to.

† See Dyer's Fleece, book i. Virgil also, in his Georgics, lib. iii. l. 384, tells us,

“ Si tibi lanicium curæ, fuge pabula læta.”

In regard to pasture calculated for sheep, there are few hilly districts in Scotland, where it may not be found in great perfection and abundance, or may not be improved either by means of lime, or by a judicious system of watering. In summer and autumn no scarcity of food is to be apprehended. It must be acknowledged, at the same time, that, during spring and winter, a considerable degree of foresight and exertion is requisite to provide a sufficient quantity of wholesome food for a numerous flock; but the late improvements in husbandry furnish an active and intelligent farmer with ample means for that purpose.

Shelter from the inclemency of the seasons is, I am persuaded, an object entitled to the shepherd's peculiar attention, and without which fine wool cannot be expected in great abundance or perfection. The natural shelter of wood has been often recommended against too violent heat, and still more against cold and piercing winds. The severity of the weather, particularly when sheep are exposed to it both night and day, certainly affects the wool, makes it coarse, and fills it with hair. To obviate this inconvenience, the Herefordshire and Cotswold farmers have long ranges of buildings with low ceilings, each three or four story high, with a

slope at one end of each floor, reaching to the next, by which the sheep ascend to the upper story*. Having such houses built in hilly countries would be of great service in the improvement of wool; and, when properly used, would prevent the rot, so ruinous to the shepherd †. The Romans, as has been already observed, kept their finest sheep in houses, and even clothed them. The manner in which they were treated is thus described by Columella. "Of all the wool-bearing kind, the Grecian or Tarentinian is the most tender and delicate. They can neither endure excessive heat nor cold. They are seldom fed without doors, but for the most part in the house, and are exceeding greedy of food. The fields in which they are fed must be free of all manner of bushes, sprigs, or briars, lest both their wool and their covering be pulled off them, and even at home they must be frequently uncovered, refreshed, and cooled ‡." Inquiries are making, on the part of this society, whether there are still any remnants of this breed, or any vestige of this mode of treatment in Sicily or Calabria. It would be desirable to know what is the result of such a system of management, if it still exists in other countries. The effects of housing the sheep in Here-

* Cotswold, according to Camden, is derived from the *cots* or houses in which the sheep were kept, and the *wolds* or open hilly grounds in which they were pastured.

† See Marshall's Rural Economy of Gloucestershire, &c. vol. ii. p. 235. where there are many important observations on the utility of housing or coting sheep.

‡ Columella, book 7. chap. v. The only recent account I have met with of this breed of sheep, is in Swinburne's Travels. This practice was borrowed from the Greeks. See Diog. Laert. lib. 6. segm. 41. p. 335. *Æliæ*. Var. Hist. l. xii. p. 56. In Megara, it was alledged that they took more care of their sheep than of their children,

fordshire ought also to be ascertained. If by clothing sheep*, or keeping them in houses, fine wool could be obtained sufficient for the consumption of these kingdoms, would it not be better to employ the poor in the operations necessary for this purpose, than to support them without exacting any great return of labour for their maintenance?

The effects of salt upon sheep is a point which merits particular attention, and has never yet been fully investigated. We know that it is given in considerable quantities to the flocks in Spain; and we see that fine wool is produced in the Shetland Islands, the pasture of which being peculiarly exposed to the sea spray, is necessarily impregnated with a considerable quantity of saline particles. It is certain that salt contributes much to the preservation of the health of graminivorous animals; and it is well known that the most valuable wool can only be produced by sheep in a state of perfect health. Salt may possibly supply the stimulus necessary to preserve their health in almost any situation. It may certainly enable them to digest the great quantity of coarse fare, which they are often under the necessity of taking in rough pastures for want of better sustenance.

Another circumstance deserving notice is, that if we propose to have fine wool in this country, it may be necessary to preserve our sheep

much longer than we commonly now do; for the wool grows finer in proportion to the age of the animal †. It was formerly not unusual to keep healthy wethers to six, eight, nay ten years of age, for the sake of the fleece: but now they can hardly be met with even five years old. This is certainly one great cause of our wool's degenerating.

Many other points might be mentioned connected with the proper management of sheep. I shall however at present only advert to the practice, very prevalent in the northern part of the island, of *smearing* or *salving*, as it is called, the sheep with a mixture of oil or butter, and tar, which is supposed to be absolutely necessary for the safety and preservation of the animal in the hilly districts of that part of the kingdom.

The origin of this practice is unknown ‡, and the effects of it are still doubtful. There is reason, however, to believe, that an alteration in the system of smearing may be attended with the most important consequences. It is now done about the commencement of winter, with a view of protecting the animal from the hardships of the approaching season, and of destroying the vermin with which it is infested. Smearing, however, ought rather to take place immediately after the sheep are shorn: This is an ancient practice, recommended by Colu-

* To clothe the whole sheep would certainly be expensive: but I am told, that if the back were covered with a piece of coarse Osnaburgh, the expence would not cost above 3s. a piece, and if tarred it would last several years. In some parts of the country, tender or sickly lambs are thus treated, and it is found to answer well. The covering is fixed to the fleece, and cannot then be easily removed.

† This point is disputed, and must be ascertained by experiment.

‡ Even in ancient times, tar was considered as a remedy for diseased sheep; but its use as a preventative is probably a modern practice.

Mella. It was accidentally tried in Scotland some years ago, and proved in the highest degree successful. Anointing the sheep, immediately after they are shorn, must be attended with much less difficulty, trouble, and expence. The vermin with which sheep are infested must then be destroyed in the state of nits, and are not allowed three or four months to gain strength, which is the consequence of the present practice. It is affirmed by Celsus, that if a proper ointment is thus used, the wool becomes softer and longer; and that no sheep will be troubled, for that year, with the common diseases to which they are liable. To have this system fairly tried, is, I hope, one of the first objects to which this Society will direct its attention; and this may be done by giving premiums to the shepherds, who, in different parts of the country, are the most assiduous and successful in carrying it into effect*.

the cotton in a ley of soda, marking one degree of the arcometer, to which is commonly added the remainder of the bath which has been employed for passing the cottons through, for *the white preparation* (en l'apprêt blanc) which is called *sickion*.

In order to scour the cotton properly, and prevent it from entangling, a cord is passed through three hanks (the hank is composed of four knots (pentes) each of which weighs a quarter of a pound, making the hank equal to a pound) and it is thrown into the ley when it begins to boil; it is carefully immersed, that it may not be scorched by the upper part of the caldron, which should contain about one hundred and fifty gallons of water for a hundred pounds of cotton: the cotton is completely scoured when it sinks of itself in the caldron; it is then taken out, and washed knot by knot in the river, wrung, and hung out to dry.

Second operation; bath with dung.

Process of dyeing the Adrianople or Turkey Red. From the second volume of Berthollet's Elements of the Art of Dyeing.

A hundred pounds of Alicant soda (barilla) in coarse powder, are put into a tub with a hole near its bottom, to allow the water to run into another tub placed under it; seventy-five gallons of lixivial water are poured on the soda in the upper tub; when the water which has run into the lower one marks two de-

WHEN a hundred pounds of cotton are to be dyed, we must begin by scouring it well. This operation consists in boiling

* The medicament recommended by Columella and Celsus, is the juice of thoroughly boiled lupins, the dregs of old wine, and the dregs of oil, an equal quantity of each to be mixed together: the sheep to be thoroughly soaked with this liquor after it is shorn; and, three days afterwards, to be washed with sea-water, or with boiled rain-water mixed with salt. But, it is believed that butter would answer fully as well as oil for encouraging the growth of the wool; and that a slight decoction of tobacco juice would destroy the vermin as well as any other liquor. If by these means a good fleece of wool were produced, there would be no occasion for any tar to shelter the animal from the inclemency of the season.

gress

grees of the soap-makers areometer, it is proper for the bath with dung, which is made in the following manner.

Twenty-five or thirty pounds of sheeps dung are mixed with the above ley in a large earthen vessel, and stirred with a wooden pestle, then passed through a hair sieve placed over the vat in which the bath is to be prepared; twelve pounds and a half of Provence olive oil are then poured into the vat, and kept constantly stirring with a rake, that it may be perfectly mixed with the ley and the dung; the soda ley is poured upon it; nine buckets of water (each equal to four gallons) are commonly required for a hundred pounds of cotton. The bath being thus prepared is in a proper state to receive the cotton, For this purpose, some of the bath is taken in a wooden bowl, and poured into an earthen pan set in brick-work at a proper height for working. A hank of cotton is taken and well wrought with the hands; it is frequently taken up and turned in the pan, and then hung upon a wooden hook fixed to the wall; it is slightly wrung out, and thrown upon a table, and the same operation is repeated with each hank. The table upon which the cotton is thrown ought to be raised eight or ten inches from the ground. A workman takes a hank in each hand, and strikes it on the table to stretch the threads; he turns it three times, and then makes a small twist to form a head for the hank, and lays it upon the table: not more than three hanks should be placed one upon another, as too great a weight would squeeze the bath out of the under hanks. The cotton ought to remain ten or twelve

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hours on the table, and then be hung out to dry.

Third operation; bath with oil, or white bath.

Ley of soda also at two degrees of the areometer is taken, and after the vat in which the bath with dung was made has been well cleaned, twelve pounds and a half of olive oil are put into it, and the ley of soda added while it is kept constantly stirred with a rake, in order to mix the oil completely. This bath ought to resemble thick milk; and that it may be good, it is necessary that the oil should not rise to the surface; some of this bath is then put into the pan, and the cotton dipped hank by hank, as in the former operation; it is thrown on the table, and beat upon it, which is called *créper*; it is left there till the next day, and then hung out to dry. For this bath about eight buckets of ley are required.

Fourth operation; first salt.

Fresh soda is added to the remainder of that first put into the tub, if the water poured upon it has not attained three degrees. For this operation eight buckets of ley are poured into the vat upon the remains of the white bath, and the cotton is passed through it in the same manner as before. This operation is called *giving it the first salt* (*donner le premier sel*). The ley being at three degrees,

Fifth operation; second salt.

The cotton is passed through a ley of soda at four degrees, the working being conducted as before described.

Sixth

Sixth operation; third salt.

The cotton is passed through a ley of soda at five degrees.

Seventh operation; fourth salt.

The cotton is passed through a ley of soda at six degrees, the same precautions being observed, and then carried out to be dried on very smooth poles; when dry, it is taken to the river to be washed in the following manner.

Eighth operation.

The cotton must be first soaked in the water, then taken out and put upon the horse (bayard) to drain; water is repeatedly thrown on it, that it may be well soaked, and an hour after it is washed knot by knot, to free it completely from the oil, which is absolutely necessary to its taking the galling well; it is then wrung with the jack and pin, and stretched upon the poles to dry: the cotton, when thus washed, ought to be of a beautiful white.

Ninth operation; galling.

For the galling, we must choose good galls in forts (a term employed in commerce to denote black and white galls mixed together in equal quantities) and having bruised them, put for each hundred pounds of cotton, twelve pounds and a half into a copper, and boil them in six buckets of clear river water. Three hours are generally required to boil them sufficiently; we perceive that this is accomplished when they break between the fingers like *boulle*; three buckets of cold water are then added, and the whole passed through a very close hair sieve, squeezing with the hand what has not passed through, in order to se-

parate all the resinous particles. When the water has settled and become clear, the galling is to be performed in the following manner.

Nine or ten quarts of the galling is poured into an earthen pan set in the wall at a height convenient for working, and the cotton is dipped in it by separate hanks, working it well with the hands; it is then wrung with the pin, and carried out to be dried as fast as it is dipped, a precaution essentially necessary to prevent the cotton from growing black.

When the cotton is thoroughly dried, we proceed to the aluming, in the following manner.

Tenth operation; aluming.

The copper in which the decoction of galls was made being well cleaned, eight buckets of river water and eighteen pounds of Roman alum are put into it, and the alum dissolved without boiling; when the solution is complete, half a bucket of soda ley at four degrees of the areometer is added, and the cotton then wrought in it hank by hank as in the galling; it is then spread out to dry, and afterwards washed from the alum as follows.

Eleventh operation; washing from the alum.

Having left the cotton to soak and drain for an hour upon the horse, each hank is washed separately three times, wrung with a pin, and carried to the tenter-ground.

Twelfth operation (remonter sur galle.)

This operation consists in a repetition of the former ones. A white bath is prepared similar to that

that described in article 3; twelve pounds and a half of good Provence oil are put into a vat, and eight buckets of ley, at two degrees of the soap-maker's areometer, added to it, and the bath being well stirred, the cotton is dipped in the manner described in article 3.

Thirteenth operation; first salt.

The cotton after being well dried is dipped in a ley at three degrees.

Fourteenth operation; second salt.

After the cotton has been well dried, it is dipped in a ley at four degrees.

Fifteenth operation; third salt.

When the cotton is again dry, it is dipped in a ley at five degrees, and this concludes the dips: after being dried, it is washed, galled, and alumed, with the same proportions, and attention to the same circumstances, as in articles 9, 10, and 11: the cotton has now received all the preparations necessary for taking the dye, and ought to be of the colour of the bark of a tree. A very essential circumstance to be attended to, is, never to dip the cotton until it is perfectly dry, otherwise we run the risk of rendering the colour spotted. When the cotton is hung out upon the poles, it must be frequently shaken and turned, to make it dry uniformly.

Sixteenth operation; the dyeing.

A copper of an oblong square form is generally employed, which ought to be capable of holding about one hundred gallons, in which quantity twenty-five pounds of cotton may be dyed at once. The

process for dyeing is begun by filling the copper with water within four or five inches of the brim, and pouring in a pailful of bullocks blood, or what is still better when it can be procured, sheeps blood (this is equal to about five gallons) and then adding the lizary. When we wish to obtain a fine bright colour, which penetrates, and has a good body, we commonly mix several kinds of lizary together, as one pound and a half of lizary of Provence, half a pound of lizary of Cyprus; or if these cannot be had, a pound of that of Provence, with as much of the lizary from Tripoli or Smyrna, allowing always two pounds for one of cotton. When the lizary is in the copper, it is stirred with the rake, to break the clods or lumps, and when the bath is warm, the cotton is put in on skein sticks, two hanks commonly on each; care must be taken to immerse it properly, and to turn the cotton on the skein sticks by means of a pointed stick passed along them within the hanks. This process is continued for an hour; and when the copper begins to boil, the cotton is taken off the skein sticks, and immersed in it, each hank being suspended, by means of a cord passed through it, to sticks supported over the copper. The cotton ought to boil about an hour, in order to extract all the colouring matter from the madder. There is also a method of discovering when the colour is extracted, by the formation of a white froth on the copper. It is now taken out, and washed knot by knot at the river, wrung with the pin, and dried.

Seventeenth operation; brightening.

Soda ley at two degrees is poured
into

into the copper used for scouring, which should hold a hundred and fifty gallons of water, and it is then filled within ten or twelve inches of the brim; four or five pounds of olive oil are then added, and six pounds of white Marseilles soap cut very small; it is kept stirring until the soap is dissolved, and when the copper begins to boil, the cotton is put in, a cord being previously passed through it to prevent its being entangled: the copper is then covered up, and stopped with rags, loaded and made to boil gently for four or five hours; the cover being now taken off, the cotton should appear finished, and of a beautiful red. The cotton must not be taken out of the copper for ten or twelve hours, because it improves in the bath, and acquires a much greater degree of brightness.

It must be well washed knot by knot, and dried, and the operation is complete.

I am in the habit of giving my cottons a dip after they have become quite dry; I make a solution of tin in aqua fortis, taking for a hundred pounds of cotton three or four pounds of aqua fortis at twenty-six degrees *, to which I add an ounce of sal ammoniac for each pound, and then dissolve it in six ounces of fine tin in grains; I add to the bath a pound and a half of mineral crystal; I then dilute the mixture with eight buckets of water, and dip my cotton; it must then be washed; this dip gives the cotton a very fine fire (feu.)

N. B. Only the residua of the first preparations are to be put into the sickiou; those which remain after the cotton has been galled are of no use, and must be thrown away.

Remarks on the manufacturing of Maple Sugar; extracted from a pamphlet published by a society of gentlemen at Philadelphia, for the general information and benefit of the citizens of the United States of America.

HE who enables another to obtain any necessary of life either cheaper or more independently than heretofore, adds a new source of happiness to man; and becomes more or less useful, in proportion to the number of those who participate in the benefits of his discovery. The transitions, however, made from one stage of improvement to another, are not sudden, but gradual; which probably arises from that strong and almost universal disinclination in the mind, at departing from the beaten path, or from long established customs. Hence men, frequently, at first, treat with neglect or contempt that which, afterwards, on better information, and a thorough knowledge of facts, they believe, and without reserve adopt in their subsequent practice. Were we to introduce and embrace as a maxim,—“That every new proposition, merely on account of its novelty, must be rejected,”—our knowledge would no longer be progressive, and every kind of improvement must cease.

That the juice of the sugar maple would produce a saccharine substance answering the purposes of sugar, has been known many years, and particularly by the inhabitants of the Eastern States; but that there was a sufficient number of this kind of tree in the States of New York and Pennsylvania only, to supply

* To distilled water as 1,320 to 1,000. T.

the whole of the United States with this article, is a fact which was not so well ascertained, or so satisfactorily authenticated, till within a year or two past; and that the sugar of this tree was capable of being *grained*, and produced, in quality, equal to the best imported, was in some measure problematical till within even two or three months past, when the arrival of several chests in the city of Philadelphia, made last spring on the Delaware, removed every doubt, in the minds of those who have seen it, as to the truth of this last fact.

A person who had many years been acquainted with the usual way of making this article, being desirous of improving the method, obtained the instructions of a refiner of sugar in Philadelphia, and, with these before him, began his experiments in February last, at Stockport, about three miles below the junction of the Mohock and Popatchtunk branches of the Delaware. He soon discovered that the business was yet in its infancy, that great and even essential improvements might be made therein, which would require a departure from the methods heretofore in general use, in boiling down the green sap, graining the syrup, &c. and which, if attended to and adopted, would enable him to produce sugar, in colour, grain, and taste, equal, if not superior in reputation, to any imported. His sentiments and hopes on this head have been fully confirmed by the result of his experiments; for the sugar he has made and sent down to this city, in the opinion of well-qualified judges, is equal to the best sugars imported from the West India islands.

The person above-mentioned,

whose judgment on this subject is much to be relied on, as well from his experience in the business, as his established character for candour and integrity, is clearly of opinion, that four active industrious men, well provided with materials, and conveniencies proper for carrying on the business, may turn out, in a common season, which lasts from four to six weeks, forty hundred weight of good sugar, that is, ten hundred to each man. If four men can effect this, how great must be the product of the separate or associated labour of the many thousands of people who now inhabit, or may inhabit, the immense tracts of land which abound with the sugar maple tree! What a new and extensive field opens for these considerations! What an interesting and important object to the cause of humanity, presents itself to our view! an object that deserves the countenance of every good citizen, and that highly merits even NATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT.

In all sugar plantations, it will be advantageous to cut out the different sorts of timber which grow intermixed with the sugar maple, and even those of that species which are not thriving, promising trees. The timber so cut out will serve for fuel for the boilers, and leave greater openings for the rays of the sun to enter, which will have a tendency to improve and enrich the remaining trees. The ground so cleared of all except the maple-tree, it has been observed, is particularly favourable for pasture and the growth of grass. "Whether this tree is injured or impoverished by repeated tappings," is an enquiry to be expected, and has been frequently made of late, by persons who have anxiously

anxiously wished for the success of this business. It has been before observed, that it will bear much hardship and abuse; and it may be added, that there are instances, particularly among the old settlements on the North River, of trees which have been tapped for fifty years or upwards, and continue to yield their sap in the season, equal to any brought into use of later time; indeed it is asserted with confidence, by persons who have had some years experience, that these trees, by use, become more valuable, yielding a sap of a richer quality. How far a careful cultivation of them, the stirring and manuring the soil in which they stand, may improve their value, remains to be ascertained in future, though it may be expected

that this, like almost all other trees and plants, may from a natural state be greatly and essentially improved by the hand of art. Experiments, therefore, will not be unworthy the attention of those citizens situated in the more interior parts of the States, if it shall thereby be found that these trees can be readily propagated, either from the seed or young plants, and be brought to thrive, so as to be equal in their product, if not superior to those which have been srewed over the country, without the aid of man. To what an extent of cultivation may not this lead! There will be no risk or disadvantage attending the experiment; and it certainly deserves encouragement.

ANTIQUITIES.

Singular Letter of Henry VIII. to a Mrs. Coward, widow, of Southampton. From the first volume of Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I.

“ Dere and welbeloid,

“ **W**E gret yow well; leetyng yow know owre trusty and welbeloid s̄rvaunt Wyllyam Symonds, one of the sewers of owr chamber, hath shewid unto us that for the womanly dysposysyon, good & vertus behaviour, & other commendabull vertewes, whiche he hath not only hard reportyd, but allso s̄enne and p̄sevid in yow himselfe, at his last being in thos p̄tyes, he hath sett his harte and mynde that he is very desyrus to honowr yow by way of maryage before all other creatures livinge; and for the admomyshment of this his good and lawdible porpos he hath made humble sewitte unto us to writt unto yowe, and others, yowre lovinge fryndes, in his favor. We, consyderynge owr saide s̄rvaunte's commendable requestes, his honest conversatyonne, and other manyfold vertuis; w^t allso the trew and faythfull s̄vis hertofore many fondery ways don unto us, as well in our warres as otherwise, and that he dayly doith about owr p̄sonne, for

owr synguler contentasyon and pleasure; for the whiche we assewre yow we do tendre his p̄vyfyonne accordyngly well, and desyre yow, at the contemplacyon of these owre leatters, to be of lyke benivolent mynde towards owr sayde s̄vaunt, in suche wyse that matrymony, to Gode's pleasure, may shortly be solempnysyd betwene yow bothe; wherby, in owre opynyon, yow shall not only do the thyng to the syngular comfourt of yow both in tyme to come, but, by yowre so doing, yow may assewer yow, in all the causes reasonable of yow or any yowre frynds to be pursuyd unto us by owre s̄ervaunt herafter, ye shall have us good and gracios Lord to yow bothe. And, to the intent that ye shall geve unto thys owre desyre the more faythful credence, we do send yow her inclosed a tokenne, prayyng yow to intender the matter accordyngly.”

Letter from the Earl of Suffex to Queen Elizabeth, upon the subject of her proposed marriage with Monsieur, brother to the King of France. From the second volume of the same.

“ It maye please yo^r moste excellent Ma^{ty},

“ **U**PON Tuesdave laste in the mornyng, abowte vii of the clocke,

clocke, Mons^r de Quayssye came hether to me; & told me that heryng, as he was to passe thorough London, I was come hether from the Corte, he would acquaynt me wth his negotyation; for that he dowted that the messenger sent from M^r Walsyngnam, sens his comyng from Mons^r, was not come to yo^r Ma^{ty} before my comyng from the Corte. The substance of his speche confysted upon two partes; the one, that Mons^r delte wth suche sinceryte in the matt^r of the marryage as it rested in yo^r Ma^{ty} to dyrecte of him therin as should please yourself; the other, that he would be dyrected by yo^r Ma^{ty} in his actyons in the Lowe Contryes; hopyng that in bothe these yo^r Ma^{ty} would have suche respecte to his honor & state as the gret affectyon w^{ch} he bare to yo^r persone did deserve. He made a longe dyscorse of the hard dealyngs that had bene dyvers tymes used towards Mons^r in Fraunce; & of the jealousyes that from tyme to tyme were put into the heads of his mother, & brother, by p^rsonages of greate qualyte, that fowght ther owne gretenes by his hynderaunce: He also declared that Mons^r by these occasyons was necessarily deteyned from shewyng himself to be himself; but, beyng rowe in free place, & at his full lybertye, he would make his vallew & resolute mynde knowne to all the wordell: & so cōcluded howe necessary it was for him to seke gretnes abrode, to cōtynew therby his gretnes & suerty at home; and therefore was come into the Lowe Contryes to be dyrected holly by yo^r Ma^{ty}, wher he myght receyve, & followe yo^r dyrectyons, wthowte the staye or lette of eny other p^rson, w^{ch} he would do wth

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as greate sinceryte as cowlde be requyred. He did not dyfestly saye that Mons^r looked to be made greate, ether by his marryage wth you, or by his actyons in the Lowe Contryes, but suerly his hole dyscourse was oftentymes intermyngled wth suche spech^s as I myght lertently gather that Monsy^r's meanyng was to be greate by the one of these meanes, or by bothe; & that it were a dyhonor to him, and a perryll, to lacke bothe, & so returne home worffe then he came forthe. This was the substance of his speche to me, w^{ch} I thought my dewty to declare to yo^r Ma^{ty} as briefly as I coulde. And now, remēbryng yo^r Ma^{ty}'s pleasur to be that upon all occasyons I should be bold to wryte to you my actyons, I thought it my dewty upon this occasyon to wryte fully & humbly besefching yo^r Ma^{ty} to accepte my playne & trewe meanyng therin.

To enter in to this matt^r I muste fyrste laye this foundatyon, w^{ch} I think to be as suer as man can laye; that Mons^r hath deterned to seeke to make himself greate, ether by the marryage of yo^r Ma^{ty}, or by the possessyng of the Lowe Contryes, or by bothe; & that the Frenche K. & Q. Mother, to delyver him owte of Fraunce, wyll, by all the possybell meanes they maye, helpe to further and advaunce his gretenes in this sorte, for ther owne benefyte, quyett, and surtye, & the avoydyng of all fyers, trobells, & perrells, at home: And yf Mons^r, by yo^r Ma. be putt from his hope in bothe these, & no suer peace cōcluded betwene the K. of Spayne & the Stats, then wyll he torne over all his forces to ayde Don John, & seeke his gretenes & suerty by martyall actyons that waye, &

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by

by the frendship of the K. of Spayne, rather then wth dyshonor and perrell to returne home in worffe case then he came forthe; wherein, also, or in eny other actyon abrode, ther is no dowte but his mother & brother wyll further him what they maye, to kepe him occupied abrode, & therby to avoyde the perrells at home. These foundatyons being thus laved, it is fete to confyder of the comōdytēs & incomōdytēs of every of them; that is to say, of the marryage; of the alienatyon of the Lowe Contreyes: & of the Frenche assyftyng of Don John.

Toching the marryage (yf yo^r Ma^{te} in yo^r owne harte can lyk of it, w^{ch} I leave to God & you) I find these comōdytēs to followe. Yo^r allyance wth the howse of Fraunce; wherby (becyds all lyklyhod that the French K. wyll not attempt eny thyng to the prejudyce of you & his brother) you shalbe assured, by yo^r self & yo^r husband, to have suche a p^{tye} in Fraunce as the Frenche K. shall not be habell, nor shall not dare, to attempt dyrectly or indyrectly eny thyng ageynst you. You shall, by yo^r selfe, & yo^r husband, be habell to assuer the Protestants of Fraunce from perrell of massacre by the Pappys, & the K. from eny perylouse actyon by them; & so, by yo^r means, kepe the K. & his pepell in anytē & Chrystyen peace. You shall take awaye, & suppress, all practyse for cōpetytyon*, for Popery, or any other sedytyouse cause, at home or abrode; & so shall, at home & abrode, assuer yo^r p^{son}, & yo^r state, from all perrells that by manne's judgme^t myght growe

eny wayes to you by Fraunce. You shall, also, by the helpe of yo^r husband, be habell to compell the K. of Spayne to take reasonabell cōdytyons of his subjects in the Lowe Contryes, & the flats to take reasonabell cōdytyons of ther K. so as he may have that which before God & man dothe justely belong to him, & they may enjoye ther lybertyes, fredomes, & all other thynges that is feete for ther quyett & suertye, in bodyes, goods, cōscyences, & lyves; wherby you shall avoyde grete effusyōn of crystyen blodd, & shall have the honor & reward, dewe in this wordell & by God, to so gracyouse, godly, & crystyen actyons: And herewth, for the more suerty of all p^{sones} & matters, yo^r selfe maye have in yo^r owne hands some marytyme p^{te}, to be by you kepte, at the charge of the K. of Spayne; & yo^r husband maye have some frontyer townes in lyke sorte; & bothe to be cōtynued for such a number of yeres as may bryng a settolyng of suerty to all respects; by w^{ch} means you shall also be delyvered from perrells, at home & abrode, that maye growe from the K. of Spayne: and yf you lyke not of this corse in dealyng for the Lowe Contryes, you may joyne wth yo^r husband, & so, betwene you, attempte to possesse the hole Lowe Contryes, & drawe the same to the Crowne of England yf you have eny chyld by him; or, if you have none, to devyde them betwene the realmes of England & Fraunce as shalbe mettest for ether; but, to be playne wth yo^r Ma^{te}, I do not think this corse to be so juste, so godly, so honorabell, nor, when it

* Competition for the succession to the crown of England: alluding to the pretensions of the Queen of Scots.

is loked into the bottome, so fuer for you and your state as the other, although at the first syght it do p̄haps carrye in shewe some plausybylyté. It is also moſte lykly, & a matt̄ certainly to be expected, that yf God wyll encline yoʳ hart to marryage, he will also blyſſe you wth chyldren; wherby bothe you, for yoʳ tyme, ſhalbe ſetteled in the chayer of ſuert̄y, & all matt̄s that myghte be kyndeled by myſchevous fyers ſhall go awaye in the ſmoke, *et erunt cogitationes malorum ſicut ſomnia*; and, by the leavyng behynd you of a ſucceſſor of yoʳ owne bodye, you ſhall leave ſuert̄y & quyett to yoʳ realme; you ſhall avoyde Chryſtyen blodſhed, lyke to growe to cyvyle warres; you ſhall dyſburden yoʳ conſcyence; you ſhall receyve at God's hand yoʳ juſte deſerte for ſo godly a care; and yoʳ fame ſhall extende upon the erthe: So as, to be ſhorte, by yoʳ marryage you ſhall gyve lawe to Fraunce, Spayne, the Lowe Contryes, England, Scotland, &, in effect, to all Cryſtendome; you ſhall ſetell yoʳ ſtate ſuerly at home; you ſhalbe ſtrongly frended abrode; you ſhalbe in eſtymatyon over all the wordell; you ſhall have a huſband as a ſervant, & defender of all yoʳ cauſes preſent; you ſhalbe lyke to have a chyld that ſhalbe fered to be a revenge herafter of all yoʳ injuryes, & to ſetell yoʳ kyngdome in yoʳ poſteryté; you ſhalbe lyke a ſerpent in the ſyght of the evell, & lyke a dove in the ſyght of the good; you ſhalbe the peace maker to all Cryſtendome; yoʳ fame ſhall excede all other Prynces that ever wer in Europe; and God wyll blyſſe you, as his owne choſen veſſell, bothe in this wordell & in the wordell to come; w^{ch} be the co-

modityes that be lyke to growe by yoʳ marryage at this p̄ſent. The incomodytes w^{ch} may growe for lacke of yoʳ marryage be ſetteſte to be leſte to be by yoʳ Ma^{te} conſydered by ther contraryes; wherby, & by the knowleg of yoʳ owne harte, you maye bettr judge of them; and be ſuche as my harte trembleth to thynk of them, and I pray God I never lyve to ſee them.

The incomodytes, dangers, and dyſſicultés, that have been remēbred, myght growe by yoʳ marryage be theſe.

1. Your owne myſlyke to marryage, w^{ch} myght brede a dyſcontented lyfe herafter.

2. The dyſſiculté of the choiſe of a p̄ſone that myght in all reſpects content yoʳ mynde.

3. The danger that a forren Prynce myght, wth tyme, & by degrees, brynge this realme to his own poſſeſſyon, beyng yoʳ huſband.

4. The danger that if yoʳ huſband ſhowld come to be a Kyng of a forren countrye, neceſſyté would call hym to his owne from yoʳ's, & kepe you in yoʳ owne from him; & ſo, by abſens, the comfort expected by marryage ſhowld lacke.

5. The danger that if you ſhowld have but one ſonne by him, he ſhowld be ayer to bothe Kyngdomes; & then would be himſelf in the gretteſt, & rule the other by a Vyzroy, w^{ch} England can not bere.

6. The dyſſiculté of relygyon.

7. The charge that ſhowld growe to the realme by the mayntenance of yoʳ huſband.

8. The generall myſlyke that Inglyſhe men have to be gov̄ned by a ſtranger.

9. The danger of yoʳ p̄ſone yf yoʳ huſband ſhowld but fraudulently

seeke you fyrst, to possesse, by treason, another after.

