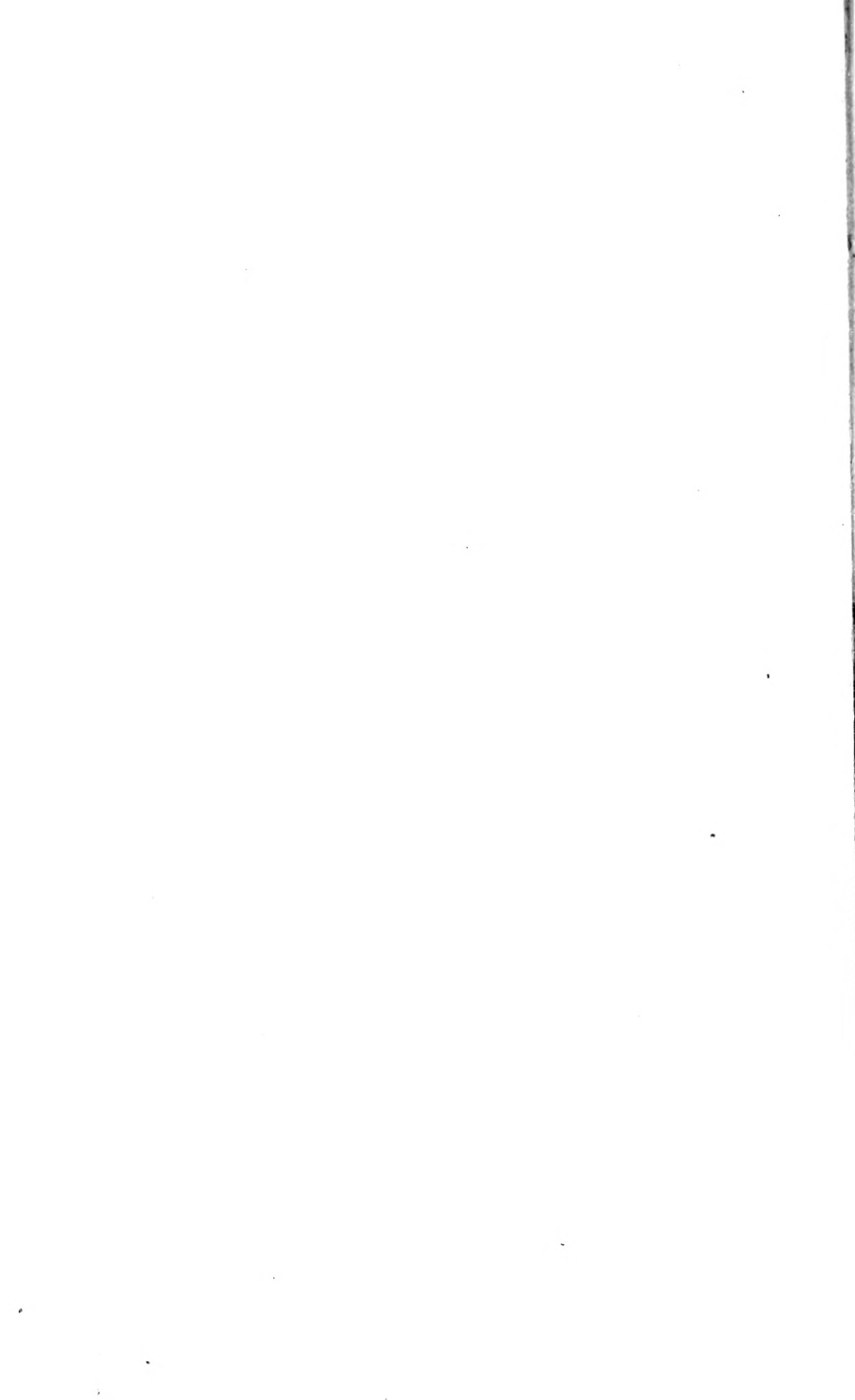






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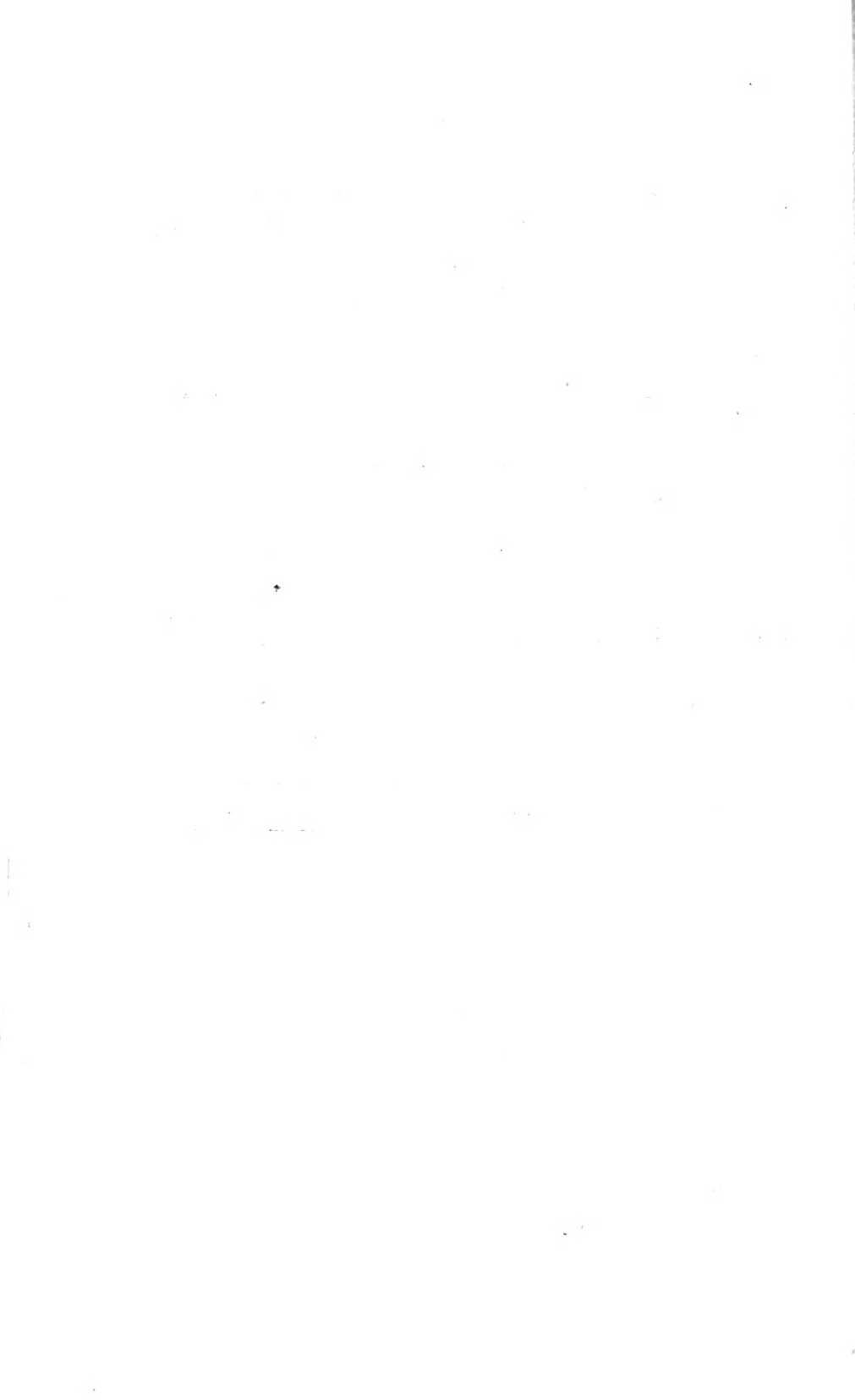


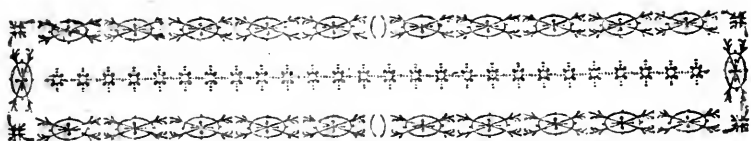
THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1758.

THE EIGHTH EDITION.



L O N D O N:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1791.





P R E F A C E.

SOME of the Learned have been very severe upon such works as we now lay before the Public. Their severity would have been just, if such works had been recommended or used to the exclusion of more important studies. Those who aspire to a solid erudition, must undoubtedly take other methods to acquire it. They have their labour and their merit. But there are readers of another order, who must not be left wholly unprovided : For such readers, it is our province to collect matters of a lighter nature ; but pleasing even by their levity ; by their variety ; and their aptitude to enter into common conversation. Things of this sort often gradually and imperceptibly insinuate a taste of knowledge, and in some

measure gratify that taste. They steal some moments from the round of dissipation and pleasure. They relieve the minds of men of business, who cannot pass from severe labour to severe study, with an elegant relaxation. They preserve the strenuous idleness of many from a worse employment.

These pretensions we have in common with all the other periodical compilers ; and the same apology serves us all. But it will be expected, that in offering a new performance to the Public, we should mention some new and peculiar advantage which we pretend to have over our fellow-labourers. Some such advantages we flatter ourselves we possess, partly arising from our scheme of an annual rather than a monthly publication ; partly from our own attention and industry.

Not confined to a monthly publication, we have an opportunity of examining with care the products of the year, and of selecting

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ing what may appear most particularly deserving of notice. We have from the same cause the advantage of order; we are better able to rank the several kinds under their proper heads; at least with as much exactness as the nature of a miscellany will admit.

But, besides this advantage derived from our general scheme, we derive something from our own labour. We have not in our first article confined ourselves to the history of the year. We have taken the war from its commencement. It is a subject which requires all the pains which we could bestow upon it, and deserves much more skilful workmen. None was ever more formed to interest curiosity; from the importance of the events, the dignity of the persons concerned, the greatness of the actions performed, and the amazing revolutions of fortune. The reader will find the events of this war, which has been carried on in the four quarters of the world, and which he has hitherto seen
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in a scattered manner, united into one connected narrative, and continued to the end of the campaign of seventeen hundred and fifty-eight. To effect this from the broken and unconnected materials, has been a work of more labour than may at first appear; and if we have performed what we intended in any sort to the reader's satisfaction, we may lay claim to some merit.

We have made an article of State Papers. They serve to illustrate and confirm the facts advanced in the historical part; and our readers will not be displeased to see so many curious and important pieces together.

Endeavouring to be as extensively useful as possible, we aimed at uniting the plan of the Magazines with that of the Reviews. We have given abstracts of some of the best books published within the year, with remarks upon them. We have observed upon none which we could not praise; not that we pretend

pretend to have observed on all that are praise-worthy. Those that do not deserve to be well spoken of, do not deserve to be spoken of at all.

Though we think our plan tolerably well calculated for a literary amusement, we do not pretend that the public will not have something to excuse, as well as to applaud. Our acquaintance with their sentiments in that respect will increase our employment for the ensuing year, and excite us to amend the faults which we may have committed in this.



William Pitt
THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1758.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PRESENT WAR.

C H A P. I.

Origin of the troubles in North America. Admiral Boscawen and General Braddock sent thither. Operations intended. Two French men of war taken. Braddock defeated. General Johnson repulses the French. French threaten an invasion. Fort St. Philip besieged and taken. Treaty with Russia, the spirit of it. Alliance with the King of Prussia. Ground of the quarrel between her Imperial Majesty and that monarch. Treaty of Petersbourg. Treaty of Versailles. King of Prussia enters Saxony and Bohemia. Battle of Lowositz. Saxon army surrenders.

THE original plan of this work proposed no more than that each volume should contain a narrative of those events which distinguish its own year. But, because we have entered upon our undertaking in the heat of an almost general and very important war, I thought it would not be unne-

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cessary or disagreeable to look a little farther back. It would be difficult perfectly to understand the operations of the several powers at war, during the last year, without reviewing the transactions of the preceding years; nor would it be easy to enter into the spirit of these without examining the causes which

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more nearly or remotely operated to produce these troubles that have involved so many parts of the world in one common distraction.

The war into which all parties and interests seem now to be so perfectly blended, arose from causes which originally had not the least connection: the uncertain limits of the English and French territories in America; and the mutual claims of the houses of Austria and Brandenburg on the duchy of Silesia. It is no wonder that the two former powers, seizing on a country in which they considered the right of the natural inhabitants as nothing, should find it a very difficult matter to settle their own. For a long time neither of these powers were sufficiently acquainted with the geography of America, to enable them to ascertain the limits of their several pretensions with any tolerable exactness; nor, indeed, were these matters deemed of sufficient moment to call for a very laborious discussion. At the treaty of Utrecht, whilst so many more important interests, or what then seemed more important, were discussed, the limits of Nova Scotia, then called Acadia, were expressed only in general terms, and left to be put on a more certain footing by subsequent negotiations. These negotiations, pursued with no vigour and drawn out into an excessive length, seemed only to increase the former confusion. After the accession of the present royal family, a French connection, perhaps necessary from the circumstances of the time, and afterwards a certain negligence of all affairs but those of our domestic polity, suffered this important point to vanish almost wholly out of our consideration. During this interval, our colonies on the continent of North

America, extended themselves on every side. Whilst agriculture and the maritime commerce flourished on their coasts, the Indian trade drew several of our wandering dealers far into the inland country, and beyond the great mountains. Here they found themselves in a delightful climate, in a soil abundantly fruitful, and watered with many fair and navigable rivers. These advantages, joined to those of the Indian trade, appeared to compensate for its remoteness from the sea. It was judged that as the first settlers on the coast, we had a good right to the inland country; and, if so, to the navigation of the Mississippi, which opened another door to the ocean. With these views, a company of merchants and planters obtained a charter for a considerable tract of land near the river Ohio, on the western side of the Allegeny mountains, but within the province of Virginia; and the adventurers began to settle pursuant to the terms of their patent.

Now began to shoot forth the seeds of another dispute, which had long lain unobserved, but which proved altogether as thorny and intricate as that concerning the limits of Acadia. The French, pretending to have first discovered the mouths of the Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country, towards New Mexico on the East, quite to the Apalachian or Allegeny mountains on the West. They drove off the new settlers, and built a strong fort, called du Quesne, on the forks of the river Monongahela; a situation which commanded an entrance into all the country on the Ohio and Mississippi.

The reader will observe, that I do not pretend to decide concerning the right of either nation in

in this contest. It is evident enough, that the consideration of the right had much less influence on both parties than the consideration of conveniency. Should the French be able to unite Canada to their colonies at the mouth of Mississippi, by a possession of all that vast country which lies between them, the English colonies must lose all share in the Indian trade in time of peace; and in time of war be exposed to continual dangers, or to the ruinously chargeable defence of a frontier more than 1500 miles in length. If on the contrary, the French should fail to make good these claims on the Ohio, and those on Nova Scotia, their two colonies, entirely disunited, and the entrance into one shut up for the winter season by frost, and the entrance into the other difficult in all seasons by the banks at the mouth of the Mississippi, must certainly lose all their value to France, and in their fall involve much of the fortune of their great settlements in the West Indies.

Both nations being fully persuaded of this, no longer looked on the affair of the Ohio as a matter of indifference. They prepared to cut the gordian knot of the long and intricate negotiation by the sword. Ships were fitted out, and some troops silently sent off from Brest. General Braddock failed to Virginia with about 1500 regular troops; 24 men of war under the Admirals Boscawen and Mottyn were ordered to America, to intercept the French supplies. Orders were sent to our colonies to arm; and three operations were actually undertaken, one against Fort du Quesne under Braddock; the other two against the French forts in Nova Scotia, and the fort of Crown Point on the frontiers of

New York. The two courts in the mean time breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged reciprocal professions of friendship and good will, which deceived neither party.

They who are of opinion that the passions and characters of the ruling men, influence all public concerns as much as the public interests themselves, thought they saw other causes operating to hasten this breach. On the death of a great minister, which happened some time before, the administration was new moulded. Some persons then taken in, were considered as belonging to a party not perfectly united with the remains of the old administration. It was thought that the leading man of this party proposed to work out the old servants of the crown, in order to make way for a more uniform system. As long as peace subsists government is supported by itself; and any change is difficult. But the conduct of a war is a thing critical to a ministry. The leader of this party therefore, conscious of his own talents, which all men acknowledged to be conspicuous, and of his connections, which were considerable, warmly pushed on a war, seconded by the fairness of the public motives, and the general voice of the people. In this war his friends relied that things must necessarily be so embarrassed, that the old party would find themselves obliged to retire, and to leave the stage clear for them to serve their country according to their own plans, and on their own terms. This design was believed to be pushed forward by another great man of that party, who had played a game nearly of the same kind before, and in whom an advanced age had not abated any thing of his natural fire and love of violent councils.

Things came to a crisis by the taking of two French men of war by the admirals Boscawen and Mostyn. The operations by land were carried on with vigour; but whether conducted with equal judgment we stand too near the time to decide. However, the French fort at Beaufort was taken, and soon after those on St. John's river were abandoned; by which we remained masters of all Nova Scotia. The principal expedition was that against Fort du Quesne, under General Braddock. That general, abounding too much in his own sense for the degree of military knowledge he possessed, commanding in a country where he did not know, and carrying on a species of war in which he had no experience, suffered himself, when he had advanced within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, to be surprised by an ambuscade of French and Indians. His army was seized with a panic from the unusual appearance and horrid cries of the savages: they fled in confusion; they were totally defeated with a considerable slaughter, especially of their officers. The general himself, after having had five horses killed under him, was mortally wounded; wiping away all the errors of his conduct by an honourable death for his country.

The nation was something consoled for this loss in the signal advantage gained by General Johnson who commanded the expedition designed against Crown Point. He was attacked in his retrenchments by the French General Dieskau; but the assailants wanting cannon, and firing from too great a distance, were totally defeated, and Dieskau himself was made prisoner. This victory, tho' very honourable

for Mr. Johnson, and the provincial troops under his command, yet, as it was gained late in the season, and as the army was in no very good condition, it had no consequences. On the whole, we seemed, after allowing for this victory, and for the dislodgment of the French from Nova Scotia, to have had the worst part in the campaign; considering the sanguine expectations which had been formed, and the great superiority of strength which we exerted, or were able to have exerted, in that part of the world.

During this summer our court took a resolution not to wait the precarious operations of our arms in America, for redress of the grievances complained of, but to strike such a blow as would at once put a security into our hands, for the evacuating the places the enemy had fortified in our territories, and disabling them in the two most material points, the resources of their trade and their seamen. Their merchant ships were every where attacked, as if war had been actually declared, and vast numbers brought into our ports. The French made all Europe resound with complaints of what they called a proceeding so unjust, and a violation of the law of nations, so flagrant and unprecedented. But, whether it was that they were really in no condition to act, or that they intended to influence the other courts in their favour, by a shew of extraordinary moderation, they contented themselves with this, and neither declared war nor made any sort of reprisal for several months after. At length 1756. they began to act; several bodies of troops moved to the coasts of Picardy, Normandy and Brittany; and all things threatened an invasion on some part of this kingdom. Under the

the shadow of this stratagem, they got ready in the harbour of Toulon a fleet of twelve men of war of the

line with the utmost expedition, which convoyed an army of about 11,000 men, under command of the Duke de Richlieu, to the island of Minorca.

In a few days they opened trenches before St. Philip's fort.

This was done while the nation trembled under a shameful panic, too public to be concealed, too fatal in its consequences to be ever forgotten. The real invasion did not lessen our fears of the imaginary one; it threw us into a confusion that suffered us to be sensible of nothing but our own weakness. We did not look upon ourselves sufficiently secured by the arrival of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops, which the same weakness had induced us to call to our assistance. The ministry seemed to have been infected with the common terror; for, though they had very early notice of the French designs, such was the apprehension of the invasion, or such the ill contrived disposition of our navy, that Admiral Byng was not dispatched to the Mediterranean before the 5th of April, and then with a squadron of no more than ten ships of the line.

The engagement with the French fleet under M. Galissoniere; the retreat of Byng, by which the garrison of fort St. Philip was cut off from all hopes of relief; the surrender of that garrison after nine weeks open trenches; the sentiments of the court and the public, on the different merits of the governor and the admiral; the opposition of some, who thought the one too highly honoured, and the other

too severely censured, and the measures which rather indignation at our losses and disgraces, than a cool sense of things obliged us to take, are known to all the world. Our affairs were in such a condition, that we were driven to the expedient of a court martial to revive the British spirit, and to the unfortunate necessity of shedding the blood of an admiral, a person of a noble family, as a sacrifice to the discipline of our navy.

From this melancholy picture, let us turn our eyes another way, and review the steps by which this war came to involve the rest of the contending powers. The French, amongst the other plans they formed for distressing our affairs, made no secret of their design of attacking his Majesty's German dominions. These countries evidently had no sort of connection with the matters which gave rise to the war. But being under a sovereign so remarkably affectionate to his native country; they judged he might be terrified into a relaxation of his rights in America, to preserve Hanover from the calamities with which it was threatened. Their politics, however, in this instance proved as unsuccessful as they were unjust. No motion was made towards an abatement in our claims with regard to America; his Majesty took other methods for the preservation of the peace of Germany. His British subjects by their representatives, not more generously than reasonably, resolved to defend the Hanoverians if attacked in their quarrel. To answer this purpose, the ministry entered into a subsidy treaty with the Empress of Russia, in virtue of which she was to hold 55,000 men in readiness to be sent on a requisition wherever the British service required.

The alliance with Russia was chosen for reasons which were then sufficiently plausible; though it is to be hoped they can never subsist again. The long ill understanding between the king of Prussia and our court, and his close connection with that of Versailles, raised no ill-grounded apprehensions that he might be induced to act a dangerous part on this occasion. Russia was therefore a proper ally, who had both a political and personal enmity to this monarch, and who would be sure to employ a great power with great vigour in such a cause. But this system was in a short time totally reversed. The King of Prussia had been too well apprised of the close conjunction of the courts of Peterbourg and Vienna, and of the real motive to that conjunction, to have the least design of embroiling himself with England. Matters were therefore very soon explained, and the treaty between his Prussian majesty and this court, to keep all foreigners out of the empire, was signed at London in Jan. 1756. These treaties were censured as inconsistent with each other; but in reality they were consistent enough, aiming precisely at the same object, to oppose the scheme meditated by France for disturbing the affairs of Germany.

If, reflecting on the sentiments of these courts, there was something unexpected in the alliance between Great Britain and Prussia; it was soon followed by another alliance of a nature infinitely more surprising. The Empress Queen of Hungary finding England in no disposition to co-operate in her designs, had recourse to other measures. The house of Austria, which had formerly united Europe to preserve her from the power of France, now entered herself into the most intimate

union with that power. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe assumed a new face; it was indeed a revolution so extraordinary, that we shall be justified if we interrupt the course of this narrative, to look back at the causes which produced it.

The house of Brandenburg, a little more than two centuries ago, was in a very humble condition. But by the part she took in the reformation, which put into her hands the estates of the Teutonic order; by a marriage from which she acquired the duchy of Cleves; and by an uncommon succession of able princes, who carefully improved every turn in the affairs of Germany to their advantage, she raised herself by degrees to a considerable state, to an electorate, and at last to a royalty, not only in name but in power. The late King of Prussia, in order to strengthen this power, tho' he past almost his whole reign in the most profound peace, gave his whole attention to his army: frugal in all other respects, in this alone he was expensive; it was his business, and, what was perhaps of greater moment, it was his only diversion. Thus in a reign apparently inactive, there was always kept up an army of near 100,000 men, in as much exercise as they could have in peace, and formed with the most perfect discipline.

When his present majesty came to the throne, he immediately shewed a disposition of employing effectually that military force which his father had spent his life only in forming and training. He managed his dispute with the bishop of Liege by the summary method of force: and seemed disposed to carry all things with so high a hand, as made him indeed much respected, but
much

much dreaded too by the Princes of the Empire, who saw that there was another power to be feared in Germany, besides that of Austria. But these were small matters, rather signs of the disposition of this Prince, than exertions of it. He meditated much greater things; and only waited an opportunity to make good the antient claims of his family on the most considerable part of the duchy of Silesia. The right to that duchy had been a very intricate affair; but the house of Austria availing herself of the greatness of her power, and of a dissension between the Elector Frederick II. and his son, prevailed with the Elector to give up that right for an equivalent; then she persuaded his son to confirm the treaty; and at the same time for a trivial consideration to give up the equivalent itself. The King of Prussia, not thinking himself bound by these acts, though confirmed by a long possession, took advantage of his own power, and the embarrassed circumstances of the house of Austria, to resume what their power and the embarrassed circumstances of his family had formerly deprived him of. For immediate-
 Dec. 1740. ly on the death of Charles the Sixth, when the Austrian greatness seemed irrecoverably lost, he entered into Silesia, and made himself master of the whole country with little opposition. Then uniting with the French and Bavarians, he secured his conquests by two decisive victories, and
 June 11. by a treaty which yielded
 1742. him the greatest and best part of Silesia, and the whole county of Glatz. But the cause
 June 2, of the Emperor, which the
 1744. King of Prussia had embraced, soon caused a renewal of hostilities. The Queen of Hungary

saw herself defeated in three pitched battles; her new ally the King of Poland driven from his German dominions, and the King of Prussia entering Dresden in triumph, where he gave the law in a treaty, by which Silesia was once more solemnly confirmed to
 Dec. 1745. him: in return to which he guaranteed to the Queen of Hungary the rest of her dominions.

The Queen of Hungary could not easily lose the memory of the wound she had received in the loss of one of the finest and richest parts of all her dominions. Silesia, which she had just yielded, extends in length 200 miles along the course of the large and navigable river Oder. A country of the most exquisite fertility and highest cultivation; abounding with men, abounding with valuable manufactures, and yielding a clear yearly revenue of 800,000 pounds sterling. The peace was hardly concluded by which she resigned this valuable territory, than she set on foot practices for recovering it. She entered into a treaty with the court of Peteribourg, of an innocent and simply de-
 May 22, fensive nature, so far as ap-
 1746. peared to the public; but six secret and separate articles were added to it; one of which provides, that in case his Prussian Majesty should attack her Majesty the Empress Queen, or the Empress of Russia, or even the republic of Poland, that this attack should be considered as a breach of the treaty of Dresden; that the right of the Empress Queen to Silesia, ceded by that treaty, should revive; and that the contracting powers should mutually furnish an army of 60,000 men to reinvest the Empress Queen with that duchy.

To this so extraordinary a treaty, the King of Poland was invited to
 B 4 accede;

accede; and he did so far accede to it, as to shew he perfectly agreed in his sentiments with these courts. But his situation in the jaws of a formidable enemy, and the experience of past misfortunes, had rendered him so wary, that he declined signing the treaty; but still, with the consent of the parties concerned, whom he fully convinced of his resolution to co-operate in all their measures. He desired, and they agreed, that in the success of their arms he should have a share in the spoil, on the footing of a treaty for May 18, the eventual partition of 1754. the King of Prussia's dominions made in the last war. On these conditions the King of Poland, without actually signing, was understood, and received as a party to the treaty of Petersbourg.

In consequence of these measures, all sorts of means were employed to embroil the King of Prussia's affairs in the North, and particularly to render him personally odious to the Czarina. When their machinations had taken full effect, and Russia was fixed in an unalterable enmity to that monarch, preparations of magazines and armies were made in Bohemia and Moravia; and the King of Poland, under pretence of a military amusement, drew together about 16,000 men, with which he occupied the strong and important post of Pirna. The Queen of Hungary saw that she stood in need of yet stronger supports than these, in the arduous business she had undertaken. She found that Great Britain, which had often done so much for her distress, would do little for her ambition: she therefore had recourse to France, who joyfully accepting an alliance, that promised to confound the whole Germanic body, concluded a treaty with the

Empress at Versailles the 1st of May 1756, a remarkable æra in the political history of Europe.

The secret articles of the treaty of Petersbourg, the fountain of the present troubles, and the steps taken to put that treaty in execution, tho' formed and carried on with as much secrecy as earnestness, could not escape the vigilance of his Prussian majesty, who watched all their motions, and had perfect intelligence of their most hidden designs. When therefore he perceived, that by the breach between England and France, the Empress Queen would take advantage of these troubles to avail herself of her alliances and her armaments; he ordered his minister at Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances concerning the preparations he saw making: and receiving only a dry and equivocal answer, that the Empress had taken measures for her own security, and that of her allies and friends, the King believed himself no longer bound to preserve any terms; a dangerous war was to be kept out of his own territories at any rate; and being always in perfect readiness for action, he fell upon Saxony with a considerable army.

At first the King of Prussia seemed only to demand a free passage for his troops, and an Aug. 29. observance of the neutrality professed by the King of Poland; but as he had very good reasons to distrust such a neutrality, he demanded as a security, that the Saxon troops should quit the strong post they occupied, and disperse themselves immediately. This demand was refused, and the King of Prussia, in consequence of that refusal, immediately formed a sort of blockade about the Saxon camp at Pirna, with a view to reduce it by famine, since

since its inaccessible situation rendered an attack unadvisable. There were in Bohemia two Austrian armies under M. Brown and M. Piccolomini. To keep these in awe, M. Schwerin had entered Bohemia from the county of Glatz; and M. Keith had penetrated into that kingdom on the side of Misnia. But the King of Prussia, not entirely confiding in these dispositions, and still apprehensive that M. Brown might be able to convey some relief to the Saxons, resolved to bring him to an action, to the success of which he knew his own presence would greatly contribute. He therefore left the blockade of the Saxon army, joined his forces Dec. 1. under Keith, and engaged the Austrians at Lowositz. Here he obtained a victory, which though it was not undisputed with regard to the field of battle, yet with regard to the consequence it was as decisive as could be wished. M. Brown found it impracticable to relieve the Saxons, notwithstanding the judicious efforts he made for that purpose; and that army, after a vain attempt to retire from their

difficult post, which had one fault, that it was as difficult to leave it as to force it, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The King of Poland quitted his German dominions; and the Prussians took up their winter quarters in Saxony, seized upon the revenues, levied exorbitant contributions, and obliged the country to furnish recruits. This unhappy people saw their country exhausted, and forced to bear the burthen of a war against itself. It was then that the King of Prussia, consulting the rules of policy more than those of politeness, made himself master of the archives of Dresden, in doing which some roughness was used towards the Queen; but he made himself amends for the clamour industriously raised on this pretence, by acquiring the originals of those pieces, which evinced to the world the reality of the design against him, and which therefore in a great measure justified the means he had taken to come at them, as well as the extraordinary severities he used towards the unfortunate Saxons.

C H A P. II.

State of the English ministry. The characters and designs of the several factions. A coalition. Oswego taken by the French. Calcutta taken by the Nabob. Angria reduced by Admiral Watson.

WHILST the King of Prussia passed the winter in the most vigorous preparations for carrying on the war, his ally Great Britain presented a very different face of things. The loss of Minorca plunged the people into the utmost grief, mixed with shame, for such a blot on the national honour, and with indignation not only against those who had acted weakly, but those who had provided insufficiently for

the relief of that important possession. The public resentment, which at first seemed to have no other object than Byng, was soon turned against the ministry. The clamour in parliament was great; without doors it was excessive. Addresses, praying a strict enquiry into the cause of our misfortunes, were presented from all parts of the kingdom. The ministry, notwithstanding this general discontent, had a real

real strength; and they might have stood, had they agreed amongst themselves. The commons could not be brought to any angry votes; and the result of the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, was as favourable as they could have wished. But Mr. F—— thought it not advisable to bear a large proportion of the odium caused by counsels, in which he had little share. Perhaps, he thought this embarrassment a situation not unfavourable to the arrangement he had always aimed at; he therefore suddenly threw up an employment, which he hoped to resume augmented with greater power.

On the removal of this principal prop, the whole structure of the ministry fell to pieces. The D. of N. the Ld. Ch. the first lord of the admiralty resigned; and the chiefs of the party by whose manœuvres they were displaced, naturally succeeded to the management of affairs. They who had resigned gave them no apparent opposition in parliament; but whether it was, that the new ministry were themselves too fresh from opposition, and some of them too full of the popular manners that introduced them to court, to be perfectly agreeable in the closet, or that they had made their bottom too narrow, after holding their employments for some months, to the great concern of the public, they in their turn were obliged to quit their posts.

April 5. Thus was the helm of government a second time abandoned. The case of the King and the nation was at that juncture truly deplorable. We were without any ally who could do us the least service, engaged in a war, hitherto unsuccessful, with the most formidable power in Europe; we almost despaired of our military virtue;

public spirit appeared utterly extinguished, whilst the rage of faction burned with the utmost violence; our operations were totally suspended; and having no ministry established, we had no plan to follow.

Three factions divided the ruling men of the nation, for the grofs of the people seemed to have no further views than a redress of their grievances, by whatever means that could be brought about; the first of these factions was composed of those who had grown to place and power, or had formed their connections under the old ministry. They were some of the most respectable persons in the nation, and had undoubtedly the greatest parliamentary interest. They had at the same time another interest hardly less considerable, that of the monied people; but in some points, and these material too, they were weak. They were not at all popular; a matter of great consideration in a government like ours: and they were supported by the grofs of the people, not to be under the direction of great political abilities.

The second faction, though not suspected of the want of sufficient ability, was yet more unpopular than the former; they had not attempted to preserve even the appearances essential to popularity; and to them the more essential, as their parliamentary strength was, however respectable, much inferior to the first. If their influence at one court was able to balance that of the old ministry, by means of a then powerful connection, that very connection made them far worse at another court, and worse with the generality of the people, who entertained, or pretended at least to entertain, suspicions of a nature the more dangerous, as they were only dropped

ped in hints and whispers, and never could come to a full and open explanation.

The third party had little parliamentary, and less court influence; but they had a prodigious popularity, which supplied every other defect. The abilities of their leader were of the most shining kind; his application equal to his abilities; his disinterestedness was confessed by his enemies; and tho' it would have shined in the days of heroism, was now the more valued, and set off to the greater advantage by the general selfishness which prevailed among the men of business. The nation reposed the most perfect confidence in his integrity and love to his country. This party, conscious where its strength lay, cultivated with great care the popularity which was the basis of their power; even perhaps so as to impair, on some occasions the dignity of government.

These three factions differed from each other extremely with regard to power, the grand object of all factions. But in the general scheme of their politics, the two first were pretty much agreed. Looking on France as the most constant and most dangerous enemy of Great Britain, they dreaded the increase of her power and influence among the neighbouring nations as the greatest of all evils. To prevent so dangerous an aggrandisement, they thought it absolutely necessary to preserve a constant attention to the balance of power, and to seek our particular safety and liberty in the general safety and liberty of Europe. A close connection was therefore to be kept up with the powers of the continent, not only by continual negotiations, but by large subsidies, and even by assisting them with our troops if the occasion should require

such assistance. For this purpose, as well as to secure more effectually our present happy establishment, a considerable regular land force ought to be constantly maintained. Our navy, they thought, ought by no means to be neglected: but it was only to be cultivated and employed subserviently to the more comprehensive continental system. These parties were far from being friends to arbitrary power, or in any sort averse to parliaments; they loved the constitution; but they were for preserving the authority of government entire, and in its utmost lawful force. To make government more easy, knowing that many would disturb it, from disaffection, or disgust, or mistaken notions of liberty, they thought it just to rule men by their interests, if they could not by their virtues, and they had long been in the practice of procuring a majority in parliament, by the distribution of the numerous lucrative places and employments which our constitution leaves in the disposal of the crown. Several believed that no other method was practicable, considering the nature of mankind, and our particular form of government.

But the third and popular party, was influenced by different principles. They looked indeed on the power of France in the same light with the two former, and were of the same opinion concerning the necessity of setting bounds to it. In the means of attaining this end they differed. Our situation they thought dictated a narrower, but a more natural, a safer and a less expensive plan of politics, than that which had been adopted by the other party. We ought never to forget, said they, that we are an island: and that this circumstance, so favourable both to our political and to our civil liberty, pre-

scribes

cribes to us a conduct very different from that of every other nation. Our natural strength is a maritime strength, as trade is our natural employment: these must always go hand in hand, and they mutually support each other. But, if turning our back to our real interests, and abandoning our natural element, we enter that inextricable labyrinth of continental politics; if we make ourselves parties in every controversy; if we exhaust our wealth in purchasing the useless and precarious friendship of every petty prince or state; if we waste the blood of our people in all the quarrels that may arise on the continent; so far from going in the right way to reduce France, that we attack her on the strong side, and only destroy ourselves by our ill judged efforts against the enemy. That we can have nothing to fear from the superiority of France on the continent, whilst we preserve our superiority at sea; that we can always cut the sinews of the enemies strength by destroying their traffic; that to fear an invasion from a power weak in its marine, is the idlest of all fears; that in case an invasion were possible, a well-trained national militia, supplying by their zeal the defects of their discipline, would prove our best protection; that a standing army is in whatever shape dangerous to freedom; and that a government like ours, connected by its very essence with the liberty of the subject, can never be in want of the supports of despotic power. As little is parliamentary influence necessary. A government pleasing to the people, as every good government must be, can never be generally opposed: and men need no bribes to persuade them to their duty.

These notions, so opposite in their

extremes, might be reconciled in a medium, and used to temper each other. For as on one hand, it would be very absurd to take no sort of advantage of our insular situation, but to engage in all the business of the continent without reserve, and to plunge ourselves into real evils out of dread of possible mischiefs; so on the other hand to think ourselves wholly unconcerned in the fortunes of our neighbours on the continent, or to think of aiding them in any case, only by the way of diversion with our fleets, would be a way of proceeding still more extravagant than the former. If such notions were reduced to practice, we might soon lose all these advantages derived from a situation which we abused.

The reasonableness of such a temperament, could not be perceived during the ferment of that time, in which these topics were bandied to and fro with infinite heat. The resignation or rather deprivation of the popular ministry, only increased their popularity, and the general discontent; the people could not believe that good measures could be pursued, when those in whom alone they confided, were not employed; almost all the corporations of the kingdom presented the deprived ministers with their freedom, and addressed them in the warmest manner, testifying the most entire approbation of their conduct, and the sincerest concern to see them out of employment.

This conflict between an old established interest, and the torrent of popularity continued for a long time, and the nation was almost ruined by it. It is not easy nor perhaps quite proper to attempt to trace the steps by which so happy a coalition, as we have seen take place, was brought about. But it was formed in
such

such manner as held together with such solidity, and produced such excellent effects, as I believe June 29, the most sanguine could not have hoped for at that time. 1757.

Mr. P. was again restored to the office of secretary of state, the D. of N. was placed at the head of the treasury, Mr. F. was appointed paymaster of the forces. This arrangement, which gave very general satisfaction, was however disliked by those whom their violent attachment to their party had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit. It was the best measure, because it was an healing measure; and it was little less than impossible for any particular party to carry on public business on its single bottom.

It was high time that our domestic dissensions should be composed at last. From every quarter of the world in which we had any concern, we heard of nothing but losses and calamities. In

Aug. 14, 1756. America we lost the fort of Oswego. That fort, situated at the mouth of the Onondaga river, commanded a commodious harbour on the lake Ontario. It was built by General Shirley, and designed to cover the country of the Five nations; to secure the Indian trade; to interrupt the communication between the French northern and southern establishments; and to open a way to our arms to attack the forts of Frontenac and Niagara. For these purposes, some frigates had been fitted out for cruising, and a number of boats prepared for the transportation of troops, but they all fell to the enemy with the fort, where 100 pieces of cannon were, and a considerable quantity of provision. 1600 men were made prisoners of war. The place made but a trifling resistance, scarce holding out three days;

the attempts to relieve it were too late. The French demolished the fort.

Our losses were not confined to America. The East India company received a blow, which would have shaken an establishment of less strength to its foundation. The news of the war between France and England had not yet reached India, but a new and very formidable enemy was raised up in that quarter. The Nabob of Bengal (the Nabobs are a species of viceroys to the Grand Mogul, grown almost independent in their several provinces) irritated at the protection given to one of his subjects in the English fort of Calcutta, and, as it is said, at the refusal of some duties to which he claimed a right, levied a great army, and laid siege to that place. The governor, terrified by the numbers of the enemy, abandoned the fort with several of the principal persons in the settlement, who saved themselves with their most valuable effects on board the ships.

Thus deserted, Mr. Houlwel the second in command, bravely held the place to the last extremity, with a few gallant friends, and the remains of a feeble garrison. A very noble defence was insufficient to keep an untenable place, or to affect an ungenerous enemy. The fort was taken, and the garrison being made prisoners, were thrust into a narrow dungeon. Houlwel, with a few others, came out alive, to paint a scene of the most cruel distress which perhaps human nature ever suffered. The East India company lost their principal settlement in Bengal, and a fort which secured to them the most valuable part of their trade.

In the space of this unfortunate year we were stripped of Minorca and

and Ofwego; we apprehended an invasion of Great Britain itself; our councils were torn to pieces by factions, and our military fame was every where in contempt. Amidst these losses, we considered Feb. 13. as some advantage, the re-

duction of the principal fort of Angria, a piratical prince, who had been many years troublesome to the English trade in the East Indies. This service was performed by Admiral Watson in the beginning of the year.

C H A P. III.

State of the confederacy against the King of Prussia. French pass the Weser. King of Prussia enters Bohemia. Battle of Prague. Prague invested. Count Daun takes the command of the Austrian army. Battle of Colin.

WHAT turn the English politics were like to take in the year 1757, seemed for some time uncertain. The new ministry did not seem well established; nor was it well known whether they would pursue the plans and preserve the connections of the old. Abroad every thing was prepared for opening the campaign with the utmost eclat. All Europe was in motion.

France, in order to demonstrate to the Queen of Hungary the advantageous choice she had made in connecting herself with the house of Bourbon, formed two great armies. The first was composed of near 80,000 men, the flower of the French troops, attended with a vast artillery, and commanded by M. de Etrees, a general of the best established reputation she had in her service. Under him served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers of high character, and all fit to command in chief, if M. de Etrees had not been appointed to that eminence. This formidable army passed the Rhine, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the King of Prussia's dominions in quality of allies to the Empress Queen, and guardians of the liberties of

the Empire, and to no other intent, as it was pretended; but in reality with a view to reduce Hanover also. They judged that their operations against the King of Prussia might be executed, and their scheme to drive the King of England into some concessions with regard to America, might be completed by one and the same blow. The second army was commanded by the Prince de Soubise; it consisted of about 25,000 men. This army was destined to strengthen the Imperial army of execution; but before it had passed the Rhine it made itself master of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres, whilst a detachment from de Etrees's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to Prussia in East Friesland.

As soon as the King of Prussia had entered Saxony in the beginning of the preceding summer, process was commenced against him in the Emperor's Aulic council, and before the diet of the Empire. It is not difficult to conceive how the affair must have been decided; when those who feared the King of Prussia believed they had a fair opportunity to reduce him; and when those who feared the house of Austria were by that very fear obliged to sup-

support the power they dreaded: accustomed as they were to the influence of a family in which the Empire had so long been in a manner hereditary; and overawed by the appearances of a confederacy, the most formidable the world had ever yet seen. Accordingly the King of Prussia was condemned for contumacy, and the Fiscal had orders to notify to him that he was put under the ban of the Empire, and adjudged fallen from all the dignities and possessions which he held under it. The circles of the Empire were ordered to furnish their contingents of men and money to put this sentence in execution; but the contingents were collected slowly, the troops were badly composed, and probably this army had never been able to act if it had not been for the assistance afforded under the Prince de Soubise.

The Austrians, who were principals in this quarrel, were not behind their auxiliaries in the greatness of their preparations; they made the most strenuous efforts, by which they assembled a body of upwards of 100,000 men in Bohemia, and committed the command to Prince Charles of Lorraine, assisted by M. Brown. In the North all things threatened the King of Prussia. The Czarina, true to her resentments and her engagements, had sent a body of 60,000 men, commanded by M. Apraxin, who were in full march to invade the ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to co-operate with that army. Although the King of Sweden was allied in blood and inclinations to his Prussian majesty, yet the jealousy which the Senate entertained of their sovereign; the hope of recovering their ancient

possessions in Pomerania by means of the present troubles, and in fine their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, made their ill inclinations to the cause of Prussia more than suspicious. Hitherto indeed nothing more than the tendency of their councils were fully known. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with 6000 men; a proceeding which he has since had reason to repent bitterly. Thus were the forces of five mighty states*, each of which had in their turn been a terror to all Europe, united to reduce the heir of the Marquises of Brandenburg; and in such a point of danger and glory had the great and formidable abilities of his Prussian majesty placed him, with little, in comparison, that could enable him to sustain the violence of so many shocks, except what those abilities supplied. But his astonishing economy, the incomparable order of the finances, the discipline of his armies beyond all praise, a sagacity that foresaw every thing, a vigilance that attended every thing, a constancy that no labour could subdue, a courage that no danger could dismay, an intuitive glance that catches the decisive moment, all these seemed to form a sort of balance to the vast weight against him, turned the wishes of his friends into hopes, and made them depend upon resources that are not within the power of calculation.

The only army that appeared in his favour was a body of between 30 and 40,000 Hanoverians and Hessians, who with some reinforcements of his own troops, formed an army of observation, commanded

* Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, the Empire.

by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; this army was posted on the Wefer, to watch the motions of M. d'Etrees. The vast and unwieldy body of the French, encumbered as the French armies always are by an immense baggage, and an innumerable multitude of mouths without hands, made a very slow progress through the rough and barren country that lies between the Rhine and the Wefer. All the abilities of the French general were employed in finding subsistence for his troops. His Royal Highness, on the other hand, displayed great abilities in throwing all possible impediments in his way. But when these impediments were removed by the superiority of numbers, the Hanoverian army gradually gave way, yielding to that superiority, and the French troops passed the Wefer without opposition.

In the mean time, his Prussian majesty being determined according to his maxim to lay the cloth as far from home as possible; made his dispositions for carrying the war into Bohemia as speedily as the season would admit. Three great bodies of his troops entered into that kingdom by three very different ways, but nearly at the same time. M. Schwerin penetrated into it from Silesia. The Prince of Bevern entered with the corps under his command from Lusatia, and defeated, as a preliminary to a more decisive

Ap. 21. victory, a body of 28,000 Austrians who opposed him. The king himself prepared to enter Bohemia at a great distance from the corps commanded by these generals, and as he seemed disposed to march towards Egra, the enemy imagined he intended to execute some design distinct from the object of his other armies. With this idea they de-

tached a body of 20,000 men to observe his motions. The King of Prussia, finding that this feint had all its effects, made a sudden and masterly movement to his left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians. Spirited with this advantage, he pushed onwards with the utmost rapidity to Prague, where he joined the corps under the Prince of Bevern and M. Schwerin, who had advanced with inconceivable diligence to meet him. Never were operations executed with more judgment, celerity and success,

The Austrian army was little short of 100,000 men, May 6. and the situation of their camp, fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, such as on common occasions might justly be considered as impregnable; but the Prussians, being nearly as numerous as the enemy, inspired by a society of danger with their King, and filled with that noble enthusiasm, which, whilst it urges to daring enterprises, almost ensures their success, passed morasses, climbed precipices, faced batteries, and after a bloody and obstinate resistance, totally defeated the Austrians. They took their camp, military chest, cannon, all the trophies of a complete victory. The loss on the side of the victor, as well as the vanquished, was very great; but both sides had yet a greater loss in the death of two of the best generals in Europe. M. Schwerin was killed at the age of eighty-two with the colonel's standard in his hand at the head of his regiment. M. Brown received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered rather than from its own nature, proved mortal.

About

About 40,000 of the Austrian army took refuge in Prague. The rest fled different ways. The King of Prussia lost no time to invest the place, and to cut off all succours. If on one hand such an immense garrison made an attack unadvisable, on the other that formidable number itself seemed to make the reduction of the place by famine the more certain. The King of Prussia not relying solely on this, prepared to bombard the town. On the 29th of May, at midnight, after a most dreadful storm of rain and thunder, as if it were to display how much more ruinous the malice of men may be, than the greatest terrors of nature, on the signal of a rocket, four batteries, which discharged every twenty-four hours two hundred and eighty-eight bombs, besides a vast multitude of red hot balls, began to pour destruction on that unfortunate city, which was soon in flames in every part. The garrison made a vigorous defence, and one well conducted and desperate sally: but they were repulsed with great loss. The principal magistrates, burghers, and clergy, seeing their city on the point of being reduced to an heap of rubbish, made the most moving supplications to the commander to listen to terms. The commander was deaf to their prayers. Twelve thousand of the most useless mouths were driven out of the city. The Prussians forced them in again. The affairs of the Empire seemed verging to inevitable destruction; a whole army was upon the point of surrendering prisoners of war; the capital of Bohemia on the point of being taken, and with it all the rest of that flourishing kingdom. The sanguine friends of the King of Prussia began to compute the distance to Vienna.

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In this desperate situation of affairs, Leopold Count Daun entered on the stage, and began to turn the fortune of the war. This general never had commanded in chief before; but he was formed, by a long course of experience in various parts of Europe, under the greatest generals, and in the most illustrious scenes of action. Though of a very noble family, he had without the least assistance from court favour, risen insensibly by the slow gradation of mere merit, with much esteem and without any noise. This general arrived within a few miles of Prague, the day after the great battle. He collected the fugitive parties of the Austrian army, and retired to a post of great strength, from whence he fed the troops in Prague with hopes of relief. But as no man better understood the superiority of the Prussian troops, and as he was sensible of the impression which the late defeat had left upon his men, he carefully avoided to precipitate matters by an hasty action. He knew that the situation he had chosen would embarrass the Prussians; that a large party of their army must be always employed to watch him; that this would weaken their efforts against the great body shut up in Prague, whilst his own forces gained time to recover their spirits, and to increase in strength by the daily succours, which his court exerted all their powers to send him: with these ideas he waited in his intrenched camp at Colin, to act as events should direct.

The King of Prussia was not less sensible than Count Daun of the effect of this conduct. He determined at all adventures to dislodge him from the post he held; but whether it was that the king feared to weaken his army, which had actually an

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army

army to besiege, or whether he was blinded by a train of uniform success, which made him believe his arms irresistible under every disadvantage, or whatever were his motives or necessities, the whole army employed in this undertaking, including the Prince of Bevern's corps, did not exceed 32,000 men, cavalry and infantry; and with these he

June 18. was to attack 60,000 men, in one of the strongest situations which could be chosen, and defended by a vast train of artillery. Whatever the most impetuous and well regulated courage, whatever an ardour inspired by the remembrance of so many victories could do towards overcoming every kind of disadvantage, was done by the Prussians on this occasion. They returned to the attack seven times: in none of their victorious battles had their bravery been more conspicuous. Both the King's brothers were in the field; and they did every thing that could be expected from the King of Prussia's brothers. The King himself, at the head of his cavalry, made one furious and concluding charge.

Every thing was tried, and every thing was unsuccessful. The want of a sufficiently numerous infantry in a ground where his cavalry could not support them, the want of an equal artillery, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numbers, their bravery, their general, obliged the King of Prussia to quit the field. What his loss was is not so certain; it was undoubtedly great in the action, but still greater by desertions, and the innumerable ill consequences that follow a defeat.

Though the King of Prussia was defeated in this battle, and tho' he brought on his defeat, in a great measure, by some errors of his own, yet whatever small blemish his military skill might have suffered, his reputation was raised higher than ever, in the opinion of all judicious men, by the noble and candid manner in which he acknowledged his mistake, by the firmness with which he bore his misfortune, and by those astonishing strokes of genius and heroism, by which he retrieved his loss. The smile of fortune makes conquerors; it is her malice which discovers heroes.

C H A P. IV.

Consequence of the battle of Colin. King of Prussia evacuates Bohemia, Battle of Hastenbeck. Convention of Kloster-zeven. Expedition to Rastadt. Russians enter Prussia. Austrians besiege Schweidnitz. French and Imperialists make incursions into Brandenburg. Swedes enter Pomerania. Battle of Norkitten. General Lehwald defeated. Bad condition of the King of Prussia.

NEVER was the old observation *une bataille perdue a un mauvais cu*, more verified than in the consequences of the unfortunate battle of Colin. Though the King retired unpursued by his enemies, he was obliged to rejoin his own army before Prague without delay,

and to raise the blockade of that place. The imprisoned Austrians with joy received Count Daun their deliverer, and their united forces became greatly superior to the Prussians. The King was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians

Austrians harrassed him as much as possible; but their armies, notwithstanding their great superiority, were not in a condition from their late sufferings to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

The King of Prussia's misfortunes now poured in upon him at once, and from every quarter. The army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, who continually retired before the French, after they had passed the Weser, came however to a resolution to make a stand at Hastenbeck, where it was judged that the superior numbers of the enemy might be the least prejudicial; but notwithstanding the advantages of the situation, the bravery of the Hanoverians, and the conduct of the D. the allied army was driven from the field

July 25. of battle, and retreated towards Stade. By taking this route his Royal Highness was driven into a fort of *cul de sac*. Unable by his situation to retire, or by his strength to advance, he was com-

Sept. 8. pelled to sign the remarkable capitulation of Closterseven, by which 38,000 Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. The French

Aug. 6. army had a little before this changed its commander. D'Etrees, the favourite of all the military men, was removed from the command, which was conferred on the Duke de Richelieu, who excelled him and all mankind in the profession of a courtier. The Hanoverians were now quite subdued, and all the French force let loose by this treaty, was ready to fall upon the King of Prussia's dominions.

An enterprize was concerted in England against the coast of France,

to make a diversion in his favour, by drawing a part of the French army to the defence of their own country. England proposed to compass another great design, and which she had equally at heart, by this expedition, which was to give an effectual blow to the marine of France. The destination of this armament was kept a profound secret, and whilst it exercised the penetration of all the politicians in Europe, it filled France with the most serious alarms. The English fleet at last appeared before Rochfort.

Sept. 21. Sometime was spent before it could be resolved what plan was to be followed in the attack: at last it was resolved to secure the small isle of Aix, from whence some obstruction was apprehended to their landing. The island was soon reduced; but as a good deal of time was consumed in these deliberations and actions, the militia of the country had time to gather, and there was an appearance of two camps on the shore. The commanders now took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the enemy had to put the place in such a posture of defence, as might make any sudden attempt, or *coup du main*, unsuccessful: in consequence of these deliberations, they unanimously resolved

Sept. 29. to return without making any attempt. The disappointment of the nation was equal to the sanguine hopes we had conceived; nothing could exceed the general discontent. The military men blamed the plan of the expedition. The ministers, and with them the public voice, exclaimed at the execution. A *court of enquiry*, of officers of reputation, censured the commander; a *court martial*, of officers of reputation,

acquitted him. The expedition served only in England to increase and imbitter our dissensions, and to turn our attention to vain disputes. It did nothing towards relieving the King of Prussia.

The Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once hastened their motions. They entered the Ducal Prussia under M. Apraxin and General Fermer, and marked their progress by a thousand inhuman cruelties. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau. Then they made a turn backwards, and laid siege to the important fortrefs of Schweidnitz, justly considered as the key of that dutchy, which was the cause of the war. Another body entered Lusatia, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into the Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and laid the whole country under contribution. Richelieu, freed from all opposition on the side of Hanover, made his way into Halberstadt, and the old Marche of Brandenburg, first exacting contributions, and then plundering the towns. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of Prince de Soubise, after many delays, was at last on full march to enter Saxony; this left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. General Haddick pierced through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the King of Prussia's capital under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still kept possession of his former post, in

order to interrupt the communication of the King with Silesia. The fate which seemed to have threatened the Empress some months ago, was now looked upon as the certain lot of her antagonist. All his endeavours to retrieve his affairs had hitherto been equally brave and unsuccessful. General Lehwald had orders at any hazard to engage the Russians: with thirty thousand he attacked double that number strongly entrenched, at a place called Norkitten; but Aug. 30. after several of those wonderful efforts which the Prussians alone know how to make, he was compelled to retire; but he retired in excellent order, without being pursued, having killed five times more of the enemy, than he had lost of his own men, and more formidable after his defeat, than the Russians after their victory. The King of Prussia exerted himself upon every side; his enemies almost always fled before him; but whilst he pursued one body, another gained in some other part upon him, and the winter came on fast, as his strength decayed, and his adversaries multiplied from every quarter. The following letter, which appeared in the public papers about this time, paints the condition of that distressed monarch, in so full a manner, that I shall attempt no other description of it.

“Many persons, who saw the King of Prussia, when he passed lately through Leipzig, cannot express how much he is altered. They say he is so much worn away, that they scarce knew him. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at; he hath not a body of iron, like Charles XII. and he endures as great fatigues as he did. He is as much on horseback as Charles was, and often

often lies upon the ground. His inward sufferings cannot be less than his outward. Let us cast our eye on a map of the Prussian dominions; and measure what he hath left of the many fair possessions he had in the month of April last, of which a space of seven months hath stript him. Whence can he have men? he is shut out from the Empire; and from whence can he draw money? the duchy of Guelders, the duchy of Cleves, the principality of Moers, the county of Lingen, the county of Lipstadt, the principality of Minden, East-Friesland, Emden, and its infant company, part of the archbishoprick of Magdeburgh, some other parts of the Marche, Ducal Pomerania, a great part of Silesia, a great part of the kingdom of Prussia,

Berlin itself, almost all his dominions, in short, are either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies, who collect the public revenues, fatten on the contributions, and with the money which they draw from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defray the expences of the war. This picture certainly differs greatly from that which the King of Prussia might have sketched out, the day he took arms to enter Saxony. Add to this the Duke of Cumberland's convention, which deprived him of all his allies, and left him without any assistance whatever, excepting four or five hundred thousand pounds sterling, which the British parliament may give him. Add likewise some domestick uneasinesses."

C H A P. V.

Battle of Rezbach. Schweidnitz taken by the Austrians. Prince of Bevern attacked in his entrenchments. Breslau taken by the Austrians. King of Prussia marches to Silesia. The Battle of Lissa. Breslau retaken. Austrians driven out of Silesia.

THIS was the King of Prussia's situation, when the will of Providence, and his own wonderful abilities, as wonderfully changed the scene. His majesty deferred to bring on a decisive action, distressed as his affairs were, until the approach of winter: had he marched to attack the Imperial army, whilst it was at a considerable distance, he must either have left Saxony exposed to the insults of the Austrian parties, or have greatly weakened his own forces employed in the principal action. He therefore suffered the army of the Empire to advance to the frontiers of Misnia, and even to threaten the siege of Leipniz, before he began

to act against them; he however moved towards them, leaving an army in Lusatia to observe the Austrians. On his first motions, the enemy retired with precipitation. But when they had reinforced themselves with numbers and courage sufficient to persuade them to advance, the King of Prussia in his turn retired. His resolution seemed to have been to fight as near Misnia as possible, and as deep in the winter as he conveniently might; for if he should have the good fortune to succeed against the Imperial army, such a blow at such a season, would effectually disable them from acting any thing to his prejudice for that year at least; but if, on the contrary, he should fail, Saxony

was at hand, in which it would prove difficult for the enemy to make any impression whilst the winter continued. As for the time to be lost by following this plan, and the advantage it would afford the Austrians in their designs on Silesia, they were not to be compared with the advantages which the King received from it. He knew that Schweidnitz was strong, and excellently provided; the Prince of Bevern was strongly posted near it to obstruct the enemies operations; the winter would lean heavier on the besiegers; and on the whole he had reason to trust that his troops, animated by his own presence and example, would prove far superior to the enemy, in enduring all the hardships of a winter campaign.

After some time spent in various movements, between the allied army of the Imperialists and French on one side, and the Prussians on the other, the King resolved to give battle to his enemies, who were now advanced to the confines of Misnia. On the 24th of October, the King had taken his resolution; at that time his army happened to be divided into several corps, some of them at a distance of no less than twenty leagues asunder; yet such were the spirit and excellent disposition of the Prussians, that the junction of all these corps, was fully effected on the 27th, and the King advanced towards the enemy. The enemy fell back at his approach, and repassed the Sala; they were followed close.

Nov. 5. The two armies met near the village of Roibach.

The united army, commanded by the Prince of Saxe Hilburghausen and the Prince of Soubise, was 50,000 men complete. But the

troops of the Circles were new-raised, and many of them not well affected to the service, nor to their French allies. The Prussians did not amount to 25,000; but then they were Prussians, and led on by the King of Prussia. As soon as the armies were formed, and the battle going to begin, which was to decide the fate of so many nations, and to determine between force and virtue, the King of Prussia addressed his troops nearly in the following words:

‘ My dear friends, the hour is come, in which all that is, and all that ought to be dear to us, depends upon the swords which are now drawn for the battle. Time permits me to say but little; nor is there occasion to say much. You know that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no watching, no danger, that I have not shared with you hitherto; and you now see me ready to lay down my life with you and for you. All I ask is the same pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. And let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a testimony of my own gratitude, that from this hour, until you go into quarters, your pay shall be doubled. Acquit yourselves like men, and put your confidence in God.’ The effect of this speech was such as cannot be described. The general emotion burst in an universal shout, and the looks and demeanour of the men were animated to a sort of heroic phrensy. In this disposition, which prognosticated success, the engagement began.

In the beginning of the action the French cavalry came on with great spirit, but they were repulsed; some

some regiments having gained an eminence defended themselves bravely, but in the end they were totally routed. The infantry, both French and Imperialists, made but a faint resistance. The King of Prussia in person, exposed to the hottest fire, led on his troops; the enemy gave way in every part; they were seized with a panic, and fled in the utmost disorder. They left 3000 men dead on the field of battle, 63 pieces of cannon, and many colours. Eight French generals, 250 officers of different ranks, and 6000 private men were taken. Night alone saved from total destruction the scattered remains of an army, that in the morning was so numerous and so formidable.

I have not undertaken on this, nor shall I undertake upon any other occasion, in these preliminary chapters, to enter into the detail of all the various manœuvres of every battle; they are matters little understood by, and little interesting to, the generality of readers. Besides, the accounts are sometimes inaccurate, and seldom or never consistent with each other.

The glorious success of the battle of Rosbach, was such as hardly wanted to be improved; the enemy was left totally incapable of action. The king was set free on that side; but it was a freedom which gave him no respite from his labours; it only gave him an opportunity of undergoing new labours in another part. The Austrians had a vast force, and had now began to make a proportionable progress in Silesia. The dependence which the King had upon the fidelity of his generals there, seemed shaken by something which then appeared, and still seems ambiguous in their conduct. The

Austrians, after a siege from the 27th of October to the 11th of November, carried on under infinite difficulties and with a prodigious loss, had reduced Schweidnitz, and obliged the Prussian garrison of 4000 men to surrender prisoners of war. Soon after, as they had intelligence of the victory of Rosbach, and knew that the King of Prussia was on full march to the relief of Silesia, the Austrians resolved to lose no time to attack the Prince of Bevern in his strong camp under the walls of Breslau. A treble superiority incited them to this attempt. They attacked the Prince's army with great resolution, and their attack was sustained with amazing intrepidity. Nov. 22.

The slaughter of the Austrians was prodigious. A great part of their army had retired from the field of battle, and the rest were preparing to retire; when all at once the Prussian generals unexpectedly took the same resolution. A part of their army had suffered a great deal in the engagement. They became apprehensive of a total defeat in case their intrenchments should be forced in any part. With these ideas they retreated from the strong post they occupied, and retired behind the Oder. The Austrians returning, with astonishment saw themselves masters of the field of battle, which they had but just been obliged to relinquish. What is remarkable, and what gave rise to many conjectures, the Prince of Bevern going to reconnoitre without escort, and attended only by a groom, was taken two days after the battle by an advanced party of Croats, a small body of whom had crossed the Oder.

This advantage, though dearly bought, was immediately followed with many others. Breslau, the capital of Silesia, immed- Nov. 24.

diately surrendered, where, as well as at Schweidnitz, they found vast stores of provision, ammunition, and money. All Silesia was on the point of falling into their hands. Fortune seems every where to have thrown the King of Prussia's affairs into distraction, in order to raise, and as it were to round his glory in establishing them; and to have been even so jealous of his honour as not to permit his own excellent generals and incomparable troops to triumph any where but in his own presence.

The King immediately after the battle of Rosbach, with those troops which he had a few days before collected from places an hundred miles distant from each other, began a march of upwards of two hundred more, and led them from engaging one superior army, to engage another still more superior; from danger to hardship, and from hardship to renewed danger. In a most rapid march he passed through Thuringia, through Misnia, through Lusatia, in spite of the efforts of the generals Haddick and Marshal, who were posted in Lusatia to obstruct him; and entering Silesia arrived the 2d of December at Parchwitz upon the Oder. Here he was joined by the Prince of Bevern's corps who crossed that river to meet him.

About this time an incident happened which was very remarkable; one of those agreeable adventures that relieve the mind amidst the perpetual horror that attends a narrative of battles and bloodshed. The garrison of Schweidnitz had seen, with the greatest reluctance, the capitulation which bound their hands from the service of their King and country. Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of

the victory their master had gained at Rosbach: animated with this news, they unanimously rose upon the escort which conducted them, and which happened not to be very strong, and entirely dispersed it. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hope to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops. The same fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded by the king himself, which was hastening to their relief. Great was the joy on both sides at this unexpected meeting, for the prisoners had heard nothing of his majesty's march. This little incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its spirit, and seemed an happy omen of success in the future engagement.