To all which suche awensuers have also bene remembred as follovs.

The fyrste & second receyve not the counsell of others, but muste be dyrected by yo^r selfe; wherby you be to follove only the counsell of yo^r owne harte, wherunto all men must leave you; for it is the judgement of yo^r owne harte that may make that ill to you w^{ch} no other can faye to be but good of it self, yf yo^r harte can lyke of it.

The thyrd is a perrell that muste have a longe tyme of dryfie er it can come to passe; & in dede can never take effect yf God take not all fences away, bothe from you and all the stats of yo^r realme; & therfor a perrell in talke but no perrell in matt^r, as appered by the K. of Spayne married to Q. Marye.

The forthe is not yet in this man, nether dothe eny man knowe that it ever shalbe; & therfor no perrell, but accydentall: But, if it did falle owte in dede that he shoulde be a K. of himselfe, & therby his owne contreye requyre his presence, & yo^r contreye requyre yo^r presence, yet it is not therfor necessary that you shoulde be always absent the one from the other; for, as by the amyte of bothe kyngdomes bothe shall remayn in the grettr suerty, so, by that occasyon, & the vycynyte of them, you may have the bettr cause to be often together wth owte danger to ether of you; as appered by K. Phyllip, who came divers tymes to Q. Marye, & remayned wth her certen monethes, even in his grettest tymes of warre w^{ch} the Frenche Kyng.

The vth semethe rather to bryng

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honor than perrell, & yet it is but a supposytyon, & no matt^r certen; for it is a hard case to make an assignment that you shall have a chyld, & but an only chyld; and yet, yf it shoulde so falle owte, as Inglyshe man borne in England, & Kynge therof (borne in his owne realme) shoulde also be K. of Fraunce, as hertofore w^{ch} grete honor hathe bene; & it shoulde not be that a Frenche man borne in Fraunce, K. therof, shoulde also be K. of England, w^{ch} never was before; & so, reducyng this matt^r to the exampell that hathe bene, it wylbe honor, & not perrell, that shall growe therby.

The vth hath allwayes bene awensuered, that the exercyse of his relygyon shoulde, so longe as he shoulde cotynew it, be pryvate to himself, & a few of his owne nation, wthowte admytting eny Inglysheman to it; & he shoulde also accompany you to the exercyse of yo^r relygyon, in convenient tymes; w^{ch} can bryng no perrell to yo^r p^rson, or state; nor hathe bene thought so intollerabell as it shoulde breake yo^r marryage, but only by suche as pyked quarrell rather to yo^r marryage then to relygyon, wherof the wordell hathe had good prooffe.

The vith shall rather bryng gayne then charge; for he hathe a grete patrimony of his owne to spend here: the exampell apperethe by K. Phyllip.

The viiith dothe not carry a trewth; for the realme is to be governed as it was before, & so was in the tyme of K. Phyllip; & then the pepell shall have no cause to myslyke, but rather a grete cause of lykynge; when bothe yo^r p^rson, yo^r realme, and all yo^r pepell, shall

by

by this means be assured from all dangers.

The 1xth enferethe a treasonabell dealing, not to be thought of by a Crystyen Prynce, much lesse to be executed; & it carryethe no reasonabell fence wth it, that a Crystyen Prynce, possessed of yo^r godly, vertuouse, wise, bewtyfull, & perelless p^{erson}, & of all yo^r kyngdomes therwth, shold have in his harte to be by treason delyvered of you, & that he hathe by you, to seeke to gett the same ageyne by another p^{erson} so farre infery^{or} to you; and therfor of a Crystyen Prynce I dare not have eny suche thought, & he that thynkethe of this can thynk of eny thyng that he thynkethe can hynder yo^r marryage: and so I leave to yo^r Ma^{te} to cōsyder, at yo^r plesuer, of the comodytés & incomodytés of yo^r marryage, & of the incomodytés that be lyke to come yf you marrye not.

Tochyng the alyenatyng of the Lowe Contryes to the Frenche, the incomodytés be these. The unytyng of the hole into one Prynce's hands, w^{ch} beyng devyded, ether p^{artye} hathe bene habell to matche the other, & so, by ther devyfyon, the realme of England hathe never lacked a frend of the one; w^{ch} hathe bene a pryncypall staye, & suertye to England; & by unytyng of bothe wylbe a manifeste, & present, dangers & perrell. The grete forces, bothe by land & sea, that the Frenche shall have when they shall possesse both; wherby the Frenche may attempt what they wyll, & shall have power to execute ther wyll. The grete danger that may growe to all Europe by the gretenes of the Frenche. The perrell that may growe in p^{artyculer} to yo^r

Ma^{te} by the Frenche mayntenance of cōpetyyon, Popery, factyon, & other cyvyle devyfyons w^{thin} the realme, & by wthdrawing of Scotland from yo^r Ma^{te}'s devotyon. The dysturbyng of all yo^r traffyck; & imposyng therupon of all taxes, at the plesuer of the Frenche. The stoppe of vent of all yo^r inward comodytés, & the maynteynyng of yo^r pepell that shall lacke woork. The bryngyng of the realme into a p^{erpetuall} servytude of trybute, or other worffe matter. W^{ch} dyscomōdytés, howe they may be encountred wth eny one comōdyté I do not see.

By the joynyng of Monst^r to Don John, & no suer peace concluded betwene the K. of Spayne & the States, I see no comōdyté to growe, but these incomōdytés manyfestly to ensue. Ether the hole suppressyng of the Lowe Contryes by the Spanyshe tyrannye, & therby yo^r Ma^{te} to be subject to meny of the perrells before repeted in the case of France, bothe for yo^r p^{erson}, realme, and traffyck, or els yo^r Ma^{te} to make yo^r selfe the hedd of the warre, & so to enter into that w^{ch} my symPELL hedd seethe no possybylyté for you to mayntene, nor knowethe no waye howe to brynge you owte of it; w^{ch} two generalytés have so many p^{artyculer} perrells depeudyng on them, as nether I can thynke of all, nether is it fete (for tedyousnes) to trouble you wth those I thynk of, seyng yo^r Ma^{te} dothe bettr know them, & can depelyer judge of them, then I can thynk. What maye be don to procure a suer peace betwene the K. & the Stats I knowe not; seyng I see suche dyffydence on bothe sydes, & no lykelyhod that the Stats wyll ether yeld to reasonabell cōdytyons,

tyons, or have eny dysposytyon to eny reasonabell peace: But, yf ther myght be suche a peace made as in honor, trewth, justyce, & conscyence, wer fete bothe for the K. & the subjects, before God & man, & suffycient assurance of the cōtynuanse therof, then do I suerly thynk that meny of the perrells before rehered myght be avoyded for the tyme; but yf no suche peace be made, then, of necessitye, the Stats, beyng not habell to defend them selfs, muste caste themselves ether into yo^r defence, or into the defence of Fraunce; wherupon depend the perrells before wrytten.

Thus have I bene bold to tooche, at this tyme, suche matrs as trewe & faythfull dewty do bynd me to put yo^r Ma^{ty} in remembrance of: Moste humbly besechyng yo^r Ma^{ty} that (seing it is nowe tyme, & more than tyme, that all men showld shake off p^rtyculer respects, & yeld them selfs holly to that w^{ch} is beste for yo^r s^rvycce, the suerty of yo^r p^rsone, & the benefyte of yo^r realme) you wyl p^rdone me at this p^rsent for the delyveryng to you by wrytyng that w^{ch} in substance I have often before spoken; & havyng by absens the comodyté of speche taken from me, am forced, for the faythful dyscharge of my dewtye, to delyver it in wrytyng; with my most humbell prayer to God that he maye longe p^rserve yo^r Ma^{ty} to yo^r owne hart's contentatyon, & to put into yo^r hart to do that w^{ch} shalbe moste for his glorye, & for yo^r Ma^{ty}'s honor & iuertye. From Barmonsey, the xxviiith of August, 1578.

Yo^r Ma^{ty}'s most humbell & faythfull subjecte & servant,

T. SUSSEX.

To the Quene's moste }
excelente Majestye. }

The Earl of Leicester's remarks upon the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, in a Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury. From the same.

My good L.

I Dowbt not but you have byn adv^rtised at large of the tragicall newes out of Fraunce, w^{ch} have byn used wth y^r cruelltye that I think no Christian synce the heathen tyme hath hard of the lyke; and the more horryble ys yt for that hit semes hit ys donne wth the consent of that Prince who had geven his fayth, and layd his honor in pledge, for the contrary before; but the same God that hath suffred this punyshme^{nt} to his people for their owen synnes, wyl finde tyme to revenge yt uppon his enymyes for his owen cause sake. God defend o^r M^{ty} from the hidden practises leyd for her among these open facts comytted so nerely to toch her; for she is the fountayne & y^e well sprynge of y^e greefes that procureth this mallyce, and though others smarte, yet she is the marke they shute at; * & so must she thynk, & accordingly must she provyde, or ells all wyl be naught. But my trust ys that the same Lord that hath all this while p^rserved her wyl also put into her hart to do that w^{ch} shalbe best for her owen and her people's fastye: And so, leaving now further to trowble yo^r

* Meaning, no doubt, that the persecution of the Protestants in France was owing to Elizabeth's constancy in their persuasion.

L. knowing you ar p'sently adv-
fised of all such matters as are
worthe the sending, I wyll byd yo'
L. most hartely fare well, w^t lyke
comendac. to yo' L. & my good
Lady. At Woodstock this VIII of
Sept.

Yo' L.' assured frend & cousen.
R. LEYCESTER.

*Extrait from a spirited Letter written
by the Earl of Suffex to Sir Wil-
liam Cecil. From the same.*

I WAS firste a lieutenant; I was
after little better then a marshal;
I had then nothing left to me but
to direct hanging matters (in the
meane tyme all was disposed that was
wthin my comission) and nowe I ame
offered to be made a Shreif's bayly
to deliver over possessions. Blame
me not, good M^r Secretarie, though
my pen utter sumwhat of that swell
in my stomake, for I see I ame
kepte but for a brome, and when I
have done my office to be throwen
owt of the dore. I aine the first
noble man hathe ben thus used.
Trew service deserveth honor and
credite, and not reproche and open
defaming; but, seeing the one is
ever delivered to me in stede of the
other, I must leave to serve, or lose
my honor; w^{ch}, being continewd
so long in my howse, I wolde be
lothe shoold take blemishe wth me.
These matters I knowe procede not
from lacke of good and honorable
meaning in the Q.' Ma^{te} towards
me, nor from lacke of dewté and
trewthe in me towards her, w^{ch}
grevethe me the more; and, there-
fore, seing I shalbe still a camelyon,
and yelde no other shewe then as it
shall please others to give the coul-
ler, I will content myself to live a

private lyfe. God send her Ma^{te}
others that meane as well as I have
done; and so I commit you to th'
Almightie.

*Curious paper, intituled, "A Breefe of
" suche Reasons and Conjectures
" which caused many to suppose his
" Honor (the Earl of Derby) to
" bee bewytched." From the third
" volume of the same.*

1. ON Thursday nighte, beeinge
the 4 of Aprill, 1594, his
Honor cryed sodenly in his sleepe,
started oute of his bedd, sought his
Ladie, whome hee thoughte in a
dreaume to be deade.

2. On Fryday, in his chamber at
Knowsley, aboute 6 of clocke at
nighte, there appeared a man, talle,
as hee thoughte, who twise crossed
him swyftly, and when hee came to
the place where hee sawe him, hee
fell sycke.

3. The same nighte he dreamed
that hee was stabbed to the harte,
and wounded in many other places
of his boddy.

4. There was found in my Lo.'
chamber, by one M^r Hallfall, an
ymage of waxe, wth a haire drawne
through the belly thereof, as hee
reported upon his oathe.

5. One Jane a wytyche, demand-
ed of one M^r Gowleborne, his Ho-
nor's Secretarie, whether my Lo.
felte no payne in his lower p'tes,
and whether as yet hee made any
water; and at that very tyme, as yt
ys thoughte, his Honor's water
stayed.

6. All phisicke wroughte well,
and yett he had no ease; his dis-
eases were many, and his vomitts
violente, and yet his pulse ever re-
mayned good and p'fecte.

H 4

7. Hie

7. Hee himselfe in all the tyme of sicknes cryed hee was bewytched.

8. Hee fell into a trance twise, not able to stir head, hand, or foote, when he should have taken physicke.

9. In the ende hee cryed oute againste wytyches and wytychcraft, reposinge his only hope of salvation upon the merits of his Blessed Savior.

10. One of the wytyches havinge sayde well the Lorde's Prayer, and beeinge inforced to calle upon the name of Jesus, that yf she had bewytched his Honor she might not bee able to saye yt, againe before the examiners shee sayd all well, till she came to *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*, w^{ch} by no meanes she could saye or repeate, althoughe yt was oiten reheried to her.

The copy of a speech delivered to Queen Elizabeth at her departure from Harvile, the Lord Keeper's House, August 1602. From the same.

PLACE, attired in black, gives the QUEENE this at farewell.

Sweete Ma^{ty},

BE pleased to looke upon a p^oore widdowe, mourning before y^or G^o. I am this Place, w^{ch} at y^or coming was full of joye, but nowe at y^or departure am as full of sorrowe; as I was then, for my comforte, accompanied wth the p^osent cheerful Tyme, but nowe he must depart wth yow, and, blessed as he is, must ever flye before yow. But, alasse! I have no wings, as

Tyme hath: My heavines is suche as I must stave, still amazed to see so greate happines so soone berefte me. O that I could remove wth yow as other circumstances can! Tyme can goe wth yow: P^osons can goe wth you: They can move like heaven, but I, like dull earthe, as I am indeed, must stave unmoveable. I could wishe my selfe, like the enchanted castle of love, to hould yow here for ever, but y^or vertues would dissolve all my inchauntments. Then what remedie? As it is against the nature of an angell to be circumscribed in place, so it is against the nature of place to have the motion of an angel: I must stave, forsaken and desolate; yow may goe, wth Mat^{the}, joye, and glorie. My onely suite before you goe is that yow will pardon the close imprisonment w^{ch} yow have suffered ever since y^or coming; imputing it not to me, but to St Swithin*, whoe of late hath raised so many stormes as I was faine to provide this anchor for yow, (*presentinge the Q^{ue}n with an anchor jewell*) when I understode yow would put into this creeke; but nowe, since I perceave the harbor is too little for yow, and that yow will hoist saile and begon, I beseeche yow take this anchor wth yow; and I pray to him that made both tyme and place, that in all places wherever yow shall arrive, yow may anchor as safely as yow doe, and ever shall doe, in the harts of my owners.

Commercial consequences of the Crusades to Europe; from Robert-

* Alluding to an ancient prejudice, still entertained by the common people, that a rainy St. Swithin's (the 15th of July) will be followed by forty days of the same weather.

son's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India.*

TO fix an idea of peculiar sanctity to that country, which the Author of our Religion selected as the place of his residence while on earth, and in which he accomplished the redemption of mankind, is a sentiment so natural to the human mind, that, from the first establishment of Christianity, the visiting of the holy places in Judea was considered as an exercise of piety, tending powerfully to awaken and to cherish a spirit of devotion. Through succeeding ages, the practice continued, and increased in every part of Christendom. When Jerusalem was subjected to the Mahomedan empire, and danger was added to the fatigue and expence of a distant pilgrimage, the undertaking was viewed as still more meritorious. It was sometimes enjoined as a penance to be performed by heinous transgressors. It was more frequently a duty undertaken with voluntary zeal, and in both cases it was deemed an expiation for all past offences. From various causes, which I have elsewhere enumerated*, these pious visits to the Holy Land multiplied amazingly during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Not only individual in the lower and middle ranks of life, but persons of superior condition, attended by large retinues, and numerous caravans of opulent pilgrims, resorted to Jerusalem.

In all their operations, however, men have a wonderful dexterity in mingling some attention to interest

with those functions which seem to be most purely spiritual. The Mahomedan caravans which, in obedience to the injunctions of their religion, visit the holy temple of Mecca, are not composed, as I shall hereafter explain more fully, of devout pilgrims only, but of merchants, who, both in going and returning, are provided with such an assortment of goods, that they carry on a considerable traffic †. Even the Faquirs of India, whose wild enthusiasm seems to elevate them above all solicitude about the concerns of this world, have rendered their frequent pilgrimages subservient to their interest, by trading in every country through which they travel. In like manner, it was not by devotion alone that such numerous bands of Christian pilgrims were induced to visit Jerusalem. To many of them commerce was the chief motive of undertaking that distant voyage, and by exchanging the productions of Europe for the more valuable commodities of Asia, particularly those of India, which at that time were diffused through every part of the Caliphs dominions, they enriched themselves, and furnished their countrymen with such an additional supply of Eastern luxuries, as augmented their relish for them ‡.

But how faint soever the lines may be, which, prior to the crusades, mark the influence of the frequent pilgrimages to the East upon commerce, they become so conspicuous after the commencement of these expeditions, as to meet the eye of every observer.

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. i. p. 27. 285.

† Viaggi di Ramusio, vol. i. p. 151, 152.

‡ Gul. Tyr. lib. xvii. c. 4. p. 933. ap. Gesta Dei per Francos.

Various circumstances concurred towards this, from an enumeration of which it will appear, that by attending to the progress and effects of the crusades, considerable light is thrown upon the subject of my inquiries. Great armies, conducted by the most illustrious nobles of Europe, and composed of men of the most enterprising spirit in all the kingdoms of it, marched towards Palestine, through countries far advanced beyond those which they left, in every species of improvement. They beheld the dawn of prosperity in the republics of Italy, which had begun to vie with each other in the arts of industry, and in their efforts to engross the lucrative commerce with the East. They next admired the more advanced state of opulence and splendour in Constantinople, raised to a pre-eminence above all the cities then known, by its extensive trade, particularly that which it carried on with India, and the countries beyond it. They afterwards served in those provinces of Asia through which the commodities of the East were usually conveyed, and became masters of several cities which had been staples of that trade. They established the kingdom of Jerusalem, which subsisted near two hundred years. They took possession of the throne of the Greek empire, and governed it above half a century. Amidst such a variety of events and operations, the ideas of the fierce warriors of Europe gradually opened and improved; they became acquainted with the policy and arts of the people whom they subdued; they observed the sources

of their wealth, and availed themselves of all this knowledge. Antioch and Tyre, when conquered by the crusaders, were flourishing cities, inhabited by opulent merchants, who supplied all the nations trading in the Mediterranean with the productions of the East*, and as far as can be gathered from incidental occurrences, mentioned by the historians of the Holy War, who, being mostly priests and monks, had their attention directed to objects very different from those relating to commerce, there is reason to believe that both in Constantinople, while subject to the Franks, and in the ports of Syria acquired by the Christians, the long-established trade with the East continued to be protected and encouraged.

But though commerce may have been only a secondary object with the martial leaders of the crusades, engaged in perpetual hostilities with the Turks on one hand, and with the Soldans of Egypt on the other, it was the primary object with the associates, in conjunction with whom they carried on their operations. Numerous as the armies were which assumed the cross, and enterprising as the fanatical zeal was with which they were animated, they could not have accomplished their purpose, or even have reached the seat of their warfare, without securing the assistance of the Italian states. None of the other European powers could either furnish a sufficient number of transports to convey the armies of the crusaders to the coast of Dalmatia, whence they marched to Constantinople, the place of general

* Gul. Tyr. lib. xiii. c. 5. Alb. Aquef. Hist. Hierof. ap. Gesta Dei, vol. i. p. 247.

rendezvous;

pendezvous; or were able to supply them with military stores and provisions in such abundance as to enable them to invade a distant country. In all the successive expeditions, the fleets of the Genoese, of the Pisans, or of the Venetians, kept on the coast as the armies advanced by land, and supplying them, from time to time, with whatever was wanting, engrossed all the profits of a branch of commerce which, in every age, has been extremely lucrative. It was with all the interested attention of merchants, that the Italians afforded their aid. On the reduction of any place in which they found it for their interest to settle, they obtained from the crusaders valuable immunities of different kinds; freedom of trade; an abatement of the usual duties paid for what was imported and exported, or a total exemption from them; the property of entire suburbs in some cities, and of extensive streets in others; and a privilege granted to every person who resided within their precincts, or who traded under their protection, of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment*. In consequence of so many advantages, we can trace, during the progress of the crusades, a rapid increase of wealth and of power in all the commercial states of Italy. Every port open to trade was frequented by their merchants, who, having now engrossed entirely the commerce of the East, strove with such active emulation to find new markets for the commodities which it furnished, that they extended a trade for them to many parts of Eu-

rope in which they had hitherto been little known.

Religious Ceremonies observed by the Jesuits, upon the delivery of a knife to the assassin of Henry III. of France; from the Gentleman's Magazine, March 1791.

THE recital, which I now send you, of certain "abhorred rites," said to have been in use amongst the traitorous sons of Loyola, is copied, *verbatim & literatim*, from a MS. in my possession, which I apprehend to be curious; though I will not answer for it, that it is not transcribed out of some old book. It has no title, nor do I know by whom it was written; but the hand appears to be of the age of queen Elizabeth, or Jas. I. It must, however, be of later date than 1589, as it refers to the murder of Henry III. of France, which happened in that year. It is rather closely written, and in a small character, on one side of a half-sheet, the water-mark of which is a flower-pot.

"When the Jesuites will stirr vp a resolucō in any man to kill a Prince, they vse this mystery, as soone as he commeth forth of theyr chamber of meditacōns wherein the tormēts of hell are most fearfully decyphered, even while he looketh gasty, the more to encourage him in his murderous resolucōn, a troupe of them doo p̄sent him w̄th a knif wrapt in a sandall, enclosed w̄thin a small iuozy cofer couered w̄th Agnus Dei environed round about w̄th characters sweetly p̄fumed; w̄ch knif

* Hist. of Charles V. vol. i. p. 34.

as soone as they take it forth they presently do besprinkle it wth holy water layeing some holy graines likewise v^o the knives haft, sayeing therewth shall that so many soules shall be deliuered out of Purg. as he shall giue strokes wth the same. Then putting the knif into the murderers sleeue they vse theys words, Goe thou worthy champiō elected by God as Jepthe wth the sword of Sampso yea of Dauid wherwth he strooke of Goliaths head the sword of Gedeō yea of Judith wherwth shee beheaded Ho!oiernes, the sword of Machabeus yea of S. Peter wherwth he cut of Malchus eare, the sword of Pope Julius the Second wherwth he wrested out of the hands of theyr princes Saluce, Finale, Rayence, Forlei, Bologne and other townes wth much bloudshed, Goe be valiaunt and the Lord fortify thine arme. Afterwards they all knee'e downe, and the cheifest of them coniureth thus, Come ye Cherubins, come Seraphins, thrones dominacōns, come ye most loving and b'essed angells, replenish this vessell of eternall glory and adorne him p^{re}sently wth the crowne of the Blessed Virgin of the Patriarchs and Martyrs, for he is now no more ours but yours, and thou o God that hast reuealed vnto him in his holy meditacōns y^{et} a tyrant and heretique ought to be

killed, and his crowne giue vnto the Catholique King, (being sequestred and set apart by vs to doo thy will,) giue him a priuy coriset, giue him wings to fly and avoyd so as those barbarous heathen may not so much as once touch his sacred members, and that he thus garded may attempt most hazardfull exployts wthout the least daunger or feare. This coniuatiō being finished, they bring him before the altar and there shew him a painted table in w^{ch} the angells are pictured houlding on James Clem^t a Jacobine and p^{re}senting him before Gods throne and sayeing: Lord behould thine arme the reuenger and executioner of thy iustice, and all Saints rising from theyr seates to giue him piace; this being done, they go all towarde him and say wth much wondring and astonishm^t, that he seemeth vnto them to be deified, and that they are amazed to see the shineing brightnes that encompasseth him, kissing his hands and feete, and concluding that they hold* for a man noe more, lastly as envying the honor and glory w^{ch} he possesseth, they say vnto him wth fighting, O would to God he had elected and chosen vs in your stead, for then we should haue bene assured not to goe into Purgatory, but directly into Heavē.

* Deest *him*. Sic in MS. orig.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Extract from "A Discourse delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, at the distribution of the prizes, December the 10th, 1790, by the President;" recommending to the young artist a studious imitation of the style of Michael Angelo.

I HAVE strongly inculcated in my former Discourses, as I do in this my last, the wisdom and necessity of previously obtaining the appropriated instruments of the art, in a first correct design, and a plain manly colouring, before any thing more is attempted. But by this I would not wish to cramp and fetter the mind, or discourage those who follow (as most of us may at one time have followed) the suggestion of a strong inclination: something must be conceded to great and irresistible impulses: perhaps every student must not be strictly bound to general methods, if they strongly thwart the peculiar turn of his own mind. I must confess, that it is not absolutely of much consequence whether he proceeds in the general method of seeking first to acquire mechanical accuracy, before he attempts poetical flights, provided he diligently studies to attain the full perfection of the stile he pursues; whether, like Parmegiano, he endeavours at grace and grandeur of manner, before he has

learned correctness of drawing, if like him he feels his own wants, and will labour, as that eminent artist did, to supply those wants; whether he starts from the East or from the West, if he relaxes in no exertion to arrive ultimately at the same goal. The first public work of Parmegiano is the St. Eustachius, in the church of St. Petronius in Bologna, and done when he was a boy; and one of the last of his works is the Moses breaking the tables, in Parma. In the former there is certainly something of grandeur in the outline, and in the conception of the figure; which discovers the dawnings of future greatness, of a young mind impregnated with the sublimity of Michael Angelo, whose stile he here attempts to imitate, though he could not then draw the human figure with any common degree of correctness. But this same Parmegiano, when in his more mature age he painted the Moses, had so completely supplied his first defects, that we are at a loss which to admire most, the correctness of drawing, or the grandeur of the conception. As a confirmation of its great excellence, and of the impression which it leaves on the minds of elegant spectators, our great Lyric Poet, when he conceived that sublime idea of the indignant Welch Bard, acknowledged that though many years had inter-

vened,

vened, he had warmed his imagination with the remembrance of this noble figure of Parmegiano.

When we consider that Michael Angelo was the great archetype to whom Parmegiano was indebted for that grandeur which we find in his works, and from whom all his contemporaries and successors have derived whatever they have possessed of the dignified and the majestic; that he was the bright luminary, from whom painting has borrowed a new lustre; that under his hands it assumed a new appearance, and is become another and superior art; I may be excused if I take this opportunity, as I have hitherto taken every occasion, to turn your attention to this exalted founder and father of modern art, of which he was not only the inventor, but which he, by the divine energy of his own mind, carried at once to its highest point of possible perfection.

The sudden maturity to which Michael Angelo brought our art, and the comparative feebleness of his followers and imitators, might perhaps be reasonably, at least plausibly explained, if we had time for such an examination. At present, I shall only observe, that the subordinate parts of our art, and perhaps of other arts, expand themselves by a slow and progressive growth, but those which depend on a native vigour of imagination generally burst forth at once in fullness of beauty. Of this Homer probably, and Shakspear more assuredly, are signal examples. Michael Angelo possessed the poetical part to a most eminent degree; and the same daring spirit, which urged him first to explore the unknown regions of the

imagination, delighted with the novelty, and animated by the success, of his discoveries, could not have failed to stimulate and impel him forward in his career beyond those limits which his followers, destitute of the same incentives, had not strength to pass.

To distinguish between correctness of drawing, and that part which respects the imagination, we may say the one approaches to the mechanical (which in its way too may make just pretensions to genius) and the other to the poetical. To encourage a solid and vigorous course of study, it may not be amiss to suggest that perhaps a confidence in the mechanic produces boldness in the poetic. He that is sure of the goodness of his ship and tackle, puts out fearlessly from the shore; and he who knows that his hand can execute whatever his fancy can suggest, sports with more freedom in embodying the visionary forms of his own creation. I will not say Michael Angelo was eminently poetical, only because he was greatly mechanical; but I am sure that mechanic excellence invigorated and emboldened his mind to carry painting into the regions of poetry, and to emulate that art in its most adventurous flights.

Michael Angelo equally possessed both qualifications. Yet of the former, there were certainly great examples to be found in ancient sculpture, and particularly in the fragment known by the name of the Torso of Michael Angelo; but of that grandeur of character, air, and attitude, which he threw into all his figures, and which so well corresponds with the grandeur of his outline, there was no example; they could

could therefore proceed only from the most poetical and sublime imagination.

It is impossible not to express some surprize, that the race of painters, who preceded Michael Angelo, men of acknowledged great abilities, should never have thought of transferring a little of that grandeur of outline which they could not but see and admire in ancient sculpture, into their own works; but they appear to have considered sculpture as the later schools of artists look at the inventions of Michael Angelo, as something to be admired, but with which they have nothing to do. *Quod super nos, nihil ad nos.*—The artists of that age, even Raphael himself, seemed to be going on very contentedly in the dry manner of Pietro Perugino; and if Michael Angelo had never appeared, the art might still have continued in the same stile.

Besides Rome and Florence, where the grandeur of this stile was first displayed, it was on this foundation that the Caracci built the truly great Academical Bolognian School, of which the first stone was laid by Pellegrino Tibaldi. He first introduced this stile amongst them; and many instances might be given in which he appears to have possessed, as by inheritance, the true, genuine, noble, and elevated mind of Michael Angelo. Though we cannot venture to speak of him with the same fondness as his countrymen, and call him, as the Caracci did, *Nostro Michael Angelo reformato*, yet he has a right to be considered amongst the first and greatest of his followers: there are certainly many drawings and inventions of his, of which Michael Angelo himself might not disdain to be supposed the au-

thor, or that they should be, as in fact they often are, mistaken for his. I will mention one particular instance, because it is found in a book which is in every young artist's hands—Bishop's *Antient Statues*. He there has introduced a print, representing Polyphemus, from a drawing of Tibaldi, and has inscribed it with the name of Michael Angelo, to whom he has also in the same book attributed a Sybil of Raphael. Both these figures, it is true, are professedly in Michael Angelo's stile and spirit, and even worthy of his hand. But we know that the former is painted in the Institute a Bologna by Tibaldi, and the other in the *Pace* by Raphael.

The Caracci, it is acknowledged, adopted the mechanical part with sufficient success. But the divine part which addresses itself to the imagination, as possessed by Michael Angelo or Tibaldi, was beyond their grasp: they formed, however, a most respectable school, a stile more on the level, and calculated to please a greater number; and if excellence of this kind is to be valued according to the number, rather than the weight and quality of admirers, it would assume even an higher rank in art. The same may be, in some sort, said of the Venetian painters. They certainly much advanced the dignity of their stile, by adding to their fascinating powers of colouring, something of the strength of Michael Angelo; at the same time it may still be a doubt how far their ornamental elegance would be an advantageous addition to his grandeur. But if there is any manner of painting which may be said to unite kindly with his stile, it is that of Titian. His handling, the manner in which his colours are left on

the canvas, appears to proceed (as far as that goes) from a congenial mind, equally disdainful of vulgar criticism.

Michael Angelo's strength thus qualified, and made more palatable to the general taste, reminds me of an observation which I heard * a learned critic make, when it was incidentally remarked, that our translation of Homer, however excellent, did not convey the character, nor had the grand air, of the original. He replied, that if Pope had not clothed the naked majesty of Homer with the graces and elegancies of modern fashions, though the real dignity of Homer was degraded by such a dress, his translation would not have met with such a favourable reception, and he must have been contented with fewer readers.

Many of the Flemish painters, who studied at Rome, in that great æra of our art, such as Francis Floris, Hemskerck, Michael Coxis, Jerom Cock, and others, returned to their own country, with as much of this grandeur as they could carry. But like seeds, falling on a soil not prepared or adapted to their nature, the manner of Michael Angelo thrived but little with them; perhaps, however, they contributed to prepare the way for that free, unconstrained, and liberal outline, which was afterwards introduced by Rubens, through the medium of the Venetian painters.

This grandeur of stile has been in different degrees disseminated all over Europe. Some caught it by living at the time, and coming into contact with the original author, whilst others received it at second

hand; and being every where adopted, it has totally changed the whole taste and stile of design, if there could be said to be any stile before his time. Our art, in consequence, now assumes a rank to which it could never have dared to aspire, if Michael Angelo had not discovered to the world the hidden powers which it possessed. Without his assistance we never could have been convinced, that painting was capable of producing an adequate representation of the persons and actions of the heroes of the Iliad.

I would ask any man qualified to judge of such works, whether he can look with indifference at the personification of the Supreme Being in the centre of the Capella Sistina, or the figures of the Sybils which surround that chapel, to which we may add the statue of Moses; and whether the same sensations are not excited by those works, as what he may remember to have felt from the most sublime passages of Homer? I mention those figures more particularly, as they come nearer to a comparison with his Jupiter, his demi-gods, and heroes; those sybils and prophets being a kind of intermediate beings between men and angels. Though instances may be produced in the works of other painters, which may justly stand in competition with those I have mentioned, such as the Isaiah, and the vision of Ezekiel, by Raphael, the St. Mark of Frate Bartolomeo, and many others; yet these, it must be allowed, are inventions so much in Michael Angelo's manner of thinking, that they may be truly considered as so many rays, which discover manifestly the

* Dr. Johnson.

centre from whence they emanated.

The sublime in painting, as in poetry, so overpowers, and takes such a possession of the whole mind, that no room is left for attention to minute criticism. The little elegancies of art in the presence of these great ideas thus greatly expressed, lose all their value, and are, for the instant at least, felt to be unworthy of our notice. The correct judgment, the purity of taste, which characterise Raphael; the exquisite grace of Corregio and Parmegiano, all disappear before them.

That Michael Angelo was capricious in his inventions, cannot be denied; and this may make some circumspection necessary in studying his works; for though they appear to become him, an imitation of them is always dangerous, and will prove sometimes ridiculous. "In that dread circle none durst tread but he." To me, I confess, his caprice does not lower the estimation of his genius, even though it is sometimes, I acknowledge, carried to the extreme: and however those eccentric excursions are considered, we must at the same time recollect, that those faults, if they are faults, are such as never could occur to a mean and vulgar mind; that they flowed from the same source which produced his greatest beauties, and were therefore such as none but himself was capable of committing; they were the powerful impulses of a mind unused to subjection of any kind, and too high to be controuled by cold criticism.

Many see his daring extravagance, who can see nothing else.

A young artist finds the works of Michael Angelo so totally different from those of his own master, or of those with whom he is surrounded, that he may be easily persuaded to abandon and neglect studying a stile, which appears to him wild, mysterious, and above his comprehension, and which he therefore feels no disposition to admire; a good disposition; which he concludes that he should naturally have, if the stile deserved it. It is necessary, therefore, that students should be prepared for the disappointment which they may experience at their first setting out; and they must be cautioned, that probably they will not, at first sight, approve.

It must be remembered, that as this great stile itself is artificial in the highest degree, it presupposes in the spectator a cultivated and prepared artificial state of mind. It is an absurdity, therefore, to suppose we are born with this taste, though we are with the seeds of it, which by the heat and kindly influence of his genius, may be ripened in us.

A late philosopher* and critic has observed, speaking of taste, that *we are on no account to expect that fine things should descend to us,—our taste, if possible, must be made to ascend to them.* The same learned writer recommends to us *even to feign a relish, till we find a relish come; and feel, that what began in fiction, terminates in reality.* If there be in our art any thing of that agreement or compact, such as I apprehend there is in music, with which the critic is necessarily required previously to be acquainted, in order to form a correct judgment; the comparison with this art will illustrate

* James Harris, Esq.

what I have said on these points, and tend to shew the probability, we may say the certainty, that men are not born with a relish for those arts in their most refined state, which as they cannot understand, they cannot be impress'd with their effects. This great stile of Michael Angelo is as far removed from the simple representation of the common objects of nature, as the most refined Italian music is, from the inartificial notes of nature, from whence they both profess to originate. But, without such a supposed compact, we may be very confident that the highest state of refinement in either of those arts will not be relished without a long and industrious attention.

In pursuing this great art, it must be acknowledged that we labour under greater difficulties than those who were born in the age of its discovery, and whose minds from their infancy were habituated to this stile, who learnt it as language, as their mother tongue. They had no mean taste to unlearn; they needed no persuasive discourse to allure them to a favourable reception of it, no abstruse investigation of its principles to convince them of the great latent truths on which it is founded. We are constrained, in these later days, to have recourse to a sort of grammar and dictionary, as the only means of recovering a dead language. It was by them learnt by rote, and perhaps better learnt that way than by precept.

The stile of Michael Angelo, which I have compared to language, and which may, poetically speaking, be called the language of the gods, now no longer exists, as it did in the fifteenth century, yet with the aid

of diligence, we may in a great measure supply the deficiency which I mentioned, of not having his works so perpetually before our eyes; by having recourse to casts from his models and designs in sculpture; to drawings, or even copies of those drawings; to prints, which, however ill executed, still convey something by which this taste may be formed; and a relish may be fixed and established in our minds for this grand stile of invention. Some examples of this kind we have in the academy; and I sincerely wish there were more, that the younger students might, in their first nourishment, imbibe this taste; whilst others, though settled in the practice of the common-place stile of painting, might infuse, by this means, a grandeur into their works.

I shall now make some remarks on the course which I think most proper to be pursued in such a study. I wish you not to go so much to the derivative streams, as to the fountain-head; though the copies are not to be neglected, because they may give you hints in what manner you may copy, and how the genius of one man may be made to fit the peculiar manner of another.

To recover this lost taste, I would recommend young artists to study the works of Michael Angelo, as he himself did the works of the ancient sculptors; he began, when a child, a copy of a mutilated satyr's head, and finished in his model what was wanting in the original. In the same manner, the first exercise that I would recommend to the young artist, when he first attempts invention, is to select every figure, if possible, from the inventions

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tions of Michael Angelo. If such borrowed figures will not bend to his purpose, and he is constrained to make a change, or supply a figure himself, that figure will necessarily be in the same stile with the rest, and his taste will by this means be naturally initiated; and nursed in the lap of grandeur. He will sooner perceive what constitutes this grand stile by one practical trial than by a thousand speculations, and he will in some sort procure to himself that advantage which in these later ages has been denied him; the advantage of having the greatest of artists for his master and instructor.

The next lesson should be, to change the purpose of the figures without changing the attitude, as Tintoret has done with the Sampson of Michael Angelo. Instead of the figure which Sampson bestrides, he has placed an eagle under him, and instead of the jaw-bone, thunder and lightening in his right hand, and it becomes a Jupiter. Titian, in the same manner, has taken the figure which represents God dividing the light from the darkness, in the vault of the Capella Sestina, and has introduced it in the famous battle of Cadore, so much celebrated by Vasari; and, extraordinary as it may seem, it is here converted to a general falling from his horse. A real judge who should look at this picture, would immediately pronounce the attitude of that figure to be in a greater stile than any other figure of the composition. These two instances may be sufficient, though many more might be given in their works, as well as in those of other great artists.

When the student has been habituated to this grand conception of the art, when the relish for this stile is established; makes a part of himself; and is woven into his mind, he will, by this time, have got a power of selecting from whatever occurs in nature that is grand, and corresponds with that taste which he has now acquired, and will pass over whatever is common-place and insipid. He may then bring to the mart such works of his own proper invention as may enrich and encrease the general stock of invention in our art.

I am confident of the truth and propriety of the advice which I have recommended; at the same time I am aware how much, by this advice, I have laid myself open to the sarcasms of those critics who imagine our art to be a matter of inspiration. But I should be sorry it should appear even to myself that I wanted that courage which I have recommended to the students in another way: equal courage perhaps is required in the adviser and the advised; they both must equally dare, and bid defiance to narrow criticism and vulgar opinion.

That the art has been in a gradual state of decline, from the age of Michael Angelo to the present, must be acknowledged; and we may reasonably impute this declension to the same cause to which the ancient critics and philosophers have imputed the corruption of eloquence. Indeed the same causes are likely at all times and in all ages to produce the same effects: indolence—not taking the same pains—desiring to find a shorter

way—is the general imputed cause. The words of Petrosius* are very remarkable. After opposing the natural chaste beauty of the eloquence of former ages to the strained inflated stile then in fashion, “Neither,” says he, “has the art of Painting had a better fate, after the boldness of the Egyptians had found out a compendious way to execute so great an art.”

By *compendious*, I understand him to mean a mode of painting, such as has infected the stile of the later painters of Italy and France; common-place without thought, and with as little trouble, working as by a receipt, in contradistinction from that stile for which even a relish cannot be acquired without care and long attention, and most certainly the power of executing, not without the most laborious application.

I have endeavoured to stimulate the ambition of artists to tread in this great path of glory, and, as well as I can, have pointed out the track which leads to it, and have at the same time told them the price at which it may be obtained. It is an ancient saying, that labour is the price which the gods have set upon every thing valuable.

The great artist who has been so much the subject of the present discourse, was distinguished even from his infancy for his indefatigable diligence; and this was continued through his whole life, till prevented by extreme old age. The poorest of men, as he observed himself, did not labour from necessity, more

than he did from choice. Indeed; from all the circumstances related of his life, he appears not to have had the least conception that his art was to be acquired by any other means than by great labour; and yet he, of all men that ever lived, might make the greatest pretensions to the efficacy of native genius and inspiration. I can have no doubt that he would have thought it no disgrace to have it said of him, as he himself said of Raphael, † that he did not possess his art from nature, but by long study. He was conscious that the great excellence to which he arrived was gained by dint of labour; and was unwilling to have it thought that any transcendent skill, however natural its effects might seem, could be purchased at a cheaper price than he had paid for it. This seems to have been the true drift of his observation. We cannot suppose it made with any intention of depreciating the genius of Raphael, of whom he always spoke, as Condivi says, with the greatest respect: though they were rivals, no such illiberality existed between them; and Raphael on his part entertained the greatest veneration for Michael Angelo, as appears from the speech which is recorded of him, that he congratulated himself, and thanked God that he was born in the same age.

If the high esteem and veneration in which Michael Angelo has been held by all nations and in all ages, should be put to the account of prejudice, it must still be granted that those prejudices could not have

* *Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tum magnæ artis compendiarium invenit.*

† “*Che Raffaello non ebbe quest' arte da natura ma per lungo studio.*”

been

been entertained without a cause: the ground of our prejudice then becomes the source of our admiration. But from whatever it proceeds, or whatever it is called, it will not, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me to appear in the train, I cannot say of his imitators, but of his admirers. I have taken another course, one more suited to my abilities, and to the taste of the times in which I live. Yet however unequal I feel myself to that attempt, were I now to begin the world again, I would tread in the steps of that great master: to kiss the hem of his garment; to catch the slightest of his perfections, would be glory and distinction enough for an ambitious man.

I feel a self-congratulation in knowing myself capable of such sensations as he intended to excite. I reflect not without vanity, that these Discourses bear testimony of my admiration of that truly divine man; and I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this academy, and from this place, might be the name of—MICHAEL ANGELO.

On the excellence of the British Constitution; from "An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

WHAT has been said of the Roman empire, is at least as true of the British constitution—*"Ocing-ntorum annorum fortuna, disciplinaque, compages hæc coaluit; quæ conuelli sine conuellentium exitio non potest."*—This British constitution has not been struck out at an heat by a set of presumptuous men, like the assembly of pettifoggers run mad in Paris,

" 'Tis not the hasty product of a day,
" But the well-ripen'd fruit of wise
" delay."

It is the result of the thoughts of many minds, in many ages. It is no simple, no superficial thing, nor to be estimated by superficial understandings. An ignorant man, who is not fool enough to meddle with his clock, is however sufficiently confident to think he can safely take to pieces, and put together at his pleasure, a moral machine of another guise importance and complexity, composed of far other wheels, and springs, and balances, and counteracting and co-operating powers. Men little think how immorally they act in rashly meddling with what they do not understand. Their delusive good intention is no sort of excuse for their presumption. They who truly mean well must be fearful of acting ill. The British constitution may have its advantages pointed out to wise and reflecting minds; but it is of too high an order of excellence to be adapted to those which are common. It takes in too many views, it makes too many combinations, to be so much as comprehended by shallow and superficial understandings. Profound thinkers will know it in its reason and spirit, 'The less enquiring will recognize it 'in their feelings and their experience. They will thank God they have a standard, which, in the most essential point of this great concern, will put them on a par with the most wise and knowing.

If we do not take to our aid the foregone studies of men reputed intelligent and learned, we shall be always beginners. But in effect, men must learn somewhere; and

the new teachers mean no more than what they effect, that is, to deprive men of the benefit of the collected wisdom of mankind, and to make them blind disciples of their own particular presumption. Talk to these deluded creatures, (all the disciples and most of the masters) who are taught to think themselves so newly fitted up and furnished, and you will find nothing in their houses but the refuse of *Kuavies Acres*; nothing but the rotten stuff, worn out in the service of delusion and sedition in all ages, and which being newly furnished up, patched, and varnished, serves well enough for those who being unacquainted with the conflict which has always been maintained between the sense and the nonsense of mankind, know nothing of the former existence and the antient refutation of the same follies. It is near two thousand years since it has been observed, that these devices of ambition, avarice, and turbulence, were antiquated. They are, indeed, the most antient of all common places; common places, sometimes of good and necessary causes; more frequently of the worst, but which decide upon neither.—*Eadem semper causa, libido et avaritia, et mutandarum rerum amor.— Ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina pretextantur; nec quisquam alienum servitium, et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.*

Rational and experienced men, tolerably well know, and have always known, how to distinguish between true and false liberty; and between the genuine adherence and the false pretence to what is true. But none, except those who ate profoundly studied, can comprehend the elaborate contrivance of a fa-

bric fitted to unite private and public liberty with public force, with order, with peace, with justice, and, above all, with the contrivances formed for bestowing permanence and stability through ages, upon this invaluable whole.

Place, for instance, before your eyes, such a man as Montesquieu. Think of a genius not born in every country, or every time; a man gifted by nature with a penetrating aquiline eye; with a judgment prepared with the most extensive erudition; with an herculean robustness of mind, and nerves not to be broken with labour; a man who could spend twenty years in one pursuit. Think of a man, like the universal patriarch in Milton (who had drawn up before him in his prophetic vision the whole series of the generations which were to issue from his loins) a man capable of placing in review, after having brought together, from the east, the west, the north, and the south, from the coarseness of the rudest barbarism to the most refined and subtle civilization, all the schemes of government which had ever prevailed amongst mankind, weighing, measuring, collating, and comparing them all, joining fact with theory, and calling into council, upon all this infinite assemblage of things, all the speculations which have fatigued the understandings of profound reasoners in all times!—Let us then consider, that all these were but so many preparatory steps to qualify a man, and such a man, tinctured with no national prejudice, with no domestic affection, to admire, and to hold out to the admiration of mankind, the constitution of England! And shall we Englishmen revoke to such a suit?

Shall

Shall we, when so much more than he has produced, remains still to be understood and admired, instead of keeping ourselves in the schools of real science, choose for our teachers men incapable of being taught, whose only claim to know is, that they have never doubted; from whom we can learn nothing but their own indocility; who would teach us to scorn what in the silence of our hearts we ought to adore?

Different from them are all the great critics. They have taught us one essential rule. I think the excellent and philosophic artist a true judge, as well as a perfect follower of nature, Sir Joshua Reynolds, has somewhere applied it, or something like it, in his own profession. It is this, That if ever we should find ourselves disposed not to admire those writers, Livy and Virgil for instance, whom all the learned had admired, not to follow our own fancies, but to study them until we know how and what we ought to admire; and if we cannot arrive at this combination of admiration with knowledge, rather to believe that we are dull, than that the rest of the world has been imposed on. It is as good a rule, at least, with regard to this admired constitution. We ought to understand it according to our measure; and to venerate where we are not able presently to comprehend.

Such were our fathers to whom we owe this splendid inheritance. Let us improve it with zeal, but with fear. Let us follow our ancestors, men not without a rational, though without an exclusive confidence in themselves; who, by respecting the reason of others, who, by looking backward as well as forward, by the modesty as well as

by the energy of their minds, went on, insensibly drawing this constitution nearer and nearer to its perfection by never departing from its fundamental principles, nor introducing any amendment which had not a subsisting root in the laws, constitution, and usages of the kingdom.

Discussion of the question, "What do we mean when we say the PEOPLE?" From the same.

IN a state of *rude* nature there is no such thing as a people. A number of men in themselves have no collective capacity. The idea of a people is the idea of a corporation. It is wholly artificial; and made like all other legal fictions by common agreement. What the particular nature of that agreement was, is collected from the form into which the particular society has been cast. Any other is not their covenant. When men, therefore, break up the original compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a state, they are no longer a people; they have no longer a corporate existence; they have no longer a legal coercive force to bind within, nor a claim to be recognized abroad. They are a number of vague loose individuals, and nothing more. With them all is to begin again. Alas! they little know how many a weary step is to be taken before they can form themselves into a mass, which has a true political personality.

We hear much from men, who have not acquired their harshness of assertion from the profundity of their thinking, about the omnipotence of a *majority*, in such a dissolution of an ancient society as hath

taken place in France. But amongst men so disbanded, there can be no such thing as majority or minority, or power in any one person to bind another. The power of acting by a majority, which the gentlemen theorists seem to assume so readily, after they have violated the contract out of which it has arisen, (if at all it existed) must be grounded on two assumptions; first, that of an incorporation produced by unanimity; and secondly, an unanimous agreement, that the act of a mere majority (say of one) shall pass with them and with others as the act of the whole.

We are so little affected by things which are habitual, that we consider this idea of the decision of a majority as if it were a law of our original nature: but such constructive whole, residing in a part only, is one of the most violent fictions of positive law, that ever has been or can be made on the principles of artificial incorporation. Out of civil society nature knows nothing of it; nor are men, even when arranged according to civil order, otherwise than by very long training, brought at all to submit to it. The mind is brought far more easily to acquiesce in the proceedings of one man, or a few, who act under a general procurator for the state, than in the vote of a victorious majority in councils in which every man has his share in the deliberation. For there the beaten party are exasperated and soured by the previous contention, and mortified by the conclusive defeat. This mode of decision, where wills may be so nearly equal, where, according to circumstances, the smaller number may be the stronger force, and where apparent reason may be all

upon one side, and on the other little else than impetuous appetite; all this must be the result of a very particular and special convention, confirmed afterwards by long habits of obedience, by a sort of discipline in society, and by a strong hand, vested with stationary permanent power, to enforce this sort of constructive general will. What organ it is that shall declare the corporate mind is so much a matter of positive arrangement, that several states, for the validity of several of their acts, have required a proportion of voices much greater than that of a mere majority. These proportions are so entirely governed by convention, that in some cases the minority decides. The laws in many countries to condemn require more than a mere majority; less than an equal number to acquit. In our judicial trials we require unanimity either to condemn or to absolve. In some incorporations one man speaks for the whole; in others, a few. Until the other day, in the constitution of Poland, unanimity was required to give validity to any act of their great national council or diet. This approaches much more nearly to rude nature than the institutions of any other country. Such, indeed, every commonwealth must be, without a positive law to recognize in a certain number the will of the entire body.

If men dissolve their antient incorporation, in order to regenerate their community, in that state of things each man has a right, if he pleases, to remain an individual. Any number of individuals, who can agree upon it, have an undoubted right to form themselves into a state apart and wholly independent. If any of these is

† forced

forced into the fellowship of another, this is conquest and not compact. On every principle, which supposes society to be in virtue of a free covenant, this compulsive incorporation must be null and void.

As a people can have no right to a corporate capacity without universal consent, so neither have they a right to hold exclusively any lands in the name and title of a corporation. On the scheme of the present rulers in our neighbouring country, regenerated as they are, they have no more right to the territory called France than I have. I have a right to pitch my tent in any unoccupied place I can find for it; and I may apply to my own maintenance any part of their unoccupied soil. I may purchase the house or vineyard of any individual proprietor who refuses his consent (and most proprietors have, as far as they dared, refused it) to the new incorporation. I stand in his independent place. Who are these insolent men, calling themselves the French nation, that would monopolize this fair domain of nature? Is it because they speak a certain jargon? Is it their mode of chattering, to me unintelligible, that forms their title to my land? Who are they who claim by prescription and descent from certain gangs of banditti called Franks, and Burgundians, and Visigoths, of whom I may have never heard, and ninety-nine out of an hundred of themselves certainly never have heard; whilst at the very time they tell me, that prescription and long possession form no title to property? Who are they that presume to assert that the land which I purchased of the individual, a natural person, and

not a fiction of state, belongs to them, who in the very capacity in which they make their claim can exist only as an imaginary being, and in virtue of the very prescription which they reject and disown? This mode of arguing might be pushed into all the detail, so as to leave no sort of doubt, that on their principles, and on the sort of footing on which they have thought proper to place themselves, the crowd of men on the other side of the channel, who have the impudence to call themselves a people, can never be the lawful exclusive possessors of the soil. By what they call reasoning without prejudice, they leave not one stone upon another in the fabric of human society. They subvert all the authority which they hold, as well as all that which they have destroyed.

As in the abstract, it is perfectly clear, that, out of a state of civil society, majority and minority are relations which can have no existence; and that in civil society, its own specific conventions in each incorporation, determine what it is that constitutes the people, so as to make their act the signification of the general will; so it is, in particular, equally clear, that neither in France nor in England has the original, or any subsequent compact of the state, expressed or implied, constituted a majority of men, told by the head, to be the acting people of their several communities. And I see as little of policy or utility as there is of right, in laying down a principle that a majority of men told by the head are to be considered as the people, and that as such their will is to be law. What policy can there be found in arrangements made

made in defiance of every political principle? To enable men to act with the weight and character of a people, and to answer the ends for which they are incorporated into that capacity, we must suppose them (by means immediate or consequential) to be in that state of habitual social discipline, in which the wiser, the more expert, and the more opulent, conduct, and by conducting enlighten and protect the weaker, the less knowing, and the less provided with the goods of fortune. When the multitude are not under this discipline, they can scarcely be said to be in civil society. Give once a certain constitution of things, which produces a variety of conditions and circumstances in a state, and there is in nature and reason a principle which, for their own benefit, postpones, not the interest but the judgment, of those who are *numero plures*, to those who are *virtute et honore minores*. Numbers in a state (supposing, which is not the case of the French, that a state does exist) are always of consideration—but they are not the whole consideration. It is in things more serious than a play, that it may be truly said, *satis est equitem mihi plaudere*.

A true natural aristocracy is not a separate interest in the state, or separable from it. It is an essential integrant part of any large people rightly constituted. It is formed out of a class of legitimate presumptions, which, taken as generalities, must be admitted for actual truths. To be bred in a place of estimation; to see nothing low and sordid from one's infancy; to be taught to respect one's self; to be habituated to the censorial inspection of the public eye; to look

early to public opinion; to stand upon such elevated ground as to be enabled to take a large view of the wide-spread and infinitely diversified combinations of men and affairs in a large society; to have leisure to read, to reflect, to converse; to be enabled to draw the court and attention of the wise and learned wherever they are to be found; to be habituated in armies to command and to obey; to be taught to despise danger in the pursuit of honour and duty; to be formed to the greatest degree of vigilance, foresight, and circumspection, in a state of things in which no fault is committed with impunity, and the slightest mistakes draw on the most ruinous consequences—to be led to a guarded and regulated conduct, from a sense that you are considered as an instructor of your fellow-citizens in their highest concerns, and that you act as a reconciler between God and man—to be employed as an administrator of law and justice, and to be thereby amongst the first benefactors to mankind—to be a professor of high science, or of a liberal and ingenuous art—to be amongst rich traders, who from their success are presumed to have sharp and vigorous understandings, and to possess the virtues of diligence, order, constancy, and regularity, and to have cultivated an habitual regard to commutative justice.—These are the circumstances of men, who form what I should call a *natural aristocracy*, without which there is no nation.

The state of civil society, which necessarily generates this aristocracy, is a state of nature; and much more truly so than a savage and incoherent mode of life; for
man

man is by nature reasonable, and he is never perfectly in his natural state, but when he is placed where reason may be best cultivated, and most predominates. Art is man's nature. We are as much, at least, in a state of nature in formed manhood, as in immature and helpless infancy. To give no more importance, in the social order, to such descriptions of men as I have stated, than that of so many units, is an horrible usurpation. Men so qualified form in nature, as she operates in the common modification of society, the leading, guiding, and governing part. It is the soul to the body, without which the man does not exist.

When great multitudes act together, under that discipline of nature, I recognize the PEOPLE. I acknowledge something that perhaps equals, and ought always to guide, the sovereignty of convention. In all things the voice of this grand chorus of national harmony ought to have a mighty and decisive influence. But when you disturb this harmony; when you break up this beautiful order, this array of truth and nature, as well as of habit and prejudice; when you separate the common sort of men from their proper chieftains, so as to form them into an adverse army, I no longer know that venerable object called the people in such a disbanded race of deserters and vagabonds. For a while they may be terrible indeed; but in such a manner as wild beasts are terrible. The mind owes to them no sort of submission. They are, as they have always been reputed, rebels. They may lawfully be fought with, and brought under, whenever an ad-

vantage offers. Those who attempt by outrage and violence to deprive men of any advantage which they hold under the laws, and to destroy the order of life, proclaim war against them.

Observations on the tenure by which the Tacksmen of the Highlands formerly held their Farms, and on their expulsion from them in modern times; from "Prospects and Observations on a Tour in England and Scotland, by Thomas Newte, Esq."

THE tacksmen of the Highlands were usually descendants of those heads of families of whom they held their lands. In former times, as is generally known, before the introduction, at least before the improvement of arts and commerce, in Scotland, there were no other ways in which gentlemen had it in their power to make provision for their younger sons, than to send them into foreign military service, or to settle them on portions of their own estates, reserving to themselves and the elder branches of the family certain annual rents and services. These grants were not understood to be temporary, or revocable at the caprice of any succeeding feudal superior, but perpetual. The chief who made them, concerned for the welfare and stability of all his children, or rather near relations, consulted their happiness by placing them in advantageous farms; and the dignity, at the same time, of the representatives of his family, by the demesnes that remained in their own hands, as well as by the annual

annual rents already mentioned, paid for the most part in kind, and therefore commutable, at any given period, with the varying value of money. It is not to be presumed, in fair and equitable construction, that the farms, or conditional grants of lands, were ever intended to be revoked, while the original motive for making them remained undiminished. But that motive not only remained undiminished, but every day, by the increase of those to be provided for (and the warm attachment of the ancient Scots to their kindred is universally allowed), was strengthened.

In some periods and in some places those grants of farms were made by a conveyance emblematical and verbal: in other periods, and other places, not only by means of emblems, but in writing. In Argyleshire, and on the eastern side of the Highlands, it became common to convey land, and make other transferences of property in writing, at a time when letters were but little known, and less in use, in those quarters that were cut off by their remote situation from that intercourse which introduced the art and practice of writing into the districts contiguous to the civilized Lowlands. Hence it very naturally happened, that in the southern parts of Argyleshire, in Perthshire, Aberdeenshire, Murray, and Ross, grants of land were made in writing, while in Invernesshire, Sutherlandshire, the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the Western Islands, the old mode was continued, of verbal or emblematical transference. In Rossshire, particularly, it would appear that letters, and the use of letters in civil affairs, had been early introduced and widely spread;

for property is more equally divided in that county than in most other counties in Scotland, and than in any other of the Highlands. Agreeably to these observations, it is from the great estates on the northern and western sides of Scotland, that the descendants of the original tacksmen of the land, with their families, have been obliged to migrate by the positive and unrelenting demands of rent beyond what it was in their power to give, and indeed, in violation of those conditions that were understood, and observed between the original grantor and original tenant, and their posterity, for centuries. In all other countries, and in all other cases, civil rights are confirmed by antiquity of possession. By a strange perversity of circumstances, it has happened in the northern part of this island, and, it seems, may happen, that a right of property in land is not confirmed by length of time, but undermined and subverted. It is not undoubtedly, that there is any thing magical in a piece of paper or parchment marked by certain figures, that written documents are accounted a proper conveyance of property in land or other tenements: No. To assert this, would be to confound the substance with the shadow. Written records are of no other authority than as far as they serve to declare the mutual consent of the contracting parties. This consent, before the use of letters, was more emphatically declared by the mutual deliverance and acceptance of stone and earth, or other symbols: and so natural and expressive did this practice, which was called *seisin*, appear to the common sense of mankind, that it has not yet been wholly superseded by the use of letters, either in Scotland

or England. Seisin, occupancy, long and uninterrupted possession, form the most substantial right that is generally to be found to any species of property. Yet this right, so plain, so palpable, and universally respected by men and nations, has been openly and flagrantly violated in the case of the unfortunate tacksmen. This class of men, bred up in an hereditary attachment to the heads of their families, must, no doubt, be equally surprised and grieved at a sudden call, as if they were strangers, either to come forward with exorbitant rents, or to leave for ever the beloved haunts of their youth, the seats of their ancestors for ages, the kindred soil over which the genii of their forefathers seemed still to hover, and to which their souls steadfastly cleave with a kind of filial affection.

The enormity of that treatment, they insist, which has occasioned the emigration of so great a number of the middling gentry, who form the strength, and do the honours, as it were, of the country, is aggravated by the consideration that there was a period when the chief, who expels the tacksman from his hereditary possession, had himself no other right to his dominion than that of occupancy, though a written charter was procured afterwards. The king, or commander in chief of the army, parcelled out the land to his officers, on the necessary and obvious condition, that they should maintain, and be ready to bring into the field, a certain force for the support of that government under the authority of which they held their new possessions. The chiefs who held directly of the crown distributed the greater part of their lands among the most distinguished and most favoured of

their adherents, generally of their own blood, on conditions similar to those on which they themselves held their estates of the lord paramount: these feudal vassals let smaller lots, under the name of ploughs of land, on similar conditions, to the husbandmen; and these again sub-let pendicles to the great body of the labouring people. The same analogy ran throughout the whole feudal system, from the throne to the lowest cottager. Neither the grant of the extensive domain to the immediate tenant of the crown, nor that of the tenant of the crown to his vassal, nor that of his vassal to the husbandman, nor that of the husbandman to the pendicler and cotter, was, in the earliest times of feudality, absolute and perpetual, but conditional, and originally understood to be only for life; as appears from certain fines that were levied, when the son or next heir was permitted to succeed to the possession of his father. But sanction and security were diffused over the possessions of the chief by the venerable veil of time; which, if it is at all to be respected, ought to protect the inheritance of a vassal to a subject, as well as that of the vassal of the crown.

The actual system of landed property in the west of Europe, has varied its form with the prevailing character of successive ages. It has been accommodated to the rude simplicity of the more ancient times, as well as to the feudal chivalry of the middle ages. In the present times, it is every where subjected to a new modification, from the genius and maxims of a commercial age, and from encreasing industry and cultivation. But from this modification, flagrant oppressions have arisen;

arisen; the lordly chief applying the maxims of an age in which money is the universal representative, and letters the universal media of transferring property, to establishments founded in times when the great proprietors of land, wholly employed in hunting, military exploits, and rude conviviality, never dreamed of encreasing their fortunes by means of commerce; which if they had known, they would have disdained. The glory of the chief was the glory of all his kindred and name; and the numbers and fidelity of his vassals and tenants, again, were what constituted the power and consequence of their chief. The produce of the land, corn, cattle, fish, and game, were spent on the estate, but chiefly at the mansion-houses of the great, in generous hospitality. And in those times, the highlanders were better fed, and in general, finer men than they are at present. For now the cattle, the salmon, and the very game, are either carried, or driven out of the country; nor has the faint dawn of commerce been yet able to supply that abundance which preceded it.

It is in these circumstances, when the rude majesty, and the strong attachments of feudal times have been exchanged for a general venality, according to the language of some, or a spirit of commerce and improvement, according to that of others, that certain highland chiefs have dared to dispossess their vassals of tenements inherited by their families antecedently to the use of letters.

Historical account of the erection of the Edystone Lighthouses; extracted from "A narrative of the building, and a description of the con-

struction of the Edystone Light-house with stone. By John Smeaton, Civil Engineer, F. R. S."

THE Edystone Rocks are supposed to have got this appellation from the great variety of contrary sets of the tide or current amongst and in the vicinity thereof, both upon the tide of flood and the tide of ebb. They are situated nearly S. S. W. from the middle of Plymouth Sound, according to the true meridian; and the distance, as nearly as can be collected, is twelve and a half miles; and from the same point in the Sound to the Jetty Head, called the Barbican, in the port of Plymouth, is a mile and a half more, which makes the distance of the Edystone from the port of Plymouth to be nearly fourteen miles.