As his Prussian majesty approached to Breslau, the Austrians confiding in their superiority, abandoned their strong camp (the same which had been occupied by the Prince of Bevern) and resolved to give the King battle. He was march-
Dec. 5.
ing with the utmost diligence not to disappoint them; and they met near the village of Leuthen. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every advantage of the situation was improved to the utmost, by the diligence and skill of Count Daun; who remembering that he was the only general who had ever carried the field from the King of Prussia, knew better than any body how difficult it was to obtain such a victory. All the dispositions were made accordingly; the ground they occupied was a plain, except that in some parts it had small eminences; these they surrounded with artillery; the ground was also interspersed with thickets, which

which they fought to turn to their advantage. On their right and left were hills on which they planted batteries of cannon. The ground in their front was intersected by many causeways; and to make the whole more impracticable, the Austrians had felled a vast many trees, and scattered them in the way. The King of Prussia was not terrified with this situation, nor with the consciousness that above 70,000 excellent troops commanded by Count Daun were so posted. The Prussians, who did not exceed, as it is said 36,000 men, attacked them with their usual resolution. It was almost impossible at the beginning of the engagement for the Prussian horse to act, on account of the impediments we have just mentioned, but a most judicious disposition of the king himself overcame that disadvantage; he had in his first dispositions placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadasti, who was placed with a corps de reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen; that general's horse attacked the King's right wing with great fury; but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. Then the King's flank well covered and supported was enabled to act with such order and vigour, that the enemy's right was obliged to give way. The Prussian artillery, which was incomparably served, and silenced that of the enemy, concurred to maintain the King's infantry, and to enable them to act in grounds where their horse could give them but little assistance. The Austrians made a gallant resistance

during the whole battle. The panic of the enemy did not here, as at Rosbach, do half the business; every foot of ground was well disputed. The Austrians rallied all their forces about Leuthen, which was defended upon all sides with intrenchments and redoubts. After reiterated attacks made with the utmost impetuosity, and sustained with great firmness, the Prussians mastered the post; then the Austrians fled on all parts; they were entirely routed. The King pursued them to Lissa. Six thousand of the Austrians were slain, 15,000 were made prisoners; and an immense artillery, upwards of 200 pieces of cannon were taken.

This great and decisive action was fought on the very same day of the next month after the no less important and decisive battle of Rosbach. The consequences that followed the action of Leuthen, declared the entireness of the victory. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, the siege of Breslau was immediately undertaken, and prosecuted with such spirit, that by the 29th of December it surrendered; and with it surrendered the garrison of 13,000 men prisoners of war; the blockade of Schweidnitz was formed as closely as the inclemency of the winter would permit; whilst the Prussian parties not only repossessed those parts of Silesia which belonged to the King, but penetrating into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau and Tetschen, and left to the Empress Queen, except a forlorn garrison in Schweidnitz, no sort of footing in that country, in which a few days before she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

C H A P. VI.

Russians and Swedes retire. Hanoverians resume their arms. Cruelty of the French. Condition of their army. Castle of Harbourg besieged. Recapitulation of the events of the year 1757.

AS the misfortunes of his Prussian majesty after the battle of Colin, came on him all at once, so his successes after his victories at Rosbach and Lissa, flowed upon him all at once likewise, and in a full tide. The Russians, tho' they had repulsed General Lehwald, suffered so much in that action, and their barbarous method of making war had so destroyed the country, that they seemed to themselves to have no way of safety left but in retiring out of the Prussian territories. This extraordinary retreat of so great an army, and so lately victorious, and still possessed of a good sea-port in the country, could scarcely be accounted for on those motives we have assigned, and astonished all Europe, whilst it left General Lehwald at liberty to turn his arms into Pomerania against the Swedes. The Swedes on this occasion did nothing worthy of their ancient military fame; but every where retiring, left the Prussians an easy conquest, not only of the Prussian but of every part of the Swedish Pomerania, excepting the port of Stralsund; they left their allies of Mecklenbourg quite exposed to all the resentment of the King of Prussia, who chastised them with the most severe contributions and levies. The French, who had been ravaging the Old Marche of Brandenburg, evacuated that country immediately after the battle of Rosbach. But one of the greatest revolutions of fortune in the war, and one of the most glorious and important consequences of

that victory, was, that the Hanoverian troops were enabled to resume their arms.

From the moment the capitulation of Closter-seven was signed, the Duke de Richelieu, who came to the command only to reap the advantage, and fully the honour of another's conquest, seemed to think of nothing but how to repair from the plunder of the unhappy Hanoverians, the fortune which he had shattered by a thousand vices. The most exorbitant contributions were levied with the most inflexible severity; every exaction which was submitted to, only produced a new one still more extravagant; and all the orderly methods of plunder did not exempt them from the pillage, licentiousness, and insolence of the French soldiery. However, in justice to merit, we must except from this general charge the conduct of the Duke de Randon, governor of Hanover for the French; who saved the capital of the electorate from utter ruin by the strictness of all his discipline, by the prudence the justice and moderation of all his conduct, a conduct which does more real honour to his name than the most splendid victories.

The duke de Richelieu's rapaciousness and oppression, whilst they leaned so heavily on the conquered people, did the conquering army no kind of service. Intent only on plunder, which he did not confine to the enemy, he relaxed every part of military discipline; and that numerous army which M. d'Etrees

had sustained, and brought in health and spirits through the dismal deserts of Westphalia, under all the opposition of a skilful adversary, were now, in full peace, in the quiet possession of a conquered and plentiful country, reduced in their numbers, decayed in their health and their spirits, without cloaths, without subsistence, without order, without arms. In this condition they began at last to perceive that the Hanoverians, with the yoke of the capitulation about their necks, were still formidable. As they had broke almost every article of that treaty, they made no scruple to add another breach in order to secure them in all the rest. They attempted actually to take their arms from the Hanoverian and Hessian troops. These gallant troops, who had with a silent grief and indignation seen the distresses of their ruined country, were ravished to find that the victory at Rosbach encouraged their sovereign to resent at last this and all the other indignities they had suffered. They began to collect and to act, and under the command of the gallant Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, reinforced with a body of Prussian troops, they broke from their confinement. They reduced the town of Harbourg, and laid close siege to the castle, which it must be owned was defended very bravely. In all other respects the French did not seem in a condition to maintain their ground any where. Those troops, which a few months before had so submitted as to make it necessary to declare that they were *not prisoners of war* in order to explain their condition, were now on the point of pushing their adversaries to almost the same streights. Such was the force of French military discipline, and such the triumphs of Voltaire's hero.

The King of Prussia now saw the full effect of his counsels and his labours. His dominions were freed; his allies were enabled to assist him; and his enemies defeated, broken, and flying every where before him. In what light posterity will view these things is uncertain; we, under whose eyes, as we may say, they were achieved, scarcely believed what we had seen. And perhaps in all the records of time, the compass of a single year, on the scene of a single country, never contained so many striking events, never displayed so many revolutions of fortune; revolutions not only beyond what might have been expected, but far beyond what the most sagacious foresight, reasoning from experience, and the nature of things could possibly have imagined. The King of Prussia at first triumphant; the whole power of the Austrians totally defeated; their hopes utterly ruined: then their affairs suddenly re-established, their armies victorious, and the King of Prussia in his turn hurled down; defeated; abandoned by his allies; surrounded by his enemies on the very edge of despair: then all at once raised beyond all hope, he sees the united Austrian, Imperial, and French power levelled with the ground. 40,000 Hanoverians, a whole army, submit to 80,000 French, and are only *not* prisoners of war. The French are peaceable masters of all the country between the Weser and the Elbe; anon, these subdued Hanoverians resume their arms; they recover their country, and the French in a little time think themselves not secure to the eastward of the Rhine. 400,000 men in action. Six pitched battles fought. Three great armies annihilated. The French army reduced and vanquished.

ed without fighting. The Russians victorious, and flying as if they had been vanquished. A confederacy, not of smaller potentates to humble one great power, but of five the greatest powers on earth to

reduce one small potentate: all the force of these powers exerted and baffled. It happened as we have related; and it is not the history of a century, but of a single campaign.

C H A P. VII.

Preparations for an expedition to Louisbourg. Laid aside. Fort William-Henry taken. Exploits of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive in India. Chandanagore a French fort taken. Victory over the Nabob. Nabob taken and beheaded. Revolution in Bengal. Treaty advantageous to the East-India company. Admiral Watson dies.

WITH regard to the part we had in the transactions of this year, though it was not so full of striking events, nor does it afford such a splendid subject for narrative, yet it is interesting to an English reader, and may perhaps prove more instructive; as it shews us in so strong a light, the miserable consequences of our political divisions, which produced a general unsteadiness in all our pursuits, and infused a languor and inactivity into all our military operations. For, whilst our commanders abroad knew not who were to reward their services, or punish their neglects, and were not assured in what light even the best of their actions would be considered (having reason to apprehend that they might not be judged of as they were in themselves, but as their appearances might answer the end of some ruling faction;) they naturally wanted that firmness and that enterprizing resolution, without which the best capacity, and intentions the most honest, can do nothing in war. The attachment of most men to their parties, weakened their affection to their country. It has been imagined that ministers did not always wish success even to their own schemes,

lest obnoxious men should acquire credit by the execution of them; as it was suspected that officers even at the expence of their own reputation, did not exert their faculties to the utmost, lest a disagreeable ministerial system should establish the credit of its councils by the vigour of their operations. For my own part, I think that these refinements, in which there is often as much malice discovered as penetration, have carried the matter infinitely too far. But certain it is, that the spirit of personal parties and attachments, never carried to greater lengths than at that time, proved of very bad consequence, if it had no other effect than to raise and to give a colour to such suspicions as we have just mentioned. Whatever was the cause, it is most certain, that our success in America this year, no more answered to the greatness of our preparations and our hopes than it did in the two preceding.

The attack upon Crown Point, which had been a principal object of our attention in the beginning, seemed at this time to be laid aside; and an expedition to Louisbourg, undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself, supplied its place. Lord Loudon was to command the land

land forces in this expedition; Admiral Holborne the navy. The former left New York with a July 9. body of 6000 men, and sailed to Halifax, where he was joined by the latter, who had sailed from Corke on the 7th May with a considerable fleet, and much the same number of land forces, which his lordship had brought from New York. When the united armies and fleets were on the point of departing for Louisbourg, news arrived at Halifax that the Breſt fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, with great ſupplies of military ſtores, proviſions, and men, were arrived at the harbour which they were preparing to attack. This news immediately ſuſpended their preparations. Councils of war were held one after another. The reſult of the whole was, that as the place was ſo well reinforced, the fleet of the French rather ſuperior to our navy, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, it was the more prudent courſe to defer the enterprize to a more favourable opportunity. This reſolution ſeems to have been the moſt eligible in their circumſtances, becauſe the council of war was almoſt unanimous in it.

Lord Loudon returned to New York, and the admiral now freed from the care of the tranſports ſet ſail for Louisbourg, in hope, as it was ſaid, of drawing the French fleet to an engagement. But upon what grounds this hope was conceived, I confeſs I cannot ſee; as it could not be imagined, that the French fleet, having no ſort of occaſion to fight in order to protect Louisbourg, would chuſe out of a bravado to bring on an unneceſſary battle. However it was, the Engliſh ſquadron continued to cruize off that harbour until the 25th of September, when they were overtaken by a terrible

ſtorm, in which one of our ſhips was loſt, eleven diſmasted, and the reſt returned to England in a very ſhattered condition. This was the end of the expedition to Louisbourg, from which ſo much was expected. But it was not the worſt conſequence which attended it.

Since Oſwego had been taken, the French remained entirely maſters of all the lakes, and we could do nothing to obſtruct their collecting the Indians from all parts, and obliging them to act in their favour. But our apprehenſions, (or what ſhall they be called?) did more in favour of the French than their conqueſts. Not ſatisfied with the loſs of that important fortrefs, we ourſelves abandoned to the mercy of the enemy all the country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who preſerved even the appearance of friendſhip to us. The forts we had at the Great Carrying Place were demolithed; Wood Creek was induſtriouſly ſtopped up and filled with logs; by which it became evident to all thoſe who knew that country, that our communication with our allied Indians was totally cut off; and what was worſe, our whole frontier left perfectly uncovered to the irruption of the enemies ſavages, who ſoon availed themſelves of our errors. For after the removal of theſe barriers, and the taking of Fort William-Henry, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, they deſtroyed with fire and ſword the fine ſettlements which we poſſeſſed on the Mohawks river, and on thoſe grounds called the German flats. Thus with a vaſt increaſe of our forces, and the cleareſt ſuperiority over the enemy, we only abandoned our allies, expoſed our people, and relinquithed a large and valuable tract of country. The French ſoon made

made us feel effectually the want of what we had lost, and what we had thrown away.

A considerable fort called Fort William-Henry, had been built on the southern edge of the Lake George, in order to command that lake and to cover our frontiers; a garrison of 2500 men defended it, General Webb with about 4000 men was posted at no great distance. No sooner had the French learned that my Lord Loudon with the body of the army was gone on the Louisbourg expedition, than they prepared to take advantage of his absence. They drew together all the forces which they had at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts; they added a considerable body of Canadians, and a greater number of Indians than they had ever yet employed; the whole made near 8000 men. With these and a very good artillery, Monsieur Montcalm prepared to besiege Fort William-Henry. It is said that the advances of this commander were not made with so much secrecy as to prevent General Webb from having early intelligence of his motions; but unfortunately no credit being given to this intelligence, orders were not sent to collect the militia in sufficient time, which in conjunction with his own forces, and with those in the Fort, had either obliged the French to relinquish their attempt, or to have made it a very great hazard.

Aug. 5. But the siege being now regularly formed, and the besiegers meeting but little opposition from within, and no disturbance 9th. at all from without, the place was in six days surrendered by the advice of General Webb; whose intercepted letter M. Montcalm sent into the fort.

The garrison marched out with

their arms, and engaged not to serve during eighteen months. The French savages paid no regard to the capitulation, but falling upon our men as they marched out dragged away the little effects they had left, hauling the Indians and Blacks in our service out of their ranks, scalping some, carrying off others, and committing a thousand outrages and barbarities, from which the French commander endeavoured in vain to restrain them. All this was suffered by 2000 men with arms in their hands from a disorderly crew of savages. However the greatest part of our men, though in a bad condition, got to Fort Edward, some by flight; some having surrendered themselves to the French, were by them sent home safe. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the provision, ammunition, artillery, and the vessels which we had prepared on the lake, and departed without attempting any thing further. Neither was any thing further attempted on our side. And thus was finished the third campaign in North America, where we had actually near 20,000 regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a great naval power of upwards of twenty ships of the line.

A war between the maritime powers is felt in all parts of the world. Not content with inflaming Europe and America, the dissensions of the French and English pursued the tracks of their commerce, and the Ganges felt the fatal effects of a quarrel on the Ohio. But here the scene is changed greatly to the advantage of our nation; the bravery of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, re-established the military honour of the English, which was sinking there as it had done in all other places. Admiral Watson with

no more than three ships of the line, sailed from Madras, and after a tedious voyage arrived at the port of

Dec. 5. Balasore in the kingdom of Bengal, where strengthening his force with what recruits he could draw together, he entered the Ganges, and after a short resistance made himself master of Busbudgia-

Jan. 30. fort, which commanded that part of the river. This opened him a passage to the fort of Calcutta, the late principal settlement of the company of Bengal, and the scene of the deplorable sufferings of so many of our unfortunate countrymen. Animated with revenge at the affecting sight of this place, our ship and land forces attacked it with so much spirit, that the Indians surrendered it on the same day it was approached. A few days after Hugly, situated higher up on the Ganges, was reduced with as little difficulty.

The Nabob, who saw that the torrent of the English valour could not be resisted by such feeble dams as forts defended by Indians, drew down a whole army consisting of 10,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, to drive them from their conquests. Infinitely inferior as our troops were

Feb. 5. in number, they did not hesitate to attack the Nabob's army. Though our forces did not entirely rout the Indians, yet they made a great slaughter amongst them; and they had so much

9th. the advantage of the field, that the Nabob was in a short time glad to conclude a treaty of peace, by which the English East India company was re-established in all its ancient privileges; an immunity from all taxes was granted, and a restitution promised for all that the trade had suffered in the taking of Calcutta.

When all obstructions on the side of the Indians was removed, and the company's officers had taken possession of their ancient establishments, the admiral turned his arms against the French. He resolved to attack Chandernagore, situated somewhat higher on the river than Calcutta; a place of considerable strength, and the principal settlement of the French in that part in the East Indies. In this expedition Colonel Clive commanded 700 Europeans, and 1600 Black soldiers. The admirals Warton and Pocock commanded the fleet, if it may be called a fleet, which consisted of no more than three ships of the line, the Kent, the Tyger, and the Salisbury. The French prepared in the best manner they could to receive them, and sunk several large vessels both above and below their fort; but the admiral having by carefully sounding, found a safe passage without being driven to the necessity of weighing up any of the ships, made so severe a fire upon the fort, in which he was seconded by Colonel Clive's batteries on the Mar. 24. shore, that the place capitulated in less than three hours. 500 Europeans, and 700 Blacks surrendered prisoners of war; 183 pieces of cannon were found in the place, besides a considerable value in goods and money. Four forts cost our troops no more than four days to reduce them.

The judicious timing of these several operations, as well as those which followed, was not less laudable than the gallant spirit with which they were executed. Before the French were alarmed, care was taken to repossess all the posts we formerly held; to humble the Nabob by some effectual blow; and by a treaty to tie up his hands from acting.

acting against us. This Prince had shewed himself from the moment of his signing that treaty, very little inclined to abide by the stipulations he had made. He indeed promised abundantly, but always deferred the performance upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated his ill intentions. The English commanders understood this proceeding perfectly well; but they resolved to dissemble their sense of it until they had broken the French power in this province, which they had greater reason to dread, small as it was, than all the armies of the Nabob. When they had fully accomplished this by the taking of Chandenagore, they deliberated whether they ought not to recommence hostilities with the Indians. A resolution in the affirmative had been attended with great difficulty and danger, if a most fortunate incident had not helped to ensure success.

The Nabob Suraja Doula, the same who had the last year taken Calcutta, had shewn to his own subjects the same violent and perfidious spirit, which formerly and still distressed the English. His generals were mostly discontented, and some of them entered into a conspiracy against him. Jaffier Ali Cawn, one of his principal officers, a man of great power and interest, was at the head of this conspiracy. As soon as their designs were ripened, they communicated them to the English government in Calcutta, praying their assistance. The chiefs there did not hesitate long what party they should take; they entered into a treaty with Jaffier Ali Cawn and the conspirators; and in consequence of this treaty, our troops immediately took the field under Colonel Clive. The admiral undertook to garrison the fort of Chandenagore with his

seamen, in order to leave the greater number of land forces for the expedition. A detachment of fifty seamen with their officers were added to serve as gunners. A 20 gun ship was stationed above Hugly, in order to preserve a communication between Colonel Clive and the admiral.

Their preliminary measures being thus judiciously taken, they advanced up the river, and in a few days brought the Nabob's army of about 20,000 men, exclusive of those who favoured the conspirators, to an action; which was decisive June 22, in favour of the English. Two considerable bodies commanded by Jaffier and Roy Dolub remained inactive in the engagement. The Nabob seeing himself ruined by the treachery of his officers, and the cowardice of his troops, fled with the few who continued faithful to him.

Jaffier Ali Cawn now declared himself openly; and 26th. entering Muxadavat the capital of the Province with an army of his friends and victorious allies, he was placed by Colonel Clive in the ancient seat of the Nabobs, and received the homage of all ranks of people as Suba of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia. The deposed Nabob was soon after made prisoner, and put to death in his prison by the conqueror. In about thirteen days this great revolution was accomplished, and with less force and trouble than often is required to take a petty village in Germany; was transferred the government of a vast kingdom, yielding in its dimensions to few in Europe, but to none in the fertility of its soil, the number of its inhabitants, and the richness of its commerce. By the alliance with the new Nabob, and by the reduction of Chandenagore, the French were entirely driven out of

of Bengal and all its dependencies. This was one of the articles of the treaty. By the other articles, a perpetual alliance offensive and defensive was made between the parties. The territories of the company were enlarged, and upwards of two millions sterling was stipulated to be paid as an indemnification to the East India company, and the sufferers in the taking of Calcutta. The new Nabob, full of gratitude to those to whom he owed his dignity, gave besides the above large sums about 600,000 pounds, as a gratuity to the sea squadron and the troops. However short of expectation our enterprises in America fell this year, those in the East Indies greatly exceeded every thing we could hope from the forces which

were employed. And it may be doubted whether all the great powers engaged in the present bloody wars in Europe, in which such torrents of blood are spilled, and so many millions of treasure are wasted, will in the conclusion reap amongst them so much solid profit as the English East-India company did with an handful of men in a short campaign. The joy of the nation at these signal successes was not a little damped by the death of Admiral Watson, who lost his life by the unwhole- Aug. 16. someless of the country, in which he had established a great and lasting reputation. Colonel Clive still lives to enjoy the fortune and honour he has acquired by his gallant actions.

C H A P. VIII.

French retire out of Hanover. The taking of Hoya. Minden taken. Dispers of the French. Generosity of the Duke de Randen. The French retire beyond the Rhine. Recovery of Embden by Commodore Holmes.

1758. **A**LL the bloodshed of the last campaign in Germany, and those losses which both the victorious and vanquished felt so very severely, produced no overtures towards peace from any of the powers at war. And perhaps nothing so singular ever happened, as that so many states, united, if not against their real interests, yet against all their former habits of connection, full of so many occasions of jealousy, abounding with matter of complaint against each other, and even involved in misfortunes which usually destroy a mutual confidence, that not one of these powers either from fear, or hope, or weariness, or levity, desisted from their hostilities against the King of Prussia; nor did that monarch acquire one ally more

by the admiration of his successes, than he had formerly gained through compassion to his misfortunes. All the confederates preserved the same attachment to each other, to him the same animosity. It is equally a matter of great admiration, how the resources even of these great states could keep pace with their ambition, and in a few months supply the place of great armies almost wholly destroyed. The King of Prussia by his victories had added to his natural resources. The resources were more considerable than is commonly imagined; and the possession of Saxony, which yielded him great supplies, saved his own revenue. He was indeed not quite so fresh as at the beginning of the war; but then the condition of the enemy was

in many respects far worse than his. His troops had besides acquired a high reputation and a clear superiority over all others. The consideration, however, of an army greatly harassed, and a most severe winter, obliged him to restrain his ardor, and to attempt nothing against the Austrians in the months of January, February, and March. The same inaction, owing to much the same causes, prevailed amongst the Hanoverians for a little time: but having been reinforced about the middle of February by a body of Prussian horse, they put their whole army once more in motion.

The Duke de Richelieu had been recalled, and the Count of Clermont now commanded the French troops. This was their third commander in chief within the space of a year; a circumstance alone sufficient to shew the unsteadiness of their councils, and the irregularity of their operations. In effect, they every where retreated before the Hanoverians, whose main body marched on the right to the country of Bremen; whilst a second body under General Zastrow kept on the left towards Gifforn. They pushed the French from post to post. They obliged them to evacuate Ottersberg, Bremen, and Werden. The castle of Rottersberg was taken in six hours. A considerable detachment under Count Chabot was posted at Hoya, a strong fort upon the Weser, and a place of such consequence that Prince Ferdinand resolved to dislodge the enemy from it. He appointed for that service the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with four battalions of foot and some light horse. This Prince, not twenty years of age, had already entered into the course of glory under the auspices of his uncle, and full of ardor to signalize himself,

with joy embraced the occasion; and here he gave an earnest of his fame, in one of the most lively and best conducted actions in the war. The first fruits of this young hero were such as would have done honour to the maturity of the most experienced soldier.

The Prince had a broad and deep river to pass. He had no means of transporting his men, but a single float; so that a long time must be spent in getting them over; what was worse, before half his troops were passed, a strong wind arose, which rendered the float unserviceable, and entirely cut off all communication between the Prince and the most considerable number of his party, whilst the party he was going to attack was superior to him, had his whole body been together. In this exigence the Prince came to a resolution worthy of himself. He resolved not to spend any time in attempts to bring over the rest of his troops, much less to make any attempt to return to them, but to urge on boldly, in such a manner as to possess the enemy with an opinion of his strength, and to attack them briskly before they could be undeceived. Therefore, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, they marched with the utmost speed directly to the town of Hoya. When they were approached within a mile and a half of the place, another accident was on the point of defeating the whole enterprise. Their detachment fired by mistake upon four of the enemies dragoons, who were patrolling; the firing was caught from one to another, and at last became general. This seemed more than enough to discover their motions and alarm the enemy. But the same spirit influenced the conduct

duſt of every part of this affair: a bold countenance became neceſſary, and it was aſſumed; they marched with the utmoſt diligence to the town, and encountered the enemy at the bridge; a fierce fire, well ſupported on either ſide, enſued. The ground was ſuch, that the Prince could not bring up his whole detachment equally. Senſible of this diſadvantage, he formed a deſign to overcome it, as judicious as it was reſolute, which was to turn the enemy by attacking them in the rear; to execute this deſign, it was neceſſary to make a circuit about the town. Every thing ſucceeded: the attack on the enemies rear was made with bayonet fixed; a terrible ſlaughter enſued. The French abandoned the bridge, and fled in confuſion: the Prince having cleared the town of the enemy, joined the party he had left. The Count de Chabot threw himſelf with two battalions into the caſtle, with a reſolution to maintain himſelf there; but, in a little time, he capitulated, ſurrendering the place, his ſtores and magazines, his troops being permitted to march out. The Prince, who had no artillery, and who, on account of the badneſs of the roads, deſpaired of bringing up heavy cannon, ſuffered them to depart. Six hundred and ſeventy men were made priſoners in the action, and a place of much importance, and which opened a paſſage over the Weſer, ſecured to the Hanoverians, with the loſs of leſs than 100 men killed and wounded. I have dwelt on this action, and deſcribed it as particularly as I could, though nothing deciſive in itſelf, becauſe it is not in pitched battles between great armies, where the moſt maſterly ſtrokes of conduct are always diſplayed; theſe leſſer

affairs frequently call for as much or more of ſagacity, reſolution, and preſence of mind, in the commander; yet are they often ſlightly paſſed by, as matters of no conſequence, by the generality of people, who rather conſider the greatneſs of the event, than the ſpirit of the action.

Prince Ferdinand continued to advance with his right on one ſide of the Weſer, and his left on the other; the French continued to retire, and ſucceſſively abandoned all the places they had occupied in the electorate, except Minden. A gariſon of 4000 men defended that place; but it was cloſely inveſted, and in nine days the whole gariſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. March 14. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties of the Hanoverian army and the French, always to the advantage of the former. The wretched condition of the French troops is hardly to be deſcribed or imagined: officers and ſoldiers involved in one common diſtreſs; the officers forgot their rank, and the ſoldiers their obedience; full hospitals and empty magazines; a rigorous ſeaſon, and bad covering; their baggage ſeized or abandoned, and the huiſars and hunters of the allied army continually haraſſing, pillaging, and cutting them off. It was no alleviation to their miſery, that the inhabitants of the country, which they abandoned, were reduced to the ſame extremities. The ſavage behaviour of ſome of their corps at their departure, took away all compaſſion from their ſufferings: but this was not univerſal. The Duke de Randaſ, who commanded in Hanover, quitted the place with the ſame virtue, that he had ſo long

long held it. Resentment had no more power to persuade him to act with rigour, in the adverse turn of the French affairs, than the pride of conquest had in their prosperity. When he had orders to evacuate the place, there were very considerable magazines of corn and forage, amassed for the use of the army; he had full time to burn them, and he had precedents enough to have justified the action; but he left the whole in the hands of the magistrates, to be gratuitously distributed to the poor: he employed all his vigilance to prevent the least disorder amongst his troops, and was himself the last man that marched out of the town. This behaviour, which did so much honour to his name and country, has made his memory for ever dear to the Hanoverians, drew tears of love and gratitude from his enemies, and acknowledgments from the generous Prince against whom he served.

The French through extreme difficulties marched towards the Rhine in three columns. The several scattered bodies, which had united at Munster, formed the right. The body which came from Paderborn, and which was commanded by the Prince of Clermont in person, marched in the middle. The forces which had occupied Hesse, were on the left. In this order they reached the Rhine, which they all passed, except a body under Count Clermont, who still remained at Wesel, and resolved to maintain that post. The French army which about four months before had passed the Rhine in numbers, and in a condition to

make the most powerful enemies tremble, without any adverse stroke of war whatsoever, by a fate almost unparalleled, now repassed it like fugitives, in a condition the most deplorable, reduced to less than half their original number, and closely pursued by the enemy, which they had obliged to lay down their arms.

The same ill fortune, and the same despair of their affairs, followed them every where. On the arrival of a small English squadron, commanded by Commodore Holmes, before Embden, and their taking an advantageous situation, which cut off the communication between the town and the mouth of the river Ems; the French garrison, consisting of near 4000 men, immediately evacuated the place. As soon as Mr. Holmes discovered their design, and that they were transporting their artillery and baggage up the river, he ordered out a few armed boats to pursue them. These took some of the enemies vessels, in which were the son of an officer of distinction, and a considerable sum of money. The Commodore without delay restored the son to his father, and offered to return the money, on receiving the officer's word of honour, that it was his private property. This affair is mentioned, not only to do justice to the judicious conduct by which a place of so much consideration was so easily carried, but also to that generosity of spirit, which so nobly distinguishes almost all those, who hold any rank in our service.

C H A P. IX.

Alterations in the French ministry. The state of the English affairs in the year 1758. Subsidy treaty with the King of Prussia. Affairs of Sweden and Russia. Schweidnitz taken. King of Prussia enters Moravia and invests Olmutz. Conduct of Count Daun. Attacks the Prussian country. Siege of Olmutz raised. King of Prussia marches into Bohemia.

WHILST the French arms suffered such disgraces abroad, they endeavoured by an alteration of their councils at home, to restore their credit. Their ministers had been long the sport of female caprice; it was their power of pleasing a mistress, who governed their king, that alone qualified them to serve their country. Some of the most able men were turned out of their employments with disgrace; others retired from the public service with indignation; a certain low character had for a long time appeared in all the proceedings of France, both within and without. Even in their domestic disputes, and where something of a free and manly spirit appeared, this spirit evaporated, and spent itself upon unworthy and despicable objects. These contests, which involved the church, the law, and the crown, weakened them all; and the state felt all the ill effects of a disunion of its orders, without seeing an augmentation of power thrown into the scale of any. But now taught by their misfortunes and disgraces, they were obliged to an alteration in their conduct; they were obliged to call men to the public service upon public principles; at a time indeed, when in many respects things could only be altered, not mended; and wise and able ministers could do little more by their penetration and public spirit, than to see and lament the ruin, caused

by the want of those virtues in their predecessors. The Duke de Belleisle, known to all Europe for his great abilities, and his great exploits, was at length placed at the head of the military department, as secretary at war. There appeared in the common prints a speech, said to be made by that nobleman in council; which if it be not authentic, contains at least such sentiments, as would come not unnaturally from a French patriot, and one who had served his king and country with honour during better times.

"I know," said he, "the state of our armies. It gives me great grief, and no less indignation; for besides the real evil of the disorder in itself, the disgrace and infamy which it reflects on our government, and on the whole nation, is still more to be apprehended. The choice of officers ought to be made with mature deliberation. I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging and robbing have been carried on by the officers and common men, after the example set them by their generals. It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman; my principles are known to be very different from those which are now followed. I had the satisfaction to retain the esteem, the friendship, and the consideration, of all the princes, noble-
D 3 "men,

" men, and even of all the com-
 " mon people, in all parts of Ger-
 " many where I commanded the
 " King's forces. They lived there
 " in the midst of abundance;
 " every one was pleased: it fills my
 " soul with anguish, to find that
 " at present the French are held
 " in execration; that every body
 " is dispirited, and that many of-
 " ficers publicly say things that
 " are criminal, and highly punish-
 " able. The evil is so great that
 " it demands immediate redress. I
 " can easily judge, by what passes
 " in my own breast, of what our
 " generals feel from the speeches
 " they must daily hear in Germany,
 " concerning our conduct; which
 " indeed would lose much to be
 " compared with that of our allies.
 " I must particularly complain of
 " the delays and irregularity of the
 " posts; a service which is very ill
 " provided for. I am likewise
 " displeased with the negligence
 " of our generals in returning an-
 " swers; which is a manifest breach
 " of their duty. Had I com-
 " manded the army, a thousand
 " things, which are done, would
 " not have been done; and others,
 " which are neglected, would have
 " been executed. I would have
 " multiplied my communications;
 " I would have had strong posts
 " on the right, on the left, and
 " in the center, lined with troops.
 " I would have had magazines in
 " every place. The quiet and sa-
 " tisfaction of the country should
 " have been equal to their pre-
 " sent dissatisfaction, at being ha-
 " rassed and plundered; and we
 " should have been as much be-
 " loved, as we are at present ab-
 " horred. The consequences are
 " too apparent to need being men-
 " tioned. I must insist on these

" things, because late redress is
 " better than the continuation of
 " the evil."

M. de Belleisle being established
 in his office, turned all his atten-
 tion to the cure of the evils, which
 he lamented, and exerted all the
 power that remained in the nation,
 to put their army in Germany once
 more upon a respectable footing.
 The expedition into Germany was
 originally a measure as contrary
 to the true interests of France, as
 it was to justice and equity; but
 having adopted that measure, the
 consequences which arose seemed
 to demand that it should be pur-
 sued with vigour. Therefore the
 connection with the Empress Queen
 was drawn closer than ever, and
 nothing was omitted to give a
 greater strength, and a better or-
 der to the army on the Rhine. But
 these endeavours, which strained
 all the sinews of France, already
 too much weakened by the al-
 most total ruin of several essential
 branches of their trade, drew away
 all the resources necessary to sup-
 port their navy. It was then in a
 sufficiently bad condition, from a
 want of seamen and stores; and
 there were no means found, or
 little attention used, to restore it:
 so that from a deficiency in the
 marine, it seemed to be equally
 impracticable to feed the war in
 America, or to preserve the coast
 of France itself from insults. Such
 was the condition of our enemies,
 at the opening of the campaign of
 1758.

As to England, far from being
 exhausted by the war, or dispirited
 by our ill success, our hopes rose
 from our disappointments, and our
 resources seemed to be augmented
 by our expences; with such ease
 and alacrity were the necessary sup-
 plies

plies granted and raised. Many errors and many abuses, which the war discovered without making fatal, were corrected. The spirit of our officers was revived by fear or by shame. Our trade was well protected by the superiority, and prudent distribution of our naval force. The revenue was frugally managed, and the whole state well cemented and bound together in all its parts, by the union of the administration, by the patriotism which animated it, and by the entire confidence which the people had in the presiding abilities and intentions. As France persisted in her attachment to the enemies of his Prussian majesty, Great Britain entered into still closer engagements with that monarch, the lustre of whose virtues, set off by his late wonderful successes, quite turned our eyes from the objections which were raised against the consistency of that alliance with our interests. How far it is consistent with them, is, I think, a much more difficult point to settle, than the adherents to either party seem willing to allow. But it ought to be considered, that the circumstances of affairs in the beginning of the war hardly admitted of any other choice; it had been the height of madness to have been on ill terms with his Prussian majesty at that time; and it was impossible to have kept good terms with him, without being on very bad ones with Vienna. Things were in an ill situation; and the balance of Germany was in danger of being overset, what party soever should prevail. It was impossible that England could have stood neuter in this contest; if she had, France could not have imitated her moderation; she would gladly have joined with the King

of Prussia to distress Hanover and reduce Austria. These two powers so exerted would doubtless compass their end, unless we interposed to prevent it; and we must sooner or later have interposed, unless we were resolved tamely to see France and her allies giving laws to the continent. In a word, France would certainly have joined with one party or the other, and the party which she joined, would certainly, by that union, prove dangerous to the common liberty, and must therefore be opposed by us; we must have been in spite of us engaged in the troubles of Germany, as we ever have been and ever shall be as long as we are a people of consideration in Europe. The alliance with Prussia was pointed out to us by the circumstances of his acting on the defensive. The King of Prussia meditated no conquests. But her Imperial majesty indisputably aimed at the recovery of Silesia, which was to disturb the settled order of things; and this design was the only cause of the troubles in that part of the world. I am sensible, that this is, notwithstanding all that may be said, a question of some intricacy, and requires a consideration of many more particulars than the brevity of our design will allow. But whether we chose our party in this alliance judiciously or not, we have I imagine very great reason to be pleased with a measure, which has induced France to engage so deeply in the affairs of Germany, at so ruinous an expence of her blood and treasure. Our ministry was at this time fully convinced of the prudence of the choice that had been made, and resolved to support his Prussian majesty, and the army under Prince Ferdinand, in the

most effectual manner; 100,000*l.* was voted for the Hanoverian and Hessian forces; and a convention between the King of Prussia and his Britannic majesty was signed at London, whereby the King of Great Britain engages to pay his Prussian majesty the sum of 670,000 pounds sterling; and each of the contracting powers engage to conclude no peace without the participation of the other.

The northern courts made no alteration in their system. In Sweden, some real plots to disturb the established constitution ended in the ruin of their contrivers; some fictitious plots were set on foot to give a sanction to measures against the crown party, which answered their ends; and, as the ruling power continued the same, and the internal dissensions the same, the hostilities against the King of Prussia were resolved with the former animosity, but promised to be pursued with the former languor. In Russia, the Empress did not think her intentions well seconded by her ministers. The great delays, and the unaccountable retreat in the last campaign, gave ground to suspect, that she had been betrayed by her ministers, or her generals. M. Apraxin was removed from the command, and put under arrest. He justified his conduct by express orders from Count Bestuchef. Bestuchef was removed from his office, and put under arrest also. Count Woronzoff succeeded Bestuchef in his employment, and the generals Brown and Fermer took the command of the army in the place of Apraxin.

As soon as the season permitted the King of Prussia to recommence his operations, he laid siege to Schweidnitz, and

pushed it with so much vigour, that the place surrendered in thirteen days. The garri-
son, reduced by sickness during the blockade, and by their losses during the siege, from seven to little more than three thousand men, yielded themselves prisoners of war. By this stroke, the King of Prussia left his enemies no footing in any part of his dominions. His next consideration was how to guard against their future attempts, and at the same time to make a vigorous attack upon some part of the Austrian territories. His forces were well stationed for both these purposes; for besides the troops which Count Dohna commanded on the side of Pomerania, a considerable body were posted between Wohlau and Glogau, in order to cover Silesia from the fury of the Russians, in case they should make their inroad that way. An army, in a little time after, was formed in Saxony, commanded by his brother Prince Henry, which consisted of thirty battalions, and forty-five squadrons. It was destined to make head against the army of the Empire, which by amazing efforts made during the winter, and by the junction of a large body of Austrians, was now in a condition to act again. A read, communication was kept up between all the King of Prussia's armies, by a proper choice of posts.

The King resolved to make Moravia the theatre of the war this year. Moravia was fresh ground; a country as yet untouched by the ravages of war. If he should succeed in his operations in this country, his successes, by opening to him the nearest road to Vienna, must prove more decisive than they could any where else. If he should fail,

fail, the Austrians were at a distance from the center of his affairs, and would find it difficult to improve their advantages to his ruin. After the reduction of Schweidnitz, the King ordered two bodies of his troops to post themselves in such a manner, as to make it appear that he intended to carry the war into Bohemia. Whilst he drew away the enemies attention from the real objects by these dispositions, the main of his army, May 3. by a very rapid march, entered into Moravia in two columns, and made themselves masters, in a short time and with little or no opposition, of all the posts necessary to cover the troops to be employed in the siege of Olmutz. On the 27th of May the trenches were opened before that city.

M. Daun was no sooner apprised of the King's march towards Moravia, than he took his route through Bohemia to that province. Notwithstanding that the Empress Queen omitted no possible endeavours to assemble a just army against the King of Prussia; though she had for that purpose exhausted the Milanese and Tuscany, and swept up the last recruits in her Danubian territories, M. Daun was not yet in a condition to give the King of Prussia battle: neither did his character lead him to trust that to fortune which he might ensure, though more slowly, by conduct. This wise general took his posts from Gewics to Littau, in a mountainous country, in a situation where it was impossible to attack him. He had the fertile country of Bohemia, from whence he readily and certainly drew supplies, at his rear. He was from his position at the same time enabled to harass the Prussian army before Ol-

mutz, and to intercept the convoys which were brought to them from Silesia.

Olmütz, by the extent of its works, and other advantageous circumstances, is a city which it is very difficult completely to invest. So that some of the King's posts being necessarily weakened by occupying so great an extent of country, were attacked by Daun's detachments, from time to time with such success, that abundant succours both of men and ammunition were thrown into the place. These attacks were always made by night, and very few nights passed without some attack. The success was various. But the operations of the siege were greatly disturbed by these continual alarms. Besides it is said that the Austrians, before the king's invasion of this province, had destroyed all the forage in the neighbourhood of Olmutz. The horse were obliged to forage at a great distance, which harassed them extremely. M. Daun took advantage of all these circumstances. It was in vain that the King of Prussia endeavoured by all the arts of a great commander to provoke or entice him to an engagement. He profited of the advantages he had made, without being tempted by them to throw out of his hands the secure game he was playing.

The great object of M. Daun was the Prussian convoys. On receiving advice that a large and important one was to leave Troppau on the 25th of June, he took measures to intercept it. He ordered General Jahnus, who was at Muglitz on the left, to advance towards Bahrn, and a detachment which was at Prerau at a considerable distance to the right, to march to Stadt Leibe, so that these two corps should on different

different sides attack the convoy at one and the same time. To further the execution of this project M. Daun himself approached the Prussian army, and directed all his motions as if he intended to give them battle. However, the King was too great a master in the game of generalship, which was now playing, to be deceived by this feint. He detached a considerable party under General Ziethen, to support his convoy which was already about 7000 strong. Before this detachment could come up, the convoy was attacked, but the Austrians were repulsed. But M. Daun, who provided for every thing, quickly reinforced his parties, who renewed the engagement the next day. They first suffered the head of the convoy to go unmolested; but as the center was still embarrassed in a dangerous defile, they easily cut off the head from the rest, and then they attacked the center with the greatest fury. The Prussians made as good a resistance as the nature of the ground would suffer. General Ziethen did every thing which could be expected from an accomplished officer; but in the end they were entirely routed; all the waggons in that division were taken; the rear was pushed back towards Troppau; the head alone with great difficulty arrived at the Prussian camp.

This was a fatal stroke, because it came at a time when it was impossible to repair it. The siege of Olmutz had been all along attended with great difficulties; and now the news which every day arrived of the nearer and nearer approach of the Russians, called the King loudly to the defence of his own dominions. Already the Cossacks and Calmucks made incursions into Silesia, and by their ravages and cruelties, announced the approach of the great

army. The siege must be raised; Moravia must be abandoned; Marshal Daun must have the honour of freeing his country, and driving away such an adversary as the King of Prussia, from a conquest deemed certain; all was performed without a battle, by a series of the most refined and vigorous manœuvres that ever were put in practice.

When the King of Prussia saw that the unprosperous situation of his affairs obliged him to retreat; he took a resolution, such as victory inspires in others. He took advantage even of the excellent movement of M. Daun, by which that able general had advanced his quarters to Posenitz, and placed himself so as to support Olmutz in the most effectual manner; by this movement, however, he was obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia. The King of Prussia, whom nothing could escape, was sensible of this advantage; and therefore, instead of falling back upon Silesia, which step would immediately have drawn the Austrian army into his dominions, he determined to retreat from one part of the enemies territories into another. The day before the siege was raised the firing of the Prussians continued as brisk as ever, and shewed no sort of sign of an intention to depart; but in the night the whole army took the road to Bo- July 1. hemia in two columns, and gained an entire march upon the Austrians. So that notwithstanding the utmost efforts which the enemy could make to overtake and harass the King upon his march, he advanced into Bohemia with little molestation, seized upon a large magazine at Lieutommisel, defeated some corps of Austrians, who had attempted to disturb him in his progress, and arrived

arrived at Konigsgratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his sick and wounded, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, and military stores complete. This place he possessed after driving from it a body of 7000 Austrians who were intrenched there. He immediately laid this city and several other districts under contribution; but this plan not admitting any further operations on that side, he took no other advantage from that momentous post. He soon re-entered Silesia, and marched with the most amazing diligence to encounter the Russians, who had at this time united their divided corps under Brown and Fermer, and fixed the long fluctuating plan of their operations, by entering the New Marche of

Brandenburg and laying siege to Cuttrin. The reduction of this place could leave them but a few days march to Berlin; Count Dohna was not in a condition to oppose their progress, the King was still at a great distance. But it is necessary to break our narrative of his affairs, however interesting, to take a view of the operations of the armies on the Rhine. We leave the King of Prussia in full march, to give one body of his enemies battle, after executing a retreat from the other, in a manner that did his military genius the greatest honour. So that on the whole, it is difficult to say, which gained the greatest glory, the King of Prussia by his retreat, or M. Daun by the measures which obliged him to it.

C H A P. X.

Allies pass the Rhine. Battle of Crevelt. Action at Sangershausen. Action at Meer. Allies repass the Rhine.

PRINCE Ferdinand had it not in his power to cut off the retreat of the French over the Rhine; but he pressed them closely, and prepared himself to cross that river in pursuit of them. His design was to carry the war beyond the Maese, and thereby oblige the Prince de Soubise to abandon the enterprise he was preparing against Hesse Cassel. His highness executed the passage of the Rhine at Herwen with June 1. the corps immediately under his command; then he sent the bridge with which he served himself so well up the river to Rees; the rest of the troops passed there; the whole army were over before the 7th of June. The flattery of the last age saw with astonishment a passage of the Rhine by a French

monarch, unopposed, at the head of a mighty army. We saw that river passed by the enemies of France, in the presence of an army of 50,000 of that nation; it was an action which did not need the exaggerations of rhetoric.

The French army retired as the Prince advanced, and took an advantageous camp which threatened to retard the operations of the allies. Their right was under Rhineberg; but the Prince by his well-judged motions turned their left flank towards the convent of Campe, by which the French found themselves obliged to quit their advantageous post, and to retire into Meurs. They still kept towards the Rhine. The Prince advanced on the side of the Maese.

It

It was evident that whilst the French only continued to retire, it would prove impossible for them to hinder the allies from executing the plan they proposed. They therefore thought it advisable to change their countenance. They had fallen back as far as Nuys; they now returned on their steps, and advanced as far as Crevelt, within a few miles of Prince Ferdinand's camp. The Prince made the dispositions for a battle, with his usual vigour and prudence. He carefully reconnoitred the situation of the enemy. He found that their right was at a village called Vischelon; their left extended towards Anrath, where it was covered with a wood; Crevelt, which was in the front of their right, was occupied by a party of their troops. His highness resolved upon three attacks. The first and real attack was on the flank of the enemy's left wing; the other two were designed to divert their attention, and prevent their succouring the object of his principal attack; for which purpose he recommended to his generals to make the best use of their heavy artillery, and not to advance too far unless they were perfectly assured of the success of the main operation.

Having made these wise dispositions, and perfectly learned June 23. the best routes by which the enemy might be approached, his highness put himself at the head of the grenadiers of his right wing, and advanced on the side of Anrath in two columns. A cannonading violent and well supported opened the action. The Hanoverian artillery was greatly superior to that of the French; but though the French lost many men, they lost no ground in this way, and their position in the wood

made a close attack absolutely necessary. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick put himself at the head of the first line of foot, and with his usual spirit, advanced with the whole front directly to the wood. Here a furious fire of small arms commenced, which continued without the smallest intermission for two hours and a half. All the Hanoverian battalions threw themselves into the wood. Two ditches well lined with infantry were opposed to their fury. They were forced one after another. The enemies battalions were pushed back, they were entirely broken, and fled out of the wood in a disorder which was irreparable. Their cavalry, who kept the best countenance possible, in spite of the terrible fire of the Hanoverian artillery, and in spite of the vigorous attempts of the Hanoverian horse, who had by this time found means to gain the plain, covered the retreat of their scattered infantry, and saved them from utter ruin. The right wing and the center, though they suffered grievously by the cannonading, were no where broken, but retreated towards Nuys in the most perfect order.

Seven thousand of their best troops were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; but there was nothing in this battle so grievous to France, and so affecting even to the enemy, as the fate of the Count de Gisors. This young nobleman, the only son of the Duke de Belleisle, not above twenty-five years of age, newly married to the heiress of an illustrious house, himself the last hope of a most noble family, was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, which he brought up with the most heroic courage, and inspired by his example to make incre-

incredible efforts. He had been educated with all the care an excellent father could bestow on a son of an uncommon genius, who was alone able to support the reputation of his family. To the purest morals he had united the politest manners; he had made a great proficiency in learning; he knew many branches of it, and loved all; he had seen every part of Europe, and read courts and nations with a discerning eye; and wanting nothing to fulfil all hope, and to make him a perfect and lasting ornament and support to his country, but a knowledge in the military art, he entered that course of glory and danger, and fell in his first campaign. The unhappy father and minister saw his private misfortunes keep pace with the public calamities, and the tears of his family mingled with those of his country.

Prince Ferdinand gained a victory at Crevelt, which did the greatest honour to his military capacity and to the bravery of his troops. But it was a victory neither entire nor decisive. The French army on their own frontiers was quickly and strongly reinforced: so that they were not only in a condition in some sort to make head against the allies, but were enabled to detach a considerable reinforcement to the army of the Prince de Soubise on the other side of the Rhine.

Although the Prince had reason to imagine that he should not be able to keep his ground on this side of the Rhine for any considerable time, this did not hinder him from improving to the utmost the advantage he had obtained. Whilst the French, disabled by their late defeat, were in no condition to oppose him, he passed the Rhine with a large detachment, and appeared on

the 28th of June before Dusseldorp, a city advantageously situated on the river, and belonging to the Elector Palatine. A severe bombardment obliged it to capitulate on the 7th of July. The garrison, consisting of 2000 men, marched out with the honours of war. Prince Ferdinand placed here three battalions of Hanoverians, and threw a bridge of boats across the river; by that means he multiplied his posts and communications on both sides of the Rhine; and threw a new and no small impediment in the way of the French, to retard their progress, in case he should find himself compelled to retire. After this, the army of the allies and that of France, spent several days in making various marches and countermarches, as if they both proposed to bring on an action, to which however it does not appear that either party was very strongly inclined.

Prince Ferdinand still retained his hopes that the Prince of Ysenburg, who commanded the Heilian troops, would find the Prince of Soubise employment for some time. He had originally laid his plan in such a manner, that by passing the Maese and transferring the seat of war into the enemies country he might draw the French from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince of Soubise to come to the assistance of the main army under M. de Contades, who commanded in the room of Count Clermont, being now the fourth commander of the French troops since they entered Germany. But whilst Prince Ferdinand pleased himself with those hopes, and still continued to act as far as circumstances would admit in pursuance of this plan, he received

received an account which disconcerted all his measures.

The Duke de Broglie supported by the corps of the Prince de Soubise, with a much superior force, attacked and defeated the July 23. Hessian army of seven thousand men near Sangershausen. This opened to them the possession of the Weser. They might act in Westphalia, on which side soever they pleased, and it was to be feared, that if they availed themselves of the advantages they had, they might be able to intercept the British troops. These troops having been landed at Embden, were now on their march under the command of the Duke of Marlborough to reinforce the allied army. The Prince in this situation of affairs, had no option left but an engagement with the French army, or a retreat over the Rhine. The former was not easy to compass, as the French industriously declined a battle, and it became extremely dangerous to remain long in a position with the enemies army on his left, and the strong fortress of Gueldre on his right. In this situation his subsistence became every day more difficult. To repass the Rhine had its difficulties too; the roads which led to that river were rendered almost impassable by the heavy rains; the river itself was so swelled with them, that the bridge at Rees had been for some time useless.

These disagreeable circumstances of the allied army did not escape the penetration of Monsieur de Chevert, one of the ablest commanders among the French. He formed a plan upon them, which if it had succeeded, must have put the allies into the greatest perplexity. This general had some

time before passed the Rhine, with an intention of making himself master of Dusseldorp, and he had prepared all things with great ability for that enterprize. The rains unusually heavy for that season, and some other cross accidents, had frustrated his intentions. But perceiving that the same accidents which defeated his design, proved also unfavourable to the enemy, he resolved to turn his disappointment into an advantage, and from the ruins of his first project to build another of yet greater importance. Baron Imhoff was posted to the right of the Rhine, in a strong situation near Meer. He was to cover the bridge at Rees; to secure a considerable magazine; and to keep open communication between the English reinforcements and the main army. The plan of Monsieur Chevert was to dislodge Imhoff, to burn the bridge at Rees, to make himself master of the magazine, and to render the junction of the English troops with the Hanoverians impracticable. To execute this judicious scheme, he united several detachments from the garrison of Wesel, to a considerable corps which he intended to have employed in the siege of Dusseldorp. The whole made near 12,000 men. The troops under Imhoff were but six battalions, and four squadrons, hardly 3000 in all.

When that general was apprised of the designs and motions of the French, he saw it was in vain to expect succours from the army of Prince Ferdinand. The swell of the river had rendered all relief impossible; all his hopes were therefore in his own genius and the bravery of his troops. He considered that though the post

post he occupied was sufficiently strong, the enemy might make themselves masters of Rees, by turning his camp, and thus execute one of the principal parts of their design; he considered the great difference between attacking and being attacked; he considered the effect of an attempt altogether unexpected by the enemy; he therefore took the resolution of abandoning his post, and going out to meet them. Perceiving that the French were marching into difficult ground, he did not lose a

moment to begin the action. He ordered a small party, which he had posted in a little coppice, to fall upon the enemies left, which he observed to be uncovered; and appointed the fire of this party, as a signal for all the rest to advance, and make the onset with bayonets fixed. The French thus vigorously and unexpectedly attacked, fell into confusion; their courage ill seconded the wisdom of their general; they did not stand half an hour; they left the field of battle, eleven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and much baggage to the Hanoverians, who drove them under the cannon of Wesel.

This signal advantage over such a prodigious superiority was not more gallantly obtained than well pursued and improved. Imhoff saw that the rains had increased to such a degree, as to leave no hopes for the allied army to pass by the bridge at Rees. Having taken proper care of his magazines, he quitted his post at Meer, and being reinforced by some parties, who passed the river in boats, he marched with the utmost diligence towards the route of the English forces, and happily

effected a junction, which had hitherto been attended with so many difficulties.

Prince Ferdinand in his retreat met with no obstruction, but just what was sufficient to display more fully the gallantry of the officers, and the spirit of his troops. A town called Watchtendonck was on his left, as he returned; this place, though not fortified, is a post of much importance, and being an island surrounded by the river Niers, is extremely difficult of access. The French had thrown a body of troops into this place. The Hereditary Prince, the first in every active service, was employed to force it. The bridge on his approach had been drawn up. The Prince seeing that if he attempted to get down this bridge, the enemy would gain time to recollect themselves, threw himself into the river; his grenadiers, animated by so gallant an example, plunged in after him, and furiously attacking the enemy with their bayonets, in a few minutes drove them from that post. This advantage, joined to that gained by general Imhoff, and the uncommon resolution, which appeared in both these actions, awed the French. They found that their troops, raw, undisciplined, and little fit for hard service, were not to be relied upon; and they feared to bring on an action, which by being decisive against them might draw on the most fatal consequences. So that the Prince repassed the Rhine in a most excellent order, even with less trouble than he had at first passed it; and indeed with little molestation, but what he met with from the weather. Such excessive rains had fallen, that he in vain attempted a passage at Rhineberg or at

Aug. 9. at his bridge of Rees; he
and 10. effected it a little lower at
a place called Griethuyfen.

Although Prince Ferdinand was obliged to pass the Rhine, and to act more upon the defensive for the future; yet his vigorous conduct in the beginning was very glorious to him, and very advantageous to the common cause. The French suffered greatly in their military reputation; the Hanoverians had gained a superiority over them; and now so much of the campaign was wasted, that notwithstanding the greatness of their numbers, it was

not probable that they would find themselves able to make any considerable progress in their designs against the King's electoral dominions for this year. The advantage gained by Broglie and Soubise was not attended with the consequences, which might have been apprehended. Prince Ysenburg kept so good a countenance in a strong post he had chosen, that the French did not chuse to attack him again; and since Prince Ferdinand had repassed the Rhine, he might always be well supported.

C H A P. XI.

Retreat from Bohemia. Measures of Count Daun. Battle of Custrin. King of Prussia marches into Saxony, and joins Prince Henry.

BY the retreat of the Prussians from Moravia, the war had assumed a new face. The generals who conducted it had changed hands. The King of Prussia was obliged to act upon the defensive; M. Daun was now in a condition of displaying his talents in an offensive war. The affairs of the King of Prussia were scarce ever in a more critical situation than at that time. The Russians seemed at first disposed to enter into Silesia; but now they had united their several disjointed corps, penetrated into the New Marche of Brandenburg, and having commenced the siege of Custrin, a place that threatened them with no great opposition, they were arrived within a few days march of Berlin. Count Dohna posted with a greatly inferior force at Frankfort on the Oder, watched without being able to obstruct their progress. In Pomerania, the generals Wedel and

Manteufel opposed almost the same ineffectual efforts to the arms of Sweden. The army of the Empire and a considerable body of Austrians under General Haddick advanced into Saxony, and possessing themselves by degrees of those strong posts, which compose the frontiers of Misnia, they continually streightened the quarters of Prince Henry. That Prince was strongly encamped at Dippoldwalde, with about 20,000 men, in order to cover Dresden, and command the course of the Elbe. Thus circumstanced, the King could not find his account in remaining long in Bohemia, where it was impossible to effect any thing decisive. Every thing depended upon his being able to drive the Russians out of his territories, who with a mighty force ruined every place they arrived at, and seemed not only to make war against him, but against human nature itself.

M. Daun

M. Daun was soon apprised of the King of Prussia's intentions; but he considered that if he was to pursue the King into Silesia, he must encounter with difficulties almost insuperable; several strong places stood in his way, and it would prove easy for the Prussian troops left for the defence of that duchy, to take an advantageous camp under one of those places, and thus oblige them to waste unprofitably their time, which might be employed in the execution of more judicious projects. Besides, that in this manner of proceeding he could never act in concert, nor preserve any effectual communication with the several bodies of his allies. To push forward with his whole force directly to Berlin, could at best be regarded as a *coup de main*, which could prove nothing decisive in the campaign, even supposing the project should succeed; but it was rather probable that it would not succeed, as the King of Prussia might clear his hands of the Russians, before the army of M. Daun could, for want of subsistence, arrive in the Lower Lusatia. Every consideration therefore pointed out the relief of Saxony as the great object of the Austrian operations. It was an object apparently to be compassed with greater ease, and if compassed, productive of more solid advantages than any other. The army of the Empire, already superior to that of Prince Henry, could co-operate in the design, and the recovery of Saxony once effected, the King of Prussia would see himself entirely divested of one of the principal resources he had to rely upon in the war, for money, provisions, and forage; whilst his hereditary dominions, stripped of this strong barrier, defenceless in

themselves, and assailed on three sides by powerful armies, could scarce find them employment to the end of the campaign.

M. Daun having resolved upon this plan of operations, suffered the King of Prussia to continue his march towards the Russians, without any molestation: he contented himself with leaving a considerable body of troops under the generals Harsch and de Ville, on the southern frontiers of Silesia, in order to form some enterprise upon that side, which might draw the attention and forces of the Prussians as far as possible from the great object of his operations. When he had made these dispositions, he marched towards Saxony through the country of Lusatia by Zittau, Gorlitz, and Bautzen. His first project was bold. He proposed to cross the Elbe at Meissen; by which the communication between Dresden and Leipzig would be cut off at one stroke. Then he proposed to attack Prince Henry in his camp at Sedlitz, while the army of the Empire fell upon him in another quarter. Thus the Prince was to be put between two fires, and his retreat into Dresden to be rendered impracticable; but upon more mature consideration, this project was laid aside. M. Daun reflected that the fortress of Sonnenstein, of which he was not yet in possession, would prove

no small impediment to his designs. He considered that the position of Prince Henry opposite to the army of the Empire was too advantageous, to make an attack upon him advisable; and unless the Prince could be induced to attack the Imperialists first, a point not to be expected in his circumstances, he might always find it easy to throw himself into Dresden, and by proper motions

to preserve a free communication with the King. M. Daun was obliged to renounce his first design, but he was left at full liberty to form and execute such other plans for the relief of Saxony as his prudence could suggest.

About that time the Imperial court, elated with their recent success, began to shew with what moderation they were likely to behave if it continued and increased. They entirely threw off all the little appearances of respect they had hitherto retained for the King of Great Britain, and several other of the most respectable princes and persons of the Empire. They made the abuse of their authority go hand in hand with the success of their arms. On the 23rd of August a conclusion of the Aulic council was issued against the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, against the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, against Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Count of Lippe Buckebourg, and in general against all the adherents to the King of Prussia, threatening them with penalties in dignity, person, and estate. In consequence of this decree, letters avocatory were issued, notifying to the sovereign princes, that if they did not within a limited time disperse their armies, break off their connection with the King of Prussia, pay their quota of Roman months, and send their contingents to the army of execution, they were put under the ban of the Empire. To all other persons who held any dignity in the Empire, orders were given, and penalties were threatened suitable to their condition. They in short went all lengths but that of actually and formally putting them under the ban, which they

would not have failed to do, if their success had answered its beginnings. So little regard had the court of Vienna to former services of the most interesting nature; and so entirely did she seem to forget that she owed to the King of Great Britain, not only that power which she now unjustly and ungratefully turned against him, but also the very being of the house of Austria. So entirely did they forget that this monarch had expended his treasures, employed his armies, and even exposed his person in her cause, when it was not only abandoned, but attacked by almost all the rest of Europe. However the violent proceedings of the Aulic council, drew no one state or person from the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia; they rather had a contrary effect, in rousing the whole Evangelic body to a sense of their own danger. Much less were they able to stop the progress of the allied arms.

The King of Prussia conducted his retreat out of Bohemia in admirable order. The generals Jahnus and Loudohn for several days hung upon his rear with two strong bodies. They took advantageous posts, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, sometimes together, sometimes separately, and threw all possible impediments in his way. But the vigour of the Prussians drove them with loss from every post. So that by the 6th of August, they were obliged entirely to desist from their pursuit. The King of Prussia freed from this molestation marched with the utmost diligence by Wiscza, Politz, Landshut, and arrived on the 20th at Franckfort on the Oder. Here he joined the troops under Count Dohna. The army

was

22d. was now in a condition to act, and they did not lose a moment's time to march against the enemy. All their vigour and expedition was not more than necessary. The Russians had besieged Cultrin from the 15th. Though these people, scarcely emerged from barbarism, had not the most perfect skill in operations of this nature, they supplied that deficiency by a ferocity that scrupled nothing, by numbers whose lives they did not regard, and by a most formidable artillery, which rudely but furiously managed, only spread the more general and indiscriminate destruction. In effect, they threw such a multitude of bombs and red-hot balls into that unfortunate city, that in a short time it was on fire in every quarter. Of the wretched inhabitants some were burned, some buried in the ruins, some killed by the balls that fell like hail in the streets: the surviving majority, safe neither within nor without their houses, abandoned their homes, and their substance, and fled, many of them almost naked, out of the city on the side which was not invested. Never was beheld a more deplorable spectacle; nor was it easy to say which formed the more wretched appearance, those who perished, or those who escaped. Meanwhile, the governor, firm in his courage and fidelity, did every thing for the defence of the walls and ruins of the place; but the walls built in the old manner did not promise a successful defence; the enemy had posted themselves in the suburbs, and in the firing of the town, the principal magazine of the besieged was blown up.

The protector and avenger of his dominions, was now however at hand. On the 23d the King of Prussia's whole army passed the Oder at Gluck biffel, about twenty English miles to the north-east of Cultrin. The Russians on the first notice of his approach, broke up the siege of that place, and marched towards the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorff. It was the King's intention to wind round the left flank of their army, and to take them in the rear, by which he hoped to throw them into confusion. But in this he found himself disappointed. The Russian generals had foreseen his purpose, and made excellent dispositions. As the ground did not admit them to extend greatly in length, they threw themselves into a square body composed of four lines, forming a front almost equal on every side, and on every side surrounded by cannon and chevaux de frize. In this formidable disposition they waited the attack of the Prussians.

It was on the 25th of August that the King of Prussia, after a march of 56 days, from the midst of Moravia, brought his army in presence of the Russians. The King had never been personally engaged with that enemy before. His troops had never obtained any advantage over them. The whole fortune of the war depended upon the event of this day. The Prussians were now in the closest sense to fight for their country, which was ready to fall under one of the severest scourges with which Providence has chastised a nation. Nothing was wanting which could inspire the soldier with revenge. Every where the marks of

the enemies cruelty were before their eyes, the country desolated on every side, and the villages in flames all round the field of battle.

At nine o'clock in the morning the battle began by a fire of cannon and mortars, which rained on the right wing of the Russians, without the least intermission, for near two hours. Nothing could exceed the havoc made by this terrible fire, nor the constancy with which the Muscovite foot, raw and unexperienced, sustained a slaughter that would have confounded and dispersed the compleatest veterans. They fell in their ranks; new regiments still pressed forward to fill their places, and to supply new slaughter. When the first line had fired away all their charges, they rushed forward on the Prussians. That firm body of the Prussian infantry which had often stood, and often given so many terrible shocks, by one of those unaccountable movements of the human mind, that render every thing in war so precarious, gave way in the presence of their sovereign, and when they had in a manner secured the victory, retired in disorder before the half broken battalions of the Muscovites. Had the Russian officers known how to profit of this disorder; had they immediately thrown in their horse with vigour to compleat it and entirely break that body; this had probably been the last day of the Prussian greatness. The King was not so negligent. For just in this anxious moment, whilst the battle was yet in suspense, by a very rapid and masterly motion, he brought all the cavalry of his fight to the center, which with

General Sedlitz at their head, bursting in upon the Russian foot, uncovered by their horse, and disordered even by their advantage, they pushed them back with a most miserable slaughter. The repulsed battalions of Prussia had time to recollect, and to form themselves; and now returning to the onset with a rage exasperated by their late disgrace, they entirely turned the balance of the fight. The Russians were thrown into the most horrible confusion. The wind blew the dust and smoke full in their faces. They no longer distinguished friends from enemies. They fired upon each other. In this distraction they plundered their own baggage which stood between the lines, and intoxicated themselves with brandy. Orders were now no more heard or obeyed. The ranks fell in upon one another; and being crammed together in a narrow space, every shot discharged by the Prussians had its full effect; whilst the Russians kept up only a scattered fire without direction or effect, and quite over the heads of their enemies. It was now no longer battle, but a horrid and undistinguished carnage. Yet still (which is a wonderful circumstance) the Russians thus distracted and slaughtered, kept their ground. The action continued without intermission from nine in the morning until seven at night. At last the night itself, the fatigue of the Prussians, and a judicious attack on their right wing, which drew their attention on that side, gave the Russian army some respite to recover their order, and an opportunity of retiring a little from the scene of their disaster. On their side near 10,000 fell upon the

the spot; they had more than 10,000 wounded, most of them mortally; 939 officers, not including the inferior, were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; of two particular regiments, constituting before the battle of 4595 effective men, only 1475 were left; their whole loss on this bloody day was 21,529 men. That of the Prussians in every way did not amount to 2000.