The promontory called Ram Head is the nearest point of land to the Edystone, which bears from thence South scarcely one point West, distant about ten miles, and consequently by the compass is nearly S. W. by S.—Those rocks are nearly in a line, but somewhat within that line which joins the *Start* and the *Lizard Points*; and as they lie nearly in the direction of vessels coasting up and down the Channel, they must, before a lighthouse was established thereon, have been very dangerous, and often fatal to ships under such circumstances: and many rich ships and other vessels have, in former times, been actually lost upon those rocks, particularly such as were homeward-bound from foreign parts; it being even now a common thing, in foggy and thick hazy weather, for homeward-bound ships from long foreign voyages to make the Edystone Lighthouse as the first point

point of land of Great Britain; so that in the night, and nearly at high water, when the whole range of these rocks are covered, the most careful mariner might run his ship upon them, if nothing was placed there by way of warning.

The many fatal accidents which so frequently happened, made it a thing very desirable to have a lighthouse built thereon, and that for many years before any competent undertaker appeared. At length, however, we learn, that in the year 1696, Mr. Henry Winstanley, of Littlebury, in the county of Essex, Gent. was not only hardy enough to undertake it, but was furnished with the necessary powers to put it in execution. This, it is supposed, was done in virtue of the general powers lodged in the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Trinity-house at *Deptford Strand* to erect sea-marks, &c. by a statute of queen Elizabeth, whereby they are empowered "to erect and set up beacons, marks and signs for the sea, needful for avoiding the dangers; and to renew, continue, and maintain the same." But whether Mr. Winstanley was a proprietor or sharer of the undertaking under the Trinity-house, or only the directing engineer employed in the execution, does not now appear.

This gentleman had distinguished himself in a certain branch of mechanics, the tendency of which is to raise wonder and surprise. He had at his house at Littlebury a set of contrivances, such as the following:—Being taken into one particular room of his house, and there

observing an old slipper carelessly lying on the middle of the floor,—if, as was natural, you gave it a kick with your foot, up started a ghost before you: if you sat down in a certain chair, a couple of arms would immediately clasp you in, so as to render it impossible to disentangle yourself till your attendant set you at liberty: and if you sat down in a certain arbour by the side of a canal, you was forthwith sent out afloat to the middle of the canal, from whence it was impossible for you to escape till the manager returned you to your former place.—Whether those things were shewn to strangers at his house for money, or were done by way of amusement to those that came to visit the place, is uncertain, as Mr. Winstanley is said to have been a man of some property: but it is at least certain, that he established a place of public exhibition at Hyde Park Corner, called Winstanley's Water-works, which were shewn at stated times at one shilling each person. The particulars of those water-works are not now known; but, according to the taste of the times, we must naturally suppose a great variety of *jets d'eau*, &c.*

The lighthouse Mr. Winstanley built was begun in the year 1696, and was more than four years in building; "Not," says the architect, "for the greatness of the work, but for the difficulty and danger in getting backwards and forwards to the place. The difficulties were many, and the dangers not less. At length, in the third year, all the work was raised, which to the vane

* It appears that the exhibition of these water-works continued some years after the death of Mr. Winstanley, as they were existing in the month of Sept. 1709, being mentioned in the *Tatler* of that date.

was eighty feet. Being all finished, with the lantern, and all the rooms that were in it, they ventured to lodge there soon after Midsummer, for the greater dispatch of the work. But the first night the weather came bad, and so continued, that it was eleven days before any boats could come near them again, and, not being acquainted with the height of the sea rising, they were almost all the time drowned with wet, and their provisions in as bad a condition, though they worked night and day to make shelter for themselves. In this storm they lost some of their materials, although they did what they could to save them; but the boat then returning, they all left the house to be refreshed on shore; and as soon as the weather permitted, they returned again and finished all, and put up the light on the 14th of Nov. 1698; which being so late in the year, it was three days before Christmas before they had relief to get on shore again, and were almost at the last extremity for want of provisions; but by good providence, then two boats came with provisions, and the family that was to take care of the light.

The fourth year, finding in the winter the effects the sea had upon the house, and burying the lantern at times, although more than 60 feet high; Mr. Winstanley early in the spring encompassed the building with a new work of four feet thickness from the foundation, making all solid near 20 feet high; and taking down the upper part of the first building, and enlarging every part in its proportion, he raised it forty feet higher than it was at first; and yet the sea, in time of storms, flew in appearance 100 feet

above the vanç; and at times covered half the side of the house and the lantern, as if they were under water.

On the finishing this building, it was generally said, that in the time of hard weather, such was the height of the seas, that it was very possible for a six-oared boat to be lifted up upon a wave, and driven through the open gallery of the lighthouse.

In Nov. 1703, the fabric wanted some repairs, and Mr. Winstanley went down to Plymouth to superintend the performance of them. The opinion of the common people was, that the building would not be of long duration. Mr. Winstanley, however, held different sentiments. Being amongst his friends previous to his going off with his workmen on account of those reparations, the danger was intimated to him; and it was said, that one day or other the lighthouse would certainly be overset. To this he replied, "He was so well assured of the strength of his building, he should only wish to be there in the greatest storm that ever blew under the face of the heavens, that he might see what effect it would have upon the structure."

In this wish he was too soon gratified; for while he was there with his workmen and light-keepers, that dreadful storm began which raged the most violently upon the 26th Nov. 1703, in the night; and of all the accounts of the kind which history furnishes us with, we have none that has exceeded this in Great Britain, or was more injurious or extensive in its devastation.

The next morning, when the storm was abated, nothing of the lighthouse

lighthouse was to be seen. The following account of its destruction was printed at the time, by Daniel Defoe, in a book intitled *THE STORM*:

“The loss of the lighthouse called the Edystone, at Plymouth, is another article of which we never heard any particulars, other than this, that at night it was standing, and in the morning all the upper part of the gallery was blown down, and all the people in it perished, and, by a particular misfortune, Mr. Winstanley the contriver of it; a person whose loss is very much regretted by such as knew him, as a very useful man to his country. The loss of that lighthouse is also a considerable damage, as it is very doubtful whether it will ever be attempted again; and it was a great security to the sailors, many a good ship having been lost there in former times.

“It was very remarkable, that as we are informed, at the same time the lighthouse aforesaid was blown down, the model of it in Mr. Winstanley’s house at Littlebury in Essex, above 200 miles from the lighthouse, fell down and was broken to pieces.

“At Plymouth they felt a full

proportion of the storm in its utmost fury. The Edystone has been already mentioned; but it was a double loss, in that the lighthouse had not been long down when the *Winchelsea*, a homeward-bound Virginia man, was split upon the rock where that building stood, and most of her men drowned.

The great utility of Mr. Winstanley’s lighthouse had been sufficiently evident to those for whose use it was erected; and the loss of the *Winchelsea* Virginia-man before-mentioned proved a powerful incentive to such as were interested, to exert themselves in order for its restoration. It was not, however, begun so soon as might have been expected. In spring of the year 1706, an act of parliament passed, enabling the Trinity House to rebuild, but it was not earlier than July that it was begun. The undertaker was a captain Lovell or Lovett, who took it for the term of ninety-nine years, commencing from the day that a light should be exhibited.

To enable him to fulfil his undertaking, Captain Lovett engaged Mr. John Rudyerd to be his engineer or architect; and his choice, though Mr. Rudyerd * does not appear

* Of this gentleman Mr. Smeaton gives the following account, from the information of Mr. Michell:

“Mr. Rudyerd’s father and mother were of the lowest rank of day-labourers, with a large family of children, and in as low repute in all other respects, as in point of rank; being looked upon as a worthless set of ragged beggars, whom almost nobody would employ on account of the badness of their characters. This their son, however, was, from a child, of a very different disposition from the rest; born with a good head, and an honest and good heart, in short the very reverse of the rest of the family; so that he was considered by them as a sullen boy, as he would not associate with them in going out on their pilfering schemes; and probably on that account, as hath been supposed, he ran away from them, and by good luck, and from something promising in his aspect, got into the service of a gentleman, it is believed at Plymouth; and in this station he appeared to so much advantage to his master, and became so great a favourite with him, that he gave him the opportunity

appear to have been bred to any mechanical business or scientific profession, was not ill made. He at that time kept a linen-draper's shop upon Ludgate-Hill. His want of experience, however, was in a degree assisted by Mr. Smith and Mr. Notcutt, both ship-wrights from the king's yard at Woolwich, who worked with him the whole time he was building the light-house.

It is not very material in what way this gentleman became qualified for the execution of the work; it is sufficient that he directed the performance thereof in a masterly manner, and so as perfectly to answer the end for which it was intended. He saw the errors in the former building, and avoided them: instead of a polygon, he chose a circle for the outline of his building, and carried up the elevation in that form. His principal aim appears to have been use and simplicity; and indeed, in a building so situated, the former could hardly be acquired in its full extent without the latter. He seems to have adopted ideas the very reverse of his predecessor; for all the unwieldy ornaments at top, the open gallery, the projecting cranes, and other contrivances, more for ornament and pleasure than use, Mr. Rudyerd laid totally aside: he saw, that how beautiful soever ornaments might be in themselves, yet when they are improperly applied, and

out of place, they shew a bad taste, and betray ignorance of its first principle, judgment.

The building was begun in July 1706, a light was up in it the 28th July 1708, and it was completely finished in 1709. The quantity of materials expended in the construction, was 500 tons of stone, 1,200 tons of timber, 80 tons of iron, and 35 tons of lead; of trenails, screws, and rack-bolts 2,500 each.

Louis the XIVth being at war with England during the proceeding with this building, a French privateer took the men at work upon it, together with their tools, and carried them to France; and the captain was in expectation of a reward for the achievement. While the captives lay in prison, the transaction reached the ears of that monarch. He immediately ordered them to be released, and the captors to be put in their place; declaring, that though he was at war with England, he was not at war with mankind; he therefore directed the men to be sent back to their work with presents; observing, that the Edystone lighthouse was so situated, as to be of equal service to all nations having occasion to navigate the channel that divides France from England.

In the year 1715, captain Lovett being dead, his property in the Edystone light-house was sold before a master in chancery to Robert Weston, Esq. — Noyes, Esq.

of reading, writing, accounts, and mathematics; in all which he made a very ready and great progress; and afterwards his master assisted him very greatly in life, by procuring him some employment that raised him above the rank of a servant, and laid the foundation of his future success in the world." The resolution of this gentleman, in separating himself from his worthless parents, and avoiding the evil of their bad example, are circumstances indicating a strong mind, and highly honourable to him.

Gray's-Inn; and—Cheetham, Esq. an alderman of Dublin, who divided the same into eight shares: After a few years some repairs were found wanting; and in 1723, Mr. Studyard being, we suppose, then dead, Mr. John Holland, foreman and wright in the Dock-yard at Plymouth, became overseer and director of the necessary reparations; which office he again executed in 1734. The latter end of 1744; after all the necessary repairs were finished, there happened a dreadful storm on the 26th Sept. in which the Victory was lost; which being from the east, tore away no less than thirty pieces of the uprights altogether, which in part made an opening into the store-room. This disaster, however, was entirely repaired in December following, under the direction of Mr. Josias Jessop, a quarter-man in Plymouth Dock, who had been recommended by Mr. Holland, on his own promotion to be king's builder at Deptford-yard. Mr. Holland, however, continued his good offices until his death in 1752, when the whole superintendance devolved on Mr. Jessop.

The catastrophe of this lighthouse soon after took place. On the 2d December 1755, the light-keeper then upon watch, about two o'clock in the morning, went into the lantern as usual, to snuff the candles; he found the whole in a smoke; and upon opening the door of the lantern into the balcony, a flame instantly burst from the inside of the cupola: he immediately endeavoured to alarm his companions; but they being in bed, and asleep, were not so ready in coming to his assistance as the occasion re-

quired. As there were always some leather buckets kept in the house, and a tub of water in the lantern, he attempted to extinguish the fire by throwing water from the balcony upon the outside cover of lead. By this time his companions arriving, he encouraged them to fetch up water with the buckets from the sea; but the height of the place, added to the consternation which must attend such an unexpected event, rendered their efforts fruitless. The flames gathered strength every moment; the poor man with every exertion, having the water to throw four yards higher than himself, found himself unable to stop the progress of the conflagration, and was obliged to desist.

As he was looking upward with the utmost attention to see the effect of the water thrown, a position which, physiognomists tell us, occasions the mouth naturally to be a little open, a quantity of lead dissolved by the heat of the flames suddenly rushed like a torrent from the roof, and fell upon his head, face, and shoulders, and burnt him in a dreadful manner: from this moment he had a violent internal sensation, and imagined that a quantity of this lead had passed his throat, and got into his body. Under this violence of pain and anxiety, as every attempt had proved ineffectual, and the rage of the flames was encreasing, it is not to be wondered that the terror and dismay of the three men increased in proportion; so that they all found themselves intimidated, and glad to make their retreat from the immediate scene of horror into one of the rooms below. They therefore descended as the fire approached;

proached, with no other prospect than of securing their immediate safety, with scarce any hopes of being saved from destruction.

How soon the flames were seen on the shore is uncertain; but early in the morning they were perceived by some of the Cawland fishermen, and intelligence thereof given to Mr. Edwards, of Rame, in that neighbourhood, a gentleman of some fortune, and more humanity, who immediately sent out a fishing-boat and men to the relief of the distressed objects in the lighthouse.

The boat and men got thither about ten o'clock, after the fire had been burning full eight hours; in which time the three light-keepers were not only driven from all the rooms and the staircase, but, to avoid the falling of the timber and red-hot bolts, &c. upon them, they were found sitting in the hole or cave on the east side of the rock under the iron ladder, almost in a state of stupefaction; it being then low water.

With much difficulty they were taken off; when finding it impossible to do any further service, they hastened to Plymouth. No sooner were they set on shore, than one of the men ran away, and was never afterwards heard of. This circumstance, though it might lead to suspicions unfavourable to the man, Mr. Smeaton is of opinion ought not to weigh any thing against him, as he supposes it to have arisen from a panic which sometimes seizes weak minds, and prevents their acting agreeable to the dictates of right reason.

It was not long before the dreadful news arrived at Plymouth. Alderman Tolcher and his son im-

mediately went to sea, but found it impossible to do any thing with effect. Admiral West also, who then lay in Plymouth Sound, sent a sloop properly armed, with a boat and an engine therein, which also carried out Mr. Jessop the surveyor. This vessel arrived early in the day. Many attempts were made to play the engine, but the agitation of the sea prevented it from being employed with success. On the succeeding days the fire still continued, and about the 7th the destruction of the whole was completed.

The man who has been mentioned already was named Henry Hall, of Stonehouse, near Plymouth; and though aged 94 years, being of a good constitution, was remarkably active, considering his time of life. He invariably told the surgeon who attended him, Mr. Spry (now Dr. Spry) of Plymouth, that if he would do any thing effectual to his recovery, he must relieve his stomach from the lead which he was sure was within him; and this he not only told Dr. Spry, but all those about him, though in a very hoarse voice, and the same assertion he made to Mr. Jessop.—The reality of the assertion seemed, however, then incredible to Dr. Spry, who could scarcely suppose it possible that any human being could exist after receiving melted lead into the stomach; much less that he should afterwards be able to bear towing through the sea from the rock, and also the fatigue and inconvenience from the length of time he was in getting on shore before any remedies could be applied. The man, however, did not shew any symptoms of being much worse or better until the sixth day after

after the accident, when he was thought to mend: he constantly took his medicines, and swallowed many things both liquid and solid, till the tenth or eleventh day; after which he suddenly grew worse; and on the twelfth, being seized with cold sweats and spasms, he soon after expired.

His body was opened by Dr. Spry, and in the stomach was found a solid piece of lead of a flat oval form, which weighed 7 ounces 5 drachms. So extraordinary a circumstance appearing to deserve the notice of the philosophical world, an account of it was sent to the Royal Society, and printed in the 49th volume of their Transactions, p. 477.

The lighthouse being thus demolished, the proprietors immediately turned their thoughts to the rebuilding of it. They had in it a term of near half a century, but some shares being settled by the marriage articles of one of the parties, some impediments arose which could not be overcome without the aid of parliament, which was soon obtained. To one of the partners, Robert Weston, Esq. the management of the business was committed, and he thought it requisite to apply to the earl of Macclesfield, then president of the Royal Society, to recommend a proper person to superintend the work. On communicating the object of his visit, lord Macclesfield told him, that there was one of the Royal Society whom he could venture to recommend to the business; yet that the most material part of what he knew of him was, his having within the compass of the last seven years recommended himself to the society by the communication of several mechanical inventions and improvements; and though he had at first made it his

business to execute things in the instrument way (without having been bred to the trade) yet on account of the merit of his performances, he had been chosen a member of the society; and that for about three years past, having found the business of a philosophical instrument-maker not likely to afford an adequate recompence, he had wholly applied himself to such branches of mechanics as were wanted by the proprietors; that he was then somewhere in the north of England, executing a work; and that as he had always satisfied his employers, he would not be likely to undertake what he could not perform.

The person thus described was Mr. SMEATON, who was written to by Mr. Benjamin Wilson the painter, laconically informing him, that he was the person fixed upon to rebuild the Edystone Lighthouse. But this intimation conveying to his mind no more than a mere notice, that he might, in common with others, deliver in proposals to repair it, not knowing then that it was entirely destroyed, it afforded but little satisfaction, and he returned only a cool answer. Mr. Wilson's reply was still more laconic: That the demolition was total; and that, as Nathan said unto David, "Thou art the man."

Mr. Smeaton immediately divested himself of his engagements in the North, and arrived in London the 23d of Feb. 1756, and had an interview next day with the principal proprietor. The mode of rebuilding then became the subject of their deliberations, which at length ended in a determination to rebuild it with stone.

On the 5th of April Mr. Smeaton first set his foot on the Edystone Rock. He immediately began to

take his measures for proceeding on the work. He made all the necessary enquiries on the spot, and in the neighbourhood. He considered the nature and quality of the stone proper to be used, and from whence it might be obtained at the best and

cheapest rates. He visited the quarries at Beare in Devonshire, and the Isle of Portland, and from the latter of these places he at length determined to be supplied with his materials*.

Having

* The following custom at Portland is worthy of notice. "While I was looking over the quarries at Portland," says Mr. Smeaton, "and attentively considering the operations, observing how soon the quarrymen would cut half a ton or *spawls* from an unformed block, and what large pieces flew off at every stroke; how speedily their blows followed one another, and how incessantly they pursued this labour with a tool of from 18 to 20 pound weight; I was naturally led to view and consider the figure of the operative agent; and after having observed that by far the greatest number of the quarrymen were of a very robust hardy form, in whose hands the tool I have mentioned seemed a mere play-thing, I at last broke out with surprize, and enquired of my guide Mr. Roper, where they could possibly pick up such a set of stout fellows, to handle the *scotch*, which in their hands seemed nothing; for I observed that in the space of 15 minutes, they would knock off as much waste matter from a mass of stone, as any of that occupation I had ever seen before would do in an hour. Says Roper, "We do not go to fetch those men from a distance, they are all born upon the island, and many of them have never been further upon the main land than to Weymouth." I told him I thought the air of that island must be very propitious, to furnish a breed of men so particularly formed for the business they followed. "The air," he replied, "though very sharp from our elevated situation, is certainly very healthy to working men; yet if you knew how these men are produced, you would wonder the less; for all our marriages here are productive of children." On desiring an explanation how this happened, he proceeded: "Our people here, as they are bred to hard labour, are very early in a condition to marry and provide for a family; they intermarry with one another, very rarely going to the main land to seek a wife; and it has been the custom of the island, from time immemorial, that they never marry till the woman is pregnant." But pray, says I, does not this subject you to a great number of bastards? Have not your Portlanders the same kind of fickleness in their attachments that Englishmen are subject to? and, in consequence, does not this produce many inconveniencies? "None at all," replies Roper, "for previous to my arrival here, there was but one child on record of the parish register, that had been born a bastard in the compass of 150 years. The mode of courtship here is, that a young woman never admits of the serious addresses of a young man, but on supposition of a thorough probation. When she becomes with child, she tells her mother: the mother tells her father; her father tells his father, and he tells his son, that it is then proper time to be married." But suppose, Mr. Roper, she does not prove to be with child, what happens then? Do they live together without marriage? or if they separate, is not this such an imputation upon her, as to prevent her getting another suitor? "The case is thus managed," answered my friend: "If the woman does not prove with child, after a competent time of courtship, they conclude they are not destined by providence for each other; they therefore separate; and as it is an established maxim, which the Portland women observe with a great strictness, never to admit a plurality of lovers at one time, their honour is no way tarnished: she just as soon (after the affair is declared to be broke off)

"gets

Having proceeded thus far, he returned to London, and had a meeting with the proprietors, who, for reasons highly honourable to them, confirmed their determination to rebuild with stone. He accordingly prepared his models and designs, which were approved by his employers, and directed to be exhibited to the Lords of the Admiralty, and the Masters of the Trinity House. To the former they were shewn; but the latter having fixed their time for viewing them at so distant a day as to hazard the progress of the work, he determined to set off for Plymouth without their inspection.

He arrived at Plymouth the 23d of July 1756, and immediately began his operations. He appointed his assistants, hired his men, settled their wages, and drew up rules for their conduct. He also hired a piece of ground for a work-yard. On the 3d of August they went off to the rock, and continued to work as long as the weather would permit. The next winter Mr. Smeaton determined to continue at Plymouth, to go through a course of experiments on cements. On the 3d of June 1757, the works were resumed, and on the 12th the first stone was fixed. From this time the erection proceeded with regularity and dispatch, and with no other inter-

ruptions than what might be expected from the nature of the work, until the 9th of Oct. 1759, when, after innumerable difficulties and dangers, a happy period was put to the undertaking, without the loss of life or limb to any one concerned in it, or accident by which the work could be said to be materially retarded.

It now remained only to wait for a storm to try the durability of the building. The hard weather of 1759, 1760, and 1761, appeared to make no impression. The year 1762 was ushered in by a tempest of the first magnitude, the rage of which was so great, that one of those who had been used to predict its downfall was heard to say, "If the Edystone Lighthouse is now standing, it will stand to the DAY OF JUDGMENT;" and in reality, from this time its existence has been so entirely laid out of men's minds, that whatever storms have happened since, no enquiry has ever been made concerning it. So confident was a very intelligent friend of Mr. Smeaton's of its durability, that he wrote to him, that he might for ever rid himself of any uneasy thought of the house as to its danger from wind and sea.

The Lighthouse is attended by three men, who receive 25l. a year each, with an occasional absence in

"gets another suitor, as if she had been left a widow, or that nothing had ever happened, but that she had remained an immaculate virgin." But pray, Sir, did nothing particular happen upon your men coming down from London? "Yes," says he, "our men were much struck and mightily pleased with the facility of the Portland ladies, and it was not long before several of the women proved with child; but the men being called upon to marry them, this part of the lesson they were uninstructed in; and on their refusal, the Portland women arose to stone them out of the island; inasmuch that those few who did not chuse to take their sweethearts for *better* or for *worse*, after so fair a trial, were in reality obliged to decamp; and on this occasion some few bastards were born; but since then, matters have gone on according to the ancient custom."

summer. Formerly there were only two, who watched alternately four hours and four hours; but one being taken ill and dying, the necessity of an additional hand became apparent. In this dilemma, the living man found himself in an awkward situation. Being apprehensive if he tumbled the dead body into the sea, which was the only way in his power to dispose of it, he might be charged with murder, he was induced for some time to let the dead body lie, in hopes that the boat might be able to land, and relieve him from the distress he was in. By degrees the body became so offensive, that it was not in his power to get quit of it without help; for it was near a month before the attending boat could effect a landing; and then it was not without the greatest difficulty that it could be done, when they did land. To such a degree was the whole building filled with the stench of the corpse, that it was all they could do to get the dead body disposed of and thrown into the sea, and it was some time after that before the rooms could be freed from the noisome stench that was left.

It is said, that while two light-keepers only were employed, on some disgust they forbore to speak to each other. A person observing to one of them how happy they

might live in their state of retirement, "Yes," says the man, "very comfortably, if we could have the use of our tongues; but it is now a full month since my partner and I have spoke to each other."

To these anecdotes we shall add one more, and conclude. A shoe-maker was carrying out to the lighthouse in order to be light-keeper. In their way, says the skipper to him, "How happens it, friend Jacob, that you should chuse to go out to be a light-keeper, when you can on shore (as I am told) earn half-a-crown and three shillings a day in making leathern hose (leathern pipes so called); whereas the light-keeper's salary is but 2s. a year, which is scarce ten shillings a week." Says the shoe-maker, "I go to be a light-keeper, because I don't like *confinement*." After this answer had produced its share of merriment, he at last explained himself, by saying, that he did not like to be confined to work.

The whole time between the first stroke upon the rock and leaving the Lighthouse complete, was 3 years 9 weeks and 3 days; from the 5th of Dec. 1755, to exhibiting the light Oct. 1759, was three years 10 months and 16 days; and whole time of working on the rock 111 days 10 hours.

P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1791.*By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

WHEN from the bosom of the mine
 The magnet first to light was thrown,
 Fair Commerce hail'd the gift divine,
 And, smiling, claim'd it for her own.
 " My bark," she said, " this gem shall guide
 " Thro' paths of Ocean yet untried,
 " While as my daring sons explore
 " Each rude, inhospitable shore,
 " 'Mid desert sands and ruthless skies,
 " New seats of industry shall rise,
 " And Culture wide extend its genial reign,
 " Free as the ambient gale, and boundless as the main."³⁰

II.

But Tyranny soon learn'd to seize
 The art improving Science taught,
 The white sail courts the distant breeze,
 With horror and destruction fraught;
 From the tall mast fell War unfurl'd
 His banners to a new-found world;
 Oppression arm'd with giant Pride,
 And bigot Fury by her side;
 Dire Defolation bath'd in blood,
 Pale Av'rice, and her harpy brood,
 To each affrighted shore in thunder spoke,
 And bow'd the wretched race to Slavery's iron yoke.

III.

Not such the gentler views that urge
 Britannia's sons to dare the surge;
 Not such the gifts her Drake, her Raleigh bore
 To the wild inmates of th' Atlantic shore,
 Teaching each drear wood's pathless scene
 The glories of their Virgin Queen—

Nor

Nor such her later chiefs, who try,
 Impell'd by soft Humanity,
 The boist'rous wave, the rugged coast,
 The burning zone, the polar frost,
 That climes remote, and regions yet unknown,
 May share a GEORGE's sway, and bless his patriot throne.

IV.

Warm Fancy, kindling with delight,
 Anticipates the lapse of Age,
 And as she throws her eagle's sight
 O'er Time's yet undiscover'd page,
 Vast Continents, now dark with shade,
 She sees in Verdure's robe array'd:
 Sees o'er each island's fertile steep
 'That frequent fuds the Southern deep,
 His fleecy charge the shepherd lead,
 'The harvest wave, the vintage bleed;
 Sees Commerce springs of guiltless wealth explore,
 Where frowns the western world on Asia's neighbouring shore.

V.

But lo! across the blackening skies
 What swarthy Dæmon wings his flight?
 At once the transient landscape flies,
 The splendid Vision sets in night.—
 And see Britannia's awful form,
 With breast undaunted, brave the storm:
 Awful, as when, her angry tide
 O'erwhelm'd the wreck'd Armada's pride;
 Awful, as when th' avenging blow
 Suspending o'er a prostrate foe,
 She snatch'd, in Vict'ry's moment prompt to save
 Iberia's sinking sons from Calpe's glowing wave.

VI.

Ere yet the tempest's mingled sound
 Burst dreadful o'er the nations round,
 What angel shape, in beaming radiance dight,
 Pours thro' the severing clouds celestial light!
 'Tis Peace—before her seraph eye
 The fiends of Devastation fly.
 Auspicious round our Monarch's brow
 She twines her olive's sacred bough;
 This victory, she cries, is mine,
 Not torn from War's terrific shrine!
 Mine, the pure trophies of the wise and good,
 Unbought by scenes of woe, and undefil'd with blood.

O D E

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1791.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

L OUD the whirlwind rag'd around
 That shook affrighted Britain's shore,
 In peals of louder thunder drown'd
 That mingled with the wint'ry roar;
 Dreadful amid the driving storm
 The gliding meteor's horrid form
 With transient gleam illum'd the air,
 While thro' December's murky night,
 Refulgent with unwonted light,
 The livid flashes glare.

But see! the radiant Lord of Day
 Now northward rolls his burning car,
 And scatters with victorious ray
 The rage of elemental war.
 To rest the troubled waves subside,
 And gently o'er the curling tide
 Young Zephyr leads the vernal hours,
 Adorns with richest dyes the vale,
 And fragrance wafts on every gale
 From June's ambrosial flowers.

O, may no lowering gloom o'ercast
 Th' auspicious morn to Britain dear,
 Or Eurus check with envious blast
 The promise of the rip'ning year!
 Or should some transitory cloud
 Awhile th' ethereal splendor shroud;
 Soon shall the sun his stream renew—
 Soon shall the landscape smile around
 With more luxuriant verdure crown'd,
 And bloom with livelier hue.

Exulting in her Prince rever'd,
 Whose mild parental virtues grace
 The sacred Throne by Glory rear'd
 On Freedom's adamant base;
 While Albion pours the festive strain,
 Responsive to her choral train,
 The Muse enraptur'd joins the throng,
 Proud that a grateful people's praise
 Echoes the votive verse she pays,
 And consecrates her song.

Lines

Lines addressed by Sir CHARLES CAVENDISH to the Countess of SHREWSBURY, written in the year 1614. From LODGE's Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners.

MADDAM, so may my v̄ses pleasing bee,
 So may yow laugh at them, and not at mee,
 As somthing to yow I would gladly say,
 But how to doe it can't finde the way.
 I would avoyd the com'on trodden wayes
 To ladies us'd, w^{ch} bee or love or prayse:
 As for the first, that little witt I have
 Is not yet growne so neere unto the grave
 But that I can by that dim fadeing light
 P'ceave of what, & unto whom, I write.
 Let such as in a hopeles witles rage
 Can sigh a quier, and read it to a page;
 Such as can make ten sonets ere they rest,
 When each is but a great blot at the best;
 Such as can backs of books and windows fill,
 With theyr too furious diamond & quill;
 Such as ar well resolved to end theyr dayes
 Wth a loud laughter, blowne beyond the seas;
 Who ar so mortify'd that they can live
 Contemn'd of all the world, and yet forgive;
 Write love to yow—I would not willingly
 Be poynted at in ev'ry company,
 As was the little taylor that till death
 Was hot in love with Queene Elizabeth.
 And, for the last, in all my idle dayes
 I never yet did living woman prayse
 In verse or prose; and when I doe beginn,
 I'll pick some woman out as full of sinn
 As yow are full of virtue; with a foule
 As blacke as yo^r's is white; a face as foule
 As yo^r's is beautyfull: for it shall be
 Out of the rules of phisiognomy,
 So farr that I doe feare I must displace
 The art a little to let in her face.
 It shall at least fowr faces be below
 The divell's, and her parched corps shall showe,
 In her loose skin, as if a spirit shee were,
 Kept in a bagg by some great conjurer.
 Her breath shall be as horrible and vild
 As ev'ry word yow speake is sweete and mild;
 It shall be such a one as can't bee
 Cov'r'd wth anie art or policie;

But, let her take all powdrs, 'fumes, and drinke,
 She shall make nothing but a deerer stinke.
 She shall have such a foote, and such a nose,
 As will not stand in any thing but prose.
 If I bestow my prayfes uppon such
 'Tis charity; and I shall merit much.
 My prayfe will come to her like a full boule
 Bestowed, at most neede, on a thirstie soule;
 Where if I sing yo^r prayfes in my rime,
 I loose my inke, my paper, and my time;
 Add nothing to yo^r overflowing store,
 And tell yow naught but what yow knew before.
 Nor do the worthy minded (which I sweare,
 Madam, I thinck yow are) indure to heare
 Theyr own p^rfections into questiō brought,
 Butt stopp theyr eares at them; for if I thought
 You tooke a pride to have yo^r virtues knowne,
 P^rdon me, Maddam, I should think them none.

To what a length is this strange letter growne
 In seeking of a subject, yet finds none.
 But if yo^r brave thoughts (w^{ch} I must respect
 Above yo^r glorious titles) doe accept
 These few ill-scattered lines, I shall ere long
 Dresse upp yo^r virtues new, in a new song:
 Yet farr from all base prayfe or flatterie;
 Although I know what 'ere my verses bee,
 They will like the most servile flatterie show,
 If I write truth, and make the subject yow.

Personal description and domestic character of the ancient inhabitants of this island. From *The ABORIGINAL BRITONS*, by GEORGE RICHARDS,
 B. A.

RUDE as the wilds around his sylvan home
 In savage grandeur see the Briton roam.
 Bare were his limbs, and strung with toil and cold,
 By untam'd nature cast in giant-mould.
 O'er his broad brawny shoulders loosely flung
 Shaggy and long his yellow ringlets hung.
 His waist an iron-belted falchion bore,
 Massy, and purpled deep with human gore:
 His scarr'd and rudely-painted limbs around
 Fantastic horror-striking figures frown'd,
 Which, monster-like, ev'n to the confines ran
 Of nature's work, and left him hardly Man.
 His knitted brows and rolling eyes impart
 A direful image of his ruthless heart;

Where.

Where war and human blood-shed brooding lie,
Like thunders lowering in a gloomy sky.

But you, illustrious Fair Ones, wont to brave
Helvellin's storms, and sport in Darwent's wave,
To your high worth submit the savage food,
As Gambia's lions reverence princely blood.
He made no rubied lip nor sparkling eye
The shrine and god of his idolatry ;
But, proudly bending to a just controul,
Bow'd in obeisance to the female soul ;
And deem'd, some effluence of the Omniscient mind
In woman's beauteous image lay enshrind ;
With inspiration on her bosom hung,
And flow'd in heavenly wisdom from her tongue.
Fam'd among warrior-chiefs the crown she wore ;
At freedom's call the gory falchion bore ;
Rul'd the triumphant car ; and rank'd in fame
Bonduca's with Caractacus's name.

No tender virgin heard the impassion'd youth
Breathe his warm vows, and swear eternal truth :
No fire, encircled by a blooming race,
View'd his own features in his infant's face :
The savage knew not wedlock's chaster rite ;
The torch of Hymen pour'd a common light ;
As passion fir'd, the lawless pair were blest'd ;
And babes unfather'd hung upon the breast.

Such was the race, who drank the light of day,
When lost in western waves Britannia lay ;
Content they wander'd o'er their heaths and moors,
Nor thought, that ocean roll'd round other shores.
Viewing the fires, that blaz'd around their skies,
Mid the wide world of waters set and rise,
They vainly deem'd, the twinkling orbs of light
For them alone illum'd the vault of night ;
For them alone the golden lamp of day
Held its bright progress through the heav'n's high way.

When the chill breeze of morning overhead
Wav'd the dark boughs, that rock'd his sylvan bed,
Up the light Briton sprung—to chase the deer
Through Humber's vales, or heathy Cheviot drear.
Languid at noon his fainting limbs he cast
On the warm bank, and sought his coarse repast.
With acorns, shaken from the neighbouring oak,
Or sapless bark, that from the trunk he broke,
His meal he made ; and in the cavern'd dell
Drank the hoarse wave, that down the rough rocks fell.
At eve retracing slow his morning road
With wearied feet he gain'd his wild abode.

No city rose with spires and turrets crown'd ;
 No iron war from rocky ramparts frown'd :
 But plain and simple, in the shadowy wood,
 The shapeless rude-constructed hamlets stood :
 O'er the deep trench an earthy mound arose,
 To guard the sylvan town from beasts and foes.
 The crackling fire, beneath the hawthorn shade,
 With chearful blaze illum'd the darksome glade.
 Oft-times beneath the sheltering oak was spread
 With leaves and spoils of beasts the rustic bed :
 In open sky he rests his head, and sees
 The stars, that twinkle through the waving trees.
 On his bare breast the chilling dews descend ;
 His yellow locks the midnight tempests rend ;
 Around—the empty wolf in hunger prowls,
 And shakes the lonely forest with his howls :
 Yet health and toil weigh down the sense, and steep
 His wearied aching limbs in balmy sleep ;
 Till the pale twilight opes the glimmering glades,
 And slowly gains upon the mid-wood shades.

Monody on the Death of DICK, an Academical Cat. From SALMAGUNDI, a Miscellaneous Combination of Original Poetry.

YE Rats, in triumph elevate your ears !
 Exult, ye Mice !—for Fate's abhorred shears
 Of Dick's nine lives have slit the Catguts nine ;
 Henceforth he mew's 'midst choirs of Cats divine !
 Tho' nine successive lives protract their date,
 E'en Cats themselves obey the call of Fate ;
 Whose formidable fiat sets afloat
 Mortals, and mortal Cats, in Charon's boat :
 Fate, who Cats, Dogs, and Doctors makes his prize
 That grace Great Britain's Universities.
 Where were ye, Nymphs,—when to the silent coast
 Of gloomy Acheron Dick travell'd post ?
 Where were ye, Muses, in that deathful hour ?—
 Say, did ye haunt the Literary Bower
 Where Science sends her Sons in Stockings Blue
 To barter praise for soup with M***** ?
 For not on Isis' classic shores ye stray'd,
 Nor brew'd with Cherwell's wave your lemonade ;
 Nor assignations kept with Grizzled Elves,
 Where Learning sleeps on Bodley's groaning shelves ;
 Nor, where no poet glows with kindred fire,
 Wept o'er your favourite Warton's silent lyre.

While venal Cats (leagued with degenerate Cars,
 Of faded Prudes the four-legg'd pensioners)
 On the soft sofa rang'd in order due,
 For eleemosynary muffin mew,
 Regardless of the meed that Fame bestows,
 Their tail a feather for each wind that blows ;
 Thee, generous Dick, the Cat-controlling Powers
 Ordain'd to mause in Academic Bowers :
 Bade thee the sacred stream of Sapience sip,
 And in Piërean Cream thy whiskers dip !

Enshrin'd celestial Cateries among,
 The fable Matron, from whose loins she sprung,
 Who trac'd her high descent through ages dark,
 From Cats that caterwaul'd in Noah's Ark,
 Stern, brindled nurse, with unremitting care,
 To high achievements train'd her tabby heir ;
 On Patriot Cats his young attention fix'd,
 And many a cuff with grave instruction mix'd ;
 Taught the great Truth, to half his race unknown :
 " Cats are not kitten'd for themselves alone ;
 " But hold from Heav'n their delegated claws,
 " Guardians of Larders, Liberty, and Laws.
 " Let Cats and Catlings of ignoble line
 " Slumber in bee-hive chairs, in dairies dine ;
 " Shun thou the shades of Cat-enseebing ease !
 " Watch o'er the weal of Rhedycinian cheese ;
 " The melting marble of Collegiate Brawn
 " For Heads of Houses guard, and Lords in Lawn ;
 " And keep each recreant rat and mouse in awe
 " That dares to shew his nose in Golgotha †.
 " So may the brightest honours of the Gown
 " Thy riper years and active virtue crown !—
 " Say, shall not Cats, fraught with ethereal fire ‡,
 " To seats of letter'd eminence aspire ?—
 " Caligula a consul made his steed ;
 " What tho' the beast could neither write nor read,
 " Yet could he talents negative display,
 " And silence opposition with his neigh.
 " If Charles of Sweden swore he would depute,
 " The senate to control, his old Jack Boot ;
 " If erst Rome's papal crown a Gossip wore,
 " Then, Dick, thou may'st become Vice-Chancellor.
 " Might I but live, tho' crazy, old, and sick,
 " To see thee stalk behind thy Beadles, Dick !

† Golgotha, " The Place of a Skull," a name ludicrously appropriated to the place in which the Heads of Colleges assemble.

‡ Electrical sparks elicited by friction from a cat's back.

" Behold,

" Behold, my brindled boy with conscious pride
 " O'er convocated Grizzle-Wigs preside !
 " Hear thee, ere I explore my latest home,
 " Confer Degrees in Sheldon's spacious dome !
 " See thee in scarlet robe encase thy fur,
 " And at St. Mary's venerably purr !—
 " Then let me be translated to the skies,
 " And close in welcome death these gooseb'ry eyes !"

* * * * *

While glory's steep ascent Grimalkin shews,
 Dick's breast with emulative ardour glows ;
 His emerald eyes with richer radiance roll,
 And ALL THE CAT awakens in his soul.
 Within the tender velvet of his paw
 Tho' yet unbloodied lurks each virgin claw,
 Anticipated palms his hope descries,
 And conquests gain'd o'er visionary mice :
 Tho' much for milk, more for renown he mews,
 And nobler objects than his tail pursues.

O, could I call the Muses from the spheres,
 To sing the triumphs of his riper years !
 What strife the larder's conscious shelves beheld !
 What congregated rats his valour quell'd !
 What mice descended, at each direful blow,
 To nibble brimstone in the realms below !
 The Victor, who his foes in furious mood
 Hurl'd from the Granic to the Stygian flood ;
 Churchill, whose bounty fainting Frenchmen gave
 Soup-meagre gratis in the Danube's wave ;
 Heathfield, whose red-hot vengeance Spain defied,
 Blift'ring, like Spanish flies, old Neptune's hide ;
 Who plung'd his enemies, a whisker'd group,
 In green waves twice as hot as green pease' soup,
 While Fate on Calpe's summit sat and smil'd,
 To see the dingy Dons like lobsters boil'd,
 Or by the light'ning of th' exploded shell
 Dispatch'd to seek a cooler birth in Hell—
 All heroes, bloody, brave, or politic,
 All, all should yield preeminence to Dick :
 And everlasting laurels, thick as hops,
 Wreath their bright foliage round his brindled chops.

Mysterious Powers, who rule the destinies
 Of conquerors and kings, of cats and mice,
 Why did your will the Pylian Chief decree
 Three centuries, unspectacled, to see,
 Yet summon from his patriot toils away
 Illustrious Dick, before his beard was grey ?

Of valour, sense, or skill, how vain the boast!—
 Dick seeks the shades, an undistinguish'd ghost,
 And turns his tail on this terrestrial ball,
 Dismiss'd without Mandamus Medical;
 Sent, without purge or catapodium,
 In prime of Cat-hood to the Catacomb;
 No Doctor see'd, no regimen advis'd,
 Unpill'd, unpoultic'd, unphlebotomiz'd!

Ye sage divines, if so concise our span,
 Who for preferment would turn Cat in pan?
 Since Clergymen and Cats one fate betides,
 And worms shall eat their sermons and their hides?

Polecats, who Dick's disastrous end survive,
 Shall bless their stars that they still stink alive;
 Muscats shall feel a melancholy qualm,
 And with their sweets departed Dick embalm;
 Cats in each clime and latitude that dwell,
 Brown, sable, sandy, grey, and tortoiseshell,
 Of titles obsolete, or yet in use,
 Tom, Tybert, Roger, Rutterkin*, or Pufs;
 Cats who with wayward Hags the moon control,
 Unchain the winds, and bid the thunders roll;
 Brave in enchanted sieves the boist'rous main,
 And royal barks with adverse blasts detain †;
 Nay two-legg'd Cats, as well as Cats with four,
 Shall Dick's irreparable loss deplore.

Cats who frail nymphs in gay assemblies guard,
 As buckram stiff, and bearded like the pard;
 Calumnious Cats who circulate faux pas,
 And reputations maul with murd'rous claws;

* Rutterkin.—A Cat of this name was Cater-cousin to the great great great great great great great grandmother of Grimalkin; and First Cat to the Caterie of an old woman who was tried for bewitching a Daughter of the Countess of Rutland in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

† “ Moreover she confessed that she took a Cat and christened it, &c. &c. and that in the night following, the said Cat was conveyed into the midst of the sea by all these Witches, saying in their Riddles, or Cives, and so left the said Cat right before the towne of Leith in Scotland. This doone, there did arise such a tempest at Sea as a greater hath not been seen, &c.”

“ Again it is confessed that the said christened Cat was the cause of the Kinges Majestie's shippes, at his comming forthe of Denmarke, had a contrarie winde to the rest of the shippes then beeing in his companie; which thing was most strange and true, as the Kinges Majestie acknowledged, for when the rest of the shippes had a fair and good winde, then was the winde contrarie and altogether againe to his Majestie, &c.”

Old Pamphlet intituled, “Newes from Scotland, &c. &c. &c.” Printed in the year 1591, by William Wright.

See Notes on the Tragedy of Macbeth, in Johnson and Stevens' edition of Shakespeare.

Shrill Cats whom fierce domestic brawls delight,
 Cross Cats who nothing want but teeth to bite,
 Starch Cats of puritanic aspect sad,
 And learned Cats who talk their husbands mad ;
 Confounded Cats who cough, and croak, and cry,
 And maudlin Cats who drink eternally ;
 Prim Cats of countenance and mien precise,
 Yet oft'ner hankering for men than mice ;
 Curst Cats whom nought but castigation checks,
 Penurious Cats who buy their coals by pecks,
 Fastidious Cats who pine for costly eates,
 And jealous Cats who catechise their mates ;
 Cat-Prudes who, when they're ask'd the question, squall,
 And ne'er give answer Categorical ;
 Uncleanly Cats who never pare their nails,
 Cat-Gossips full of Canterbury tales,
 Cat-Grandams vex'd with asthmas and catarrhs,
 And superstitious Cats who curse their stars ;
 Cats who their favours barter for a bribe,
 And canting Cats, the worst of all the tribe !
 And faded Virgin-Cats, and Tabbies old ;
 Who at quadrille remorseless mowse for gold ;
 Cats of each class, craft, calling, and degree
 Mourn Dick's calamitous Catastrophe.

Yet, while I chant the cause of Richard's end,
 Ye sympathizing Cats, your tears suspend !
 Then shed enough to float a dozen whales,
 And use, for pocket-hankerchiefs, your tails !—

Fame says (but Fame a sland'rer stands confess'd,)
 Dick his own Sprats, like Bamber Gascoigne, dress'd :
 But to the advocates of truth 'tis known,
 He neither staid for grace nor gridiron.
 Raw Sprats he swore were worth all fish beside,
 Fresh, stale, stew'd, spitchcock'd, fricasseed or fried :
 Then swallow'd down a score without remorse,
 And three fat Mice slew for a second course :
 But, while the third his grinders dyed with gore,
 Sudden those grinders clos'd—to grind no more !
 And (dire to tell !) commission'd by Old Nick,
 A Catalepsy made an end of Dick.

Thus from the Palty's furious escalade,
 Where blood, to gravy turn'd, embrown'd his blade,
 (That all encountering blade which scorn'd to fear
 Broil'd gizzards charg'd with Kian-gunpowder)
 From rais'd-crust levell'd never more to rise,
 From ducks dispatch'd, and massacred minc'd pies,
 From turkey-poults transfix'd and sirloins slash'd,
 From marrow-puddings mau'd, and custards quash'd,

Crimpt cod, and mutilated mackarel,
 And desolation of the turtle's shell,
 Some Alderman of giant appetite
 A surfeit sweeps to everlasting night :
 Imbibing claret with his latest breath,
 And brandishing his knife and fork in death,
 Downward a gormandizing ghost he goes,
 And bears to Hell fresh fuel on his nose ;
 For Calipath explores th' infernal scene *,
 And wishes Phlegethon one vast Terrene.

O Paragon of Cats, whose loss distracts
 My soul, and turns my tears to Cataracts,
 Nor craft nor courage could thy doom prorogue !
 Dick, premier Cat upon the Catalogue
 Of Cats that grace a caterwauling age,
 Scar'd by Fate's Cat-call quits this earthly stage ;
 Dire fled the arrow that laid Richard flat,
 And sickening Glory saw Death shoot a Cat.

Ah ! tho' thy bust adorn no sculptur'd shrine,
 No vase thy relics rare to fame consign,
 No rev'rend characters thy rank express,
 Nor hail thee, Dick ! D. D. nor F. R. S.
 Tho' no funereal cypress shade thy tomb,
 For thee the wreaths of Paradise shall bloom.
 There, while Grimalkin's mew her Richard greets,
 A thousand Cats shall purr on purple seats :
 E'en now I see, descending from his throne,
 Thy venerable Cat, O Whittington !
 The kindred excellence of Richard hail,
 And wave with joy his gratulating tail !
 There shall the worthies of the Whisker'd Race
 Elysian Mice o'er floors of sapphire chase,
 Midst beds of aromatic marum stray,
 Or raptur'd rove beside the Milky Way.
 Kittens, than Eastern Houris fairer seen,
 Whose bright eyes glisten with immortal green,
 Shall smooth for Tabby Swains their yielding fur,
 And to their amorous mews assenting purr.—
 There, like Alcmena's, shall Grimalkin's, son
 In bliss repose,—his mousing labours done,
 Fate, Envy, Curs, Time, Tide and Traps defy,
 And Caterwaul to all eternity.

* ——— Petit Ille dapes, ———

Oraque vana movet, dentemque in dente fatigat,
 Exercetque cibo delulum gutter inani,
 Proque epulis tenues nequicquam devorat auras.

OVID, MET. Lib. viii.

A SONG

SONG for the WICCAMICAL Anniversary, held at the Crown
and Anchor Tavern. From the same.

I SING not your heroes of ancient romance:
Capadocian George, or Saint Denis of France;
No chronicler I am
Of Troy and King Priam,
And those crafty old Greeks who to fritters did fry 'em:
But your voices, Brave Boys, one and all I bespeak 'em,
In due celebration of William of Wickham.

CHORUS.

Let Wickham's Brave Boys, at the Crown and the Anchor,
The flask never quit 'till clean out they have drank her;
And united maintain, whether sober or mellow
That old Billy Wickham was a Very Fine Fellow.

The swain, who in amorous servitude glories,
Swears that Love builds his nest in the eyebrow of Chloris;
While shafts from the quiver
Of that Urchin Deceiver,
Like the quills of a porcupine, stick in his liver:
But at Wickham's Brave Boys should he brandish his dart,
We'll drown the Blind Rogue in a Winchester Quart.

CHORUS.

For Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Let Fomenters of fierce Opposition exclaim
That our rulers are blind and our politics lame;
Whose sole aim and wish is,
With loaves and with fishes
From the Treasury Board to replenish their dishes:
How such Orators fare, my Boys, who cares a button,
While we have good Claret and Winchester Mutton.

CHORUS.

For Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Let the Soldier, who prates about storming the trenches
Of fortified towns, and of fair-visag'd wenches,
My numbers give heed to,
And, drinking as we do,
Shut up in its scabbard his martial Toledo:

For we too shed blood, yet all danger escape,
Since the blood that we shed is the blood of the Grape.

CHORUS.

Let Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Let Lawyers, accusom'd to quarrel and brawl,
Play the devil as usual in Westminster Hall;
Reputations bespatter,
Yet thrive and grow fatter,
While they dash Wrong and Right up as cookmaids do Batter;
Here good fellowship reigns, and, what 's stranger by far,
No mischief ensues from a Call to the Bar.

CHORUS.

Let Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

The Empiric profound, who in heathenish Latin
Such potions prescribes as might poison old Satan,
With blister and bolus
And draught would cajole us,
'Till snug under ground he has clapt in a hole us:
But the wise Sons of Wickham his regimen slight,
They swallow no draughts but of Red Wine and White.

CHORUS.

Let Wickham's Brave Boys, &c.

Ye Poetical Tribe, on Parnassus who forage,
Who prate of Jove's Nectar and Helicon-porridge,
Yet, for beef-steaks and brandy,
Set each Jack-a-dandy
On a level with Frederick, or Prince Ferdinandy:
What's the sword of King Arthur or Admiral Hofer
To William of Wickham and his Jolly Old Crofier!

CHORUS.

Let Wickham's Brave Boys, at the Crown and the Anchor, &c.

*The GOLDEN DAYS of good King ALFRED. From Seventeen hundred and
Ninety-one; a Poem, in Imitation of the Thirteenth Satire of JUVENAL,
by Arthur Murphy, Esq.*

WOULD'ST thou controul this epidemic rage?
Then bid old Time roll back the golden age;
Or good King Alfred's reign once more renew,
And give those days of glory to our view.

All

* All then was innocence, content, and ease,
 While yet simplicity had pow'r to please.
 Wit had not learn'd to gloss and varnish crimes,
 Nor was vice call'd the fashion of the times.
 † To clubs at Bootle's, Arthur's, none could roam
 Each hospitable baron liv'd at home.
 Beneath his roof the welcome guest might stay,
 Unplunder'd of his all at midnight play.
 Leagu'd at a Faro bank no sharpers sat,
 Nor for a wager could devour a cat.
 Hoyle had not taught his rules of cards and dice,
 Great legislator of a nation's vice!
 On morning wings no news abroad could fly,
 To blot out truth, and propagate the lie;
 ‡ No pamphlet scatter'd, from a traitor's pen,
 Raw metaphysics, and false rights of men.
 From France no agent of a desp'rate band
 Could spread his froth and venom through the land.
 Atheists, Socinians, Puritans, unknown;
 No fierce Republicans to shake the throne.
 No wars envenom'd by religious hate;
 Nor Whig, nor Tory, to convulse the state.
 All were one party in their country's cause,
 And the King reign'd a subject of the laws.
 Love then in mutual bonds mankind could draw
 Nature their guide, simplicity their law.
 Pure health and peace sincere contentment gave,
 The women virtuous, and their husbands brave.

CENSURE of the perpetual EXHIBITION of PORTRAITS. *From
 the SHAKESPEARE GALLERY, a Poem, by Mr. Jerringham.*

O FT have we heard the pure of taste complain
 Of mawkish Portraiture's eternal reign;
 Of exhibitions which the art disgrace,
 And pall the eye with many a vacant face.
 Let Miniature erect her fairy school,
 And 'mid her gewgaws unmolested rule;
 Let her bright dome each pleas'd Narcissus seek,
 To her let Beauty hold her summer cheek!

* Quondam hoc indigenæ vivebant more.

† Nulla super nubes convivæ cœlicolarum;
 Prandebat sibi quisque Deus.

‡ Nec rota, nec furis, nec saxum, aut vulturis atrî
 Pœna, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbræ.

In fond allusion to the month of May,
 Let her the youthful bride's gay form display;
 Let her delineate, on her iv'ry plane,
 The nuptial simper of the happy swain!
 From these we turn to scenes of higher aim,
 Where Eagle-Genius soars to nobler game;
 Where Fancy, Reason, Taste, in one conjoin'd,
 Unfold the workings of th' impassion'd mind,
 Now to the laurell'd, academic band,
 To ev'ry artist's emulative hand,
 Munificence upholds her sacred prize,
 And bids the daring reach it from the skies.

CHARACTERS of SHAKESPEARE, *proposed as SUBJECTS for*
 PAINTING. *From the same.*

BEHOLD the Legate from the sacred Dome*,
 In the rich garb of sacerdotal Rome!—
 Constance approaches! spurning at relief,
 Attir'd in all the negligence of grief:
 In her fierce grasp she shews her rooted hair,
 Presenting well the image of Despair;
 And seems to cry aloud, in accents wild,
 "He talks to me, who never had a child!"

Mark where the blood-fed lamps, with crimson ray †,
 The ragged entrails of a cave display:
 There, on a craggy seat, the Wizard's throne,
 Sits, in rude pomp, th' emaciated Crone;
 She lifts a pale and wither'd hand on high,
 And on the Phantom rolls her savage eye,
 Whose doubtful form confounds th' enquiring sight,
 One part reveal'd, the other lost in night:
 From this abhorr'd interpreter of fate,
 The Hag demands the future storms of state,
 When the Sixth Henry, prince of dim renown,
 Shall lose, what ill becomes him—England's crown.

Ye, who to martial fame your spirit yield,
 Who pant to reap the honors of the field,
 See the Third Edward, from the mountain's brow ‡,
 Survey, with madd'ning glance, the plain below:
 He there beholds (by sacred Glory won)
 In Danger's van his dear and godlike Son:
 He views with wonder, and with mingled fear,
 (His eye-lid glitt'ning with affection's tear)
 With pride, applause; and with a Father's joy,
 The first achievements of th' immortal Boy! †

* King John, Act 3d, Scene 4th.

† Henry Sixth, Part II. Act 1st, Scene 4th.

‡ Henry Fifth, Act 1st, Scene 2d.

With fearful steps we now approach the bed
 Where Scotland's King reclines his weary head:
 Mark, mark the savage Thane's * more savage Wife,
 Who brandishes aloft the thirsty knife!
 One moment—and the victim is no more;
 One moment—and he welters in his gore!
 When sudden, thro' her soul's encircling night,
 Flashes a glimm'ring of a moral light:
 O'er the calm features of the sleeping Guest
 She sees her Father's image full exprest †!
 'Tis Nature's miracle!—the Fiend relents,
 Her alter'd mien a sickly smile presents;
 Affection subjugates her lawless soul,
 Her bosom heaves, and tears begin to roll.

The MAGPIE *and* ROBIN RED-BREAST: *A Tale,*

By PETER PINDAR, *Esq.*

A MAGPIE, in the spirit of romance,
 Much like the fam'd Reformers now of France,
 Flew from the dwelling of an old Poissarde;
 Where sometimes *in* his cage, and sometimes *out*,
 He justified the Revolution rout,
 That is, call'd names, and got a sop for his reward.

Red-hot with Monarch-roasting coals,
 Just like his old, fish-thund'ring Dame,
 He left the Queen of crabs, and plaife, and soles,
 To kindle in Old England's realm a flame.

Arriv'd at ev'ning's philosophic hour,
 He rested on a rural antique tow'r,
 Some Baron's castle in the days of old;
 When furious wars, misnomer'd civil,
 Sent mighty chiefs to see the Devil,
 Leaving behind their bodies for rich mould,
 That pliable from form to form patroles,
 Making fresh houses for new souls,

Perch'd on the wall, he cocks his tail and eye,
 And hops like modern beaux in country-dances;
 Looks dev'lish knowing, with his head awry,
 Squinting with connoisseurship glances.

All on a sudden, Maggot starts and stares,
 And wonders, and for somewhat *strange* prepares;

* Macbeth.

† Act 2d, Scene 2d.—Lady Macbeth, "Had he not resembled my Father as he slept, I had don't."

But,

But, lo ! his wonder did not hold him long—
Soft from a bush below, divinely clear,
A modest warble melted on his ear,
A plaintive, soothing, solitary song—

A stealing, timid, unpretending sound,
Afraid dim Nature's deep repose to wound ;
That hush'd (a death-like pause) the rude Sublime,
This was a novelty to Mag indeed,
Who, pulling up his spindle-shanks with speed,
Dropp'd from his turret, half-devour'd by Time,
A-la-Françoise, upon the spray,
Where a lone Red-breast pour'd to eve his lay.

Staring the modest minstrel in the face ;
Familiar, and with arch grimace,
He conan'd the dusky warbler o'er and o'er,
As though he knew him years before,
And thus began, with seeming great civility,
All in the Paris ease of volubility :—

“ What—Bobby ! dam'me, is it *you*,
“ That thus your pretty phiz to musick screw,
“ So far from hamlet, village, town, and city,
“ To glad old battlements with dull psalm ditty ?
“ 'Sdeath ! what a pleasant, lively, merry scene !
“ Plenty of bats, and owls, and ghosts, I ween ;
“ Rare midnight screeches, Bob, between you all :
“ Why, what 's the name on 't, Bobby ? Dismal Hall ?
“ Come, to be serious—curse this queer old spot,
“ And let thy owlsh habitation rot !
“ Join *me*, and soon in riot we will revel :
“ I'll teach thee how to curse, and call folks names,
“ And be expert in treason, murder, flames,
“ And most *divinely* play the devil.

“ Yes, thou shalt leave this spectred hole,
“ And prove thou hast a bit of soul !
“ Soon shalt thou see old stupid London *direct*
“ There shall we shine immortal knaves ;
“ Not steal unknown, like cuckoos, to our *graves*,
“ But imitate the geniuses of France.

“ Who'd be that monkish, cloister'd thing, a muscle &
“ Importance only can arise from bustle !
“ Tornado, thunder, lightning, tumult, strife ;
“ These *charm*, and add a *dignity* to life.
“ That thou should'st choose this spot, is monstrous odd ;
“ Poh, poh ! thou canst not like this life, by G— !”

“ Sir !”

- ¶ Sir!" like one thunder-stricken, staring wide—
 ¶ Can you be serious, Sir?" the Robin cried.
 ¶ Serious!" rejoin'd the Magpie, "aye, my boy—
 ¶ So come, let's play the devil, and enjoy."

 ¶ Flames!" quoth the Robin—"and in riot revel!
 ¶ Call names, and curse, *divinely* play the devil!
 ¶ I cannot, for my life, the fun discern."—
 ¶ No!—blush then, Bob, and follow me, and learn."

 ¶ Excuse me, Sir," the modest Hermit cried—
 ¶ Hell's not the hobby-horse I wish to ride!"
 ¶ Hell!" laugh'd the Magpie, "hell no longer dread;
 ¶ Why, Bob, in France the Devil's lately dead:

 ¶ Damnation vulgar to a Frenchman's hearing,—
 ¶ The word is only kept alive for swearing.
 ¶ Against futurity they all protest;
 ¶ And God and Heav'n are grown a standing jest.

 ¶ Brimstone and sin are downright out of fashion;
 ¶ France is quite alter'd—now a *thinking* nation
 ¶ No more of penitential tears and groans!
 ¶ Philosophy has crack'd Religion's bones.

 ¶ As for your *Saviour* of a wicked world,
 ¶ Long from his consequence has *he* been hurl'd:
 ¶ They *do* acknowledge *such* a man, d'ye see;
 ¶ But then they call him simple Monsieur Christ.
 ¶ Bob, for thy ignorance, pray blush for shame—
 ¶ Behold, *thy* DOCTOR PRIESTLEY *says the same*.

 ¶ Well! now thou fully art *convinc'd*—let's go."—
 ¶ "What cursed doctrine!" quoth the Robin, "No—
 ¶ I won't go—no! thy speeches make me shudder."—
 ¶ Poor Robin!" quoth the Magpie, "what a pudder!
 ¶ Be damn'd then, Bobby!"—flying off, he rav'd—
 ¶ And (quoth the Robin) Sir, may you be *fav'd*!"
 ¶ This said, the tuneful sprite renew'd his lay;
 ¶ A sweet and farewell hymn to parting day.—

In Thomas Paine the Magpie doth appear
 That I'm Poor Robin, is not quite so clear.

DESCRIPTION of the SEA SHORE.

By DR. AIKIN.

FREQUENT along the pebbly beach I pace,
 And gaze intent on Ocean's varying face.
 Now from the main rolls-in the swelling tide,
 And waves on waves in long procession ride;
 Gath'ring they come, 'till, gain'd the ridgy height,
 No more the liquid mound sustains its weight;
 It curls, it falls, it breaks, with hideous roar,
 And pours a foamy deluge on the shore.
 From the bleak pole now driving tempests sweep,
 Tear the light clouds, and vex the ruffled deep:
 White on the shoals the spouting breakers rise,
 And mix the waste of waters with the skies:
 The anch'ring vessels, stretch'd in long array,
 Shake from their bounding sides the dashing spray;
 Lab'ring they heave, the tighten'd cables strain,
 And danger adds new horror to the main:
 Then shifts the scene, as to the Western gales
 Delighted Commerce spreads her crowded sails.
 A cluster'd groupe the distant fleet appear,
 That, scatt'ring, breaks in varied figures near.
 Now, all-illum'd by the kindling ray,
 Swan-like, the stately vessel cuts her way:
 The full-wing'd barks now meet, now swiftly pass,
 And leave long traces in the liquid glass:
 Light boats, all sail, athwart the currents bound,
 And dot with shining specks the surface round.
 Nor with the day the sea-born splendours cease:
 When ev'ning lulls each ruder gale to peace,
 The rising moon with silv'ry lustre gleams,
 And shoots across the flood her quiv'ring beams,
 Or, if deep gloom succeed the sultry day,
 On Ocean's bosom native meteors play,
 Flash from the wave, pursue the dipping oar,
 And roll in flaming billows to the shore.

DESCRIPTION of MORNING: *From Poems by the Author
 of the VILLAGE CURATE, and ADRIANO.*

————— AT length a breeze
 Blew from the east, and rent the fable clouds
 That all night long had veil'd the starry Heavens.
 From many a cheerful loop-hole, thro' the gloom,

Peeps the clear azure with its living gems.
 Fast flies the scud; and now the glowing dawn
 Stands unobscur'd upon the mountain's top,
 Her lovely forehead with a waning moon
 And her own brilliant day-star grac'd. The clouds,
 Still floating overhead, touch'd by the beam
 Of the slow sun emerging from the deep
 (But to Ophelia's eye not yet reveal'd),
 Are fleeces dipt in silver, dappled pearl,
 And feathers smoother than the cygnet's down;
 Here red and fiery as the ferret's eye,
 Here dun and wavy as the turtle's breast.
 The fainting stars withdraw, the moon grows pale,
 And the clear planet, messenger of light,
 Hides in the splendor of returning day.
 The mountains are on fire. The forest burns
 With glory not to be beheld. The Heavens
 Are streak'd with rays from the relumin'd East,
 As from the center of a flaming wheel,
 Shot round. The sun appears. The jovial hills
 Rejoice and sing, the chearful vallies laugh.
 All Nature utters from her thankful heart
 Audible gratitude.