The gazettes of both parties warmly disputed the vain honour of the field of battle. On the most diligent enquiry, it appears that both parties spent the night on or very near the place of action. But this is an affair of little consequence. The Prussians had all the fruits, and most of the proofs of a victory the most compleat and decisive. A vast train of artillery taken, the military chest, a number of prisoners, many of them officers of high rank; the retreat of the Russian army, the next and the following days; their general Fermor's request for leave to bury the dead; their incapacity to advance or form any new enterprise; the King of Prussia's unmolested operations against his other enemies; all these form the most clear and certain demonstration of a victory in all points, for which a victory is desirable.

Nothing less indeed than a very compleat victory could have done any essential service to the King's affairs at that time, when four armies of his enemies were making their way to one common center, and threatened to unite in the heart of Brandenburg. The King renewed the attack on the Russians the next morning. The event of the last day had shewed

them, that there was no way of safety but in a retreat, and in effect they retreated before the Prussians as far as Landsberg on the frontiers of Poland. The King of Prussia was convinced that their late check-must wholly disable them from attempting any thing material against his dominions on that side; and he saw clearly that whatever he might hope to gain by improving his advantage against the Russians, he must lose far more by allowing his other enemies to make a progress on the side of Saxony. He satisfied himself, therefore, with leaving a small body of troops under Count Dohna, to observe the motions of the Muscovite army; and marched with the greatest part of his forces and the utmost expedition to the relief of Prince Henry.

M. Daun having laid aside his first project for passing the Elbe at Meissen, enterprised nothing new on the side of Saxony for some days; he contented himself with taking a position at Stolpen to the eastward of the Elbe, by which, whilst he preserved to himself an easy communication with the army of the Empire, he interrupted the communication between Bautzen and Dresden; he favoured the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the confines of Brandenburg; and by drawing the attention of the Russian forces which were left in Silesia to the northward of that duchy, he facilitated the progress of the arms of the generals Harsch and de Ville in the southern parts. Admirable dispositions without question, if the time had not called for more vigorous measures, and if the rescue of Saxony from the King of Prussia had not been

the great object of the campaign! It is not impossible that the court of Vienna had still such an hankering after Silesia, as induced them to slacken their efforts on the side of Saxony, in hopes, that if M. Daun could protect the operations there, so as to find full employment for the King of Prussia, their other forces might reduce Silesia with great facility; and thus perhaps, by aiming at two such difficult objects at once, as it generally happens, they lost them both. Upon any other supposition, it is not very easy to account for the seeming inactivity of M. Daun, while he had so fair a game in his hands. However advantageously Prince Henry might have chosen his post, or however strongly he might have secured it, yet the prodigious superiority of the combined armies seems to have more than over-balanced that advantage, and to have justified, nay, to have demanded, some bold and decisive attempt.

In fact, this appeared at length to be the marshal's own opinion. For when the strong fortrefs of Sonnenstein most unaccountably surrendered, with a garrison of 1400 men, to the Austrian general Mac-
 Sept. 5. Guire after the resistance of no more than a single day, M. Daun proposed that the Prince of Deux-Ponts should attack Prince Henry, whilst the grand army of the Austrians laying bridges between two fires, at a small distance from each other, should pass the Elbe, and falling
 Sept. 10. at the same time on the Prussians, second the attack of the Imperialists, and cut off the retreat of their enemies towards Dresden. This was to bring matters to a speedy decision. But now the King of Prussia by the

most rapid marches had reached the frontiers of Saxony. The whole design was disconcerted; and far from being able to dislodge Prince Henry, they found themselves utterly unable to prevent the King his brother from joining him, with his whole army. On
 Sep. 11. his approach General Laudohn abandoned all his advantages in the Lower Lusatia, and fell back upon M. Daun; who himself retired from the neighbourhood of Dresden, and fell back as far as Zittau. The army of the Empire, possessed of the strong post of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied in the beginning of the war, kept their ground; but did not undertake any thing. Thus in fifteen days the King of Prussia, by his unparalleled spirit, diligence, and magnanimity, fought, and defeated, a superior body of his enemies, in one extremity of his dominions, and baffled without fighting another superior body in the other extremity.

These advantages, glorious as they were, were not the only ones which followed the victory of Zorndorff. The Swedes, who directed their motions by those of their Russian allies, hastened their operations when that army had advanced into Brandenburg. General Wedel was detached from Saxony, to stop their progress; and the Prince of Bevern, now governor of Stetin, gave them some opposition. All this, however, had proved ineffectual, if the news of the defeat of the Russians had not alarmed the Swedes in such a manner, as to make them return with more expedition than they had advanced. Tho' the King of Prussia's affairs began to put on a better appearance by these efforts, the
 fortune

fortune of the war still hung in a very dubious scale. The enemy was still superior. The Swedes and Russians had still some footing in his dominions. The Austrians and Imperialists were yet in Saxony; and if the King's armies had it in

their power to take strong situations; the enemy had the same advantages. The condition of things was extremely critical, and the least error or misfortune threatened still to plunge the King of Prussia into an abyss of calamities.

C H A P. XII.

General Oberg defeated at Lantwerenhagen. King of Prussia surprised at Hobkirchen. M. Keith and Prince Francis of Brunswick killed. Affair at Gorlitz. King of Prussia marches into Silesia. M. Daun invests Dresden. The suburbs burned. The King of Prussia raises the siege of Neiß and Crefel. He returns into Saxony. The Austrians retire into Bohemia. Dispositions for the winter.

THE operations of the armies in Westphalia, seemed for a long time to languish. The grand army of the French under M. de Contades, was wholly unable to drive Prince Ferdinand from the post which he had chosen so judiciously along the Lippe. The other division of the French forces under the Prince de Soubise, had made no great progress on the side of Hesse-Cassel, against the Prince Isenburg, who still kept his ground in that principality, in order to protect the course of the Weser, and to cover the electorate. The French were sensible that an attack on the principal army of the allies, would prove a very dangerous attempt, in which even if they should have some success, their progress into the King's electoral dominions must be very slow and difficult. But as the body of the allies employed in Hesse-Cassel was far the weakest, and as an advantage on that side promised them the command of the Weser, and a better passage into the heart of the enemies country, they determined to

make an attempt there. To further this design, a considerable detachment was made from the army of M. de Contades, which increased the Prince of Soubise's corps to at least 30,000 men. Prince Ferdinand, who was sufficiently aware of the enemies plan, had some time before sent General Oberg with a strong reinforcement to join the Prince Isenburg; but notwithstanding this reinforcement the whole force of the allies in Hesse did not exceed 15,000. This body was attacked by the French at Lantwerenhagen, and their Sept. 30. great superiority, especially in point of cavalry, obliged the allies to retire with the loss of about 1500 men. The allies, unable to take the field, had however some woods in their rear which covered their retreat, and they preserved so good a countenance as prevented their defeat from becoming total.

Great consequences might have been apprehended from this affair. But the vigilance of Prince Ferdinand, who had established the most

ready communications all along the Lippe, suffered the victorious army to reap but little advantage from their victory. That accomplished general advanced with the utmost expedition towards Rheda, and the Prince of Hesse having fallen back upon him, they joined in such a manner as perfectly to secure the Weser, without losing any thing on the side of the Rhine. And although these necessary motions in some sort uncovered the electorate, so as to lay it open to the incursions of the enemies light troops, who penetrated even to the gates of Hanover; yet the French were not in a condition to establish any considerable body, or to take any post of moment in that part.

During this time, the armies of the King of Prussia and M. Daun made no very remarkable movements. The marshal kept his advantageous camp at Stolpen, by which he preserved a communication with the army of the Empire. The army was secured by its inaccessible situation, but it enterprised nothing of consequence. The King of Prussia on the other hand, having taken possession of the important post of Bautzen, which lies so opportunely for commanding at once both Misnia and Lusatia, extended his right wing to Hohkirchen. By this position he preserved a communication with the army of his brother Prince Henry, he protected Brandenburg from the incursions of the Austrians, and at the same time that he secured these interesting objects, he was better situated for throwing succours into Silesia, than he could be any where else consistently with his general plan. The two armies kept the most watchful eye upon

each other's motions. The principal aim of the King of Prussia seemed to have been the preventing M. Daun from communicating with Bohemia. The great intention of M. Daun was to cut off the King from Silesia. Things were so balanced, that it did not seem possible by mere skill in marches and positions to answer these ends very fully; therefore a battle seemed inevitable. But it seemed too that considering the situations of both armies, a battle could not be attempted without extreme danger to the party who should begin the attack.

M. Daun saw that if any more time was lost without action, the very season must oblige him to evacuate Saxony, and thus give up all the fruits of the campaign. He came to a resolution of giving the King of Prussia battle. But even in the vigour of this resolution, appeared the extreme caution which characterises that able general. Having communicated his design to the Prince of Deux Ponts, and settled measures with him, he marched in the dead of a very dark night, in three columns, towards the right of the King of Prussia's camp. Notwithstanding the darkness of the night, notwithstanding the necessary division of the Austrian army, the greatness of their numbers, and the length of way they had to march, yet such was the wise conduct and great good fortune of this design, that they all arrived at the same time at the Prussian camp, none having lost their way, without discovery, without confusion, and began the attack with the utmost regularity and resolution at five o'clock in the morning.

How

How the King's out-guards were kept so as to make such a surprise practicable, is hard to say. It is hard to accuse the vigilance of so able a commander, or the attention of so many finished officers as served under him. To speak of treachery is a way of accounting for misfortunes more common than reasonable. However it was, the Prussians had not time to strike their tents, when they found the enemy in the midst of the camp, and an impetuous attack already begun. Scarce had the battle began, when a defeat seemed certain; not so much from the confusion of the troops, as the irreparable loss of two officers in the highest command, and of the greatest merit. M. Keith received two musquet balls, and fell dead upon the spot. Prince Francis of Brunswick had his head shot off by a cannon ball as he mounted his horse. The King of Prussia had then the whole of affairs to sustain alone, at the time when he most wanted assistance. But his presence of mind, his firmness, his activity, remedied in some measure the effects of this unforeseen attack, and the losses and disorders it had occasioned; he was every where present, and inspired his troops with an ardor like his own. The King ordered some detachments from his left, to reinforce his right wing; but in the moment the orders were received, the left itself was furiously attacked. General Ketzow who commanded in that quarter, with difficulty repulsed the Austrians, and was not able to afford any considerable assistance to the right, which was alone obliged to support the whole weight of the grand attack.

The Austrians in the beginning

of the engagement had beaten them out of the village of Hohnkirchen; as the fate of the day depended upon that post, the hottest of the dispute was there. The Prussians made three bloody and unsuccessful attacks on the village; on the fourth they carried it; but the Austrians pouring continually fresh troops upon that spot, drove them out at length after reiterated effort, and a prodigious slaughter on all sides. Then the King, despairing of the fortune of that field, ordered a retreat; his troops, which had been suddenly attacked in a dark night by superior numbers, and had run to arms some half naked, and all in the utmost confusion, had notwithstanding made a most vigorous resistance, and maintained the fight for near five hours. They made their retreat in good order without being pursued, supported by the good countenance of their cavalry, and the fire of a numerous and well served artillery, which was placed in the centre of their camp. They lost in this bloody action at least 2000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoner, together with many cannon. The Austrian account allows their own loss in killed and wounded to amount to near 5000.

The King of Prussia, in retiring from Hohnkirchen, in fact only altered the position of his right wing, which fell back as far as Weissenburg. His left still remained at Bautzen. This position was nearly as good as the former. The great loss, was the loss of reputation which always attends a defeat, and the loss of two great generals which attended this in particular. M. Keith was a Scotchman born. He engaged with his brother the Lord Maribthal in the rebellion of 1715.

Being

Being obliged to relinquish his country on this occasion, he entered into the troops of Spain, and afterwards passing into Russia, he obtained a considerable command, and performed many signal services in their wars with Turkey and Sweden; and served them also in peace by several embassies. But finding the honours of that country no better than a splendid servitude, and not meeting with the rewards, which his long and faithful services deserved, he left that court for one where merit is better known and better rewarded; and having been employed since the beginning of the war, in a distinguished command in the King of Prussia's armies, he fell at last in a service that was worthy of him.

If the King of Prussia lost some reputation in suffering himself to be surprised in this affair; he fully retrieved it by his extraordinary conduct in the course of the action, and his admirable efforts after it. On the whole, perhaps, when all circumstances are considered, the King of Prussia will appear greater in this defeat, than in any victory he ever yet obtained. The wing of his army that was attacked, was surprised at a distance from him, the two generals that commanded it slain in the first onset, his other principal generals wounded, the whole wing in confusion without a leader; to come, in these desperate circumstances, in haste from another quarter; to recover all; twice to repulse the enemy, and at last to retire, overborne only by numbers and fatigue, without being pursued, is such an instance of great generalship, as perhaps has never been exceeded.

Whilst these things were doing in Saxony, the Russians made no farther attempts on the side of Brandenburg; they remained in their camp near Landsberg, until the 21st of September; when, after several feigned motions, made to cover their real design, they began their retreat towards Pomerania, where they arrived on the 26th.

It was impossible that they should keep their ground in that province during the winter, unless they could secure some sea-port, from whence they might be supplied with provisions. The little town of Colberg was very opportune for that purpose, as it is a sea-port on the Baltic, and so meanly fortified that the reduction of it appeared to be as easy as expedient. On the 3d of October, they formed the siege of this inconsiderable place, with a body of 15,000 men. But such was the bravery of Major Heydon the governor, and such the incapacity of the Russians for operations of this nature, that this little town, defended only by a rampart, without any outwork, and lined with a very feeble garrison, held out against the repeated attacks of the enemy twenty-six days, and then obliged them to raise the siege, Oct. 29. without any succours whatsoever from without. This was the last enterprise of the Russians. Their vast army retired with disgrace, first from Brandenburg, and then from Pomerania; not having been able to master one place of strength in either country; but having destroyed with the most savage barbarity both the open towns and defenceless villages, leaving as strong impressions of contempt

tempt for their incapacity, as of horror for their cruelty.

After the defeat which the King received at Hohnkirchen, he omitted no measures to prevent the enemy from making any material advantage of it. He perceived clearly, that the advantage they proposed to derive from it, was to cover the operations of their armies in Silesia; and that they had no longer any serious design upon Saxony during this campaign. The King therefore made no scruple to reinforce his army by considerable detachments from that of Prince Henry, which were brought up by that Prince himself. And as he saw that Neiss, the siege of which had been already formed and prosecuted with great vigour, must certainly surrender if it were not speedily succoured, he resolved to march into Silesia.

To the execution of this design the greatest difficulties started up on all sides. The army of M. Daun, lately victorious, had no other business than to intercept him. To fight was dubious; to avoid it, hard. If he could even avoid a battle, he had much to apprehend from the efforts of the enemy to harass him on his march. If he should be so happy as to escape or to conquer these difficulties, yet his march entirely uncovered Saxony, and abandoned that most interesting possession, very poorly defended, to all the force of two powerful armies.

On the other hand, if the consideration of Saxony should detain him in his present situation, Silesia ran the same risk, and the same or greater disadvantages must ensue to his affairs, by suffering the Austrians to obtain a footing there. This dilemma, which would have rendered a meaner genius entirely inactive, and hindered him from

taking any resolution, only obliged the King of Prussia to take his resolution with the greater speed, and to execute it with the greater vigour.

On the 24th of November at night, he quitted his camp at Dobreschutz, and making a great compass, he arrived without any obstruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz. A body of the Austrians had in vain endeavoured to secure this post before him; those that arrived were defeated, with the loss of eight hundred men. By this happy march, all the advantages of M. Daun's studied position, all the fruits of his boasted victory at Hohnkirchen, were lost in a moment, and an open passage to Silesia lay before the King. He pursued his march with the greatest diligence. General Laudohn, with 24,000 men, was sent to pursue him. That active general continually harassed his rear guard; but the King continued his march without interruption, and suffered him to take many little advantages, rather than by delaying to contest small matters, to endanger a design, which might be decisive of the whole campaign.

On the other hand, Daun, not content with the obstacles which General Laudohn threw in the King's way, sent a large body of horse and foot by another route to reinforce the army, which under the Generals Harsch and de Ville had formed the siege of Neiss, and the blockade of Cosel. But he perceived that all these measures would probably prove ineffectual, as his principal project, which was to cover Silesia, had been defeated. He therefore turned his views towards Saxony, and satisfying himself with detaching general Laudohn, which might create an opinion that the whole

whole Austrian army pursued, he followed the King no farther than Gorlitz: which place he immediately quitted, and having by forced marches gained the Elbe, he passed that river at Pirna, and advanced towards Dresden. At Nov. 6. the same time the army of the Empire, by its motions, having obliged the Prussian army, then extremely weakened by the detachments that had been drawn from it, to retire from its post before Dresden, some miles to the westward of that city, cut off their communication with Leipsic, whilst M. Daun attempted to cut off their communication with Dresden; but they found means to throw themselves into that city, and afterwards to retire to the other side of the Elbe. The Austrians and Imperialists began at once to invest those two important places; another party advanced towards Torgau, and attempted that town. It seemed utterly impossible to prevent the Austrians from becoming masters of Saxony, who in a manner covered the whole country with their forces.

In the mean time the King of Prussia drew nearer and nearer to Neiss. The siege of that fortress was commenced on the 4th of August; on the 3d of October it was completely invested; and the place was pushed on one side with the greatest vigour, and on the other maintained with the most consummate skill and bravery, until the approach of the King of Prussia obliged the Austrians, on the first of November, to raise the siege, leaving a considerable quantity of military stores behind them. The same terror obliged the parties employed in the blockade of Cosel, to leave that place at liberty, and to fall back, together with the ar-

mies of the Generals Harsch and de Ville, into Bohemia, and the Austrian Silesia.

The King of Prussia, when Nov. 9. he had thus by the report of his march, without fighting, driven his enemies out of Silesia, lost not a moment to return by the same route, and with the same expedition to the relief of Saxony. Two bodies of his troops had moved for the same purpose out of Pomerania, one under Count Dohna, and one under General Wedel. The corps under Wedel had thrown itself into Torgau, repulsed the Austrians, who had attempted that place, and pursued them as far as Eulenburg. The grand operation of the Austrians was against Dresden. M. Daun, with an army of 60,000 men, came before that city, on the very day on which the King of Prussia began his march to oppose him, so that he might well imagine his success certain against a place meanly fortified, and defended only by 12,000 men. The same day he began to cannonade it, and his light troops, supported by the grenadiers of the army, made a sharp attack upon the suburbs. The Governor Count Schmettau saw that from the weakness of the suburbs it would prove impossible for him to prevent the enemy from possessing himself of them by a *coup de main*; and if they succeeded in this attempt, the great height of the houses, being six or seven stories, and entirely commanding the ramparts, would render the reduction of the body of the place equally easy and certain. These considerations determined him to set these suburbs on fire.

It is well known that the suburbs of Dresden compose one of the finest towns in Europe, and are greatly

greatly superior to that which lies within the walls. Here the most wealthy part of the inhabitants reside, and here are carried on those several curious manufactures for which Dresden is so famous. Count Daun foresaw this consequence of his attempt. He endeavoured to intimidate the governor from this measure, to which he knew the cruel reason of war would naturally lead him, by threatening to make him personally answerable for the steps he should take; but Count Schmettau answered with the firmness that became a man of honour and a soldier, that he would answer whatever he should do, and would not only burn the suburbs, in case M. Daun advanced, but would likewise defend the city itself street by street, and at last even the castle, which was the royal residence, if he should be driven to it. When the magistrates were apprised of this resolution, they fell at the feet of Count Schmettau, and implored him to change his mind, and to have mercy on that devoted part of their city. The part of the royal family, who remained in Dresden, joined their supplications to those of the magistrates; they prayed him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and to allow at least a secure residence to those, who had been deprived of every thing else. All entreaties were in vain. Schmettau continued firm in his resolution. He told them that their safety depended on themselves, and on M. Daun; that if he made no attempts, the suburbs should be still secure; but that if he took any farther steps the necessity of his master's service, and his own honour, would compel him to act very disagreeable to the lenity of his disposition. The magistrates

retired in despair. Combustibles were laid in all the houses.

At three o'clock next morning, the signal for burning the suburbs was given; and in a moment a place so lately the seat of ease and luxury, flourishing in traffic, in pleasures, and ingenious arts, was all in flames. A calamity so dreadful need no high colouring. However, as little mischief attended such a combustion as the nature of the thing could admit, very few lost their lives; but many their whole substance. When this was done, the Prussian troops abandoned the flaming suburbs, and retired in good order into the city.

M. Daun saw this fire, which whilst it laid waste the capital of his ally, made it more difficult for him to force it; he sent in some empty threats to the governor. But the Saxon minister at Ratisbon made grievous complaints to the Diet of what he represented as the most unparalleled act of wanton and unprovoked cruelty, that had ever been committed. The emissaries of the court of Vienna spread the same complaints; and they made no scruple to invent and to alter facts in such a manner as to move the greatest pity towards the sufferers, and the greatest indignation against the King of Prussia. All these, however, were in a short time abundantly confuted, by the authentic certificates of the magistrates of Dresden, and of those officers of the court, who were perfectly acquainted with the transaction. By these certificates it appears that only two hundred and fifty houses were consumed. Though this was a terrible calamity, it was nothing to the accounts given in the gazettes of the Austrian faction.

By

By these certificates it appears also, that the people were not surpris'd, but had sufficient notice of the governor's intentions, to enable them to provide for their safety. In a word, all the charges of cruelty against the Prussian commander, and soldiery, were fully overthrown.

This fire made a *coup de main* impracticable; regular operations demanded time, and the King of Prussia was now in full march towards Saxony. M. Daun retired from before the place on the 17th. The King after crossing Lusatia, passing the Elbe, and joining his troops under Count Dohna and General Wedel, arriv'd triumphantly at Dresden on the 20th. The armies of M. Daun and the Empire gave way towards Bohemia, into which kingdom they soon after finally retreated, without enterprising any thing further. Six sieges were rais'd almost at the same time; that of Colberg, carried on by General Palmbach, under the orders of Marshal Fermor, that of Niefs, by M. de Harfch; that of Cosel; that of Dresden, by Marshal Daun; the blockade of Torgau, by M. Haddic; and that of Leipzig, by the Prince of Deux-Ponts.

About the time that the Austrians retir'd into winter quarters, the French did the same; and the Hanoverians permitted them to do it without molestation, the season being too far advanced, and their army perhaps not of sufficient strength for offensive operations; and Prince Ferdinand kept the field no longer. The British troops had no occasion of signalizing their bravery during this year; but without a battle the nation suffer'd a very considerable loss, and

was touch'd with a very deep and general sorrow. The Duke of Marlborough died in Munster, the 20th of October, of a fever, contracted by the fatigues of the campaign. Never did the nation lose in one man, a temper more candid and benevolent, manners more amiable and open, a more primitive integrity, a more exalted generosity, a more warm and feeling heart. He left all the enjoyments, which an ample fortune and an high rank could bestow in the public eye; and which every milder virtue, every disposition to make and to be made happy, could give in a domestic life: he left these for the service of his country, and died for its defence, as he had liv'd for its ornament and happiness.

If we compare the events of this year with those of the last, we shall find in the actions of the present year, perhaps something less of that astonishing eclat; fewer battles; not so many nor so striking revolutions of fortune; but we may discover upon all sides far greater management, and a more studied and refin'd conduct; more artful movements, a more judicious choice of posts, more quick and vigorous marches. If in the last year, the King of Prussia was the hero of the imagination, he is this year the hero of the judgment; and we have, I think, reason to admire him upon juster principles. Obliged to evacuate Moravia, he throws himself into Bohemia, and executes a retreat with all the spirit of an invasion. He marches more than an hundred miles thro' an enemy's country, follow'd and harass'd by large armies, who are unable to obtain any advantages over him. Gaining at length his own territories, he engages the vast army of the Russians,

fians, and defeats it. He is unable to follow his blow, but he disables them from striking any blow against that part of his dominions, which he is obliged to leave. Whilst he is engaged with the Russians on the frontiers of Poland, the Austrians and Imperialists enter Saxony. Before they can do any thing decisive, the King is himself suddenly in Saxony, and by his presence at once disconcerts all their projects. The scene is again changed, they surprise him in his camp at Hohenkirchen, two of his generals are killed, his army defeated, his camp is taken. They attack Silesia with a formidable army. Notwithstanding his late defeat; notwithstanding the great superiority of his enemies; notwithstanding the advantage of their posts; he makes an amazing sweep about all their forces, eludes their vigilance, renders their positions unprofitable; and marching with an astonishing rapidity into the remotest parts of Silesia, obliges the Austrian armies to retire with precipitation out of that province. Then he flies to the relief of Saxony, which his enemies had again profited of his absence to invade; and again by the same rapid and well conducted march, he obliges them to abandon their prize. Defeated by the Austrians he acquired by his conduct all the advantages of the most complete victory. He guarded all his possessions in such a manner, as to enable them all to endure his absence for some short time; and he conducted his marches with such spirit, as did not make it necessary to them to hold out any longer; he made twice the circuit of his dominions, and in their turn he relieved them all.

Nor was the conduct of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick less worthy of admiration. Placed at the head of a body of troops, who were but lately obliged to lay down their arms, he found the enemy in possession of the whole open country, and of all the strong places in it. Commencing the campaign in the midst of a severe winter, without any place of strength in his hands, he drove the enemy from all those they held. He obliged them to repass the Rhine; he followed and defeated them in a pitched battle. Being afterwards obliged by the great force of France on its own frontier, and the numerous armies they had in different places, to repass the Rhine, he defended Lippe against numbers greatly superior, and though they defeated a part of his army, they were not able to turn their victory to the least advantage. Prince Ferdinand's campaign may well pass for a perfect model of defensive operations.

The Austrians, in taking winter quarters, disposed their forces so as to form a chain of an amazing length, from the frontiers of Moravia passing through Bohemia, all along the skirts of Silesia and the borders of Saxony. There the imperial army joined this chain, and continued it through Thuringia and Franconia, where it was united to the quarters of the Prince de Soubise. These troops had fallen back from Hesse Castle, finding themselves unable to maintain their ground in the landgraviate. The Prince de Soubise's cantonments extended westward along the course of the Maine and Lahn, to meet those of M. de Contades which stretched to the Rhine, and continued the chain beyond it quite to the

the Maese, so as to command the whole course of the Rhine, on both sides, both upward and downward. Prince Ferdinand was unable to extend himself to such a length; and especially found it impracticable to establish quarters on the other side of the Rhine; but he disposed his troops in the most advantageous manner in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim, and in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel. The several bodies may all unite with ease, and support each other. To preserve a communication between this and the Prussian army, as well as to break some part of that formidable chain of the enemy, the King sent some bodies of his troops into Thuringia, who dispossessed the army of the Empire of several of their posts there, and they now threaten to penetrate still farther.

The King of Prussia, when he had a second time driven the Austrians and Imperialists out of Saxony, resolved to keep no measures with that unhappy country. He declared that he was resolved no longer to consider it as a deposit, but as a country which he had twice subdued by his arms. He therefore ordered those of the King of Poland's privy council, who still remained at Dresden, to retire at a very short warning. But if the King of Prussia had a right, as perhaps he had, to consider Saxony as a lawful conquest, he certainly seemed not to consider the people as subjects, when he continued to exact the most severe contributions; and in a manner too very little becoming a lawful sovereign; for he surrounded the exchange with soldiers,

and confining the merchants in narrow lodgings on straw beds, he obliged them by extreme suffering to draw bills on their foreign correspondents for very large sums. This city had been quite exhausted by former payments, and had not long before suffered military execution. An enemy that acted thus, had acted severely; but when a country is entirely possessed by any power, and claimed as a conquest, the rights of war seem to cease; and the people have a claim to be governed in such a manner as becomes a just prince; especially when no extreme necessity in his affairs compels him to these rigorous courses. To retaliate on these miserable people some part of the cruelties committed by the Russians on his dominions, seems to be very unreasonable, as it is but too obvious, that the barbarity of that people could not be restrained, however it might be exasperated by the total destruction of Saxony. Such retaliations are odious and cruel. We heartily wish we could praise the King of Prussia as much for his temperate use of his conquest, as for those wonderful and heroic qualities by which he obtained it. We might be considered as partial in our account, if we had omitted to take notice of what is alledged against the King of Prussia, when we have spoken so fully of the outrages committed by his enemies. It is now time to turn our eyes from this great theatre towards lesser events, but such as will employ us altogether as agreeably; the operations of the British fleets and armies in Europe and America against the French.

C H A P. XIII.

The burning of the ships at St. Malo. Taking of Cherbourg. Defeat at St. Cas. Operations in America. Siege and taking of Louisbourg. English army defeated at Ticanderoga. They take Frontenac. The French abandon Fort du Quesne. Conclusion of the annals of the year 1758.

IN the beginning of the year, the good condition of our navy and our army; the spirit and popularity of the ministry; the wise choice of commanders, in contempt of vulgar and trivial maxims; the prevalence of the contrary to all these among the enemy; gave us the best grounded hopes of a vigorous and successful campaign. Concerning the theatre of our operations there was some doubt. It was the opinion of some, that our push in Europe should be made on the side of Germany; and that we ought to strengthen the army of Prince Ferdinand with such a respectable body of troops, as might enable that finished commander to exert all his talents, and improve to the utmost the advantages he had already obtained over the French. They imagined, that if an early and considerable reinforcement were sent to the prince, while the French army was yet in a distressed condition, and if in this condition they should receive any considerable blow, they would find it extremely difficult to retrieve it; and receiving this blow on the frontier of their own territories, the prince might carry the war into France itself; and thus very probably bring matters to a speedy decision. That in pursuing this plan a diversion on the coast of France was by no means excluded: and that on the contrary it must, on this plan, be attended with consequences infinitely more important than it could otherwise; that otherwise, France

might laugh at the little desultory efforts of a handful of men, who were to be embarked and disembarked with great difficulty and hazard, and which would always be obliged to fly at the first approach of an enemy. That whilst the French had only an army greatly inferior in number to engage on the side of Germany, they would always find themselves to be able to act abroad, and defend themselves at home.

On the other hand it was strongly urged, that we ought to make the destruction of the French marine our great object, and to consider all continental operations only in a secondary light. That in sending a large body of English troops to the king's army on the Rhine, we must necessarily weaken our efforts in America, and on the coast of France; and by drawing away all our forces, we must shake that internal security, which invigorated all our operations abroad. That whilst we maintained an army of 50,000 foreigners in Germany, it would be the greatest imprudence to send also a large body of our own national troops into the same country, and by that means not only squander away our mer, but employ almost every penny granted for the land service out of Great-Britain; a method which could not fail of exhausting us in a very short time. That the force already in Germany was sufficient to keep the French engaged, and that the proposed expeditions to France

would, by attacking the coast, now in one part, now in another, and keeping all parts in continual alarms, necessarily detain a very considerable part of their forces at home, and thus make a powerful diversion, whilst it was pursuing what ought to be the grand perpetual object of all our operations, the destruction of the French maritime power.