The PATRIOT FAIR, a SONG.

By the late CHRISTOPHER SMART, M. A. of *Pembrake-Hall, Cambridge* *;

WHEN young and artless as the lamb,
 That plays around the fondling dam,
 Brisk, buxom, pert, and silly;
 I slighted all the manly swains,
 And put my virgin heart in chains
 For simple, smock-fac'd Billy.

But when experience came with years,
 And rais'd my hopes, and quell'd my fears,
 My blood grew blythe and bonny;
 I turn'd off ev'ry beardless youth,
 And gave my love, and fix'd my truth
 On honest, sturdy Johnny.

But when at wake I saw the 'Squire,
 For lace I felt a new desire,

* Not inserted in his works.

Fond to out-shine my Mammy ;
 I figh'd for fringes, frogs, and beaux,
 And pig-tail'd wigs, and powder'd clothes,
 And filken Master Sammy.

For riches next I felt a flame,
 When to my cot old Gripus came
 To hold an am'rous parley ;
 For music now I chanc'd to burn,
 And fondly listen'd in my turn
 To warbling, quavering Charley,

Thus all alike, the fools and wits,
 Fops, fidlers, foreigners, and cits,
 All charm'd me by rotation :
 Then learn from me, ye Patriot Fair,
 Ne'er make one single man your care,
 But figh for all the nation.

* SOLILOQUY of the Princess PERRIWINKLE, *sola*, attended by
 fourteen Maids of great honour.

SURE such a wretch as I was never born,
 By all the world deserted and forlorn ;
 This bitter-sweet, this honey-gall to prove,
 And all the oil and vinegar of love.
Pride, Love and Reason will not let me rest,
 But make a dev'lish bustle in my breast.
 To wed with Fizzig, *Pride, Pride, Pride* denies ;
 Put on a Spanish padlock, *Reason* cries :
 But tender gentle *Love* with every wish complies. }
Pride, Love and Reason fight till they are cloy'd,
 And each by each in mutual wounds destroy'd,
 Thus when a Barber and a Collier fight,
 The Barber beats the luckless Collier—white ;
 The dusty Collier heaves his pond'rous sack,
 And, big with vengeance, beats the Barber—black ;
 In comes the Brickdust-man, with grime o'erspread,
 And beats the Collier and the Barber—red.
 Black, red, and white, in various clouds are tost,
 And in the dust they raise the combatants are lost.

* From a Comedy called, " A Trip to Cambridge, or the Grateful Fair."

PROLOGUE to the SCHOOL FOR ARROGANCE,

Spoken by Mr. BERNARD.

GREAT news! Great news! Extraordinary news!
 Who'll buy, or give three-halfpence to peruse?
 [*Sounds*] Great news!—Pray did you call, Sirs?—here am I!
 Of wants, and wanted, I've a large supply!
 Of fire and murder, marriage, birth, and death,
 Here's more than I can utter in a breath!
 Rapes, riots, hurricanes, routes, rogues, and rars!
 Famine and fire in Turkey, and the plague at Cairo!
 Here's tincture for the gums, which dentists make,
 Whose teeth eat most when other people's ache.
 Here are rich soups, hams, tongues, oils, sauce, four-croût;
 And here's the grand specific for the gout!
 Here's turtle newly landed; lamb house-fed:
 And here a wife and five small children wanting bread.
 Wholesale and retail British spirits here:
 And here's the dying speech of poor small-beer!
 Here are tall men, short women, and fat oxen;
 And here are Sunday Schools, and Schools for Boxing.
 Here ruin'd rakes for help-mates advertise;
 And only want 'em handsome, rich and wise.
 Great news! Here's money lent on bond! rare news!
 By honest, tender-hearted, Christian Jews!
 Here are promotions, dividends, rewards;
 A list of bankrupts and of new-made lords.
 Here the debates at length are, for the week;
 And here the deaf and dumb are taught to speak.
 Here HAZARD, GOODLUCK, SHERGOLD, and a band
 Of gen'rous Gentlemen, whose hearts expand
 With honour, rectitude, and public spirit,
 Equal in high desert, with equal merit,
 Divide their tickets into Shares and Quarters;
 And here's a seryant-maid found hanging in her garters!
 Here! here's the fifty thousand, sold at every shop;
 And here's the Newgate Calendar,—and Drop.
 Rare news; Strange news! Extraordinary news!
 Who would not give three-half-pence to peruse?
 [*Going, returns*] 'Sblud! I forgot—Great news again I say!
 To-night, at Covent-Garden, a new play!
 [*In raptures*] Oh! I'll be there, with Jack, our Printer's Devil!
 We're judges!—We know when to clap, or cavil!
 We've heard our Pressmen talk of, of—Rome and Greece!
 And have read Harry—Harry—Harry Stotle's Masterpiece!
 When we have paid our shilling, we're the Town!
 As wisely can find fault as those who pay their crown!

Nay,

Nay, we like them, if it be bad or good.
 Can talk as fast, as, as,—as if we understood!
 Oh! I'll be there; get the first row, and with my staff
 I'll aft the trunkmaker, thump, roar, encore, and laugh!
 The Prompter's boy has call'd our Jack aside,
 And says, the Play's to cure the world of pride!
 That rich folks will no longer think they're born
 To crush the weak, and laugh the poor to scorn!
 The great 'twill teach that virtue, wit, and merit,
 They may perchance possess, but can't inherit!
 That learning, wisdom, genius, truth, and worth,
 Are far more rich and rare than ribbands, rank, and birth!
 Lord! Lord! Who ever heard of such a scheme?
 Teach sense to Wealth and Pride! Your Poets always dream!
 Could he do this, there's no one will deny
 That news! strange news! would be the gen'ral cry. [Exit.

Extract from an ELEGY written at the Hot Wells, Bristol.

PERHAPS to these grey rocks and mazy springs
 Some heart may come, warm'd with the purest fire;
 For whom bright Fancy plumes her radiant wings,
 And warbling Muses wake the lonely lyre.

Some beauteous maid, deceiv'd in early youth,
 Pale o'er yon spring may hang in mute distress;
 Who dream'd of faith, of happiness, and truth,
 Of love—that virtue would protect and bless.

Some musing youth in silence there may bend,
 Untimely stricken by sharp sorrow's dart;
 For friendship form'd, yet left without a friend,
 And bearing still the arrow at his heart.

Such was lamented RUSSEL's* hapless doom,
 The lost companion of my youth's gay prime;
 Ev'n so he sunk unwept into the tomb,
 And o'er his head clos'd the dark gulph of time.

Hither he came, a wan and weary guest,
 A softening balm for many a wound to crave;
 And woo'd the sunshine to his aching breast;
 Which now seems smiling on his verdant grave!

He heard the whispering winds that now I hear,
 As, boding much, along these hills he past;
 Yet ah! how mournful did they meet his ear
 On that sad morn he heard them for the last!

* "The Rev. Thomas Russel, Fellow of New College, Oxford, author of some ingenious poems, died at the Hot Wells, 1722, in the twenty-sixth year of his age."

So sinks the scene, like a departed dream,
 Since late we sojourn'd blythe in WYKEHAM's bowr's †,
 Or heard the merry bells by *Ipsi*'s stream,
 And thought our way was strew'd with fairy flow'rs!

Of those with whom we play'd upon the lawn
 Of early life, in the fresh morning, play'd,
 Alas! how many, since that vernal dawn,
 Like thee, poor RUSSEL, in the ground are laid.

As pleas'd awhile they wander'd hand in hand,
 Once led by friendship on the spring-tide plain,
 How oft did Fancy wake her transports bland,
 And on the lids the starting tear detain!

I yet survive, now musing other song
 Than that which early sooth'd my thoughtless years;
 Thinking how days and hours have pass'd along,
 Mark'd by much pleasure some, and some by tears!

N E T L E Y A B B E Y.

By W. SOTHEBY, Esq.

I.

"SOFT on the wave the oars at distance sound,
 The night breeze sighing through the leafy spray,
 With gentle whisper murmurs all around,
 Breathes on the placid sea, and dies away.
 As sleeps the moon upon her cloudless height,
 And the swoln spring-tide heaves beneath the light,
 Slow lingering on the solitary shore
 Along the dewy path my steps I bend,
 Lonely to yon forsaken fane descend,
 To muse on youth's wild dreams amid the ruins hoar.

II.

Within the shelter'd center of the aisle,
 Beneath the ash whose growth romantic spreads
 Its foliage trembling o'er the funeral pile,
 And all around a deeper darkness sheds;
 While through yon arch, where the thick ivy twines,
 Bright on the silver'd tow'r the moon-beam shines,
 And the grey cloister's roofless length illumines;
 Upon the mossy stone I lie reclin'd,
 And to a visionary world resign'd,
 Call the pale spectres forth from the forgotten tombs.

† "Winchester College."

III.

Spirits! the desolated wreck that haunt,
 Who frequent by the village maiden seen,
 When sudden shouts at eve the wanderer daunt,
 And shapeless shadows sweep along the green;
 And ye, in midnight horrors heard to yell
 Round the destroyer of the holy cell,
 With interdictions dread of boding sound;
 Who, when he prowld the rifled walls among,
 Pione on his brow* the maffy fragment flung;—
 Come from your viewless caves, and tread this hallow'd ground!

IV.

How oft, when homeward forc'd, at day's dim close,
 In youth, as hending back I mournful stood
 Fix'd on the fav'rite spot, where first arose
 The pointed ruin peeping o'er the wood;
 Methought I heard upon the passing wind
 Melodious sounds in solemn chorus join'd,
 Echoing the chaunted vesper's peaceful note;
 Oft through the veil of night's descending cloud,
 Saw gleaming far the visionary croud
 Down the deep vaulted aisle in long procession float.

V.

But now; no more the gleaming forms appear,
 Within their graves at rest the fathers sleep;
 And not a sound comes to the wistful ear,
 Save the low murmur of the tranquil deep:
 Or from the grass that in luxuriant pride
 Waves o'er yon eastern window's sculptur'd side,
 The dew-drops bursting on the fretted stone:
 While faintly from the distant coppice heard,
 The music of the melancholy bird
 Trills to the silent heav'n a sweetly-plaintive moan.

VI.

Farewell, delightful dreams, that charm'd my youth!
 Farewell th' aërial note, the shadowy train!
 Now while this shrine inspires sublimer truth,
 While cloister'd echo breathes a solemn strain,
 In the deep stillness of the midnight hour,
 Wisdom shall curb wild fancy's magic pow'r,
 And as with life's gay dawn th' illusions cease,
 Though from the heart steal forth a sigh profound;
 Here Resignation o'er its secret wound
 Shall pour the lenient balm that soothes the soul to peace.

* This alludes to a circumstance recorded in *Grose's Antiquities*, and still believed in the neighbourhood.

CHARACTER of the INVENTOR of WHIST.

From "WHIST, a Poem."

A Yorkshire dame, invoc'd the midwife's care,
 And blest her husband with a son and heir.
 His infant frame appear'd robust enough,
 But scarcely made of penetrable stuff:
 Nor bitter squall, nor whimper deep and low,
 Announc'd his entrance on the stage of woe.
 When on his face the sacred fluid fell,
 No cry escap'd, his sad surprize to tell.
 With rattling toys he still refus'd to play,
 * And from his coral tore the bells away.
 When loud or piercing sounds assail'd his ear,
 Each look betray'd his horror and his fear:
 But chief he seem'd to dread the strife of tongues;
 For then alone he strain'd his little lungs,
 And with a rueful face incessant roar'd,
 Till the storm ceas'd, and silence was restor'd.
 Hard was the task and wearisome, to teach
 His backward tongue the mimick art of speech;
 Nor, when at last your patience won the day,
 Did he, like other babes, your care repay.
 Ne'er did his prattle charm a parent's ear;
 He scarcely utter'd twenty words a year.
 Oft would he fly to some sequester'd nook,
 To pore in quiet o'er a pictur'd book;
 Or sit whole hours immers'd in thought profound,
 With eyes that fondly lov'd the senseless ground;
 Till nature's wants, from which no frame is free,
 Rous'd the young Stoic from his reverie.
 To school for once he went; but threat nor pray'r
 Could force his feet again to venture there;
 Not that, like some, his task had wrought him woe,
 (His wit was quick, altho' his tongue was slow);
 Nor that he fear'd the master's awful nod,
 (Th'attentive scholar seldom dreads the rod):
 His fear was only from the boist'rous noise
 Rais'd by so many wild unruly boys:
 Their savage tumult tore his tender ear,
 Distrest him more than what his frame could bear;
 And, had his parents forc'd him still to go,
 Might soon have sent him to the shades below.

* "I threw away my rattle before I was two months old; and would not make use of my coral, till they had taken away the bells from it." SPECTATOR, No. 1.

A grave and sober tutor next was found,
To lead him softly through the classic ground.
One charge there was he never would obey—
A task of any length aloud to say :

The yielding tutor took it written down ;
But then he seldom read it with a frown,
His parents thus, of temper soft and mild,
In all his freaks indulg'd their wayward child ;
Not without hope that gravity so young,
Such love of silence, such command of tongue,
When the wild season of caprice was past,
Would surely rise to something great at last.

When twice nine years had thus at home been spent,
The grave young Moody was to Cambridge sent ;
Where, led by no temptation's pow'r astray,
He pass'd the time in his accustom'd way ;
Seldom abroad, or in the common hall,
Read much, heard little, and spoke none at all.

But now stern fate his father call'd away,
And sent him home, impatient to allay
Maternal anguish for a loss so great,
And take possession of his own estate ;
In which he hop'd, remote from noise and strife,
To pass in peace profound his future life—
Peace, the dear idol of his Stoic mind,
Which ev'n in Cam's retreats he could not find ;
For there some youths, who felt a barb'rous joy
Their graver neighbour's comfort to destroy,
Each art employ'd that to their fancies rose,
His ears to wound, and murder his repose."

DISGRACE OF TRUMPING WITH AN ACE.

From the Same.

BUT oh, what words can paint the dire disgrace,
The shameful crime, of trumping with an ace,
Until it lose its relative degree,
And chance the sole surviving trump to be !
As well might George, when he in state appears,
Enthron'd with splendor in the House of Peers,
Were some rash knave so daring then to be,
As make with honourable pockets free ;
As well might he, whene'er the fact was known,
Jump down indignant from his royal throne,
And seizing by the neck without delay,
Himself to Newgate haul the wretch away :
Nor would he thus a stranger figure cut,
Than ace of trumps to such an office put.

EPITAPH

P O E T R Y.

E P I T A P H.

FAVOURITES of Beauty, o'er these sorrowing strains
 Drop, as you pass, one sympathetic tear;
 For all that Lesbia lov'd this grave contains,
 The pride, the envy, of his sex sleeps here.

Here he, whom late the sportive fair carest,
 For whom she suffer'd many a soft alarm,
 Whom still her fondling hand with rapture prest,
 As unrestrain'd he rov'd from charm to charm;

Here Lesbia's *Sparrow* lies!—And know, gay train,
 Howe'er distinguish'd by the female eye,
 That you, as light, as heedless, and as vain,
 Like him may languish, and like him must die!

Cold is that head, which from the tabby foe
 Secure in Lesbia's heaving bosom lay!
 Clos'd is that bill, which slyly from below
 Her laughing lip assail'd in wanton play!

Favourites of Beauty, o'er these sorrowing strains
 Drop, as you pass, one sympathetic tear;
 For all that Lesbia lov'd this grave contains,
 The pride, the envy, of his sex sleeps here!

LINES, *written in the SCHOOLS at OXFORD, on the last Day of performing EXERCISES for a DOCTOR'S DEGREE.*

SINCE first within these schools I trembling tried
 Snug in my cap my hackneyed strings to hide,
 While many a heavy load of logic hung
 In still-born accents on my fault'ring tongue,
 Till this big moment, which my heart appalls,
 When now I read grave lectures to the walls;
 To-morrow destin'd Doctor to commence,
 And bid farewell to comfort, ease, and sense;—
 How many novel sounds have sooth'd my ear,
 To parish, pupils, spouse, and children dear!
 What future titles fortune may bestow,
 Anxious I wish—and yet I dread—to know!
 Betide what may, on these proud walls my name,
 Carv'd all in capitals, shall live to fame.
 And if perchance some sober youth peruse,
 When I am cold, this relick of my muse,
 Doom'd here whole hours to walk, and warm his toes,
 And sometimes moralize, and sometimes doze,

Thus may he reason, " Now a grave contains
 All of the reverend Doctor that remains,
 Which, while preferment smil'd upon the prig,
 Would scarcely hold his bushel of a wig !"

SONNET.

By CHARLOTTE SMITH.

FAREWELL, ye lawns ! by fond remembrance blest,
 As witnesses of gay unclouded hours,
 Where to maternal friendship's bosom prest
 My happy childhood pass'd amid your bow'rs.
 Ye wood-walks wild, where leaves and fairy flow'rs
 By spring's luxuriant hand are strewn anew ;
 Rocks, whence with shadowy grace rude nature lours,
 O'er glens and haunted streams !—a long adieu !
 —And thou ! oh ! promis'd *Happiness* ! whose voice
 Deluded fancy heard in ev'ry grove,
 Bidding this tender trusting heart rejoice
 In the bright prospect of unfading love,
 Though lost to me—still may *thy* smile serene
 Bless the dear lord of this regretted scene !

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1791.

An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; and the Progress of Trade with that Country, prior to the Discovery of the Passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope. By William Robertson, D. D. F. R. S. Ed. Principal of the University, and Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland.

THE writings of Dr. Robertson possess, in the estimation of the public, a degree of literary eminence, which many productions of more splendour, but less solidity, have seldom been able to attain. His name has been so long and so deservedly respected, his reputation is fixed on so permanent a foundation, that the censure of criticism, were it inclined to be severe, would now prove as futile as its panegyric might be deemed superfluous. The earlier productions of his pen, while they were honoured with general applause, afforded ample ground for praise to the few, who withheld unqualified admiration, and but little room for captious remark to the still smaller number who were disposed to cavil.

Although we feel ourselves happy in subscribing to the propriety of that decision, which an unprejudiced public has long passed upon

the merits of this celebrated writer, a decision from which, when clear and unequivocal, no literary appeal should ever lie, we cannot but confess, that in the perusal of the work before us we have not always discovered the same beauties which captivated us in his History of Scotland, and his Charles the Fifth. To whatsoever cause it be imputed, whether it arises from a barrenness in the subject itself, which may perhaps be deficient in interesting, if not novel materials, or from that disinclination to long and laborious study so incidental to us all in the decline of life, there certainly appear less extent of research, less patience of investigation, and less profundity of reasoning, in this than in Dr. Robertson's former productions.

We trust that we shall not be misunderstood as wishing to class the Historical Disquisition among the perishable productions of the day, the generality of which may for a time indeed attract the attention of the public; some by the gaudiness of their colouring, others by the prettiness or quaintness of their composition, but are all alike, sooner or later, condemned to sink into total insignificance or oblivion. The present volume, in fact, possesses considerable merit; and could we have

have forgotten that it was written by the admired author of *Charles the Fifth*, we should have been contented to have spoken of it in general terms of commendation. It is always amusing, often instructive. It possesses, with some exceptions indeed, a felicity of illustration, a pertinence of remark, and an acuteness of observation, which betray the pen of a master. Although our expectations may be sometimes balked by the display of trite or superficial sentiment, we nevertheless receive much delight as well as improvement from many judicious and apposite reflections, which do honour to the character of Dr. Robertson, as a man, a scholar, and a philosopher. If we now and then meet with a diffusion of less interesting detail, a redundance rather than richness of composition, we likewise more frequently perceive an elegant neatness of narrative, which is sparing even of chaste and appropriate ornaments, is accurate, but not injudiciously minute, impressive without the affectation of being perpetually energetic. The style, although it cannot boast those superior graces, which Dr. Robertson could have given it, is at all times above mediocrity, is seldom negligent, never slovenly; if it be only occasionally splendid, it is generally terse, perspicuous, and classical.

This Historical Disquisition is divided into four sections, with the addition of notes, and an appendix of no inconsiderable bulk. The first section treats of the intercourse with India until the conquest of Egypt by the Romans: the second from the establishment of the Roman dominion in Egypt, to the conquest of that kingdom by the

Mahomedans: the third from the last-mentioned period to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the establishment of the Portuguese dominion in the east: and the fourth contains such general observations, as result from a view of the whole. The notes are of course illustrative of the occasional passages in the different sections. The appendix is replete with observations on the civil policy—the laws and judicial proceedings—the arts, sciences, and religious institutions of the Indians.

In the first section, after slightly noticing the connexion which subsisted between ancient Egypt and the East-Indies, Dr. Robertson hastens to the memorable expedition of Alexander into that country; of this expedition he gives the following account:

“About an hundred and sixty years after the reign of Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great undertook his expedition into India. The wild sallies of passion, the indecent excesses of intemperance, and the ostentatious displays of vanity, too frequent in the conduct of this extraordinary man, have so degraded his character, that the pre-eminence of his merit, either as a conqueror, a politician, or a legislator, has seldom been justly estimated. The subject of my present inquiry leads me to consider his operations only in one light, but it will enable me to exhibit a striking view of the grandeur and extent of his plans. He seems, soon after his first successes in Asia, to have formed the idea of establishing an universal monarchy, and aspired to the dominion of the sea, as well as of the land. From the wonderful efforts of the Tyrians in their own defence, when left with-

cut

out any ally or protector, he conceived an high opinion of the resources of maritime power, and of the wealth to be derived from commerce, especially that with India, which he found engrossed by the citizens of Tyre. With a view to secure this commerce, and to establish a station for it, preferable in many respects to that of Tyre, as soon as he completed the conquest of Egypt, he founded a city near one of the mouths of the Nile, which he honoured with his own name; and with such admirable discernment was the situation of it chosen, that Alexandria soon became the greatest trading city in the ancient world; and, notwithstanding many successive revolutions in empire, continued, during eighteen centuries, to be the chief seat of commerce with India*. Amidst the military operations to which Alexander was soon obliged to turn his attention, the desire of acquiring the lucrative commerce which the Tyrians had carried on with India, was not relinquished. Events soon occurred, that not only confirmed and added strength to his desire, but opened to him a prospect of obtaining the sovereignty of those regions which supplied the rest of mankind with so many precious commodities.

"After his final victory over the Persians, he was led in pursuit of the last Darius, and of Bessus, the murderer of that unfortunate monarch, to traverse that part of Asia which stretches from the Caspian sea beyond the river Oxus. He advanced towards the east as far as Maracanda †, then a city of some note, and destined, in a future period, under

the modern name of Samarcand, to be the capital of an empire not inferior to his own in extent or power. In a progress of several months, through provinces hitherto unknown to the Greeks, in a line of march often approaching near to India, and among people accustomed to much intercourse with it, he learned many things concerning the state of a country † that had been long the object of his thoughts and wishes §, which increased his desire of invading it. Decisive and prompt in all his resolutions, he set out from Bactria, and crossed that ridge of mountains which, under various denominations, forms the Stony Girdle (if I may use an expression of the Oriental geographers) which encircles Asia, and constitutes the northern barrier of India.

"The most practicable avenue to every country, it is obvious, must be formed by circumstances in its natural situation, such as the defiles which lead through mountains, the course of rivers, and the places where they may be passed with the greatest ease and safety. In no place of the earth is this line of approach marked and defined more conspicuously, than on the northern frontier of India; insomuch that the three great invaders of this country, Alexander, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah, in three distant ages, and with views and talents extremely different, advanced by the same route, with hardly any deviation. Alexander had the merit of having first discovered the way. After passing the mountains, he encamped at Alexandria Paropamisana, on the same site with the modern city Candahar; and having subdued or conciliated

* Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 20.

† Strab. xv. p. 1021. A.

‡ Arrian, iii. c. 30.

§ Arrian, iv. c. 15.

the nations seated on the north-west bank of the Indus, he crossed the river at Taxila, now Attock, the only place where its stream is so tranquil that a bridge can be thrown over it *.

“ After passing the Indus, Alexander marched forward in the road which leads directly to the Ganges, and the opulent provinces to the south-east, now comprehended under the general name of Indostan. But, on the banks of the Hydaspes, known in modern times by the name of the Betah or Chelum, he was opposed by Porus, a powerful monarch of the country, at the head of a numerous army. The war with Porus, and the hostilities in which he was successively engaged with other Indian princes, led him to deviate from his original route, and to turn more towards the south-west. In carrying on these operations, Alexander marched through one of the richest and best peopled countries of India, now called the Panjab, from the five great rivers by which it is watered; and as we know that this march was performed in the rainy season, when even Indian armies cannot keep the field, it gives an high idea both of Alexander’s persevering spirit, and of the extraordinary vigour and hardiness of constitution which soldiers, in ancient times, derived from the united effects of gymnastic exercise and military discipline. In every step of his progress, objects no less striking than new presented themselves to Alexander. The magnitude of the Indus, even after he had seen the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, must have filled him with surprize †. No country he had hitherto visited was so populous

and well cultivated, or abounded in so many valuable productions of nature and of art, as that part of India through which he had led his army. But when he was informed in every place, and probably with exaggerated description, how much the Indus was inferior to the Ganges, and how far all that he had hitherto beheld was surpassed in the happy regions through which that great river flows, it is not wonderful that his eagerness to view and to take possession of them should have prompted him to assemble his soldiers, and to propose that they should resume their march towards that quarter where wealth, dominion, and fame awaited them. But they had already done so much, and had suffered so greatly, especially from incessant rains and extensive inundations, that their patience as well as strength were exhausted, and with one voice they refused to advance farther. In this resolution they persisted with such sullen obstinacy, that Alexander, though possessed in the highest degree of every quality that gains an ascendant over the minds of military men, was obliged to yield, and to issue orders for marching back to Persia ‡.

“ The scene of this memorable transaction was on the banks of the Hyphasis, the modern Beyah, which was the utmost limit of Alexander’s progress in India. From this it is manifest, that he did not traverse the whole extent of Panjab. Its south-west boundary is formed by a river anciently known by the name of Hysudrus, and now by that of the Setlege, to which Alexander never approached nearer than the southern bank of the Hyphasis, where he erec-

* Rennell Mem. p. 92.

† Strab. lib. xv. p. 1027. C. & note 5. Casaub.

‡ Arrian, v. c. 24, 25.

ted twelve stupendous altars, which he intended as a monument of his exploits, and which (if we may believe the biographer of Apollonius Tyanæus) were still remaining, with legible inscriptions, when that fantastic sophist visited India, three hundred and seventy-three years after Alexander's expedition *. The breadth of the Panjab, from Ludhana on the Setlege to Attock on the Indus, is computed to be two hundred and fifty-nine geographical miles, in a straight line; and Alexander's march, computed in the same manner, did not extend above two hundred miles. But, both as he advanced and returned, his troops were so spread over the country, and often acted in so many separate divisions, and all his movements were so exactly measured and delineated by men of science, whom he kept in pay for the purpose, that he acquired a very extensive and accurate knowledge of that part of India †.

“ When, upon his return, he reached the banks of the Hydaspes, he found that the officers to whom he had given it in charge to build and collect as many vessels as possible, had executed his orders with such activity and success that they had assembled a numerous fleet. As amidst the hurry of war, and the rage of conquest, he never lost sight of his pacific and commercial schemes, the destination of this fleet was to sail down the Indus to the ocean, and from its mouth to proceed to the Persian Gulf, that a communication by sea might be opened with India and the centre of his dominions.

“ The conduct of this expedition was committed to Nearchus, an officer equal to that important trust, But as Alexander was ambitious to acquire fame of every kind, and fond of engaging in new and splendid undertakings, he himself accompanied Nearchus in his navigation down the river. The armament was, indeed, so great and magnificent, as deserved to be commanded by the conqueror of Asia. It was composed of an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, and two hundred elephants, and of a fleet of near two thousand vessels, various in burden and form; on board of which one-third of the troops embarked, while the remainder marching in two divisions, one on the right, and the other on the left, of the river, accompanied them in their progress. As they advanced, the nations on each side were either compelled or persuaded to submit. Retarded by the various operations in which this engaged him, as well as by the slow navigation of such a fleet as he conducted, Alexander was above nine months before he reached the ocean †.

“ Alexander's progress in India, in this line of direction, was far more considerable than that which he made by the route we formerly traced; and when we attend to the various movements of his troops, the number of cities which they took, and the different states which they subdued, he may be said not only to have viewed, but to have explored, the countries through which he passed. This part of India has been so little frequented by Europeans in later times, that neither the position of

* Philostr. Vita Apollon. lib. ii. c. 43. edit. Olear. Lips. 1709.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 17.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1074.

places,

places, nor their distances, can be ascertained with the same accuracy as in the interior provinces, or even in the Panjab. But from the researches of Major Rennell, carried on with no less discernment than industry, the distance of that place on the Hydaspes, where Alexander fixed out his fleet, from the ocean, cannot be less than a thousand British miles. Of this extensive region a considerable portion, particularly the upper Delta, stretching from the capital of the antient Malli, now Moultan, to Patala, the modern Tatta, is distinguished for its fertility and population*.

“ Soon after he reached the ocean, Alexander, satisfied with having accomplished this arduous undertaking, led his army by land back to Persia. The command of the fleet, with a considerable body of troops on board of it, he left to Nearchus, who, after a coasting voyage of seven months, conducted it safely up the Persian Gulph into the Euphrates †.

“ In this manner did Alexander first open the knowledge of India to the people of Europe; and an extensive district of it was surveyed with greater accuracy than could have been expected from the short time he remained in that country. Fortunately an exact account, not only of his military operations, but of every thing worthy of notice in the countries where they were carried on, was recorded in the memoirs or journals of three of his principal officers, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Aristobulus, and Nearchus. The two former have not indeed reached

our times, but it is probable that the most important facts which they contained, are preserved, as Arrian professes to have followed them as his guides in his History of the Expedition of Alexander †; a work which, though composed long after Greece had lost its liberty, and in an age when genius and taste were on the decline, is not unworthy the purest times of Attic literature.

“ With respect to the general state of India, we learn from these writers, that in the age of Alexander, though there was not established in it any powerful empire, resembling that which in modern times stretched its dominion from the Indus almost to Cape Comorin, it was even then formed into monarchies of considerable extent. The king of the Prajij was prepared on the banks of the Ganges to oppose the Macedonians, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, two thousand armed chariots, and a great number of elephants §. The territory of which Alexander constituted Porus the sovereign, is said to have contained no fewer than two thousand towns ||. Even in the most restricted sense that can be given to the vague indefinite appellations of *nations* and *towns*, an idea is conveyed of a very great degree of population. As the fleet sailed down the river, the country on each side was found to be in no respect inferior to that of which the government was committed to Porus.

“ It was likewise from the memoirs of the same officers that Europe derived its first authentic information concerning the climate, the

* Rennell Mem. 68, &c.

† Arrian, lib. i. in proemio.

‡ Arrian, lib. vi. c. 2.

§ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 23.

|| Diocl. Sicul. lib. xvii. p. 232.

oil, the productions, and the inhabitants of India; and in a country where the manners, the customs, and even the dress of the people are almost as permanent and invariable as the face of nature itself, it is wonderful how exactly the descriptions given by Alexander's officers delineate what we now behold in India, at the distance of two thousand years. The stated change of seasons, now known by the name of *Monsoons*; the periodical rains; the swelling of the rivers; the inundations which these occasion; the appearance of the country during their continuance; are particularly mentioned and described. No less accurate are the descriptions which they have given of the inhabitants, their delicate and slender form, their dark complexion, their black uncuffed hair, their garments of cotton, their living entirely upon vegetable food, their division into separate tribes or *casts* the members of which never intermarry, the custom of wives burning themselves with their deceased husbands, and many other particulars, in all which they perfectly resemble the modern Hindoos."

An enquiry is made, in the second section, into the manner in which the intercourse with India was carried on by the Romans, into the nature of the intercourse, and into the knowledge which that people possessed of the east in general. A succinct account is given of the different articles of commerce, which formed the principal traffic of the Romans.

"In order to convey an idea of their demands as complete as possible, I shall in the first place make some observations on the three great articles

of general importation from India. 1. Spices and aromatics. 2. Precious stones and pearls. 3. Silk. And then I shall give some account (as far as I can venture to do it from authentic information) of the assortment of cargoes, both outward and homeward bound, for the vessels fitted out at Berenice for different ports of India.

"1. Spices and aromatics. From the mode of religious worship in the heathen world; from the incredible number of their deities, and of the temples consecrated to them; the consumption of frankincense and other aromatics, which were used in every sacred function, must have been very great. But the vanity of men occasioned a greater consumption of these fragrant substances than their piety. It was the custom of the Romans to burn the bodies of their dead, and they deemed it a display of magnificence, to cover, not only the body but the funeral pile on which it was laid, with the most costly spices. At the funeral of Sylla, two hundred and ten burthens of spices were strewed upon the pile. Nero is reported to have burnt a quantity of cinnamon and cassia at the funeral of Pappæa, greater than the countries from which it was imported produced in one year. We consume in heaps these precious substances with the carcases of the dead (says Pliny): We offer them to the Gods only in grains*. It was not from India, I am aware, but from Arabia, that aromatics were first imported into Europe; and some of them, particularly frankincense, were productions of that country. But the Arabians were accustomed, together

* Nat. Hist. lib. xij. c. 18.

with spices of native growth, to furnish foreign merchants with others of higher value, which they brought from India, and the regions beyond it. The commercial intercourse of the Arabians with the Eastern parts of Asia, was not only early (as has been already observed) but considerable. By means of their trading caravans, they conveyed into their own country all the valuable productions of the East, among which, spices held a chief place. In every ancient account of Indian commodities, spices and aromatics of various kinds form a principal article*. Some authors assert that the greater part of those purchased in Arabia were not the growth of that country, but brought from India †. That this assertion was well-founded, appears from what has been observed in modern times. The frankincense of Arabia, though reckoned the peculiar and most precious production of the country, is much inferior in quality to that imported into it from the East; and it is chiefly with the latter, that the Arabians at present supply the extensive demands of various provinces of Asia for this commodity ‡. It is upon good authority, then, that I have mentioned the importation of spices as one of the most considerable branches of ancient commerce with India.

“ II. Precious stones, together with which pearls may be classed, seem to be the article next in value imported by the Romans from the East. As these have no pretension to be of any real use, their value arises entirely from their beauty and

their rarity, and even when estimated most moderately is always high. But among nations far advanced in luxury, when they are deemed not only ornaments but marks of distinction, the vain and the opulent vie so eagerly with one another for the possession of them, that they rise in price to an exorbitant and almost incredible height. Diamonds, though the art of cutting them was imperfectly known to the ancients, held an high place in estimation among them as well as among us. The comparative value of other precious stones varied according to the diversity of tastes and the caprice of fashion. The immense number of them mentioned by Pliny, and the laborious care with which he describes and arranges them §, will astonish, I should suppose, the most skilful lapidary or jeweller of modern times, and shews the high request in which they were held by the Romans.

“ But among all the articles of luxury, the Romans seem to have given the preference to pearls. Persons of every rank purchased them with eagerness; they were worn on every part of dress; and there is such a difference, both in size and in value, among pearls, that while such as were large and of superior lustre adorned the wealthy and the great, smaller ones, and of inferior quality, gratified the vanity of persons in more humble stations of life. Julius Cæsar presented Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with a pearl, for which he paid forty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The famous pearl ear-rings of Cleopatra were in value one hundred and

* Peripl. Mar. Eryth. p. 22. 28. Strab. lib. ii. p. 156. A. lib. xv. p. 1018. A.
 † Strab. lib. xvii. p. 1129. C. ‡ Niebuhr. Descript. de l'Arabie, tom. i. p. 126.
 § Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii.

xy-one thousand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds*. Precious stones, it is true, as well as pearls, were found not only in India, but in many different countries, and all were ransacked in order to gratify the pride of Rome. India, however, furnished the chief part, and its productions were allowed to be most abundant, diversified, and valuable.

“ III. Another production of India in great demand at Rome, was silk; and when we recollect the variety of elegant fabrics into which it may be formed, and how much these have added to the splendour of dresses and furniture, we cannot wonder at its being held in such estimation by a luxurious people. The price it bore was exorbitant; but it was deemed a dress too expensive and too delicate for men †, and was appropriated wholly to women of eminent rank and opulence. This, however, did not render the demand for it less eager, especially after the example of the dissolute Elagabalus introduced the use of it among the other sex, and accustomed men to the disgrace (as the severity of ancient ideas accounted it) of wearing this effeminate garb. Two circumstances concerning the traffick of silk among the Romans merit observation. Contrary to what usually takes place in the operations of trade, the more general use of that commodity seems not to have increased the quantity imported, in such proportion as to answer the growing demand for it, and the price of silk was not reduced during the course of two hundred and fifty years from the time of its being first known in Rome. In the reign of

Aurelian, it still continued to be valued at its weight in gold. This, it is probable, was owing to the mode in which that commodity was procured by the merchants of Alexandria. They had no direct intercourse with China, the only country in which the silk-worm was then reared, and its labour rendered an article of commerce. All the silk which they purchased in the different ports of India which they frequented, was brought thither in ships of the country; and either from some defect of skill in managing the silk-worm, the produce of its ingenious industry among the Chinese was scanty, or the intermediate-dealers found greater advantage in furnishing the market of Alexandria with a small quantity at an high price, than to lower its value by increasing the quantity. The other circumstance which I had in view, is more extraordinary, and affords a striking proof of the imperfect communication of the ancients with remote nations, and of the slender knowledge which they had of their natural productions or arts. Much as the manufactures of silk were admired, and often as silk is mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors, they had not, for several centuries, after the use of it became common, any certain knowledge either of the countries to which they were indebted for this favourite article of elegance, or of the manner in which it was produced. By some, silk was supposed to be a fine down adhering to the leaves of certain trees or flowers; others imagined it to be a delicate species of wool or cotton; and even those who had learned that it was the work of an insect, threw,

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 33.

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by their descriptions, that they had no distinct idea of the manner in which it was formed: It was in consequence of an event that happened in the sixth century of the Christian æra, of which I shall hereafter take notice, that the real nature of silk became known in Europe.

“ The other commodities usually imported from India, will be mentioned in the account, which I now proceed to give, of the cargoes sent out and brought home in the ships employed in that trade. For this we are indebted to the circumnavigation of the Erythræan sea, ascribed to Arrian, a curious though short treatise, less known than it deserves to be, and which enters into some details concerning commerce, to which there is nothing similar in any ancient writer. The first place in India, in which the ships from Egypt, while they followed the ancient course of navigation, were accustomed to trade, was Patala in the river Indus. They imported into it woollen cloth of a slight fabric, linen in chequer-work, some precious stones, and some aromatics unknown in India, coral, storax, glass vessels of different kinds, some wrought silver, money, and wine. In return for these, they received spices of various kinds, sapphires, and other gems, silk stuffs, silk thread, cotton cloths, and black pepper. But a far more considerable emporium on the same coast was Barygaza, and on that account the author, whom I follow here, describes its situation, and the mode of approaching it, with great minuteness and accuracy. Its situation corresponds

entirely with that of Baroach, on the great river Nerbuddah, down the stream of which, or by land-carriage, from the great city of Tagara across high mountains, all the productions of the interior country were conveyed to it. The articles of importation and exportation in this great mart were extensive and various. Besides these already mentioned, our author enumerates among the former, Italian, Greek, and Arabian wines, brass, tin, lead, girdles or sashes of curious texture, melilot, white glass, red arsenic, black lead, gold and silver coin. Among the exports he mentions the onyx, and other gems, ivory, myrrh, various fabrics of cotton; both plain and ornamented with flowers, and long pepper*. At Musiris, the next emporium of note on that coast, the articles imported were much the same as at Barygaza; but as it lay nearer to the eastern parts of India, and seems to have had much communication with them, the commodities exported from it were more numerous and more valuable. He specifies particularly pearls in great abundance and of extraordinary beauty, a variety of silk stuffs, rich perfumes, tortoise-shell, different kinds of transparent gems, especially diamonds, and pepper in large quantities, and of the best quality †.

“ The justness of the account given by this author of the articles imported from India, is confirmed by a Roman law, in which the Indian commodities subject to the payment of duties are enumerated †. By comparing these two accounts, we may form an idea, tolerably ex-

* Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 28.

† Ibid. 31, 32.

‡ Digest, lib. xxxix. tit. iv. § 16. De publicanis et vestigalibus

act, of the nature and extent of the trade with India in ancient times.

“ As the state of society and manners among the natives of India, in the earliest period in which they are known, nearly resembled what we observe among their descendants in the present age; their wants and demands were, of course, much the same. The ingenuity of their own-artists were so able to supply these, that they stood little in need of foreign manufactures or productions, except some of the useful metals, which their own country did not furnish in sufficient quantity; and then, as now, it was mostly with gold and silver that the luxuries of the East were purchased. In two particulars, however, our importations from India differ greatly from those of the ancients. The dress, both of the Greeks and Romans, was almost entirely woollen, which, by their frequent use of the warm bath, was rendered abundantly comfortable. Their consumption of linen and cotton cloths was much inferior to that of modern times, when these are worn by persons in every rank of life. Accordingly, a great branch of modern importation from that part of India with which the ancients were acquainted, is in *piece-goods*; comprehending, under that mercantile term, the immense variety of fabricks, which Indian ingenuity has formed of cotton. But, as far as I have observed, we have no authority that will justify us in stating the ancient importation of these to be in any degree considerable.

“ In modern times, though it continues still to be chiefly a commerce of luxury that is carried on with India, yet, together with the ar-

ticles that minister to it, we import, to a considerable extent, various commodities, which are to be considered merely as the materials of our domestic manufactures. Such are the cotton-wool of Indostan, the silk of China, and the salt-petre of Bengal. But in the accounts of ancient importations from India, raw silk and silk-thread excepted, I find nothing mentioned that could serve as the materials of any home-manufacture. The navigation of the ancients never having extended to China, the quantity of unwrought silk with which they were supplied, by means of the Indian traders, appears to have been so scanty, that the manufacture of it could not make an addition of any moment to their domestic industry.”

At the conclusion of this section the introduction of the silk-worm into Europe is thus alluded to:

“ The frequency of open hostilities between the emperors of Constantinople and the monarchs of Persia, together with the increasing rivalry of their subjects in the trade with India, gave rise to an event which produced a considerable change in the nature of that commerce. As the use of silk, both in dress and furniture, became gradually more general in the court of the Greek emperors, who imitated and surpassed the sovereigns of Asia in splendor and magnificence; and as China, in which, according to the concurring testimony of Oriental writers, the culture of silk was originally known*, still continued to be the only country which produced that valuable commodity; the Persians, improving the advantages which their situation gave them over

* Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. artic. *Harir*.

the merchants from the Arabian Gulf, supplanted them in all the marts of India to which silk was brought by sea from the East. Having it likewise in their power to molest or to cut off the caravans, which, in order to procure a supply for the Greek empire, travelled by land to China, through the northern provinces of their kingdom, they entirely engrossed that branch of commerce. Constantinople was obliged to depend on a rival power for an article which luxury viewed and desired as essential to elegance. The Persians, with the usual rapacity of monopolists, raised the price of silk to such an exorbitant height*, that Justinian, eager not only to obtain a full and certain supply of a commodity which was become of indispensable use, but solicitous to deliver the commerce of his subjects from the exactions of his enemies, endeavoured, by means of his ally, the Christian monarch of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but when he least expected it, he, by an unforeseen event, attained, in some measure, the object which he had in view. Two Persian monks having been employed as missionaries in some of the Christian churches, which were established (as we are informed by Cosmas) in different parts of India, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, or China. There they observed the labours of the silk-worm, and became acquainted with all the arts of man in working up its productions into such a variety of elegant fabrics. The prospect of gain, or perhaps an indignant zeal, ex-

cited by seeing this lucrative branch of commerce engrossed by unbelieving nations, prompted them to repair to Constantinople. There they explained to the emperor the origin of silk, as well as the various modes of preparing and manufacturing it, mysteries hitherto unknown, or very imperfectly understood in Europe; and encouraged by his liberal promises, they undertook to bring to the capital a sufficient number of those wonderful insects, to whose labours man is so much indebted. This they accomplished by conveying the eggs of the silk-worm in a hollow cane. They were hatched by the heat of a dunghill, fed with the leaves of a wild mulberry-tree, and they multiplied and worked in the same manner as in those climates where they first became objects of human attention and care †. Vast numbers of these insects were soon reared in different parts of Greece, particularly in the Peloponnesus. Sicily afterwards undertook to breed silk-worms with equal success, and was imitated, from time to time, in several towns of Italy. In all these places extensive manufactures were established, and carried on, with silk of domestic production. The demand for silk from the East diminished of course, the subjects of the Greek emperors were no longer obliged to have recourse to the Persians for a supply of it, and a considerable change took place in the nature of the commercial intercourse between Europe and India."

The third section commences with a brief account of the manner in which the Mahomedans supplied Europe with the luxuries of India;

* Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 25.

† Procop. de Bello Gothic. lib. iv. c. 17.

d then proceeds to give an interesting view of the commercial rise of the Italian states; until the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope drew almost the whole trade of the east into the hands of the Portuguese. We shall quote Dr. Robertson's relation of the last-mentioned event.

“ When the Portuguese, to whom mankind are indebted for opening his communication between the most remote parts of the habitable globe, undertook their first voyage of discovery, it is probable that they had nothing farther in view than to explore those parts of the coast of Africa which lay nearest to their own country. But a spirit of enterprise, when roused and put in motion, is always progressive; and that of the Portuguese, though slow and timid in its first operations, gradually acquired vigour, and prompted them to advance along the western shore of the African continent, far beyond the utmost boundary of ancient navigation in that direction. Encouraged by success, it became more adventurous, despised dangers which formerly appalled it, and surmounted difficulties which it once deemed insuperable. When the Portuguese found in the torrid zone, which the ancients had pronounced to be uninhabitable, fertile countries, occupied by numerous nations; and perceived that the continent of Africa, instead of extending in breadth towards the West, according to the opinion of Ptolemy, appeared to contract itself, and to bend Eastwards, more extensive prospects opened to their view, and inspired them with hopes of reaching India, by continuing to hold the same

course which they had so long pursued.

“ After several unsuccessful attempts to accomplish what they had in view, a small squadron sailed from the Tagus, under the command of Vasco de Gama, an officer of rank, whose abilities and courage fitted him to conduct the most difficult and arduous enterprises. From unacquaintance, however, with the proper season and route of navigation in that vast ocean through which he had to steer his course, his voyage was long and dangerous. At length he doubled that promontory, which, for several years, had been the object of terror and of hope to his countrymen. From that, after a prosperous navigation along the south-east of Africa, he arrived at the city of Melinda, and had the satisfaction of discovering there, as well as at other places where he touched, people of a race very different from the rude inhabitants of the Western shore of that continent, which alone the Portuguese had hitherto visited. These he found to be so far advanced in civilization, and acquaintance with the various arts of life, that they carried on an active commerce, not only with the nations on their own coast, but with remote countries of Asia. Conducted by their pilots, who held a course (with which experience had rendered them well acquainted) he sailed across the Indian ocean, and landed at Calcut, on the coast of Malabar, on the twenty-second of May, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, ten months and two days after his departure from the port of Lisbon.

“ The Samorin, or Monarch of the country, astonished at this unexpected visit of an unknown people,

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whose

whose aspect, and arms, and manners, bore no resemblance to any of the nations accustomed to frequent his harbours, and who arrived in his dominions by a route hitherto deemed impracticable, received them, at first, with that fond admiration which is often excited by novelty. But in a short time, as if he had been inspired with foresight of all the calamities now approaching India by this fatal communication opened with the inhabitants of Europe, he formed various schemes to cut off Gama and his followers. But from every danger to which he was exposed, either by the open attacks or secret machination of the Indians, the Portuguese admiral extricated himself with singular prudence and intrepidity, and at last sailed from Calcutt with his ships loaded, not only with the commodities peculiar to that coast, but with many of the rich productions of the Eastern parts of India.

“ On his return to Lisbon, he was received with the admiration and gratitude due to a man, who, by his superior abilities and resolution, had conducted to such a happy issue an undertaking of the greatest importance, which had long occupied the thoughts of his sovereign, and excited the hopes of his fellow-subjects*. Nor did this event interest the Portuguese alone. No nation in Europe beheld it with unconcern. For although the discovery of a new world, whether we view it as a display of genius in the person who first conceived an idea of that undertaking which led mankind to the knowledge of it, whether we contemplate its influence upon science

by giving a more complete knowledge of the globe which we inhabit, or whether we consider its effects upon the commercial intercourse of mankind, be an event more splendid than the voyage of Gama, yet the latter seems originally to have excited more general attention. The former, indeed, filled the minds of men with astonishment; it was some time, however, before they attained such a sufficient knowledge of that portion of the earth now laid open to their view, as to form any just idea, or even probable conjecture, with respect to what might be the consequences of communication with it. But the immense value of the Indian trade, which both in ancient and in modern times had enriched every nation by which it was carried on, was a subject familiar to the thoughts of all intelligent men, and they at once perceived that the discovery of this new route of navigation to the East, must occasion great revolutions, not only in the course of commerce, but in the political state of Europe.”

As the author conceived, that at the conclusion of his third section, when he had brought down his account to the discovery of a new route of navigation by the Cape of Good Hope, he was arrived at that point, whence a line might be drawn, which would mark the chief distinction between the manners and political institutions of ancient and modern times, the fourth section consists of some general observations which he thought naturally arose from a survey of both, and a comparison of one with the other.

* *Asia de João de Barros*, dec. i. lib. iv. c. 11. *Castagneda*, *Hist. de l'Inde* trad. en François, liv. i. c. 2—28.

shall conclude our account of work with the following quotations, which contains remarks on the peculiarity of the times, during the period in which the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of the Indian trade.

“ Lucrative as the trade with India was, and had long been deemed, it is remarkable that the Portuguese were suffered to remain in the undisturbed and exclusive possession of it, during the course of almost a century. In the ancient world, though Alexandria, from the peculiar felicity of its situation, could carry on an intercourse with the East by sea, and circulate its productions through Europe with such advantage, as gave it a decided superiority over every rival; yet various attempts (which I have described in their proper places) were made, from time to time, to obtain some share in a commerce so apparently beneficial. From the growing activity of the commercial spirit in the sixteenth century, as well as from the example of the eager solicitude with which the Venetians and Genoese exerted themselves alternately to shut out each other from any share in the Indian trade, it might have been expected that some competitor would have arisen to call in question the claim of the Portuguese to an exclusive right of traffic with the East, and to wrest from them some portion of it. There were, however, at that time, some peculiar circumstances in the political state of all those nations in Europe, whose intrusion, as rivals, the Portuguese had any reason to dread, which secured to them the quiet enjoyment of their monopoly of Indian commerce during such a long period. From the accession of Charles V. to

the throne, Spain was either so much occupied in a multiplicity of operations in which it was engaged by the ambition of that monarch, and of his son Philip II. or so intent on prosecuting its own discoveries and conquests in the New World, that, although, by the successful enterprize of Magellan, its fleets were unexpectedly conducted by a new course to that remote region of Asia which was the seat of the most gainful and alluring branch of trade carried on by the Portuguese, it could make no considerable effort to avail itself of the commercial advantages which it might have derived from that event. By the acquisition of the crown of Portugal, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the kings of Spain, instead of the rivals, became the protectors of the Portuguese trade, and the guardians of all its extensive rights. Throughout the sixteenth century, the strength and resources of France were so much wasted by the fruitless expeditions of their monarchs into Italy, by their unequal contest with the power and policy of Charles V. and by the calamities of the civil wars which desolated the kingdom upwards of forty years, that it could neither bestow much attention upon objects of commerce, nor engage in any scheme of distant enterprize. The Venetians, how sensibly soever they might feel the mortifying reverse of being excluded, almost entirely, from the Indian trade, of which their capital had been formerly the chief seat, were so debilitated and humbled by the league of Cambray, that they were no longer capable of engaging in any undertaking of magnitude. England, weakened (as I formerly observed) by the long contest be-

tween the houses of York and Lancaster, and just beginning to recover its proper vigour, was restrained from active exertion, during one part of the sixteenth century, by the cautious maxims of Henry VII. and wasted its strength, during another part of it, by engaging inconsiderately in the wars between the princes on the continent. The nation, though destined to acquire territories in India more extensive and valuable than were ever possessed by any European power, had no such presentiment of its future eminence there, as to take an early part in the commerce or transactions of that country, and a great part of the century elapsed before it began to turn its attention towards the East.

“ While the most considerable nations in Europe found it necessary, from the circumstances which I have mentioned, to remain inactive spectators of what passed in the East, the Seven United Provinces of the Low Countries, recently formed into a small state, still struggling for political existence, and yet in the infancy of its power, ventured to appear in the Indian ocean as the rivals of the Portuguese; and, despising their pretensions to an exclusive right of commerce with the extensive countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, invaded that monopoly which they had hitherto guarded with such jealous attention. The English soon followed the example of the Dutch, and both nations, at first by the enterprising industry of private adventurers, and afterwards by the more powerful efforts of trading companies, under the protection of public authority, advanced with astonishing ardour and success in this new career opened to them. The vast fabric of power which the

Portuguese had erected in the East (a superstructure much too large for the basis on which it had to rest) was almost entirely overturned, in a short time, and with as much facility, as it had been raised. England and Holland, by driving them from their most valuable settlements, and seizing the most lucrative branches of their trade, have attained to that pre-eminence in naval power and commercial opulence, by which they are distinguished among the nations of Europe.”

The Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the different Parishes. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Vols. I. and II.

EVERY attempt to elucidate the natural and political history of any country, upon a plan so rational as that of the work before us, cannot fail of obtaining the cordial approbation of all who wish well to the improvement of mankind. We are in general too apt to condemn or extol nations, as well as individuals, without sufficient discrimination; though perhaps there are but few of either description entitled to unqualified censure or unqualified praise; few in whom we may not find much to commend, as well as much to stigmatize.

The people of Scotland are confessedly not so far advanced in all the arts which tend to promote the comforts and luxuries of life as their wealthier neighbours of England, but are certainly much more in a state of civilization than some partial writers, biased by the littleness of national prejudice, wish us to conceive. We must not, however, imagine,

Imagine, that the patriotic compiler of the present publication undertook his laborious task from the secret influence of any local attachments; from a hope of raising his native country to a more important rank among surrounding nations, by a literary monument to her merits, as splendid as it is likely to prove bulky; from a wish to convince the world that Scotland is in an actual state of progressive improvement, and that if she has not hitherto rivalled her sister kingdom in every excellence which constitutes the wealth, the resources, and the pride of modern nations, the deficiency ought to be considered rather as her misfortune than her fault. The motives of Sir John Sinclair are of a higher kind. He publishes, not for the gratification of Scotchmen, but for the instruction of the world. Every real philosopher, who wishes to speculate on facts, to accommodate his system, whether it be of a moral, commercial, or political nature, not to any preconceived idea of fancied perfection, but to the existing state of men and things, will readily pay him that tribute of applause which he so richly deserves.

It was the intention of Sir John Sinclair to draw up, from the answers to the queries which he circulated among the clergy of Scotland, a general view of the natural history and political state of that country, without any particular reference to parochial districts. But he found, as he observes in his preface, "so much merit and ability, and so many useful facts and important observations in the answers which were sent him, that he could not think of depriving the clergy of the credit they were entitled to

from such laborious exertions; whence he was induced to give the work to the public in its present shape."—Without detracting from the merits of the Scottish clergy, whose compositions in general do credit to their heads as well as hearts, we cannot help regretting that the latter plan was pursued. As it is, the present work must be considered rather as a rich storehouse of materials for some future history, than as a history itself. Had a more systematical arrangement been adopted, many of the observations which are now published would in that case have been suppressed, not because they were in themselves unimportant, but because the same, or at least similar ones, had been repeated before; and much of that species of information would have been abridged, if at all given, which had been previously detailed with sufficient accuracy and minuteness.

Among the advantages to be derived from this laudable undertaking, we shall point out one, of inferior consideration indeed, but of some little moment, which the cursory reader may not, the prejudiced one will not, perceive. It is this, that while a publication of so respectable a nature reflects immortal honour on the clergy of the church of Scotland, (a publication which, as Sir John Sinclair observes, by giving more authentic information regarding the internal structure of political society than ever was known before, in all likelihood will very materially contribute to the general happiness of the species) it may tend to convince superficial speculators in politics that there may be some utility in ecclesiastical establishments.

The following analysis of the statistical account of a parochial district, was proposed as a guide to the clergy in drawing up the survey of their respective parishes:—

The name, and its origin.
 Situation and extent of the parish.
 Number of acres.
 Description of the soil and surface.
 Nature and extent of the sea-coast.
 Lakes, rivers, islands, hills, rocks, caves, woods, orchards, &c.
 Climate and diseases.
 Instances of longevity.
 State of property.
 Number of proprietors.
 Number of residing proprietors.
 Mode of cultivation.
 Implements of husbandry.
 Manures.
 Seed-time and harvest.
 Remarkable instances of good and bad seasons.
 Quantity and value of each species of crop.
 Total value of the whole produce of the district.
 Total real and valued rent.
 Price of grain and provisions.
 Total quantity of grain and other articles consumed in the parish.
 Wages and price of labour.
 Services, whether exacted or abolished.
 Commerce.
 Manufactures.
 Manufacture of kelp, its amount, and the number of people employed in it.
 Fisheries.
 Towns and villages.
 Police.
 Inns and ale-houses.
 Roads and bridges.
 Harbours.
 Ferries, and their state.
 Number of ships and vessels.
 Number of seamen.
 State of the church.

Stipend, manse, glebe, and patron.
 Number of poor.
 Parochial funds, and the management of them.
 State of the schools, and number of scholars.
 Antient state of population.
 Causes of its increase or decrease.
 Number of families.
 Exact amount of the number of souls now living.
 Division of the inhabitants.
 1. By the place of their birth.
 2. By their ages.
 3. By their religious persuasions.
 4. By their occupations and situation in life.
 5. By their residence, whether in town, village, or in the country.

Number of houses.
 _____ uninhabited houses.
 _____ dove-cots, and to what extent they are destructive to the crops.
 _____ horses, their nature, and value.
 _____ cattle, and ditto.
 _____ sheep, and ditto,
 _____ swine, and ditto.

Minerals in general.
 Mineral springs.
 Coal and fuel.
 Eminent men.
 Antiquities.
 Parochial records.
 Miscellaneous observations.
 Character of the people.
 Their manners, customs, stature, &c.
 Advantages and disadvantages.
 Means by which their situation could be meliorated.

In the account of the parish of Jedburgh, in Roxburghshire, the effects of the Union on the borders are thus detailed:

“ The Union of the parliaments of England and Scotland, has in some respects produced an effect
 very

very different from what might have been expected from it. Instead of promoting the increase, it has contributed to the diminution, of the people upon the borders. Besides, the influence of various natural propensities, which induced men to flock to the scene where active talents were constantly employed, honour acquired, and the strongest national antipathies gratified, there were obvious considerations of interest, which rendered the situation of the borders more eligible, after violence and hostility were repressed, by the union of the two crowns, and the consequent interposition of the legislature of both kingdoms. The inhabitants of the borders, while the taxes and the commercial regulations of the two kingdoms were different, enjoyed the opportunity of carrying on a very advantageous contraband trade, without danger to their persons or fortunes. Into England they imported salt, skins, and malt, which, till the Union, paid no duties in Scotland; and from England they carried back wool, which was exported from the Frith of Forth to France, with great profit. The vestiges of forty malt-barns and kilns are now to be seen in the town of Jedburgh, while at present there are only three in actual occupation; and the corporation of skimmers and glovers, formerly the most wealthy in that town, have, since the Union, greatly diminished, both in regard to opulence and number. The proprietors of estates upon the borders were well aware of the detriment which their property would suffer by the incorporating Union, and in general strenuously opposed it; and the com-

missioners for carrying on that treaty, were so sensible of the loss they would sustain, that they agreed to appropriate part of the equivalent money, as it was called, to their indemnification and benefit*.

“The Union has also been the cause of the depopulation of the border country, by enlarging the sphere, and facilitating the means of emigration. While the two countries were in a hostile state, there was neither inducement nor opportunity to move from the one to the other. The inhabitants often made inroads upon one another; but when the incursion was over, they returned to their own homes. Their antipathy and resentments were a rampart which excluded all social intercourse, and mixture of inhabitants. In this situation, misconduct and infamy at home were the only motives to emigration, and while this was the case, the exchange of inhabitants would be nearly at a par: But after the Union of the two kingdoms, and the decline or extinction of national antipathies, the balance arising from the interchange of inhabitants would run much in favour of the more wealthy country. Artificers and labourers would naturally resort where wages were higher, and all the accommodations of life were more plentiful, especially if this could be effected without the unpleasing idea of relinquishing home. To pass from the borders of Scotland into Northumberland, was rather like going into another parish than into another kingdom.”

The minister who describes the parish of Linton, in the county of Tweeddale, gives a remarkable ac-

* See Defoe's History of the Union, minute 47, observation 47.

count of a harvest frost, not unfrequent in the highlands.

“ The high lands of Tweeddale and Lanarkshire are all subject to harvest frosts, which often damage the crop. These frosts are generally dreaded about the latter end of August and during the month of September. Rainy weather about this time generally terminates in this kind of frost, which, in the year 1784, destroyed the whole barley crop in the month of August. The highest land is always the last in suffering by this kind of frost; the lowest is in greatest danger. In a calm evening after rain this frost is always apprehended; when it sets in, a low white thick creeping vapour is observed to arise, after sunset, from the running waters and low lying mosses, which gradually spreads to a certain distance, and to a certain height, on the lands in the neighbourhood. These frost mists are observed to attract each other; and, wherever they rest, they destroy vegetation when in a certain state, or where their baleful influence is not counteracted by particular circumstances. The half of a field contiguous to the running water or moor is often destroyed, while the more remote half, on the same level, or part equally near, but more elevated, remains safe. In part of a field of potatoes in the line of the attraction of two mists, the stems became black and soft like soap, while the neighbouring drill remained green and vigorous. These frost mists manifest their noxious quality first on the potatoe stems, second crop of clover, and pease. It requires a greater degree of intensity in the frost to hurt other crops: It scarcely affects turnips. The stems of the potatoe and clover

grow black and soft, and fall down; the leaves, and the pods of the pea, are spotted with white spots. The potatoe is supposed to grow no more, though the roots are safe; the pease, in proportion to their greenness, are soft, wrinkled, and watery, become of the colour of a pickled olive, and acquire a disagreeable sweetish taste: When threshed the frost-bitten are distinguished from the sound by throwing them into water; the sound sink, the others swim. A field of oats, when frost-bitten, acquires in a few days a blueish cast; and barley, if early frosted, as in 1784, remains erect in the head, which acquires a reddish brown colour, or, if later, a deadish whiteness. The kernels, when unhusked immediately after the frost, are wrinkled, soft, and watery, and, after a while, grow shrivelled and dry. The kernel of frosted oats, even if threshed in spring, when examined between the eye and the light, appears cloudy, and not of that uniform transparency which sound grain possesses.

“ In the morning after the frost the vegetables are stiffened; but its effects are not observable till after sun-rise. If wind arises through the night to prevent the mist from settling, or if the next day is cloudy, and especially if it rains before sun-rise, or if the field be so shaded by hills from the rising sun that the crop may be gently thawed by the increasing heat of the atmosphere before the sun's rays shine directly on it, no danger is to be apprehended. In conformity to this experience, a small field of potatoes has been known to be saved by sprinkling them with well water before sun-rising. But this can never be executed on a large scale. Attempts

tempts have also been made, though without success, to save oats and barley, by dragging something over them, before sun-rise, to shake off the hoar frost, or *ryme* or *cranreuch*, as it is called, which is deposited wherever the mist settles. This frost affects the vegetation of corn only at a certain period of its progress. Pease are frosted however green in the grain, and the greener the more readily; they are not killed by it when hard ripe; but to this state they seldom arrive at Linton. Barley and oats are not hurt by this frost when hard ripe, and fit for the hook; and it is probable that they are not hurt by it even though they are shot, and the ear beginning to fill, as long as the juices are watery, and have not yet come to the consistency of thickish milk. It is certainly the case with oats. In the year 1784, the frost was on the 17th and 18th August. The uppermost grains of the oats, which always fill soonest, had thick milk in them, and were frosted four or five grains down the head. The grains below these all ripened well. The barley, which might be about equally forward with the top grains of the oats, was totally destroyed. Probably the upper grains had sheltered the under ones from the frost, the crop being very thick and strong; and this might have been the reason why the undermost grains ripened: But as a proof, above all exception, *that the frost does not greatly hurt oats while the juices in the ear are watery*, there were several contiguous fields sown with late seed oats, whose best ripened grains were no further advanced than the undermost grains in the field above mentioned, and they all ripened very well, though equally exposed to the frost.