The latter opinion prevailed; but it was however so far modified by the arguments on the other side, that after some time a few regiments were sent into Germany, as we have before related. These and better reasons, no doubt, determined the operations on the coast of France; but whilst the necessary preparations were making, their destination was kept an inviolable secret; and now, as they had the year before, inspired France with no little terror. Two squadrons, by the latter end of May, were in readiness for sailing. The greater under Lord Anson, the smaller under Commodore Howe, which last was designed to convoy the transports, and to favour the landing and re-embarkment. The land forces consisted of sixteen battalions, and nine troops of light horse: they were commanded by the late Duke of Marlborough. They sailed from

June 1. Portsmouth; but as soon as the fleet set sail, the squadron of my Lord Anson separated from the rest, and bore off to the Bay of Biscay, in order to spread the alarm more widely, and to observe the French squadron in Breil. The other part of the fleet, which was commanded by Commodore Howe, with the transports, arrived without any accident in Cancele Bay, at a small distance from the city of St. Malo. Here the troops

landed without opposition, and having fortified a post 5th. near Cancele, (a post by nature well fitted for defence) for the security of their retreat, they marched in two columns to St. Maloes. When the army arrived there it was soon visible that the town, strongly situated on a peninsula, communicating with the main land only by a long and narrow causeway, was by no means a proper object of a *coup de main*; and though, for want of outworks, it was ill qualified to sustain a regular siege; yet our forces were, for want of strength and artillery sufficient, altogether as ill qualified for such an operation. They were therefore contented with setting fire to about an hundred fail of ship- 8th. ping, many of them privateers, which lay under the cannon of the town, and to several magazines filled with naval stores. The damage was very considerable; yet, what is to be remarked, the enemy did not fire a single shot on the detachment employed in this service. Having nothing more to do on this side, they retired to Cancele; and re-embarked with as 12th. little opposition as they met with at landing; the land and sea commanders having made all the dispositions with great judgment.

Before the fleet returned, they reconnoitred the town of Granville on the coast of Normandy; but finding that a large body of troops were encamped in the neighbourhood, they made no attempt there. From thence they moved towards Cherbourg, and made the proper dispositions for landing near that place; but a hard gale blowing in to the shore, and the transports beginning to fall 9 foul

foul on each other, it became extremely hazardous to attempt landing. Besides, the provision was near exhausted, and the soldiers by being so long cooped up in the transports, were grown sickly. It became highly necessary to return home; and they arrived at St. Helen's on the 29th of June.

The success of this expedition, by which the French suffered largely, with scarce any loss on our side, though it sufficiently answered the intention of this armament, fell somewhat short of the expectations of the public, who had formed much greater hopes than it was possible for the nature of such enterprizes to fulfil. However, their hopes were again revived; by seeing that every thing was prepared for another expedition, and that our armies and fleets were to be kept in constant action during the summer. The time was now come when we were to turn the tables upon France, and to retaliate by real attacks, the terrors which had been raised by her menaces of an invasion. The Duke of Marlborough had now taken the command of the English forces in Germany; and general Bligh succeeded him in this command. Prince Edward resolved to go upon the expedition, and to form himself for the service of his country under so brave and able a commander as Howe. It is easy to imagine, how much the spirit, the presence, and example of the gallant young prince, who went with the utmost cheerfulness through all the detail of a midshipman's duty, inspired both into the seamen and the troops.

On the first of August the fleet set sail from St. Helen's. In a few days they came to anchor before

Cherbourg. The French had drawn a line strengthened by forts, along the most probable places for landing. They had drawn down three regiments of regular troops, and a considerable body of militia to the shore, and had in all appearance threatened a very resolute opposition to the descent of the English forces. But the commodore disposed the men of war and bomb ketches so judiciously, and made so sharp a fire upon the enemy, that they never ventured out of their entrenchments; Aug. 6. so that the landing was effected in excellent order, and with very little loss. The French who made so poor an opposition to the landing, had still many advantages from the nature of the ground which they occupied; but they neglected them all; and abandoning by a most shameful despair their forts and lines on the coast, they suffered the English to enter Cherbourg the day after the landing, without throwing the least obstacle in their way. It must be remembered too that the whole number of the English forces on this expedition, was rather short of 6000 men.

Cherbourg is on the land side an open town; neither is it very strongly defended towards the sea. The harbour is naturally bad. But the place is well situated, in the midst of the channel, for protecting the French, and annoying the English commerce in the time of war, and perhaps for facilitating an invasion on England itself. Monsieur Belidore, the famous engineer, had demonstrated its importance, and proposed a plan for the improvement and defence of the harbour, as well as for the fortifications of the town. The plan was approved,

and partly put in execution by the building of a mole, digging a basin, and making sluices and flood gates with excellent materials and at a vast expence. The work had been for a considerable time discontinued; but in this expedition, that work of so much ingenuity, charge, and labour, was totally destroyed. Whilst our humanity regrets the unhappy necessity of war, we cannot help thinking that the English nation was freed by the success of this expedition, from what might one day be cause of no trivial alarms.

When this work of destruction was over, all the vessels in the harbour burned, and hostages taken for the contributions levied on the town, the forces reembarked 16th. with great speed and safety without any interruption from the enemy, and with the same expedition, care, and conduct, as they had been first landed; the army having continued ten days unmolested in France.

The nation exulted greatly in this advantage, especially as it almost accompanied the news of our glorious successes in America. Nothing was omitted to give the action its utmost eclat; the brass cannon and mortars taken at Cherbourg were drawn from Kensington to the Tower, quite through the city, in great pomp and order, Sept. 16. adorned with streamers, attended by guards, drums, music, and whatever else might draw the attention of the vulgar. They who censured this procession as too ostentatious, did not consider how forcibly things of this nature strike upon ordinary minds, and how greatly they contribute to keep the people in good-humour to support the many charges

and losses that are incident to the most successful war.

The fleet, when it left Cherbourg, was driven to the coast of England; but the troops were not disembarked; it was resolved, that the coast of France should have no respite, and accordingly they sailed towards St. Malo, and landed in the bay of St. Lunar, at a small distance from the town of St. Malo. This choice of a place for landing, must necessarily have surprised all those who remembered upon what reasons the attempt against that place had been so recently laid aside. There was no other object of sufficient consideration near it. The town was at least in as good a posture of defence as it had been then; and the force which was to attack it had since then been considerably lessened. There is undoubtedly something very unaccountable, as well in the choice, as in the whole conduct of this affair. The persons in the principal commands, shifted the blame from one to another. There is nothing more remote from our design, than to set up for judges in matters of this nature; or ungenerously to lean on any officer who meaning well to the service of his country, by some misfortune or mistake fails in such hazardous and intricate enterprises. We shall be satisfied with relating the facts as they happened.

As soon as the troops were landed in the bay of St. Lunar, it became evident that the design against St. Malo was utterly impracticable. Other objects were then proposed, but they all seemed equally liable to objection. Whilst they debated concerning a plan for their operations, the fleet was in the

the greatest danger. The bay of St. Lunar extremely rocky; and the experience of the people of the country, together with what he saw himself, convinced the commodore that it was impossible to remain any longer in this road with tolerable safety. Therefore he moved up to the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

The fleet was separated from the land forces; but it was still easy to preserve a communication between them; and as no attack was yet apprehended, they made no scruple to penetrate farther into the country. In two days they arrived at the village of Matignon, having had several skirmishes with small bodies of the enemy, who from time to time appeared on their flanks, and who always disappeared when they were briskly encountered. By this time the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, was advanced within six miles of the English army, with a body of twelve battalions and six squadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. This determined the council of war to retreat; they wanted but three miles to the bay of St. Cas. But in this little march a considerable time was consumed, and the French army was close upon them before they could be completely reembarked. A very steep hill formed a sort of amphitheatre about the bay of St. Cas, where the embarkation was making; but before the last division, which consisted of all the grenadiers of the army, and the first regiment of guards, could get off, the French had marched down this hill, through a hollow way, and formed themselves in a long line against the few English troops that remained.

There remained in this exigency only the expedient of assuming a bold countenance, and attacking them with vigour. The bravery of our troops on this desperate occasion, was worthy of a better fortune. The ships and frigates seconded their efforts, and made a severe fire upon the enemy. All was to no purpose; their ammunition was at last spent; the enemies numbers prevailed; our little body attempted to retreat, but they fell into confusion, they broke, an horrible slaughter followed, many ran into the water, and met their fate in that element. The shore was covered with dead bodies. General Dury was drowned. Sir John Armitage, a young volunteer of great fortune and hopes, was shot through the head. Several officers, men of large fortune and consideration, fell. At length the firing of the frigates ceased, and the French immediately gave quarter. About 400 were made prisoners, 600 were killed and wounded.

In the midst of this carnage, in the midst of a fire that staggered the bravest seamen who managed the boats, Commodore Howe exhibited a noble example of intrepidity and fortitude, by ordering himself to be rowed in his own boat through the thickest of the fire, to encourage all that were engaged in that service, and to bring off as many men as his vessel could carry.

This affair dispirited the people of England, and elated the people of France, far more than an affair of so little consequence ought to have done. It was in fact no more than the cutting off a rear guard. There is often more bloodshed in skirmishes in Germany, which make no figure in the Gazettes. And

certainly, if our expeditions to the coast of France were planned with any judgment, on our part we had rather reason to congratulate ourselves that we were able to land three times on that coast, with so inconsiderable a loss. The French indeed had reason to magnify this loss; and they did greatly magnify it, in order to console their people, who had seen their trade suffer so much, and their country so long insulted with impunity.

Whatever our successes were on the coast of France, they did not affect us in the same manner with those which we had in America. From this part of the world we had long been strangers to any thing, but delays, misfortunes, disappointments, and disgraces. But the spirit which had been roused at home, diffused itself into all parts of the world where we had any concern, and invigorated all our operations.

Admiral Boscawen with a powerful fleet of men of war, with several transports, sailed for Halifax, from England, Feb. 19th. He had the chief command of the expedition against Louisbourg, and in particular the direction of the naval operations. General Amherst, from whose character great things were expected, and who justified these expectations, was to command the land forces. These amounted to about 14,000 men, including some light troops, fitted for the peculiar service of the country. The whole fleet, consisting of 151 ships, set sail from the harbour of Halifax. On the second of June they appeared before Louisbourg. They were six days on the coast before a landing was found practicable; such a prodigious surf stalked all along the shore, that no boat could possibly

live near it. The French not trusting to this obstacle, had drawn entrenchments in every part where it might be possible to land, supported them with batteries in convenient places, and lined them with a numerous infantry. At length the surf, though violent at June 8. best, was observed to be somewhat abated, and the admiral and general did not lose a moment to avail themselves of this first opportunity of landing; they made all their dispositions for it with the highest judgment. They ordered the frigates towards the enemy's right and left, to rake them on their flanks. Then the troops were disposed for landing in three divisions. That on the left was commanded by General Wolfe, and was destined to the real attack. The divisions in the center, and to the right, were only designed for feigned attacks to draw the enemy's attention to all parts, and to distract their defence.

When the fire of the frigates had continued about a quarter of an hour, General Wolfe's division moved towards the land; the enemy reserved their shot until the boats were near the shore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and musquetry upon them. The surf aided their fire. Many of the boats overfet, many were broke to pieces, the men jumped into the water, some were killed, some drowned; the rest, supported and encouraged, in all difficulties, by the example, spirit, and conduct of their truly gallant commander, gained the shore, took post, fell upon the enemy with such order and resolution, that they soon obliged them to fly in confusion. As soon as this post was made good, the center moved towards the

the left, and the right followed the center, so that the landing was completed, though not without much time and trouble, in an excellent order, and with little loss.

The operations of a siege are too minute and uninteresting to make a detail of them agreeable to readers, who are not conversant in the art military. The operations against Louisbourg for several days went on very slowly, owing entirely to the prodigious surf and the rough weather, which made it extremely difficult to land the artillery, stores, and instruments to be employed in the siege; however, the excellent conduct of the Generals Amherst and Wolfe, by degrees overcame all the difficulties of the weather, which was extremely unfavourable, the ground, which was rugged in some places and boggy in others, and the resistance of the garrison, which was considerable. The French had five men of war of the line in the harbour, who could bring all their guns to bear upon the approaches of the English troops. The first thing done was to secure a point called the light-house battery, from whence he might play upon the vessels, and on the batteries on the other side of the harbour. General Wolfe performed the service with his usual vigour and celerity, and took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter. His fire from this post on the 25th silenced the island battery, which was that most immediately opposed to his; but the ships still continued to bear upon him until the 21st of the following month, when one of them blew up, and communicating

the fire to two others, they also were in a short time consumed to the water edge. This was a loss not to be repaired; the approaches drew near the covered way, and things were in a good condition for making a lodgment in it; the enemies fire was considerably slackened; the town was consumed to the ground in many places, and the works had suffered much in all. Yet the enemy still delaying to surrender, gave occasion to add one brave action to the others which had been displayed during the course of this siege. The admiral, who had all along done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land forces, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, resolved on a stroke, which by being decisive of the possession of the harbour, might make the reduction of the town a matter of little difficulty. He resolved to send in a detachment of 600 seamen in boats to take or burn the two ships of the line which remained, and if he should succeed in this, he proposed the next day to send in some of his own great ships, who might batter the town on the side of the harbour. This was not more wisely planned by the admiral, than gallantly and successfully executed by Captain Laforey. In spite of the fire from the ships and the batteries, July 25. he made himself master of both these ships; one he towed off, and the other, as she ran aground, was set on fire.

This stroke, in support of the spirited advances of the land forces, was conclusive. July 26. The town surrendered the next day. The garrison were prisoners of war, and amounted with the irregulars and seamen to 5637.

The taking of Louisbourg was an event the most desired by all our colonies; that harbour had always been a receptacle convenient to the enemies privateers, who infested the English trade in North America. It was the most effectual blow which France had received from the commencement of the war. By the taking of Louisbourg, she lost the only place from whence she could carry on the cod-fishery; and the only place she had in a convenient situation for the reinforcements that were sent to support the war in the other parts of America; and with Louisbourg fell the island of St. John's, and whatever other inferior stations they had for carrying on the fishery towards Gaspésie and the bay De Chaleurs, which our ships soon after this event entirely destroyed. It is incredible how much this success in America, joined to the spirit of our other measures, operated to raise our military reputation in Europe, and to sink that of France, and consequently how much it influenced our most essential interests, and those of our allies.

The plan of our operations in America was, however, by no means confined solely to this object, important as it was. Two other attempts were proposed: the first attempt was with a great force to drive the French from Triconderoga and Crown Point; in which, if we could succeed, the enemy would lose their posts from which they were in the best condition to molest our colonies, and by losing them, would lay open an easy road into the very heart of their settlements in Canada. The second attempt was to be made with a considerable, though an infe-

rior force, from Pennsylvania against Fort du Quesne: the success of this attempt would establish us in the possession of the Ohio, and break off the connection between Canada and Louisiana.

General Abercrombie, commander in chief of our forces in America, conducted the first of those expeditions. He embarked upon Lake George with near 16,000 troops, regulars and provincials, and a numerous artillery, on the 5th of July; and after a prosperous navigation, arrived the next day at the place where it had been proposed to make the landing. They landed without opposition. The enemies advanced guards fled at their approach. The English army proceeded in four columns to Triconderoga. As the country through which their march lay is difficult and woody, and the guides which conducted the march to this unknown country, were extremely unskilful, the troops were bewildered, the columns broke and fell in upon one another. Whilst they marched on in this alarming disorder, the advanced guard of the French, which had lately fled before them, was bewildered in the same manner; and in the same disorder fell in with our forces. A skirmish ensued, in which this party was quickly defeated with the loss of near 300 killed and 148 prisoners. The loss on the English side was inconsiderable in numbers; but great in consequence. Lord Howe was killed. This gallant man, from the moment he landed in America, had wisely conformed and made his regiment conform to the kind of service which the country required. He did not suffer any under him to encumber themselves with superfluous baggage;

gage; he himself set the example, and fared like a common soldier. The first to encounter danger, to endure hunger, to support fatigue; rigid in his discipline, but easy in his manners, his officers and soldiers readily obeyed the commander, because they loved the man; and now at the moment when such abilities, and such an example were the most wanted, was fatally lost a life which was long enough for his honour, but not for his country. It adds indeed to the glory of such a death, and to the consolation of his country, that we still possess the heir of his titles, his fortunes and virtues, whilst we tremble to see the same virtues exposing themselves to the same dangers*.

Excepting this loss, the army had hitherto proceeded successfully. In a little time they appeared before July 8. Ticonderoga. This is a very important post, and as strongly secured. The fort is situated on a tongue of land between Lake George and a narrow gut, which communicates with the Lake Champlain. On three sides it is surrounded with water; and for a good part of the fourth it has a dangerous morass in front; where that failed, the French had made a very strong line upwards of eight

feet high, defended by cannon, and secured by 4 or 5000 men. A great fall of trees, with their branches outward, was spread before the entrenchment for about an hundred yards.

The general caused the ground to be reconnoitred; and the engineer made so favourable a report of the weakness of the entrenchment, that it appeared practicable to force it by musquetry alone. A fatal resolution was taken, in consequence of this report, not to wait the arrival of the artillery, which, on account of the badness of the ground, could not be easily brought up, but to attack the enemy without loss of time. They were confirmed in this precipitate resolution, by a rumour that a body of 3000 men were on their march to join the French at Ticonderoga, and very shortly expected to arrive.

When the attack began, the difficulty of the ground and the strength of the enemies lines, which had been so little foreseen, was but too severely felt. Although the troops behaved with the utmost spirit and gallantry, they suffered so terribly in their approaches, and made so little impression on the entrenchment, that the general seeing their reiterated and obstinate efforts fail of success, being upwards

* Soon after the news of Lord Howe's death arrived, the following advertisement appeared in the public papers; an application worthy of a Roman matron, in the virtuous times of the republic, and which could not fail of success, where the least spark of virtue existed:

'To the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders, and burgessees, of the town and county of Nottingham.

'As Lord Howe is now absent upon the public service, and Lieutenant Colonel Howe is with his regiment at Louisbourg, it rests upon me to beg the favour of your votes and interests, that Lieutenant Colonel Howe may supply the place of his late brother, as your representative in parliament.

'Permit me therefore to implore the protection of every one of you, as the mother of him, whose life has been lost in the service of his country.

Albermarle Street, Sept. 14, 1758.

'CHARLOTTE HOWE.'

upwards of four hours exposed to a most terrible fire, thought it necessary to order a retreat, to save the remains of the army. Near 2000 of our men were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; the number of the taken being very inconsiderable. This precipitate attack was followed by a retreat as precipitate; inasmuch that our army gained their former camp to July 9. George, the evening after the action.

To repair the misfortune of this bloody defeat, General Abercrombie detached Colonel Bradstreet with about 3000 provincials against Fort Frontenac. The colonel, with great prudence and vigour, surmounting great difficulties, brought his army to Oswego, where he embarked on the Lake Ontario, and arrived at Frontenac the 25th of August. This fort stands at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Lawrence, the entrance into which river it in some manner commands. However, for a post of such moment, it was poorly fortified, and poorly garrisoned. It was taken, without the loss of

Aug. 27. a man on our side, in less than two days after it had been attacked. The garrison, consisting of 130 men, were made prisoners; nine armed sloops were taken and burned; and a large quantity of provisions amassed there for the use of their garrisons to the southward, was destroyed. The fort was demolished. Colonel Bradstreet having performed this important service, returned. Many were of opinion, that so fine a post ought to have been kept and strongly garrisoned; others thought that it would be impossible to pre-

serve a place at such a distance from our own establishments.

It is very possible, that the success of Colonel Bradstreet greatly facilitated that of the expedition under General Forbes. The general had had a very tedious and troublesome march, through a country almost impracticable, very little known, and continually harassed on his route by the enemies Indians. An advanced guard of this army, consisting of about 800 men under Major Grant, had most unaccountably advanced close to Fort du Quesne, with a design as it should seem of reducing the place by a *coup de main*; but the garrison suddenly falling out and attacking them warmly on all sides, killed and made prisoners many of this party, and dispersed the rest. This was however their last success; for the body of the army being conducted with greater skill and circumspection, baffled all their attempts; so that the French being convinced by several skirmishes that all their efforts to surprize the troops, or interrupt their communication, were to no purpose, and being conscious that their fort was not tenable against a regular attack, they wisely abandoned the place after destroying Nov. 24. their works; and fell down the Ohio, to the number of 4 or 500 men, towards their more southern settlements. General Forbes once more erected the English flag on Fort du Quesne. Without 25th. any resistance we became masters, in the third year after the commencement of hostilities, of that fortress, the contention for which had kindled up the flames of so general and destructive a war. This place with its masters has changed its

its name, and is called Pittsburg, with a propriety which does not need to be pointed out.

Notwithstanding the unhappy affair at Ticonderoga, the campaign of 1758 in America was very advantageous, and very honourable to the English interest. Louisbourg, St. John's, Frontenac, and du Quesne reduced, remove from our colonies all terror of the Indian incursions, draw from the French those useful allies, free our frontiers from the yoke of their enemies' forts, make their supplies difficult, their communications precarious, and all their defensive or offensive operations ineffective; whilst their country, uncovered of its principal bulwarks, lies open to the heart, and affords the most pleasing prospects of success to the vigorous measures which we may be assured will be taken in the next campaign. General Amherst is now commander.

It would be doing great injustice to the spirit and conduct of the ministry, not to observe, that

they omitted to distress the enemy in no part, and that their plans of operation were as extensive as they were vigorous.

Two ships of the line with some frigates, were sent early in the spring to the coast of Africa, to drive the French from their settlements there. They entered the river Senegal, and in spite of the obstructions of a dangerous bar, which the ships of war could not pass, they obliged the French fort which commands the river to surrender. And on the 29th of December following, Commodore Keppel, with the assistance of some troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Worge, made himself master of the island of Goree and its forts; the garrison surrendering at discretion to his majesty's squadron. By these successes, we have taken from the enemy one of the most valuable branches of their commerce, and one the most capable of abundant improvement*.

From

* The river Senegal, or Senegal, is one of those channels of the river Niger, by which it is supposed to discharge its waters into the Atlantic ocean: The river Niger, according to the best maps, rises in the East of Africa; and after a course of 300 miles, nearly due west, divides into three branches, the most northerly of which is the Senegal, as above; the middle is the Gambia, or Gambra; and the most southern Rio Grande. Senegal empties itself into the Atlantic ocean in 16 north lat. The entrance of it is guarded by several forts, the principal of which is Fort Lewis, built on an island of the same name. It is a quadrangular fort with two bastions, and of no inconsiderable strength. At the mouth of the river is a bar; the best season for passing it, is from March to August, or September, or rather from April to July, because the tides are then highest. The English had formerly settlements here, out of which they were driven by the French, who have engrossed the whole trade from Cape Blanc to the river Gambia, which is near 500 miles. The Dutch were the first who settled Senegal, and built two forts. The French made themselves masters of them in 1678. In 1692 the English seized them; but next year the French retook them, and have kept them ever since. They built Fort Lewis in 1692, and have beyond it a multitude of other settlements, extending 200 leagues up the river. The principal commodities which the French import from this settlement, are that valuable article gum senega, hides,

From the East Indies we have this year heard nothing remarkable. It does not seem that the French, notwithstanding the great struggle they made to send out a strong armament under General Lally, have been in a condition to enterprise any thing. It is said, and probably with good foundation, that the greatest part of that force was dwindled away with sickness during the voyage. Our naval force was exerted with spirit and effect in the Mediterranean. The French found that the possession of Minorca could not drive us from the dominion of the Mediterranean, where Admiral Osborn gave the enemies maritime strength such blows, as they must long feel, and which merited him the greatest of all honours, to be joined with the conquerors of Louisbourg, in the thanks of the representative body of their country. But as these, although very important, are detached affairs, we imagined it better to give them in our Chronicle; as they could not so well come into the body of this work without interrupting the series we propose to carry on.

The coming year seems big with great events. In Germany the affairs of the rival powers of Prussia and Austria, appear to be more nearly balanced than at any time since the beginning of the war. Their force is as great as ever, and their animosity is noway lessened. Great ships are taken to assemble powerful armies

on the Rhine; whilst Great Britain has sent out two considerable armaments, one to the West Indies, the other to Africa; the success of which must go a great way towards determining the issue of the war. Other great preparations are also making on the part of Great Britain. In the mean time, the Dutch, enraged at the captures of their ships, make complaints; and threaten armaments. The death of the Princess of Orange, which happened at a most critical juncture, adds more perplexity to affairs in that quarter. If we look to the southward, the clouds seem gathering there also. The imminent death of the King of Spain, will be an event fruitful of troubles. In this affair the King of Sardinia, the house of Austria, and the house of Bourbon, will find themselves concerned; to say not one of the maritime powers. In a word, the name of war threatens to spread in every part of Europe. What revolutions in politics these things will make, what new connections they will create, what old they will dissolve, what changes they will create in the fortunes of the present belligerent powers, or what disposition to peace or war they may produce, will be the subject of our next volume.

If the reader should perceive many faults and inaccuracies in this work, let him remember the disadvantages we labour under. Our accounts are taken from the

hides, bees-wax, elephants teeth, cotton, gold dust, negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo, and civet

At present we are obliged to buy all our gum senega of the Dutch, who purchase it from the French; and they set what price they please on it. But as the trade to Africa is now open, by this important acquisition, the price of this valuable drug, which is so much used in several of our manufactures, will be much reduced.

public

public ones of the year, which are themselves often inaccurate, often contradictory. We find it very difficult to trace the true causes of events, which time only can draw from obscurity. It is hard to find a connection between the facts upon whose authenticity we may depend. And in the mass of materials of a dubious authority, it is equally hard to know what ought to be chosen, to make out such a connection. Yet with all

these difficulties, we are of opinion that the reader will find some entertainment, as well as some help to his memory, from reading a connected series of those very remarkable and interesting events which this war has produced, and which he has hitherto no where seen but in a loose detached manner. If we can do this we are satisfied; for we do not pretend to give the name of history to what we have written.

T H E
C H R O N I C L E.

J A N U A R Y.

1st. **A** fine equeſtrian ſtatue of his preſent majeſty King GEORGE, by Van Noſt, was erected on St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. On the front of the pedeſtal is the following inſcription:

Georgio Secundo.
Magne Britannię Francię
Et Hibernię
Regi
Forti et Reipublicę
Maxime ndeli
Patriis virtutibus
Patrem Secuto
S P Q D.

A. D. 1753.

Thomas Mead, Pratore Urbano.
Michael Sweny, } Vice-comitibus.
Guilielmo Forbes, }

7th. By a letter from Captain Bray, commander of his majeſty's armed veſſel the Adventure, received this day at the Admiralty, there is an account of the taking the Machault privateer of Dunkirk, with 14 nine pounders, and 182 men. Captain Bray, ſoon after the engagement began, ordered the helm to be put hard aport, which had the deſired effect of laying her athwart hawſe, her bowsprit coming in between the Adventure's main and mizen masts. They immediately paſſed the end of the mizen-top-ſail ſheet through the enemy's bob-ſtay, and made it ſail; but

fearing to loſe ſo good an opportunity, and that they would get clear, Captain Bray and the pilot got a hawſer, and paſſed it three times round the Machault's bowsprit and the capſion on the Adventure's quarter deck, ſo that the action depended chiefly on the ſmall arms, which was very ſmart about an hour. She then ſtruck her colours, but upon boarding her, began to fire again, which was ſoon ſilenced. She had killed and wounded 40 men, with the loſs only of one man killed, and two wounded, on board the Adventure.

This evening 70 men on board the Namur in Portſmouth harbour forced their way into the dock, and from thence ſet out for London, in order to lay their complaints before the lords of the admiralty; 15 of whom attempted to procure an audience, but were all ordered to be put in irons and carried back in order to be tried by a court martial for mutiny. It is reported that the badneſs of their provision was the cauſe of their complaint.

A cup and ſalver intended to be preſented to Cap- 13th. tain Lockhart, was ſent this day to Lloyd's to be viewed by the merchants. It was curiouſly chaſed and embossed with the ſeven French privateers, his own ſhip and arms. The ſalver is 26 inches diameter, with the following inſcription:

The

The gift of the two public companies,
The under-writers and merchants of the city of London,
To Capt. John Lockhart, commander of the Tartar,
For his signal service in supporting the trade,
By distressing the French privateers in the year 1757.

The merchants of Bristol presented him also with a gold cup, worth 100l.

This day a committee of the subscribers to a fund for supplying the poor in the city of York with corn at a lower rate than the markets, began to deliver out the same, when 334 families were served with the best of corn at 1 s. a peck, or 4 s. the bushel.

By a letter from Captain Lockhart to the Admiralty, there was advice that his majesty's ships Edinburgh, Dreadnought, Augusta, and a sloop, had blocked up the harbour of Cape François for some weeks: that on the 15th of October, all the French squadron failed to drive the English off the coast: and the next day the two squadrons came to a close engagement, which continued till night, when the French squadron, having the land breeze, by the help of their frigates were towed into port, greatly disabled, and the Opiniatre dismasted. They had 300 men killed, and as many wounded. This advice Captain Lockhart received from the crew of a St. Domingo-man, which he had taken; and it has since been confirmed by a letter in Lloyd's Evening post, directly from the spot. The same advices from the Admiralty take notice likewise of the taking of two French ships both laden with provisions for

Louisbourg. The prisoners say, that they sailed from Pile d'Aix, in company with three other merchant-ships, laden with provisions for Louisbourg, under convoy of the Prudent and Capricieux, and the Tripon and Heroine frigates, the two former of which parted company with them the day before they were taken. The frigates made their escape from our ships by its falling little wind, before which his majesty's ships outailed them greatly; but there is reason to believe the other merchant-ships are taken by the ships that were left in chase of them.

A farmer upon Budgley 18th. Common, between South-ampton and Redbridge, seeing a man with a blue coat, red waistcoat, and red plush breeches, very ragged, lying on the ground in a very weak condition, took him into his waggon, carried him to his house, gave him victuals and drink; but being full of vermin, made him up a bed of straw in the waggon, under the waggon-house, and covered him with sacks. Next morning he found him dead. He had an ensign's commission in his pocket, dated in March last, appointing him, as supposed, an ensign to an independent company of invalids at Plymouth; but no money in his pocket, except one half-penny.

The following message from the King was presented by Mr. Secretary Pitt to the house.

GEORGE R.

' His majesty having ordered the
' army, formed last year in his
' electoral dominions, to be put
' again into motion from the 23rd
' of November last, and to act with
' the utmost vigour against the
' common enemy, in concert with
' his

‘ his good brother and ally the King of Prussia; and the exhausted and ruined state of that electorate and of its revenues, having rendered it impossible for the same to maintain and keep together that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures now concerting for the effectual support of the King of Prussia, can be laid before this house; his majesty relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons, for the support of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous designs of France, and her confederates, finds himself in the mean time under the absolute necessity of recommending to this house the speedy consideration of such a present supply, as may enable his majesty, in this critical exigency, to subsist and keep together the said army.’

In consequence of this message, 100,000*l.* was unanimously granted, to be taken immediately out of the supplies of last year unapplied, and to be remitted with all possible dispatch.

A court-martial was held 21st. on board the Newark, for the trial of the 15 mutineers belonging to the Namur man of war, who all received sentence of death.

Information having been given to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that several officers were recruiting in that kingdom from Great Britain, without the knowledge of the government there, his excellency signified his pleasure to such officers, that they should immediately desist from raising men in that kingdom, and that they do immediately discharge all such as they have already enlisted.

By letters from Constantinople, we hear, that the 30th. caravan of pilgrims, returning from Mecca, had been attacked by a large body of Arabs, who had destroyed, as it is said, from 50 to 60,000 persons. This desperate and unprecedented proceeding is supposed to have taken its rise from the Arabs being disgusted on account of the removal of the Pascha of Damascus to Aleppo, who was greatly esteemed by them, as a generous able man, and the Killar Aga’s having put in his room a man of different principles, who deprived them of some part of their dues, which they receive from the pilgrims. As the chief of the black eunuchs was the cause of all that has happened by that change, which he effected merely to serve his own interested views, the Grand Seigneur ordered his head to be sent for from Rhodes, where he was lately exiled, and on its arrival it was exposed to public view.

Captain Wallace of the King George of Bristol, took up at sea, off Bermudas, six men, the crew of the schooner Nancy of Boston, one Gavian, master; the vessel in a hard gale had overset, but, after they had cut away her main-mast, she righted: but a sea soon after bore in her stern, and having a quantity of bricks abaft, her stern sunk and her head stuck upright, and then the people got on her bow. After the storm abated, they got some mackarel out of the vessel, and an iron instrument to strike fish, and making an awning of one of the sails, which they fixed to the bowsprit, they lived there 46 days before Captain Wallace met them; one of them died soon, and two others are deprived of their senses.

The

The Lord Chief Justice of the King's-bench declared that court's opinion of the case of the bank note stolen out of the mail, and paid away by the robber, who received the full value of Mr. Miller, at the post-office at Hatfield, and then travelled on the same road in a four-wheel post-chaise and four horses, and at the several stages passed off several other bank notes he had taken out of the mail at the same time; all which, at the request of the owner, who sent them by the post, were stop'd by Mr. Rice, cashier of the Bank, and an Action suffered to be brought against Mr. Rice, for recovery of the money; when, after very learned pleadings on both sides, it was most solemnly determined, 'That any person paying a valuable consideration for a bank note to bearer, in a fair course of business, has an undoubted right to recover the money of the Bank.' The pretext for stopping them at the Bank was, because they had been altered, the figures of 11, which denoted the date, having been by the robber dexterously converted to a 4.

This day being appointed for the execution of the 15 seamen, belonging to the *Namur*, the boats from every ship in commission, manned and armed, attended, and rowed guard round the *Royal Anne*. A little before 12 o'clock the prisoners were brought up, in order to be executed, and the halters were fixing, when they were informed his majesty had shewn mercy to 14, but they were to draw lots who should be the man that was to suffer death. Matthew M'Can, the second man that drew, had the unfortunate chance; and accordingly, at a gun fired as a signal, he was run up to the yard-arm, where he

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hung for near an hour. The reprieved were turned over to the *Grafton* and *Sunderland*, bound to the East Indies. It is said, the cause of the mutiny was only the dislike they had to quit the *Namur*, on board which ship Admiral Boscawen, when he took upon him the command of the intended expedition, hoisted his flag, and was to bring the crew of his former ship with him.

FEBRUARY.

Monſieur Rene Brison, second Captain of the *Prince de Soubise*, who formerly made his escape from where he resided on his parole of honour, went into France, and was sent back by order of the French king, made a second attempt to escape out of *Porchester* castle, where he had been confined ever since his return. He had bribed the centinels on duty, but his attempt being suspected by the officers of the prison, they planted others at a distance, who immediately apprehended him, and carried him back to the castle.

A marble bust of Doctor Claudius Gilbert, formerly vice provost of *Dublin* college in Ireland, was set up in that college.—This excellent person, besides other valuable donations, bequeathed to that college a collection of books, consisting of 13,000 volumes, chosen with great discernment and care. His bust is placed at the head of these. It is the workmanship of Mr. Verpoil; and for the expression and elegance does great honour to the taste and skill of the statuary.

It was ordered by the lords spiritual and temporal, in the parliament of Ireland assembled, That the king at arms, attended by

by his proper officers, do blot out and deface all ensigns of honour, borne by such persons as have no legal title thereto, upon their carriages, plate, and furniture, and to make regular returns of their proceedings therein to the clerk of parliament.

10th. His majesty's ship *Lancaster* being paid at Spithead, among the trades people that carried goods on board, were a great many Jews, who had large quantities of valuable effects with them; the Jews not meeting with the success they desired, were resolved to go on shore: it blew very hard, and they had a sailing boat, which they had hired for that purpose. About 20 Jews, and a few other people, got into her with their effects, but they had not gone far, when by gibbing the sail, they were overset. The ship's boats immediately put off, and took up 9 or 10 of them. Nine Jews were drowned, and two died after they were brought on board.

13th. Extract of a letter from Portsmouth.

"Yesterday arrived here, with a messenger belonging to the admiralty, in the greatest haste, a person who was immediately introduced, by orders from above, to Admiral Boscawen: of whom the following particulars have transpired. This person was some time since master of an English vessel, trading from port to port in North America, particularly up the river St. Laurence; but being taken by the enemy, has been prisoner with the General Montcalm and others near three years, who would not admit of any exchange for him, on account of his extensive knowledge of all the coast, more particularly the strength and soundings of Que-

bec and Louisbourg; they therefore came to a resolution to send him to Old France, in the next packet-boat, there to be confined till the end of the war. He was accordingly embarked (the only Englishman) and the packet put on board. In their voyage he was admitted to the cabin, where he took notice one day, they bundled up the packet, and put it into a canvas bag, having previously thereto made it ready to be thrown overboard, upon any danger of being taken.

"They were constrained to put into Vigo for some provisions, as also to gain some intelligence of the English in those seas, and there found one or more English men of war at anchor; upon which he thought it a proper opportunity of putting the following scheme in execution. One night taking the opportunity of all, but the watch, being in a sound sleep, he took the packet out of the bag, and having fixed it to his mouth, he silently let himself down into the bay; and to prevent noise by swimming, floated upon his back into the wake of the English man of war, where he secured himself by the hawser; and upon calling out for assistance, was immediately taken on board, and the packet entire. The captain examined him, treated him with great humanity, gave him a suit of his own cloaths, scarlet trimmed with black velvet, which he here appeared in, transcribed the packet, which is said to be of the utmost importance, in regard to our success in North America, and then sent him over land, with the copy of the packet to Lisbon: from whence he was brought to Falmouth in a sloop of war, and immediately set out post for London.

Upon

Upon his arrival in town, he was examined by the proper persons in the administration, and rewarded with a present supply; and by his own desire was immediately sent to Portsmouth, to go out on board Admiral Boscawen's own ship, upon the present expedition to North America, where he is to have the command of a sloop of war."

19th. Admiral Boscawen, with the fleet under his command, sailed from St. Helen's for North America. The *Invincible*, one of his fleet, of 74 guns, Captain Bentley, missed her stays, and run upon a flat on the east of St. Helen's. Her men, guns, stores, &c. were taken out, but that fine ship was quite lost.

One of the ships lately arrived from the east country, shipped such a quantity of water, and in the late cold weather it froze to that degree, that the captain computed he had above forty tons of ice on board. Four of his men perished by the cold. They were obliged to cut their way through the ice into the hold of the ship.

21st. There was as great a market for fat cattle at Seven-oaks in Kent, as was ever known, notwithstanding which they sold at a high price from 14 to 20l. a head.—By an authentic list it appears, that there passed through Islington turnpike for Smithfield market, from Jan. 1754, to Jan. 1, 1755, oxen 28,952, sheep 267,565; and from Jan. 1, 1757, to Jan. 1, 1758, oxen 30,952, sheep 200,180. By which it appears, that there is a decrease of more than 67,000 sheep in this last year, and an increase only of about 2,000 oxen, which is by no means a just proportion; so that on this principle the increase of the price of meat may be accounted for.

Extract of a letter from Rear-Admiral Cotes to Mr. Cleveland, dated on board his majesty's ship the *Marlborough*, November 9, 1757, in Port-Royal Harbour.

"The 25th of last month, Captain Forrest, in his majesty's ship the *Augusta*, with the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh* under his command, returned from their cruize off Cape François. Captain Forrest gives me the following account of an action that happened the 21st, between the ships under his command, and seven French ships of war.

"At seven in the morning, the *Dreadnought* made the signal for seeing the enemy's fleet coming out of Cape François; we made sail to discover them plain; and at half past eight made seven sail of large ships, a schooner, and a pilot boat. I then made the signal for the line a-head, and shortened sail, to let the enemy come up, and to preserve the weather-gage. At noon saw with great certainty they were four ships of the line, and three large frigates. I then made the signal for the Captains Suckling and Langdon, who agreed with me to engage them: accordingly we bore down, and about twenty minutes after three, the action began with great briskness on both sides, and continued for two hours and an half, when the French commodore made a signal, and one of the frigates immediately came to tow him out of the line, and the rest of the French ships followed him. Our ships had suffered so much in their masts, sails, and rigging, that we were in no condition to pursue them. Both officers and seamen behaved with the greatest resolution the whole time of the action, and were unhappy at the conclusion of it, that the ships were not in a condition

dition to follow the French, who had frigates to tow them off. I am informed the French, on this occasion, had put on board the Sceptre her full complement of guns, either from the shore, or out of the India ship; and had also mounted the Outarde store-ship with her full proportion of guns; and had taken not only the men out of the merchant ships, but soldiers from the garrison, in hopes their appearance would frighten our small squadron, and oblige them to leave their coast clear for them to carry out their large convoy of merchant ships; but our captains were too gallant to be terrified at their formidable appearance; and so far from avoiding them, that they bore down, and engaged with the greatest resolution and good conduct. And I have the pleasure to acquaint their lordships, that the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, have done their duty on this occasion, much to their honour; and I hope their good behaviour will be approved by their lordships."

William Page, who had not long before taken his trial at the Old Bailey, and at Hertford assizes, for divers robberies on the highway, and was acquitted at both places, was, after a short trial at Rochester assizes, found guilty for robbing the late commissioner Farrington, about two years ago, on the evidence of the servant.

Richard William Vaughan, 27th. late a linen-draper at Stamford, was committed to Newgate, for counterfeiting the notes of the Bank of England. He had employed several artists to engrave the different parts of the note, by one of whom the discovery was made. He had filled up to the number of 20, and deposited them

in the hands of a young lady, whom he courted, as a proof of his being a person of substance. This is the first attempt of the kind that ever was made.

Mrs. Dennington, a quaker of eighty years of age, 29th. at Harefield in Middlesex, was baptized, and admitted a member of the church of England.

M A R C H.

His grace the Duke of Richmond ordered a room at 1st. Whitehall to be opened for the use of those who study painting, sculpture, and engraving, in which is contained a large collection of original plaister casts from the best antique statues and busts now at Rome and Florence, where any painter, sculptor, carver, or other artist, to whom the study of these gesses may be of use, will have liberty to draw, or model at any time: and upon application to the person that has the care of them, any particular figure will be placed in such a light as the artist shall desire. And any young man or boy, above the age of twelve years, may also have the same liberty, by a recommendation from any known artist. On Saturdays, Messrs. Wilton and Capriani are to attend to see what progress each has made, to correct their drawings and models, and to give them such instructions as shall be thought necessary. There will be given at Christmas and Midsummer annually to those who distinguish themselves by making the greatest progress, the following premiums: a figure will be selected from the rest, and a large silver medal will be given for the best design of it, and another for the best model in basso relievo.

relievo. A smaller silver medal for the second best design, and one for the second best basso relievo. The servant who takes care of the room has strict orders not to receive any money.

4th. The court-martial on Commodore Pye at Portsmouth ended. He was charged for malpractices in the management of his command abroad; but the court was pleased to acquit him of that charge, and only reprimanded him for a neglect in not acquainting the naval officer, that a schooner which he bought cost 200*l.* currency, for which the naval officer had by mistake charged 200*l.* sterling; and also for having interfered in purchasing naval stores, the naval officer being upon the spot.

6th. A court of enquiry at Portsmouth began and ended on board the Royal George, concerning the loss of his majesty's ship *Invincible*. The principals examined were the pilots, who made it appear, that the loss of her was owing to no misconduct in the master, and declared, that had the ship been their own, they should have behaved just as he had done; whereupon the master was set at liberty.—Other accounts take notice that the sands on which she was lost, were higher than usual.

Florence Henley, M. D. was committed to Newgate, charged with high treason.

9th. About 200 sailors, armed with clubs, went to the back of the Point at Portsmouth to a public house, which they pulled almost down; they threw the beds and furniture about the street, and stove all the beer in the cellar; after which they came into the town, and went into several pub-

lic houses, broke the windows, stove the butts of beer, and did other considerable damage.

The powder mills belonging to Mr. Smith at Hounslow blew up; but happily no lives were lost. This accident, no doubt, gave rise to the following paragraph in the Reading Mercury of this day: 'Reading, March 12. Last night, 'about nine o'clock, a slight shock 'of an earthquake was felt at Colebrook, Maidenhead, and other 'places between London and this 'town, but we do not hear of any 'damage it has done. It was also 'perceived here.'

Mr. Henry Raine, of St. George, Middlesex, having in his lifetime built and endowed an hospital for forty girls taken out of the charity school, and maintained; by his will, dated October 17, 1736, bequeathed 4000*l.* in 3 per cent. annuities to trustees to accumulate and improve the growing dividends until the same shall produce yearly 210*l.* to be disposed of in marriage portions to two maidens brought up in his hospital, (*viz.* 100*l.* and 5*l.* for a wedding dinner each) who shall have continued there four years, attained the age of 22, and be best recommended by the masters or mistresses, whom they may have served, for piety, industry, and a constant conformity to the established church. The trustees have given notice, that the sum destined for this laudable purpose is compleated, and by an advertisement summoned the maidens educated in the said hospital, to appear on the 4th of next month, with proper certificates of their past behaviour and present circumstances, in order that six may be selected of the most deserving, to draw lots on the first

of May for the prize of 100l. to be paid on the 5th of November following as her marriage portion, to an honest man, a member of the church of England, residing in the parishes of St. George, St. Paul, Shadwell, or St. John Wapping, and approved by the trustees; at which time another girl will be added to the five who shall have drawn blanks before: and to her who shall then draw the prize will be paid 100l. on her marriage the first of May following; the remaining five to continue intitled to a chance twice in every year, when a new candidate will be admitted, that every girl educated in this hospital, and careful of her character, may have a chance for this noble donation.

Miss Bab. Wyndham, of 13th. Salisbury, sister of Henry Wyndham, Esq; of that city, a maiden lady of ample fortune, ordered her banker to prepare the sum of 1000l. to be immediately remitted, in her own name, as a present to the king of Prussia.

A notorious impostor was 14th. detected at Edinburgh. When taken up, he had on four pair of thick coarse stockings, a pillow under his waistcoat, and, by an affected motion in his head and hands, has had the address for some time past, to pass upon the inhabitants as both dropical and paralytical, and a very great object of charity. When freed of his dressings, he comes out to be a strong well made fellow, and was immediately sent to the castle, as very fit to serve as a soldier.

Mr. Smelt, one of the engineers belonging to the board of ordnance, is now at Tinmouth castle, having orders to repair the old

works, build barracks for 1000 men, and to erect new batteries towards the sea, in order to defend and be a safeguard to the ships when at anchor in the road.

A most shocking murder 17th. was committed at Hambleton on the Hill, a village near Oakham in Rutlandshire, upon the bodies of Anne Woods and Robert Broome, two poor aged cottagers, by John Swanfon of that neighbourhood. Woods had employed Broome to trim a hedge, in a ground not far from her house; Swanfon, being of the same occupation, and envious to see another preferred to himself, went to the hedge with a hatchet under his arm; but before he had got three parts of the way, he met the old woman returning home from the man; and, without any previous salutation, knocked her down with his hatchet. He then went to the place where the poor man was at work, knocked him down in the like manner, chopt off his head with the hatchet, opened his body, and plucked out his heart, which he wrapt up with the head, in a piece of old rag. He then returned to the dead corpse of the woman, cut down her stays before, opened her body, and pulling out her heart, bound up both the hearts and head together, which he carried home, and hid in a chest under his own bed. The officers of the parish, receiving information that Broome was murdered, immediately turned their suspicions upon Swanfon, and went the same night to Swanfon's house, and, being admitted, charged him with the murder, who, after standing dumb about three minutes, con-

confessed the whole; and that Robert Broome's head, and both hearts, lay concealed under his bed. He was secured immediately, and committed to Oakham gaol.—It appears by all the circumstances of this murder, that the man was mad, and ought to have been confined long before.

Admiralty-Office.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Holmes to Mr. Cleveland, dated from on board the Seahorse, at anchor off Embden, March 21, 1758.

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty of the success of his majesty's ships in this river. The enemy had not suffered the buoys to be laid this year, thinking by that means to obstruct any attempts for the recovery of Embden at sea. It was, therefore, with equal surprize and concern, that they observed the arrival of his majesty's ships Seahorse and Strombolo; and after having doubled the number of their workmen upon the batteries they had begun, they set about raising three more towards the sea, with all expedition, expecting to be attacked from that quarter. On the 17th, the Seahorse and Strombolo anchored between Delfzeil and Knock, and on the 18th they came to their station between Knock and Embden, by which the enemy saw themselves cut off from all communication down the river. They continued working on their batteries towards the sea, but at the same time made all the necessary preparations for evacuating the place.—The garrison consisted of, French foot of Prince D'Eu's regiment, 1300.—Horse of General Lusignan's regiment, 300.—

Ditto of the regiment Bellefont du Roy, 300.—Ditto Orleans, 400.—Ditto Bourbon Bassiet, 300.—Austrian foot of the regiment of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Colonel Van Pflatz, 1100.—Two companies of artillery, of 60 men each, 120.—In all 3720.—On the 19th, at six in the morning, the French troops were under arms, and marched out of the town before night. And, on the 20th, the Austrians began their march at nine in the morning. About noon, and not before, I had intelligence of these operations, and that they had been transporting their baggage and cannon up the river in small vessels over night; and that one of them was laying round a point of land at some distance from us, to go up by the next tide. So soon as we could stem the tide, I dispatched the armed cutter Acrias, and two of my boats, in pursuit of the enemy. They came up with the vessel we had intelligence of, and took her. I reinforced them by another boat, and the whole detachment, commanded by Captain Taylor, continued the chase up the river. The enemy at this time lined both sides of it, and gave the first fire on the boats, who were then coming up with three of their armed vessels. The fire was briskly returned on our side; and in sight of their army, and under their fire, Capt. Taylor came up with one of them, attacked her, ran her a ground, and carried her, after some firing on both sides. The officers and men left the vessel to recover the shore, in attempting of which, some of them were dropt by the fire from the boats. The other two vessels, which had the cannon on board, got clear under favour of the night,

violating the neutrality of the coast of Spain, they would certainly have destroyed her. The *Pleiade*, of 24 guns, got away by mere out sailing our ships.

In this action Captain Gardiner was killed *, and Captain Storr lost the calf of one of his legs. The very gallant and brave behaviour of the officers and seamen on this occasion, deserved the highest commendations; particularly that of Lieutenant Carket, of the *Monmouth*, who†, after the captain's death, engaged and disabled the *Foudroyant* in such a manner, as to oblige her to strike as soon as the other ships came up; for which service Admiral Osborne gave him the command of the *Foudroyant* as a reward.

At York Assizes, which 28th. ended the 25th, four persons were found guilty of high treason in obstruſſing the militia act, and received sentence of death accordingly; two of the Wesleydale rioters were likewise convicted for violently taking away meal on the highway in returning from market: about twenty prisoners more were tried for riots, some of whom were continued, others fined and imprisoned, and others admitted to bail. Great lenity was shewn by the judges and jury, where the prisoners did not appear to act with premeditation.

It is reported, that at a quarry near Fulwell-Hills near Sunder-

land, the skeleton of a man was found, which measured nine feet and upwards.

A P R I L.

Came on to be tried at Kingston assizes before the 3d. Hon. Sir Michael Foster, Knight, and a special jury of gentlemen of the county of Surry, the trial by way of indictment against Martha Grey, for obstruſſing certain footways, leading from East-Sheene thro' Richmond Park. The defendant declined entering into the merits, but rested her defence on an objection to the indictment, that East-Sheene, which in the indictment was laid to be in the parish of Wimbledon, was in the parish of Mortlake; but it appearing to the satisfaction of the judge and jury, that Mortlake was not a parish, but a chapelary in Wimbledon, the jury found the defendant guilty.

Between the hours of 10 11th. and 11 at night, the temporary wooden bridge, built for the convenience of carriages and passengers, whilst London-bridge was widening and repairing, was discovered to be on fire, and continued burning till noon the next day, when the ruins fell into the Thames. An advertisement was published by Mr. Secretary Pitt, with the offer of his Majesty's pardon to the discoverer of the perpetrators of so vile and wicked an

* Captain Gardiner was shot thro' the arm the first fire; and soon after, as he was encouraging his people, and enquiring what damage they had sustained between decks, he received a second wound, by a musket ball, in the forehead, which proved fatal to him.

† The *Monmouth* had 150 men killed and wounded; the *Foudroyant* 200. The loss of masts on both sides brought on a close engagement, which lasted till the *Swiftsure* came up. M^{rs} du Queine refused, however, to deliver his sword to the Captain of the *Swiftsure*; but gave it with great politeness to Lieutenant Carket.

action (it being supposed to be done wilfully and maliciously), and the city offered a reward of 200*l.* for the same purpose. The Lord Mayor licensed 40 boats extraordinary to work on the three succeeding Lord's days, whose stations were advertised in the public papers, and a great number of hands were set to work to make a passage over the remains of the old bridge. This unhappy accident proved very detrimental to the inhabitants on each side the bridge, and put a great stop to the trade of London and Southwark. The inhabitants of the Borough were also greatly distressed, by the destroying the troughs, which conveyed water to them during the repairing of the bridge.

Baron Kniphausen, minister plenipotentiary from the King of Prussia, had his first audience of his majesty, and on the 13th, of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Dowager.

A proof was made at 17th. Paris of a cannon of a new invention, which fires sixty times in ten minutes without spunging. With a proper charge of powder it carries 100 weight of lead, and one man may bear its carriage. Another cannon of like construction has been proved in Prussia.

London-bridge was opened 19th. for foot-passengers, in the reparation of which above 500 workmen were constantly employed, Sundays not excepted.

James White, aged 23, and Walter White, his brother, aged 22, were executed at Kennington Common, for breaking open and robbing the dwelling-house of farmer Vincent of Crauley. They acknowledged the justness of their sentence, but laid their ruin to an accom-

plise, who, they declared, decoyed them from their labouring work, by telling them how easily money was to be got by thieving.—While the unhappy wretches were hanging, a child about nine months old was put into the hands of the executioner, who nine times, with one of the hands of each of the dead bodies, stroked the child over the face. It seems the child had a wen on one of its cheeks, and that superstitious notion, which has long prevailed, of being touched as before mentioned, is looked on as a cure.

Was held the anniversary 20th. meeting of the sons of the clergy; at which were present his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, president, and the Lord Chief Justice Willes, vice president of the coporation, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, Carlisle, Salisbury, Rochester, Litchfield, Chester, Gloucester and St. David's, and most of the Aldermen. The sermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Ibbetson, archdeacon of St. Alban's, and the collection in the whole (including a bank note of 100*l.* given by Samson Gideon, Esq;) amounted to 1066*l.* 14*s.* which is above 150*l.* more than last year. The money collected

on Tuesday	306	18	0
Yesterday at St. Paul's	207	1	6
At Merchant Taylor's Hall	552	14	6

£. 1066 14 0

Extract of a letter from Kennington, in Connecticut.

“ On the third instant, about sun-rise, at this place was a fog of so strange and extraordinary appearance, that it filled us all with amazement. It came in great bodies,

dies like thick clouds, down to the earth, and in its way, striking against the houses, would break and fall down the sides in great bodies, rolling over and over. It resembled the thick steam rising from boiling wort, and was attended with such heat that we could hardly breathe. When first I saw it I really thought my house had been on fire, and ran out to see if it was so; but many people thought the world was on fire, and the last day come. One of our neighbours was then at Sutton, 100 miles to the eastward, and reports it was much the same there."

In consequence of an application to parliament on account of the late unhappy accident, a resolution passed the house, "That a sum not exceeding 15,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to be applied towards the rebuilding London-bridge."

The Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Secker, Lord Bishop of Oxford, was confirmed at Bow church Lord Archbishop of the cathedral and metropolitan church of Canterbury, by the Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of York, and the Right Reverend the Lords Bishops of Durham, Worcester, Ely, Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Hereford, Carlisle, and Salisbury, being appointed his majesty's commissioners for that purpose.

It was this day resolved, that towards the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of 4,500,000*l.* be raised by annuities after the rate of 3 1-half per cent. for 24 years, the interest to commence from July 5; and 500,000*l.* by way of lottery, at 3 per cent. the interest to commence from the 5th of January 1756.

Payments on annuities.	Payments on lottery.
10 per c. Ap. 29	10 per c. Ap. 29
15 - May 30	10 - June 20
15 - June 28	20 - July 18
15 - July 27	20 - August 19
15 - August 30	20 - Sept. 20
15 - Sept. 27	20 - Oct. 20
15 - Oct. 29	

Three per cent. to be allowed for anticipating the payments on the annuities; nothing on the lottery, but to have the tickets as soon as they can be got ready. Those who had subscribed for 500*l.* were allowed 450*l.* in annuities, and 50*l.* in lottery tickets.

The Hon. Mr. Finch and the Hon. Mr. Townshend having proposed, after the example of his grace the Duke of Newcastle, to give two prizes of fifteen guineas each to two senior bachelors of arts, and the like to two middle bachelors of the university of Cambridge, who shall compose the best exercises in Latin prose, to be read publicly on a day hereafter to be appointed near the commencement; the vice chancellor gives notice, that the subjects for this year are, for the senior bachelors: *Utrum summa hominum felicitas juxta Epicurum in sensum delectationibus precipue ponatur.* For the middle bachelors, *Utrum diversarum gentium mores & instituta a diverso eorum situ explicari possint.*

Ages of ten persons now living in the parish of Boughton under Bleas in the county of Kent.

	Years. qu.
Thomas Hawkins, Esq;	
in Nath-Park	81 1
A woman at the Oaks in the Park	80 1

Carry over 161 2
Brought

Brought over	161	2
Richard Drury, at the same place	72	0
His wife	78	0
Farmer Kingstand, joining to the park	78	0
Hammon Gooding, near the same place	78	0
Goody Blakenbury, east of the park	96	0
Thomas Burley, a little further	81	2
Mrs. Ovendon	81	2
Mrs. Spurgeon	78	0
In all	804	2

The following remarkable account is given by an Officer on board a French East-Indiaman, in a letter to a friend at the Hague.

Jan. 20, 1757.

“ Just before we sailed from Pondicherry, fires broke out on the surface of the sea three leagues from that place, with the utmost impetuosity, throwing up pumice-stones, and other combustibles, and forming an island of a league long and of the same breadth, which increased to a considerable height, with a volcano, making a most hideous noise, like thunder, or great guns, and a cloud proceeding from it, breaking into small rain of sand instead of water. This prodigy was first seen by a ship's crew belonging to Pondicherry, who thought at first it had been a water-spout; but coming near it, saw a prodigious flashing of fire, which smelt of brimstone, and heard a most astonishing noise; afterwards a vast quantity of fish was perceived dead on the sea, and appeared broiled. Sailing a little further, they met with such quantities of pumice-stones, that it was hardly possible to make through them; at the same time they discerned land, but it appeared to them as a cloud of fire

and smoke on the surface of the sea, and the cloud ascending into the air, distilled in showers of rain, which brought abundance of sand on their ship's deck, and being nigh the flashes of fire, and hearing the noise, they were under great consternation; but it pleased God to send them a little breeze of wind that brought them from it. Another ship sailed round it, and they were so becalmed, that the ashes proceeding from the vast fire fell on their deck, and they were in great danger of being burnt.”

The judges report of the seven rioters convicted at 25th. the late York assizes, was laid before his majesty, when the two ringleaders, Cole for obstructing the militia act, and Berry for violently taking away corn, were ordered for execution, four of them to be transported for life, and one pardoned.

Began the sale of the capital collection of Italian, 26th. Flemish, and Dutch paintings, of Sir Luke Schaub, and continued the two following days, at Mr. Langford's, in the great piazza, Covent-garden. The whole collection was sold for 7784l. 5s. many of the pictures selling for very extraordinary prices, particularly a landscape and figures of Claude Lorraine, for 105l.—A man piping and his children dancing, by Le Nain, for 180l. 12s.—Our Saviour and St. John, by Guido, for 157l. 10.—St. Sebastian, by Guercino, for 54l. 12s.—Our Saviour healing the lame, by Rubens, for 79l. 16s.—A landscape with figures and cattle, by D. Teneirs, for 110l. 15s.—Sigismunda weeping over the heart of Tancred, by Correggio, for 404l. 5s.—A laughing boy,

boy, by Vandyck, for 126l.—The baptism of our Saviour, by Albano, for 120l. 15s.—Our Saviour asleep, and the Virgin watching over him, by Guido, for 328l. 15s.—The Virgin, with Jesus asleep in her lap, by Vandyck, for 211l. 1s.—Boors at Cards, by D. Teneirs, for 35l. 1s.—Four pieces, by Paul Brill, Rubens, Gillis, and Van Breughel, for 551l. 5s.—Jacob parting from Laban, by F. Bassano, for 115l. 10s.—Departure of Rinaldo from Armida, by Le Brun, for 73l. 10s.—A landscape and figures, by G. Pouffin, for 109l. 4s.—The Virgin, our Saviour, and St. John, by Correggio, for 220l. 10s.—A conversation of boors, by D. Teneirs, for 157l. 10s.—Tent of Darius, by Le Brun, for 127l. 1s.—St. Peter repenting, by Guido, for 288l. 15s.—A capital picture of an holy family, by Raphael, for 703l. 10s.

29th. Whitehall. An express arrived with advice that Schweidnitz surrendered on the 16th instant, and the garrison was forced to surrender itself prisoners of war. It consisted of 230 officers, and 3200 private men. The blockade has besides cost the enemy 3500 men, who have perished by diseases.

The first stone of a new bridge, to be built in pursuance of an act of Parliament, from Brentford to Kew, was laid in the presence of a great number of persons of quality and distinction.

M A Y.

1st. The trustees of Raine's hospital met in pursuance of their advertisement, and having selected six maidens educated therein, who were strongly recommended by their

masters and mistresses, the lot was drawn according to the will of the founder, in the presence of a polite and numerous assembly, for the prize of 100l. for a marriage portion, which fell upon Anne Netherland, who went out of the hospital in the year 1743, and is to be married on the 5th of November next, when 5l. as by him directed, will be expended on a wedding dinner; and the five unsuccessful girls will, with another then to be added, draw again for 100l. to be paid on May-day following.

A young lady, who at New-market had laid a considerable 3d. wager, that she could ride 1000 miles in 1000 hours, finished her match in a little more than two thirds of the time. At her coming in, the country people sowed flowers in her way.

Florence Henley, M. D. 8th. who had been some time in custody for holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, was brought before the court of King's Bench, and ordered to prepare for trial the first of June.

The Marquis du Quesne, chief d'Escadre, lately taken prisoner in the Foudroyant, arrived in London.

At the anniversary meeting of the president and governors 9th. of the London lying-in hospital in Alder-gate-street, the collection at church and at hall amounted to 611l. 10s.

Was held the annual general meeting of the hospital 10th. for the maintenance of exposed and deserted young children, when a general committee for the year ensuing was elected by ballot. It appears, that since this charity has been made general by parliamentary provision, near 6000 infants have annually

annually been taken in; one third of whom, nearly, have died at nurse. A matter that merits a parliamentary enquiry.

12th. Ladders and gates were affixed to East-Sheen gate in Surry, in order for foot people to go into Richmond Park; and also at Ham-gate (pursuant to a verdict last assizes at Kingston); so that her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia has at length given up this long contested affair for the ease and convenience of the inhabitants.

13th. Admiralty Office. In pursuance of the King's pleasure, Lord Anson, Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral of the White, was appointed commander in chief of a fleet, now fitting for the sea.—Advice is received from Read-Admiral Broderick, that on the 13th of last month, his majesty's ship Prince George of 80 guns, in which the Rear-Admiral hoisted his flag, took fire at half an hour after one in the afternoon, in lat. 48: and after burning to the water's edge, the remnant of her sunk at a little before six in the evening. The Admiral says, he could not then give a particular account of the people on board, being about 780; but he feared the number lost exceeded the number saved.

His majesty's ship Windsor, of 60 guns, Captain Faulkner, with the Escorte frigate, being sent to intercept two French frigates and three store-ships from Dunkirk road to the westward, on the 27th past fell in with them about 16 leagues from the Ram-head, when the two frigates brought to in a line, as if they intended to receive him, and the store ships continued standing to the westward. When the Windsor

came within about two gun shot of the frigates, they made all the sail they could towards the coast of France; upon which Captain Faulkner sent the Escorte after the store-ships, while he gave chase to the frigates, and continued it till four in the afternoon; when finding they greatly outailed him he gave it over, and made after their convoy, which could then but just be discerned from the poop. The next morning at day-light only one of them was to be seen, which the Windsor came up with and took. She is called the St. Peter, of near 400 tons burthen, and her cargo consisted of provisions, and 1000 stand of arms, intended for Quebec. Another of these store-ships was fallen in with, the same day, by a squadron of his Majesty's ships to the westward, commanded by Captain Douglas in the Alcide. She is called the Baden, is about the same size with the other, and laden with provisions.

On the 29th, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Pratten seeing a sail to the S. W. made a signal for the Dorsetshire of 70 guns and 520 men, commanded by Captain Denis, to give chase; and soon after observing the chase to be a large ship, dispatched the Achilles of 60 guns, commanded by the honourable Captain Barrington, after her, and then followed them with the rest of the Squadron. About seven o'clock the Dorsetshire came up with the chase, which proved to be the Raisable, a French ship of war of 64 guns, and 630 men, and Captain Denis began to engage her very closely, and they continued warmly engaged till about nine o'clock, when the enemy's ship, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Chevalier de Rohan,

Rohan, struck, having suffered greatly in her hull, and had 61 men killed, and 100 men wounded. She was going from l'Orient to Brest, a new ship, not above four or five months off the stocks. The Dorsetshire's masts, yards, and sails, were greatly shattered. She had 15 men killed, and 21 wounded, in the action; and one of the wounded is since dead.

By the French accounts the *Raisonable*, with the *Hero*, *Formidable*, and *Intrepide*, and two frigates, were designed for Canada; to which place and *Louisbourg* they have sent several little squadrons, at different times; one under M. de Bauffier failed to the latter place on the 5th of April.