“ Dr. Roebuck’s experiments on oats in 1782, corresponds with this observation; for, even the last parcel he cut *was not ripe when cut*: of course, it may be probably conjectured, that, in the time of the frost, none of the oats in question had thick milk in the ear.

“ Crops cut and stacked before the frost are safe, except pease, the upper surface of which will frost till they be thoroughly ripe. To save them, it is usual to turn the exposed side downwards, to thaw gradually before sun-rise.

“ This frost affects only low grounds, and only hardens a very thin crust on the surface of the earth. In 1782, the frost penetrated several inches into the ground, so as to destroy the roots of the potatoes.”

A very picturesque description is given of a rock called Craig-grande, or the *ugly rock*, situated in the parish of Kiltearn, in Ross-shire:—

“ The natural curiosity that chiefly deserves notice, is the rock called Craig-grande, or the *ugly rock*. This is a deep chasm or abyss, formed by two opposite precipices, that rise perpendicularly to a great height, through which the Aultgrande runs for the space of two miles. It begins at the distance of four miles from the sea, by a bold projection into the channel of the river, which it diminishes in breadth by at least one half. The river continues to run with rapidity for about three quarters of a mile, when it is confined by a sudden jutting out of the rock. Here, the side view from the summit is very striking. The course of the stream being thus impeded, it whirls, and foams, and beats with violence against the opposing rock, till, collecting strength, it shoots up perpendicularly with
great

great fury, and, forcing its way, darts with the swiftness of an arrow through the winding passage on the other side. After passing this obstruction, it becomes in many places invisible, owing partly to the increasing depth and narrowness of the chasm, and partly to the view being intercepted by the numerous branches of trees which grow on each side of the precipice. About a quarter of a mile farther down, the country people have thrown a slight bridge, composed of trunks of trees covered with turf, over the rock, where the chasm is about 16 feet wide. Here the observer, if he has intrepidity enough to venture himself on such a tottering support, and can look down on the gulph below without any uneasy tentations, will be gratified with a view equally awful and astonishing. The wildness of the steep and rugged rocks; the gloomy horror of the cliffs and caverns, "inaccessible by mortal's trod," and where the genial rays of the sun never yet penetrated; the water-falls which are heard pouring down in different places of the precipice, with sounds various in proportion to their distance; the hoarse and hollow murmuring of the river, which runs at the depth of near 130 feet below the surface of the earth; the fine groves of pines, which majestically climb the sides of a beautiful eminence, that rises immediately from the brink of the chasm; all these objects cannot be contemplated, without exciting emotions of wonder and admiration in the mind of every beholder! The appearance of this singular and picturesque scene, will naturally bring to the recollection of the classical spectator those beautiful lines of Virgil, in which he describes the

gulph, through which his *Alecto* shoots herself into the infernal regions :

— deasis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
Dat sonitum saxi et torto vortice terrens.
Hic specus horrendum, et lævi spiracula Divis
Menstrantur; ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces : —————

Critics may labour to convey the force and meaning of the author's words; and travellers may, by their ingenious descriptions, give us a still more lively idea of their beauty and propriety; but he who would see a living commentary on this noble passage, must visit the rock of Aultgrande."

As the writer of this elegant quotation seems to labour only at giving a faithful description of real objects possessed of peculiar grandeur and sublimity, not to display the refinement of his taste in sketching ideal scenery, which exists no where but in his own imagination, the picture is the more valuable, as it bears a minuter resemblance to truth and nature.

The following calculation is founded on incontrovertible facts; and proves, that in spite of emigration, Scotland is still increasing, not decreasing in population.

"It appears, on the whole, that in 50 country parishes in Scotland, taken indiscriminately, from one end of the kingdom to the other, there is an increase since the year 1755, of 10,517 souls; which is at the rate of 210 to a parish, or 189,000 in the 900 country parishes of North Britain: and, as the great towns (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley,

Paisley, Aberdeen, Dundee, &c.) have probably increased to the amount of 210,000 the total increase in Scotland, in less than 40 years, will be about 400,000, and the total population about 1,700,000 souls."

A curious mode of courtship, and as curious a mode of terminating the nuptial rejoicings, prevail in the neighbourhood of Galston, in Ayrshire.

"When a young man wishes to pay his addresses to his sweet-heart, instead of going to her father's, and professing his passion, he goes to a public-house; and, having let the land-lady into the secret of his attachment, the object of his wishes is immediately sent for, who never almost refuses to come. She is entertained with ale and whisky, or brandy; and the marriage is concluded on. The second day after the marriage, a *creeling*, as it is called, takes place. The young wedded pair, with their friends, assemble in a convenient spot. A small creel or basket is prepared for the occasion, into which they put some stones: The young men carry it alternately, and allow themselves to be caught by the maidens, who have a kiss when they succeed. After a great deal of innocent mirth and pleasure, the creel falls at length to the young husband's share, who is obliged to carry it generally for a long time, none of the women having compassion upon him. At last, his fair mate kindly relieves him from his burden; and her complaisance, in this particular, is considered as a proof of her satisfaction with the choice she has made. The creel

goes round again; more merriment succeeds, and all the company dine together, and talk over the feats of the field*."

The minister of the parish of Fortingal, in Perthshire, draws a striking comparison between the state of that part of the country in 1754, and its present situation.

"In the year 1754, the country was almost impassable. There were no roads, nor bridges. Now, by the statute-labour, we have got excellent roads, and 12 bridges. In a few years, we shall have other two, which is all that could be desired. The people contribute cheerfully and liberally to build them, and this preserves many lives.

"At the above period, the bulk of the tenants in Rannoch had no such thing as beds. They lay on the ground, with a little heather, or fern, under them. One single blanket was all their bed-cloaths, excepting their body-cloaths. Now they have standing-up beds, and abundance of blankets. At that time, the houses in Rannoch were huts of, what they called, "Stake and Rife." One could not enter but on all fours; and after entering, it was impossible to stand upright. Now there are comfortable houses built of stone. Then the people were miserably dirty, and foul-skinned. Now they are as cleanly, and are clothed as well, as their circumstances will admit of. The rents of the parish, at that period, were not much above 1500 l. and the people were starving. Now they pay 4660 l. *per annum*, and upwards, and the people have fulness of bread.

* Perhaps the French phrase, "*Adieu faniers, vendanges sont faites,*" may allude to a similar custom.

“ It is hardly possible to believe, on how little the Highlanders formerly lived. They bled their cows several times in the year, boiled the blood, eat a little of it like bread, and a most lasting meal it was. The present incumbent has known a poor man, who had a small farm hard by him, by this means, with a boll of meal for every mouth in his family, pass the whole year.

“ The circumstances, which have occasioned the greater wealth and abundance of the present times, are, the planting of so many potatoes, the advance in the price of cattle and sheep, the greater industry of the people, the stop that has been put to the depredations of thieves, and the people, instead of rearing black cattle, having turned their farms into sheep-walks, which they find much more profitable. These are likewise the causes of the great rise of rent. In 1754, the tenants planted perhaps one lippie or two of potatoes. Now they plant a boll, two bolls, or more. They keep the potatoe ground very clean. The general increase is 12 bolls or more. Few sowed any lintseed at that time. Perhaps there were not two hogheads sown in the parish. Now there are perhaps 24 hogheads sown yearly, every tenant and crofter having from one to four lippies. The increase is about one stone from the lippie. The wives and maids spin the flax; the yarn is purchased by dealers, who travel over the country for that purpose, and by whom it is sent to Perth or Glasgow.”

As a whimsical compound of oddity, libertinism, and philanthropy, perhaps nothing can exceed the following letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple to Sir Lawrence Dundas,

written to solicit a living in the Orkneys for a Mr. Dishington :

“ Dear Sir,

“ Having spent a long life, in pursuit of pleasure and health, I am now retired from the world in poverty, and with the gout; so, joining with Solomon, that “ all is vanity and vexation of spirit,” I go to church, and say my prayers.

“ I assure you, that most of us religious people reap some little satisfaction, in hoping, that you wealthy voluptuaries have a fair chance of being damn'd to all eternity; and that Dives shall call out for a drop of water to Lazarus, one drop of which he seldom tasted, when he had the twelve Apostles, (*twelve hogheads of claret*) in his cellar.

“ Now, Sir, that doctrine being laid down, I wish to give you, my friend, a loop-hole to creep through. Going to church last Sunday, as usual, I saw an unknown face in the pulpit, and rising up to prayers, as others do upon like occasions, I began to look around the church, to find out if there were any pretty girls there; when my attention was attracted by the foreign accent of the parson. I gave him my attention, and had my devotion awakened, by the most pathetic prayer I ever heard. This made me all attention to the sermon: a finer discourse never came from the lips of a man. I returned in the afternoon, and heard the same preacher exceed his morning work, by the finest chain of reasoning, conveyed by the most eloquent expressions. I immediately thought of what Agrippa said to Paul, “ Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.” I sent to ask the man of God to honour my roof, and
dine

dine with me. I asked him of his country, and what not: I even asked him, if his sermons were his own composition, which he affirmed they were. I assured him, I believed it, for never man had spoke or wrote so well. "My name is "Dishington," said he. "I am an assistant to an old minister in the Orkneys, who enjoys a fruitful benefice of 50l. a year, out of which I am allowed 20l. for preaching and instructing 1200 people, who live in two separate islands; out of which I pay 1l. 5s. to the boatman who transports me from the one to the other. I should be happy, could I continue in that terrestrial paradise; but we have a great Lord, who has many little people soliciting him, for many little things, that he can do and that he cannot do; and if my minister dies, his succession is too great a prize, not to raise up many powerful rivals, to baulk my hopes of preferment."

"I asked him, if he possessed any other wealth. "Yes," says he, "I married the prettiest girl in the island; she has blessed me with three children, and as we are both young, we may expect more. Besides, I am so beloved in the island, that I have all my peats brought home carriage-free."

"This is my story,—now to the prayer of my petition. I never before envied you the possession of the Orkneys, which I now do, only to provide for this eloquent, innocent apostle. The sun has refused your barren isles his kindly influence;—do not deprive them of so pleasant a preacher:—let not so great a treasure be for ever lost to that damn'd

inhospitable country; for I assure you, were the archbishop of Canterbury to hear him, or hear of him, he would not do less than make him an archdeacon. The man has but one weakness, that of preferring the Orkneys to all the earth.

"This way, and no other, you have a chance for salvation.—Do this man good, and he will pray for you. This will be a better purchase, than your Irish estate, or the Orkneys. I think it will help me forward too, since I am the man, who told you of the man so worthy and deserving; so pious, so eloquent, and whose prayers may do so much good, 'Till I hear from you on this head,

"Your's, in all meekness,

"Love, and benevolence,

"H. D."

"P.S. Think what an unspeakable pleasure it will be, to look down from heaven, and see Rigby, Masterton, all the Campbells and Nabobs, swimming in fire and brimstone, while you are sitting with Whitefield, and his old women; looking beautiful, frisking, and singing; all which you may have by settling this man, after the death of the present incumbent."

Sir John Sinclair concludes his second volume with some reflections of importance to the community, the candour of which is only exceeded by their justice.

"The constitution of the borough of Newton upon Ayr is certainly, in theory, the purest and best republican system, any where to be met with. Nothing, at first sight, can yield more satisfaction, to a mind capable of feeling for the happiness of the species, than to find, that a

commu-

community actually exists, whose government is founded on the generous principles of equality and independence. In the whole course of this investigation, nothing gave me more satisfaction, than the account of this district, as returned by the minister.—Upon farther inquiry, from various quarters in the neighbourhood, I learnt, however, with regret, that beautiful theories do not always answer in practice; and, in particular, that no beneficial consequences could be traced from this constitution;—that the freemen were, in no respect, superior to the inhabitants of other little boroughs; that, in general, little attention was paid to their education, and that some of them could not read;—that no funds were allotted for the maintenance of the poor brethren;—that the place was reckoned almost a century behind other towns in point of improvement.—In regard to their property, that a considerable tract of ground, belonging to them, remained in common;—and, that no favourable preface could be drawn, from the manner in which their small possessions were cultivated;—for, that in a much inclosed country, their acres remained open, were kept constantly in tillage, and consequently, in a state greatly inferior to the lands of those who held a larger extent of ground in their possession, and whose rights were not liable to the same system of restrictions.

“These cursory observations are thrown out on a subject of great political importance, which will afterwards be more fully inquired into, and, which the statistical survey of Scotland will probably be the means of ascertaining, namely, “What is the best mode of holding the land

“ed property of a nation, and of
“cultivating it to the best advantage?”

Sacontala, or the Fatal Ring: an Indian Drama; by Calidas. Translated from the original Sanscrit and Pracrit.

WE have received too much pleasure from the perusal of this splendid production of Oriental genius, to pass it by unnoticed. Sir William Jones, the reputed translator of the work, gives in the preface the following account of the manner in which he first became acquainted with this dramatic curiosity.

“In one of the letters which bear the title of *EDIFYING*, though most of them swarm with ridiculous errors, and all must be consulted with extreme diffidence, I met, some years ago, with the following passage: “In the north of India there are many books, called *Nátacs*, which, as the *Bráhmens* assert, contain a large portion of ancient history without any mixture of fable;” and having an eager desire to know the real state of this empire before the conquest of it by the savages of the north, I was very solicitous, on my arrival in Bengal, to procure access to those books, either by the help of translations, if they had been translated, or by learning the language in which they were originally composed, and which I had yet a stronger inducement to learn from its connection with the administration of justice to the *Hindús*; but when I was able to converse with the *Bráhmens*, they assured me that the *Nátacs* were not histories, and abounded

abounded with fables; that they were extremely popular works, and consisted of conversations in prose and verse, held before ancient Rájás in their publick assemblies, on an infinite variety of subjects, and in various dialects of India. This definition gave me no very distinct idea; but I concluded that they were dialogues on moral or literary topics; whilst other Europeans, whom I consulted, had understood from the natives that they were discourses on dancing, musick, or poetry. At length a very sensible Bráhmén, named Rádáhánt, who had long been attentive to English manners, removed all my doubts, and gave me no less delight than surprize, by telling me that our nation had compositions of the same sort, which were publickly represented at Calcutta in the cold season, and bore the name, as he had been informed, of plays. Resolving at my leisure to read the best of them, I asked which of their Náctas was most universally esteemed; and he answered without hesitation, Sacontalá, supporting his opinion, as usual among the Pandits, by a couplet to this effect: "The
 " Ring of Sacontalá, in which the
 " fourth act, and four stanzas of
 " that act, are eminently brilliant,
 " displays all the rich exuberance
 " of Cálidás's genius." I soon procured a correct copy of it; and, assisted by my teacher Rámalóchan, began with translating it verbally into Latin, which bears so great a resemblance to Sanscrit, that it is more convenient than any modern language for a scrupulous interlineary version: I then turned it word for word into English, and afterwards, without adding or suppressing any material sentence, disengaged it from the stiffness of a

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foreign idiom, and prepared the faithful translation of the Indian drama, which I now present to the publick, as a most pleasing and authentick picture of old Hindú manners, and one of the greatest curiosities that the literature of Asia has yet brought to light.

" By whomsoever or in whatever age this species of entertainment was invented, it is very certain that it was carried to great perfection in its kind, when Vicramáditya, who reigned in the first century before Christ, gave encouragement to poets, philologers, and mathematicians, at a time when the Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat: nine men of genius, commonly called the nine gems, attended his court, and were splendidly supported by his bounty; and Cálidás is unanimously allowed to have been the brightest of them."

This pleasing publication cannot fail of affording a delicious treat to those who have the least relish for Oriental composition. Although labouring under the great disadvantages of a prose translation, it retains the spirit and brilliancy of genuine poetry. The genius of Cálidas darts around so bright a blaze, that, even the dense medium of prose, through which its rays are conveyed to us, although it may diminish, cannot destroy their splendour.

As it would be unreasonable to expect in the Indian drama an attention to the unities of the Grecian theatre, so would it be not much less unreasonable to bring the exuberant graces of Asiatic composition to the test of that chaster model of writing which the severity of European taste approves. We may most admire the appropriate embellish-

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ments of the artificial pleasure-ground; yet can we behold, without delight, the incongruous charms, the bold but beautiful irregularities of luxuriant nature?

The general conduct of the piece, and the masterly development of the fable, allowing for the singular customs and opinions of the people among whom it was written, convince us that the Indian drama is of higher antiquity than the period at which Calidas is said to have flourished. Accustomed to a total dissimilarity of manners, and proud of displaying a sovereign contempt for every thing which bears the name of superstition, the English reader may feel indeed, but faintly, the peculiar beauties of many interesting touches, which appeal most forcibly to the feelings of an Hindoo. In spite however of prejudice, that critic must be as void of sensibility as taste, who cannot discover in almost every page the hand of no vulgar writer.

The prominent beauties of this drama are, a dignified morality of sentiment, a warmth of expression, and glow of colouring, a simplicity in the conception, and delicacy in the delineation of character. Of these the last-mentioned are the most striking, arising, perhaps, more from the peculiarity of Oriental manners, than from any studied sense of propriety in the writer.

The style, as might be expected, riots in all the luxury of licentious metaphor. The irresistible graces, which in rapid succession obtrude themselves on our view, strike so powerfully on our imagination, so imperceptibly win upon our affections, that we possess neither time nor inclination to consider what it is of which we are enamoured. It is

only when the effects of the spell have ceased, that our reason returns, and that we are enabled to form a judgment, of which in our less impassioned moments we can approve. We then too frequently perceive a confused assemblage of extravagant conceptions, where at first we saw nothing but the brightest ornaments of fancy; we grieve, to find the genuine charms of ease and nature overwhelmed by a tawdry load of cumbrous imagery. But in justice to the genius of Calidas, we must confess, that his ideas are seldom lost under a cloud of bombastical expressions; to surprize he does not think it always necessary to exaggerate. We never remember to have read an Asiatic production of equal length more animated or less turgid.

The drama is divided into seven acts. The fable is briefly this: Dushmanta, emperor of India, hunting in a sacred forest, meets with Sacontalá, the daughter of a king, by a celestial nymph, placed by her father under the care of Canva, a hermit. He there marries her; and on being suddenly called to his court, gives her at his departure a ring, on which the name Dushmanta is engraved. During his absence, Sacontalá, lost in a reverie, falls under the displeasure of a holy stranger, who solicits from her the customary rights of hospitality, by not attending to his address. This pious, but choleric man, who is described as having power to consume, like a raging fire, whatever offends him, utters the following imprecation, still unattended to by Sacontalá, but heard by her attendants: "He, on whom thou art meditating, on whom alone thy heart is now fixed, while thou
neglectest

neglectest a pure gem of devotion, who demands hospitality, shall forget thee when thou seest him next, a man restored to sobriety forgets the words which he uttered in a state of intoxication." He is afterwards persuaded, at the entreaty of one of the attendants, to consent "that the spell shall be removed when her lord shall see his ring." Sacontalá, kept in ignorance of the whole affair, from motives of female tenderness, proceeds to the capital, and appears before the emperor, who, being under the influence of the spell, denies all knowledge of her. At this moment, remembering that her attendants had earnestly requested her, if Dushmanta should not immediately recollect her, to shew him his ring, she hastens to produce it, but, on looking at her finger, finds it gone. She is afterwards snatched away by "a body of light, in a female form." The ring is at last accidentally found, and delivered to the emperor, who now perfectly recollecting every past transaction, becomes in-
 consolable for the loss of his Sacontalá; but, by the intervention of supernatural assistance, she is at length restored to him.

The following is an elegant specimen of that species of rich description, intermixed with moral reflections, in which this drama abounds.

"A pupil of Canna enters.

Pupil. I am ordered by the venerable Canna, who is returned from the place of his pilgrimage, to observe the time of the night, and am, therefore, come forth to see how much remains of it.—[*Walking round, and observing the heavens.*]

—On one side, the moon, who kin-

dles the flowers of the Oshadhí, has nearly sunk in his western bed; and, on the other, the sun, seated behind his charioteer Arun, is beginning his course: the lustre of them both is conspicuous, when they rise and when they set; and by their example should men be equally firm in prosperous and in adverse fortune.—The moon has now disappeared, and the night-flower pleases no more: it leaves only a remembrance of its odour, and languishes like a tender bride whose pain is intolerable in the absence of her beloved.—The ruddy morn impurples the dew-drops on the branches of yonder Vadari; the peacock, shaking off sleep, hastens from the cottages of hermits interwoven with holy grass; and yonder antelope, springing hastily from the place of sacrifice, which is marked with his hoofs, raises himself on high, and stretches his graceful limbs.—How is the moon fallen from the sky with diminished beams! the moon who had set his foot on the head of Suméru, king of mountains, and had climbed, scattering the rear of darkness, even to the central palace of Vishnu!—Thus do the great men of this world ascend with extreme labour to the summit of ambition, but easily and quickly descend from it."

Similes of various degrees of brilliancy are scattered with an unsparing hand over every part of the work. One of these struck us as peculiarly happy. "While I am doubtful (exclaims Dushmanta, under the influence of his delirium) while I am doubtful, whether this unblemished beauty, which is displayed before me, has not been possessed by another, I resemble the bee, fluttering at the close

close of day over a blossom filled with dew; and in this state of mind I neither can enjoy nor forsake her."

In the third act there is a love scene between Dushmanta and Sacontalá, singular indeed in its kind; but which, in the opinion of most readers, may appear to possess considerable merit.

"*Sacontalá.* Leave me, oh! leave me. I am not, indeed, my own mistress, or—the two damsels were only appointed to attend me. What can I do at present?"

Dushmanta. [*aside.*] Fear of displeasing her makes me bashful.

Sacontalá. [*overhearing him.*] The king cannot give offence. It is my unhappy fate only that I accuse.

Dushmanta. Why should you accuse for favourable a destiny?

Sacontalá. How rather can I help blaming it, since it has permitted my heart to be affected by amiable qualities, without having left me at my own disposal?

Dushmanta. [*aside.*] One would imagine that the charming sex, instead of being, like us, tormented with love, kept love himself within their hearts, to torment him with delay. [*Sacontalá going out.*]

Dushmanta. [*aside.*] How! must I then fail of attaining felicity?

[*following her, and catching the skirt of her mantle.*]

Sacontalá. [*turning back.*] Son of Puru, preserve thy reason; oh! preserve it.—The hermits are busy on all sides of the grove.

Dushmanta. My charmer, your fear of them is vain. Cana himself, who is deeply versed in the science of law, will be no obstacle to our union. Many daughters of the holiest men have been married by

the ceremony calle Gándharva, as it is practised by Indra's band, and even their fathers have approved them.—[*locking round.*]—What say you? are you still inflexible? Alas! I must then depart. [*going from her a few paces, then looking back.*]

Sacontalá. [*moving also a few steps, and then turning back her face.*] Though I have refused compliance, and have only allowed you to converse with me for a moment, yet, O son of Puru—let not Sacontalá be wholly forgotten.

Dushmanta. Enchanting girl! should you be removed to the ends of the world, you will be fixed in this heart, as the shade of a lofty tree remains with it even when the day is departed.

Sacontalá. [*going out, aside.*] Since I have heard his protestations, my feet move, indeed, but without advancing. I will conceal myself behind those flowering Curuvacas, and thence I shall see the result of his passion. [*she hides herself behind the shrubs.*]

Dushmanta. [*aside.*] Can you leave me, beloved Sacontalá; me who am all affection? Could you not have tarried a single moment? Soft is your beautiful frame, and indicates a benevolent soul; yet your heart is obdurate: as the tender Sirísha hangs on a hard stalk.

Sacontalá. [*aside.*] I really have now lost the power of departing.

Dushmanta. [*aside.*] What can I do in this retreat, since my darling has left it?—[*musug and looking round.*]—Ah! my departure is happily delayed.—Here lies her bracelet of flowers, exquisitely perfumed by the root of Usíra which had been spread on her bosom: it has fallen from her delicate wrist,

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and

and is become a new chain for my heart. [*taking up the bracelet with reverence.*]

Sacotalá. [*aside, looking at her hand.*] Ah me! such was my languor, that the filaments of lotos stalks which bound my arm dropped on the ground unperceived by me.

Dushmanta. [*aside, placing it in his bosom.*] Oh! how delightful to the touch!—From this ornament of your lovely arm, O my darling! though it be inanimate and senseless, your unhappy lover has regained confidence—a bliss which you refused to confer.

Sacotalá. [*aside.*] I can stay here no longer. By this pretext I may return. [*going slowly towards him.*]

Dushmanta. [*with rapture.*] Ah! the empress of my soul again blesses these eyes! After all my misery I was destined to be favoured by indulgent heaven.—The bird Chátac, whose throat was parched with thirst, supplicated for a drop of water, and suddenly a cool stream poured into his bill from the bounty of a fresh cloud.

Sacotalá. Mighty king! when I had gone half way to the cottage, I perceived that my bracelet of thin stalks had fallen from my wrist; and I return because my heart is almost convinced that you must have seen and taken it. Restore it, I humbly entreat, lest you expose both yourself and me to the censure of the hermits.

Dushmanta. Yes, on one condition I will return it.

Sacotalá. On what condition? Speak—

Dushmanta. That I may replace it on the wrist to which it belongs.

Sacotalá. [*af. t. c.*] I have no alternative. [*approaching him.*]

Dushmanta. But in order to replace it, we must both be seated on that smooth rock. [*both sit down.*]

Dushmanta. [*taking her hand.*] O exquisite softness! This hand has regained its native strength and beauty, like a young shoot of Cãmatalá: or it resembles rather the god of love himself, when, having been consumed by the fire of Hara's wrath, he was restored to life by a shower of nectar sprinkled by the immortals.

Sacotalá. [*pressing his hand.*] Let the son of my lord make haste to tie on the bracelet.

Dushmanta. [*aside, with rapture.*] Now I am truly blessed.—That phrase, the son of my lord, is applied only to a husband.—[*Aloud.*]—My charmer, the clasp of this bracelet is not easily loosened: it must be made to fit you better.

Sacotalá. [*smiling.*] As you please.

Dushmanta. [*quitting her hand.*] Look, my darling: this is the new moon which lets forth firmament in honour of superior beauty, and, having descended from your enchanting wrist, has joined both its horns round it in the shape of a bracelet.

Sacotalá. I really see nothing like a moon: the breeze, I suppose, has shaken some dust from the lotos flower behind my ears, and that has obscured my sight.

Dushmanta. [*smiling.*] If you permit me, I will blow the fragrant dust from your eye.

Sacotalá. It would be a kindness; but I cannot trust you.

Dushmanta. Oh! fear not, fear not. A new servant never transgresses the command of his mistress.

Sacotalá. But a servant over assiduous deserves no confidence.

O 3 *Dushmanta,*

Dushmanta. [*aside.*] I will not let slip this charming occasion.—

[*attempting to raise her head—Sacotalá faintly repels him, but sits still.*]

—O damsel, with an antelope's eyes! be not apprehensive of my indiscretion.—[*Sacotalá looks up for a moment, and then bashfully drops her head—Dushmanta, aside, gently raising her head.*]—That lip, the softness of which is imagined, not proved, seems to pronounce, with a delightful tremour, its permission for me to allay my thirst.

Sacotalá. The son of my lord seems inclined to break his promise.

Dushmanta. Beloved, I was deceived by the proximity of the lotos to that eye which equals it in brightness. [*he blows gently on her eye.*]

Sacotalá. Well; now I see a prince who keeps his word as it becomes his imperial character. Yet I am really ashamed that no desert of mine entitles me to the kind service of my lord's son.

Dushmanta. What reward can I desire, except that which I consider as the greatest, the fragrance of your delicious lip?

Sacotalá. Will that content you?

Dushmanta. The bee is contented with the mere odour of the water-lily.

Sacotalá. If he were not, he would get no remedy.

Dushmanta. Yes, this and this—

[*kissing her eagerly.*]

[*Behind the scenes.*] Hark! the Chacraváca is calling her mate on the bank of the Málini: the night is beginning to spread her shades.

Sacotalá. [*listening alarmed.*] O son of my lord! the matron Gautamí approaches, to enquire after my health. Hide yourself, I entreat, behind you trees.

Dushmanta. I yield to necessity. [*he retires.*]

At the period of Sacotalá's departure from the consecrated forest, the scene of her past delights, she is thus described bidding farewell to the former objects of her innocent affections, and commending them to the care of her foster-father Canna, and her beloved companions Anusúyá and Priyamvadá.

“*Sacotalá* [*aside to Priyamvadá.*] Delighted as I am, O Priyamvadá, with the thought of seeing again the son of my lord, yet, on leaving this grove, my early asylum, I am scarce able to walk.

Priyamvadá. You lament not alone.—Mark the affliction of the forest itself when the time of your departure approaches!—The female antelope browses no more on the collected Cusá grass; and the pea-hen ceases to dance on the lawn; the very plants of the grove, whose pale leaves fall on the ground, lose their strength and their beauty.

Sacotalá. Venerable father! suffer me to address this Mádhaví creeper, whose red blossoms inflame the grove.

Canna. My child, I know thy affection for it.

Sacotalá. [*embracing the plant.*] O most radiant of twining plants, receive my embraces, and return them with thy flexible arms: from this day, though removed to a fatal distance, I shall for ever be thine.—O beloved father! consider this creeper as myself.

Canna. My darling! thy amiable qualities have gained thee a husband equal to thyself: such an event has been long, for thy sake, the chief object of my heart; and now, since my solicitude for thy marriage is at an end, I will marry thy

my favourite plant to the bride-room Amra, who sheds fragrance for her.—Proceed, my child, on thy journey.

Sacotalá. [approaching the two emfels.] Sweet friends! let this *Ādhavī* creeper be a precious deposit in your hands.

Anusūyā and Priyamvadā. Alas! whose care shall we be left?

[they both weep.]

Canna. Tears are vain, *Anusūyā*: our *Sacotalá* ought rather to be supported by your firmness, than weakened by your weeping.

[all advance.]

Sacotalá. Father! when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones with which she is pregnant, shall be delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message, with tidings of her safety.—Do not forget.

Canna. My beloved! I will not forget it.

Sacotalá, [advancing, then stopping.] Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe, and detains me? [she turns round, and looks.]

Canna. It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whose mouth, when

the sharp points of *Cusa-grass* had wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of *Ingudi*; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of *Syámāka* grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

Sacotalá. Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling-place?—As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care.—Return, poor thing! return—we must part. [she bursts into tears.]

Canna. Thy tears, my child, ill suit the occasion: we shall all meet again: be firm: see the direct road before thee, and follow it.—When the big tear lurks beneath thy beautiful eye-lashes, let thy resolution check its first efforts to disengage itself.—In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path seldom distinguished, the traces of thy feet must needs be unequal; but virtue will press thee right onward."

THE
C O N T E N T S.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of the Netherlands in the years 1789 and 1790. Emperor abolishes all the ancient privileges and immunities of Brabant, which increases the emigration of the principal inhabitants to the neighbouring countries in a prodigious degree. Several decrees at length issued against emigration, and the nobility and clergy charged to return, under the penalty of forfeiture; but this proclamation produces no effect. City and lordship of Breda seem to become the head-quarters of the emigrants. Various causes which induced the neighbouring governments, as well as their subjects at large, to be much interested in favour of the Netherlanders. Emperor sequestrates all the abbeys in Brabant, and appoints civil officers for the administration of their revenues. Impolicy of this measure. Conspiracy in Brussels for blowing up the houses of the Counts Dalton and Trautmansdorff, and the seizure of that city, fortunately discovered. States of Brabant, assembled at Breda, vote themselves a regular and legal assembly, and pass a strong remonstrance to the Emperor, which they send by express to Vienna. Letter from the Archbishop of Malines to the Pope. Insurgents commence hostilities on the borders of Dutch Flanders, where they take the forts Lillo, &c. General Count Schroeder dispatched with a strong body of Imperial troops to repress the insurgents, who retreat to the small town of Turnhout. Action at Turnhout, in which the Austrians are defeated with much loss. Faults charged upon Schroeder's conduct, who is stripped of his military commands, and recalled to Germany. Indignation of the Emperor at this defeat. Savage cruelties charged upon the Austrians at Turnhout. This success serves as a general signal for the recal of the exiles, who now burst into the frontiers on every side, and assume the name of the Patriotic Army. Causes why the great exertions of the Generals Dalton and Bender produce no suitable effect. Extreme cowardice and profligacy of the veteran soldiers

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JAN 8 - 1935