One Robert Anderson was carried on board the *Norfolk* man of war, *Commodore Brett*, in the Downs, by the master of a Deal boat. The account he gave was this; that about three months ago, he was trepanned into the Irish brigades in the French king's service; that about two o'clock on the 11th in the morning, when he was relieved from his post of centry by the water side at Graveling, he seized a small boat within ten yards of his box, came down the canal two miles, in which he passed two captains guards, and several advanced posts: that he then seized a fishing boat, and set sail for our coast, with the small boat in tow: and that he steered directly for the Downs, with an intention to run into *Ramsgate*, where his wife lives; but was boarded by the Deal boat as above. He has brought musket, bayonet, and all his accoutrements with him; is a very likely fellow, a gardener by trade, and all the knowledge he had of a boat was from being

often a fishing for his amusement. He steered by the stars till daylight, and then had the sight of our coast. He had planned his design three weeks before, and had made himself perfectly master of the canal from constant observation, and knew by the same means the stated times when the fishermen arrived. Sir Piercy, with his wonted good-nature, ordered the boat to be sold for the man's benefit.— This account is taken from part of a letter from an officer on board the *Norfolk*; and what corroborates it is, an imperfect relation from *Broad-Stairs*, of the arrival there of a French fishing-boat with two Englishmen in it, and a German, a soldier in the French King's service, who assisted the Englishmen to make their escape, and for whose use the boat was put up to auction, and sold for 9l. 5s.

Twelve flat-bottomed boats, of a new construction, were 17th. launched at Portsmouth, to be employed in landing the troops then going on the enterprize to France. They carry 63 men each, are rowed with 12 oars, and draw not above two feet water.

A young grenadier, aged about 27, was shot at Ply- 18th. mouth for desertion; what is remarkable, being to receive 500 lashes by the sentence of a regimental court-martial, he chose to appeal to a general court-martial, who instead of confirming his former sentence, inflicted that of death. The young man suffered with great fortitude, having done nothing, he said, to offend his Saviour.

By an advertisement it appeared, that 933l. 7s. 6d. 19th. had been subscribed to carry Mr. Fielding's plan into execution.

By

20th. By an advertisement relating to Mr. Dingley's plan, it appears, that 3114*l.* 17*s.* had been subscribed to carry it into execution.

Four French ships, part of seventeen, which failed the first instant from Bourdeaux, laden with provisions and stores for Canada, and said to be under convoy of a large privateer of 54 guns, and two frigates, were brought into Falmouth by Commodore Keppel's squadron.

21*st.* An account was received of a dreadful fire at Bridge-town in Barbadoes, which in February last had consumed 120 houses; and besides that the crops in that island were very short, having had little rain in the rainy season.

A waggon was burnt on Salisbury-plain, laden with the whole rich wardrobe, scenery, and apparatus of the Bath theatre; besides the entire property of each performer belonging to it. Some miles before the waggon reached Salisbury, a servant of the theatre told the driver that the wheel would take fire, intreating him to stop and unload; but the fellow still persisted in keeping on his way, and gave for reason, that he had driven twelve miles with his wheels smoaking. About three miles from this city, the flame burst out, and before ten boxes could be preserved, the whole waggon was consumed. The damage is said to amount to 200*l.*

23*d.* Two Stonehaven boats being out a fishing about six leagues from the land, a large French privateer brought aboard both their crews, used them civilly, paid them for their fish, and after detaining them two hours, dismissed them when about nine miles

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from land. The fishermen report, that this ship mounts 40 guns, and carries 300 men, besides marines. There were no ransomers on board, and it appears that she had just begun her cruize. [Stonehaven is about ten Scotch miles from Aberdeen.]

A discovery of the highest utility has lately been made at Edinburgh, and already sufficiently confirmed by a number of successful experiments: Dr. Francis Hume has inoculated for the measles, and has produced a disease free from all alarming symptoms.

At a store cellar in Pall-Mall, Mrs. Hucks's cooper, 30th. and a chairman, who went down after him, were both suffocated, as supposed by the steam of 40 butts of untopped beer. [It might be of use to the public if some of our ingenious correspondents would account for this accident.]

The following account of the ages of ten persons in the borough of Heath in Kent, eight of whom lived within a quarter of a mile of each other, and the other two but at a small distance, is attested by good authority; Thomas Darby 89 years and a half; Richard Steed 87; William Chandler 77 and a half; Ann Cristian 76; William Brice 79 and a half; Susanna Wix 87; Jane Thompion 76; Amy Matthews 82 and a quarter; Elizabeth Brice 74; and Thomas Carey 78; in all 806 years and three quarters.

A society has been lately erected at Glasgow, under the name of the Glasgow charitable marine society; the end of which is to provide for such seamen as shall become old or disabled in the service of the merchants of that city; and also to afford relief for their poor widows

widows and children. A truly laudable charity.

The West India mail brought a confirmation of the news we had heard before of the Buckingham and Cambridge attacking and levelling with the ground, a small fort in Grand Ance bay on the island of Martinico, and destroying three privateers, and converting the fourth into a tender. But what does the greatest honour to Captain Tyrrel, the commodore, is the following incident; when the fort was demolished, a village situated close by it was a strong temptation to men flushed with victory to attack, and they solicited warmly for leave to destroy it; but their brave commander replied, 'Gentlemen, it is beneath us to render a number of poor people miserable, by destroying their habitations and little conveniencies of life; brave Englishmen scorn to distress even their enemies when not in arms against them.' This prevailed, and saved the lives of the innocent villagers.

His Catholic Majesty was pleased to declare the Conde de Fuentes, who is appointed ambassador to Great Britain, a grandee of Spain, and one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber.

J U N E.

1st. The felons in Newgate intended for transportation, in order to make their escape, had sawed thro' eight iron bars, each as thick as a man's wrist, except enough to keep them together, and filled up the notches with dirt and iron rust to prevent a discovery, but not succeeding in their attempt, the ringleaders were chained to the floor, as is usual.—There has been

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a scheme much talked of for pulling down this gaol, and rebuilding it in a stronger and more commodious manner.

Florence Hensley, M. D. was brought to trial at the court of King's-bench in Westminster-hall, on an indictment for high treason, before the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, the Judges Dennison, Foster, and Wilmot: The council for the crown were the attorney and solicitor general, Sir Richard Lloyd, Mr. Norton, Mr. Parratt, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Serjeant Pool. The council for the prisoner were Mr. Moreton, and the Hon. Mr. Howard.

Several of his letters were produced in evidence against him, in one of which he solicits employment from a fellow-student at Leyden, who is promoted in France, and professes great regard for the French nation, offering his best services not only from interest but inclination.

In the course of the trial it appeared, that soon after the declaration of war in 1756, he became a pensioner to France, and agreed for 100 guineas a year to give the best intelligence he could of the state of affairs in this kingdom. But a difference afterwards arising about his salary, which he represented as too small, and as an argument in his favour, said he belonged to a club in the Strand (from which he could gain great intelligence) at which they always drank French wine at dinner; the correspondence appears to have been some time discontinued: but in January 1757, it was agreed, that the doctor should receive 20 guineas a month, on condition of sending intelligence every post, but to forfeit a guinea for every omission;

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sion; he received however no more than one monthly payment, and they gave for reason, that his intelligence was nothing but extracts from the news-papers.

The plan for carrying on this correspondence was the following: The doctor wrote a common letter with ink, and between each line the secrets of England in lemon juice. This was inclosed under three or four different covers, directed to different persons, in the secret, who conveyed them from one hand to another, till the first inclosed came to the principal for whom it was designed. He has a brother who is a jesuit, and was chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, from whom our resident at that court gained a knowledge of some secrets relating to England, even before he had received any account thereof from his own court. This put him upon enquiry, and he soon learnt that the secretary had a brother, a physician in London, from whom possibly he might get intelligence; suspicion being thus raised, the doctor was watched, and twenty-nine of his letters stopt.

From these letters it appeared, that he gave the French the first account of Admiral Boscawen's sailing to North America, and of the taking the Alcide and Lys, with every minute circumstance relating to it; and from that time, of the sailing of every fleet, and its destination; and was so minute as to give an account even of the launching of a man of war; he also gave an account of all difficulties relating to raising money; and particularly described the secret expedition in 1757, assuring them it was intended against Rochfort or Brest, but gave his opinion

for the former. And in one of his letters he particularly advised a descent of the French upon our coast, as the most certain method of distressing the government by affecting the public credit, and mentioned the time when, and the place where it would be most proper.

The trial began at 11 an hour after ten in the morning, and ended at half an hour after eight in the evening; when the jury, after staying out about half an hour, brought him in guilty. He is a native of Ireland, aged about 44, and has a diploma from the university of Leyden to practise physic.

There were 131 gentlemen from different places in the county of Middlesex summoned on the jury, and near 100 answered to their names. The doctor objected against fifteen, and the council for the crown against three.

This day Florence Hensley, 14th. M. D. was brought to the bar of the court of King's-bench to receive sentence, when Lord Mansfield, after a very moving speech, pronounced sentence in the usual form, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, on Wednesday the 5th of July next.

Mr. Lee, a wealthy farmer, at Wroxeter in Northamptonshire, being complained to by his neighbours for keeping a vicious bull, insisted upon it that he was not vicious, and went to him himself to convince them of it, when the bull immediately ran at him, and killed him upon the spot.

The honourable house of commons resolved, that an humble address should be presented to his majesty (by such members of that house as are of the privy council) to represent, that the salaries

laries of most of the judges in his majesty's superior courts of justice in this kingdom, are inadequate to the dignity and importance of their offices; and therefore to beseech his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to advance any sum not exceeding 11,450*l.* to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of such judges, and in such proportions as his majesty should think fit for the present year; and to assure his majesty that the house would make good the same to his majesty.

The King has been pleased 17th. to appoint the Right Honourable George William Earl of Bristol, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Catholic King.

[The reciprocal appointment of ambassadors by the courts of Madrid and London destroys at once the credit of the reports industriously propagated of late, of our being upon the eve of a Spanish war.]

Came on in the court of King's-bench in Westminster-hall, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, the trial on an information against Doctor Shebbeare, for writing a pamphlet called a Sixth Letter to the people of England; when, after a short hearing, he was found guilty, and is to receive sentence next term.

A journeyman barber that 19th. lived at Wandsworth, being under some discontent of mind, cut his throat from ear to ear. There was a note found by him with these words: "I have wronged no man, nor never designed it; and am now gone before God."

Was the hottest press for 22d. seamen on the Thames that has been known since the war began, no regard being had to pro-

tections, and upwards of 800 swept away. The crew of the Prince of Wales, a letter of marque ship, stood to arms, and saved themselves by their resolution.

Matthew West, butcher, 27th. prisoner in the new Gaol, and ringleader of those felons, who lately endeavoured to escape from that gaol, got himself loose from an iron collar, in which his neck was fastened, and his arms extended, although he was chained down to the floor in the condemned room. When he got himself disengaged from the floor, he had the resolution to wring the collar from his neck, by fixing it between two of the bars of the gaol window, and by main strength broke it short in two.

Some workmen have lately dug up near Colonna, where it is thought the ancient city of Laubicum stood, (about 14 miles from Rome) an antique Venus of white marble, thought to be of more exquisite workmanship than even the Venus of Medicis, and a fine bust of Lucius Verus, with several vases, lamps, coins, and other antiquities; and a Greek inscription has been discovered near the great building, importing that there was in that place a library.

Ended the Sessions at the 29th. Old Bailey, when Jacob Romart, a jeweller, for the murder of Theodore Wentworth, a fellow workman; and Henry Carrier, for publishing as true, an acceptance to a bill of exchange, with intent to defraud, received sentence of death; and 21 for transportation.

J U L Y.

Jacob Romart was carried 1st. from Newgate to Tyburn, and
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executed for the murder of Theodore Wentworth. He was a native of Norway, 28 years of age, and very unhappy in his temper: in his confinement he had taken little care to make a proper defence on his trial, and was regardless afterwards what became of him, being possessed of a spirit of obstinacy scarcely to be paralleled: he refused to acknowledge that he repented of the crime; but insisted he had a commission from God for what he did. It appears from the ordinary of Newgate's account that he was a gloomy, visionary enthusiast; that he had twice fasted for an extraordinary length of time; and that Wentworth had been too free in joking with a man of his temper, though, when he received his death's wound, no words had passed between them.

Arrived at St. Helen's Commodore Howe, with his squadron of men of war and all the transports. They were obliged to proceed to St. Helen's for want of provisions for the men, and forage for their horses.

On the 7th the troops disembarked and encamped, the foot on the Isle of Wight, and the horse on South-sea common, at Portsmouth; they had 1200 sick, occasioned by the inclemency of the weather.

About eight o'clock at night, George (alias Captain) Forrester, committed some time since to Bristol gaol for forgery, and Captain Moliere, a Frenchman, for stealing a diamond ring, assisted by several other felons, attempted to make their escape out of the gaol. The sheriff, with some invalids, came to the assistance of the jailer, and were obliged to fire thrice amongst them before they would surrender, after

which they were all properly secured. One of the shot went in at Forrester's right breast, and came out through his back, and lodged in the partition.

A reprieve was brought to Newgate for Dr. Hensley, respecting his sentence for a fortnight, early in the morning, but however, not so soon as to prevent the assembling of a great concourse of people to see him executed, who committed some disorders. The doctor has since been two or three times under examination, and it is said has made great discoveries.

Admiral Saunders arrived at Spithead from the Streights, in the Monmouth, with the Revenge, Foudroyant, and Orpheus, and brought home with him above 1000 French prisoners. The Foudroyant is a surprizing 84 gun ship, her guns are on two decks, her lower tier monstrously unwieldy, and not easy to be worked, the shot weighing very little short of fifty pounds each. Notwithstanding their superiority in bulk, our thirty-two pound shot are thought by all judges to be on a par with them, and of as much efficacy when they take place. Her larboard side is most terribly mauled, there are seventy shot holes on that side plugged up; she came home under jury masts: Her lower tier abaft the main-mast are fine brass guns, several of which have very fine bustos in an oval compartment of Lewis XIV. The Orpheus is a fine large 64 gun ship, she is peppered very well too, her masts very much wounded; it is surprizing how they stood home. She also has several fine brass guns. The prisoners were put on board the Boyne, and from thence conveyed to Porchester castle.

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8th. An old lodging-house in Plumb-tree court, Broad St. Giles's fell down, by which accident several poor wretches were crushed to death, and many more desperately maimed. There being other houses in the court in the like tottering condition, the mob assembled in a few days afterwards, and pulled them down.

17th. Sir John Barnard, Knt. father of the city, and alderman of Bridge ward without, desired the court of aldermen would permit him to resign his gown on account of his age and bad state of health; to which, after much reluctance, and many importunities used by the aldermen present to the contrary, the court consented.

John Cole, who at Chelmsford assizes received sentence of death for the murder of Martha Adams, at her house at Escott in the hundred of Essex, was this day executed at Chelmsford, when John Loads, who came to see the execution, was charged by Cole at the gallows as being accessory in the said murder; he was immediately apprehended, and had before a magistrate, where he confessed his guilt, and was committed to Chelmsford gaol.

18th. An experiment was made with the light horse and flat-bottomed boats, from the South-sea beach, near Portsmouth, where the horse lie encamped; 12 horses were put on board a boat, which had a platform laid in it railed round. They were carried to Spithead, and laid along-side a transport three miles from the beach, and were slung, and hoisted into the ship, and re-embarked into the boats with great ease. Several guns were fired to try the horses, which they

bore very patiently, only snorting a little at the smoke flying about them. They were landed on the beach again in extreme good order.

His royal Highness Prince Edward, who had been some 24th. time indisposed, arrived at Portsmouth, and embarked on board the Essex, Commodore Howe's own ship, in which he sails as a volunteer in the intended expedition against France. His Royal Highness went from the dock-yard in the Essex's twelve-oared barge, attended by Lord George Sackville, and Admiral Holbourne. His Royal Highness had the standard of England flying in the bow of the boat. Admiral Holbourne's barge followed with his flag flying in the bow of his boat, and all the captains according to their seniority, which made a very agreeable appearance.

Was held a court of common-council at Guildhall, 25th. when, upon the motion of John Paterfon, Esq; it was resolved *nem. con.* "That Sir John Barnard, Knt. so justly and emphatically styled the father of this city, having lately (to the great and lasting regret of this court) thought proper to resign the office of alderman, the thanks of this court be given him for having so long and so faithfully devoted himself to the service of his fellow-citizens, for the honour and influence which this city has, upon many occasions, derived from the dignity of his character, and the wisdom, steadiness, and integrity of his conduct: for his firm adherence to the constitution both in church and state, his noble struggles for liberty, and his disinterested and invariable pursuit of the true glory and prosperity of his king and country, uninfluenced by

power, unawed by clamour, and unbiassed by the prejudice of party."

Sir Robert Ladbroke, at the said court, declared his assent to take upon him the office of father of this city, and the aldermanship of Bridge ward without.

A motion was made by the said gentleman, that the thanks of the court of aldermen should be given to Sir John Barnard, which was agreed to, and expressed in the following terms:

'It is unanimously agreed and ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to Sir John Barnard, Knt. late one of the aldermen, and father of this city, for his constant attendance and salutary counsels in this court, his wife, vigilant, and impartial administration of justice, his unwearied zeal for the honour, safety, and prosperity of his fellow-citizens, his inviolable attachment to the laws and liberties of his country, and for the noble example he has set of a long and uninterrupted course of virtue in private as well as public life.'

This day a further respite for Dr. Hensley was brought to Newgate till the 8th of November.

The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, having proposed three medals for planting acorns for timber; a gold medal was this day adjudged to his grace the Duke of Beaufort, for planting the largest quantity; a silver medal to Philip Carteret Webb, Esq; for the next largest quantity; and a silver medal likewise to John Berney, Esq; for planting the third largest quantity.

At a committee of Christ's 26th. hospital, Sir John Barnard resigned the presidentship of that

house on account of his great age and infirmities.

On the 5th of this month, Cardinal Charles Rezzoni-31st. co, bishop of Padua, a Venetian, was elected pope. He was born on the 7th of March 1693, and was formerly auditor of the Rota. He was made cardinal by Clement XII. on the 20th of October, 1737, at the nomination of the republic of Venice. He had the title of St. Mara d' Ara Cœli (the principal convent of the Cordeliers) and was protector of the Illyrian nation, the Pandours. He is ill favoured and hunch backed; but of a strong vigorous constitution; a fresh complexion, walks well and firm; the honestest man in the world; a most exemplary ecclesiastic; of the purest morals; devout, steady, learned, diligent; in short, worthy to succeed the great Benedict XIV. though no body, certainly, ever thought he would be called to succeed him.

The following is a true copy of the manifesto, which his grace the Duke of Marlborough published in Brittany on the 7th of June, the second day after the landing of the troops at Cancale.

"We the high and mighty Prince Charles Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Sunderland, Baron Churchill, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Privy-counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, Grand Master of the Ordnance, and commander in chief of his forces, &c.

"Make known to all the inhabitants of Brittany, that the descent on their coast with the powerful army under our command, and our formidable armament by sea, is not made

made with an intention to make war on the inhabitants of the country, excepting those who should be found in arms, or shall otherwise oppose the just war, which we wage against his majesty the most Christian king.

“ Be it known, therefore, to all who will remain in peaceable possession of their habitations and effects, that they may stay unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; and that, excepting the customs and taxes which they pay to the king, nothing will be required of them, either in money or merchandizes, but what is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that for all the provisions they shall bring in, they shall be paid ready money.

“ On the contrary, if notwithstanding this declaration which we have been pleased to make, the inhabitants of the towns or villages carry away their furniture, effects, or provisions, and abandon their houses or dwellings, we shall treat such delinquents as enemies, and destroy by fire and sword, or such other methods, as shall be in our power, their towns, villages, dwellings, or houses. Given at the head quarters at Parame.

June 7, 1758. MARLBOROUGH.”

By his grace's command, BRYANT.

His grace sent at the same time the following letter to the magistrates and echevins of St. Maloes.

GENTLEMEN,

“ We being in possession of all the country between Dinan, Rennes, and Doll, as far as St. Malo, and finding that all the inhabitants of the towns and villages in this extent of country have abandoned their habitations, probably to avoid

the payment of the usual contributions: and as we are informed that the inhabitants have, by your orders, been compelled to go to St. Malo, we give you notice, that if they do not return peaceably to their houses, and send their magistrates to our head quarters to settle the contributions, we shall think ourselves obliged to set fire to them without further delay.

MARLBOROUGH.”

AUGUST.

In the past month of July, by an exact measurement, above 1 ft. five inches of rain fell in London, a quantity surpassing any in the same month perhaps in the memory of man. The mean depth in England, one year with another, is about 23 inches and an half, of which a larger proportion usually falls in the winter months.

A loan to his majesty, in his quality of elector of Hanover, for two hundred thousand pounds, was opened at the bank; which was immediately filled by the following gentlemen,

Sir Joshua Vanneck	—	£. 50,000
Messrs. Backwell, Hart,		
and Co.		50,000
Sampson Gideon, Esq;		40,000
Nicholas Magens, Esq;		20,000
George Amyand, Esq;		15,000
Bartholomew Burton, Esq;		15,000
Thomas Martins, Esq;		5,000
Joseph Salvadore, Esq;		5,000

200,000

And Messrs. Amyand, Backwell, Burton, and Magens, are appointed trustees for the management of the said loan.

A great number of fowls, beasts, &c. which came over in the West-India fleet, were brought to St.

H 4

James's,

James's, presents to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

2d. At Wigton there was such a fall of rain as has not been known in the memory of the oldest man living. It swelled the rivulets to such a degree in that town and neighbourhood, that five bridges within two miles of the town were swept away by the flood. In several houses in the town the water was six feet deep the day after the flood.

6th. Two powder-mills at Hounslow blew up with about 600 weight of powder.

The lords of the admiralty received information, that a Dutch ship, having on board the baggage of the Marquis de Pignatelly, minister from the court of Spain to the court of Denmark, and several of his domestics, was on the 30th of June last, boarded three times, by the crews of three different English privateers; that some of the crews armed with cutlasses, pistols, and hatchets, forced open the hatchway, and went into the said ship's hold, and there broke open two trunks belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelly, wherein were rich cloaths and laced liveries, which they carried away to their ship: and that whilst they were so doing, the crew of another English vessel joined, upon which the said crews committed very great outrages, by breaking open all the said Marquis de Pignatelly's cases, and trunks, and taking and carrying away all the valuable effects, which were in fix of the said cases and trunks, and destroying or damaging the rest of those effects; and then falling upon him, the said minister's officers, beat them in a very cruel and shameful manner, and stripping them of their

cloaths, carried them off, together with their letters of credit and a bill of exchange. Their lordships, therefore, in order to discover and bring to justice the persons guilty of the piratical offences above-mentioned, are pleased to promise a reward of 500l. without any deduction, unto, or amongst such person or persons, as shall, within three months from this time, discover any two or more of the offenders, concerned in committing the piracies above mentioned.

Advice was received, that 8th. an unsuccessful attempt had been made on the island of Goree, near the river Senegal; but that the ships who had attacked it, had lost but a few men, and received very little damage.

The same day an account was received of the burning the *Rose*, a French man of war of 40 guns, by the *Monmouth*, Captain Hervey, in the island of Malta, of which insult the Maltese complain loudly.

The Magdalen hospital 10th. in Goodman's-fields for the reception of penitent prostitutes was opened, when fifty petitions were presented, and several of the penitents admitted.

This day a company of labourers, headed by some farmers, assembled in a riotous manner, and pulled down a bridge that was building near Norwich, and after having levelled it with the ground, they broke up the road, and then dispersed.

At Poole, in the county 11th. of Montgomery, whilst the court of great sessions was sitting in the hall there over the market place, an alarm was given that the floor gave way; which occasioned

so great crouding at the door and stairs, that six of the common people were trampled to death, and many others bruised.

The assizes at Lancaster 12th. ended, when many capital offenders were tried. On the first day of the assize an account was received of prodigious riots and tumults in and about Manchester; that near 10,000 manufacturers had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise the price of wages by force; that large sums of money were collected, and paid into the hands of some of the leaders, for the maintenance of the poorer sort while they refused to work; that they insulted and abused such as would not join in the combination; that incendiary letters were dispersed, and threats of vengeance denounced against all who should oppose them; that business was at a stand, the magistrates were afraid to act, and every thing seemed in great confusion. Lord Mansfield adapted part of his charge to the importance of the occasion, and the grand jury, upon strong evidence, singled out 17 or 18 of the ring-leaders, against whom they found bills of indictment; after which they unanimously joined in a request to his lordship to give them in writing that charge, the effects of which they had so powerfully felt upon themselves, and which, if made public, they had reason to hope would be equally felt by others in this critical period; but whether this request was complied with, or not, is not said.

A captain of a privateer 16th. was taken into the custody of the marshal of the admiralty, near the Royal Exchange, on an information for committing several outrages

on neutral vessels in the British channel.

Came on at the high court of admiralty before Sir 17th. George Lee, Knight, several trials with regard to Dutch and Danish ships taken by our privateers; and it appearing to the satisfaction of the court, that their cargoes were French property, four were condemned as lawful prizes; and the court gave orders that the freights of three of them should be paid, and the ships set at liberty; but a Dutch vessel taken by the Hawk privateer, and carried into Gibraltar, had both ship and cargo condemned; she is a very valuable prize.

Richard Houseman of Knaresborough, was committed to York castle on suspicion of murdering Daniel Clark, of the same place, shoemaker, about 14 years ago: the discovery was remarkable. Some workmen digging about St. Robert's Cave near Knaresborough, found the remains of a body, which they supposed to have been murdered; and as Daniel Clark had suddenly disappeared, and was generally thought to have been murdered, they imagined it might be his body, and therefore apprehended Houseman, and carried him before a justice, as it was recollected that he was one of the last persons seen in Clark's company. On his examination he said that the body found was not Clark's body, for Clark was buried in another place, which he mentioned, and accordingly the remains of another body were there found, on which he was committed as above. And one Eugene Aram was also committed on suspicion of being an accomplice.

A prayer

27th. A prayer of thanksgiving for the taking of Louisbourg, was used in the churches and chapels throughout the kingdom.

Some wicked incendiaries having attempted to set fire to the new temporary bridge, a strong guard is placed to prevent their design.

Four ships sailed from Whitby on the Greenland fishery; one was lost in the ice, one returned without any fish, and two brought home three whales between them. Two ships of Edinburgh returned with five large whales, and four others returned empty. The Oswald, of Borrowstowness, returned with two large whales. Many have arrived at the port of London with various success.

On the 11th instant a vessel arrived at Cork from Fyral, bound for Bremen; she sailed from Rio de Janeiro in last January, and was there in October, when general Lally, with five French men of war and two frigates, put in there in his way to the East Indies. His fleet had lost above 1000 men from their sailing from France, and was then so sickly, that General Lally was heard to say that he could not undertake any thing against the English settlements without a reinforcement. On his proceeding from thence, he left an officer behind, who took his passage in the above ship for Europe, and died on the voyage. On examining his papers a large packet of letters was found, directed for the French ambassador at Lisbon, to be forwarded to Versailles, which letters were last night forwarded to their excellencies the Lords Justices of this kingdom. The above vessel on her passage met with eleven Spanish men of war, on the 24th of July, in lat. 40. 7. long. 23.

25. from London, standing to the S. E. Note, the said ships were all clean, and every one of them had new sails.

Heads of an act passed last sessions, to permit the importation of salted beef, pork, and butter from Ireland, for a limited time.

That it shall be lawful to import salted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland, for six months, to commence the 24th of June, and expire the 24th December, 1758, without being subject to any penalties, forfeitures, or other duties, on the landing thereof, except 1s. 3d. per ct. weight for beef or pork, and 4d. per ct. weight for butter; the same to be paid to the Exchequer, as part of the duties on salt, laid by the act of 5 Geo. II. If any should be landed before duty is paid, the importer, besides the forfeiture of the said commodities is to forfeit also 20s. per barrel, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity, half to the king, half to the informer. No bounty to be allowed on the exporting it from England.

New York, June 19.

Captain Smith arrived at New-haven the 7th instant, in 25 days from Antigua, and reports that about a week before he sailed, Commodore Moore with seven ships of the line, and two frigates, sailed from thence on some secret design thought to be against St. Domingo.

New York, July 3.

A few days since a flag of truce (it is said of 30 men) came into Fort Edward, from Canada, to demand the return of the brave Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey, agreeable to engagement, Mons. Montcalm having rejected the proposals

posals that were offered with regard to his exchange: and the colonel, we hear, set out yesterday for Albany.

A woman, who used to pass for a person of quality, and went by several different names, and kept servants in livery, was committed to the Gate-house for embezzling the goods entrusted with her in her ready-furnished lodgings in Dean-street, Soho. She was carried to gaol in a chair, attended by one of her footmen.

A quarrel happening in Thomas-street, Drury-lane, between John Garland, a bricklayer's labourer, and Thomas Lockwood a fruiterer; the former used the latter so cruelly, that he left him for dead, and made his escape. Lockwood was carried the same night to the Middlesex hospital, where he died yesterday morning.

28th. A man was observed to walk to and fro at Tower-wharf for near an hour; and when it was quite dark he went into the farthermost boat, threw himself from thence into the river, and was drowned. He was a tall, thin, well dressed man.

A servant maid at Execution-dock, delivered herself of a child, which being soon discovered by the people of the house, search was made, and the infant was found torn in two, wrapt up in a flannel petticoat, and hid under the bed. She is secured.

A remarkable carriage set out from Aldersgate-street for Birmingham, from which town it arrived the Thursday before, full of passengers and baggage, without using coomb, or any oily, unctuous, or other liquid matter whatever, to the wheels, or axles; its construction

being such, as to render all such helps useless. The inventor has engraved on the boxes of the wheels, these words, FRICTION ANNULLED, and it is assured that the carriage will go as long and as easy, if not longer and easier, without greasing, than any of the ordinary stage carriages will do with greasing. If this answers in common practice, it is perhaps the most useful invention on mechanics that this age has produced.

A dispute happened between some officers of the 29th. customs and the master of a vessel arrived from Ireland with salt beef, pork, bacon, and neats tongues, which two last articles were objected to, as being an infringement of the act of parliament passed for allowing salted provisions to be brought from Ireland; but the same being referred to the proper commissioners, it was agreed, that the intent and meaning of the said act was, for importing all salted pork and beef whatever from that kingdom; and that bacon, tongues, and hams, were parts of beef and pork. [This is a mistake, but the point is now settled by an amendment to the act this session.]

Between nine and ten at night, a fire broke out among 30th. some new cordage, very near the store-house in his majesty's yard at Deptford, on which all the alarm bells were rung, and the gates set open, when great numbers of the artificers went to give their assistance, by whom it was soon extinguished. There is great reason to believe that this fire was not accidental; the spot where the discovery was made is not 25 feet distance from a new 74 gun ship on the stocks, and within 16 feet of great quantities of combustibles,

buftibles, fuch as refin, turpentine, &c. which were in cellars under the ftore-houfe, the largeft and moft valuable of any belonging to the navy; fo that from a lofs of thefe ftores, with the difappointment that muft have naturally followed, the damage done to the fervice would have been very great; but all this was happily prevented by the great vigilance of the officers, and the uncommon readinefs and activity of the workmen of the yard, who on this occafion performed wonders, by removing almoft infantaneoufly great pieces of timber, &c. and in feparating and rolling off large coils of cordage, feveral of which were then on fire; fo that in lefs than an hour the whole was extinguifhed, to the inexpressible joy of 3000 fpectators.—The commiffioners of the navy have fince promifed 500l. reward to any perfon concerned in this wicked affair, who fhall make difcovery thereof, except the perfon who fet the faid place on fire.

SEPTEMBER.

5th. A fire broke out in the Amfterdam galley, a new fhip of 250 tons burthen, in the port of Limerick in Ireland, by which fhe was immediately confumed, and by the explofion of fome gunpowder, the fails and rigging were blown upon a cottage upon the fhore, and burnt it to the ground. She had fome bale goods on board, and was to have taken in a lading of beef and pork for St. Eufatia.

6th. Whitehall. The King having been pleafed to order the colours taken at Louifbourg, which were lately brought to the palace at Ken-

ington, to be depofited in the cathedral church of St. Paul; proper detachments of horfe and foot grenadiers were ordered to parade at Kenfington at ten o'clock, and marched before his majefly in the following order:

A ferjeant, and twelve horfe grenadiers.

A field officer, and officers in proportion.

A detachment of fourfcore of the horfe grenadier guards.

Then eighty of the life-guards, with officers in proportion, with their ftandard, kettle drums and trumpets.

Then a ferjeant and twelve grenadiers of the foot guards.

Then eleven ferjeants of the foot guards, carrying the eleven French colours, advanced.

Then the four companies of grenadiers of the foot guards clofed the march.

In this manner they proceeded from Kenfington through Hyde-Park, into St. James's Park, and through the Stable-yard St. James's, into Pall-mall, and fo on to the weft gate of St. Paul's, where the colours were received by the dean and chapter, attended by the choir; about which time the guns at the Tower, and in St. James's Park, were fired.

Thefe colours are put up near the weft door of the cathedral, as a lafting memorial of the fuccefs of his majefly's arms, in the reduction of the important fortrefs of Louifbourg, and the iflands of Cape Breton and St. John.

Two bricklayers labourers in digging at the back of Mr. Pearson's houfe in Broad-ftreet, difcovered two veffels with ancient coins to a confiderable value.

At

At the anniversary feast of the natives of Gloucestershire, held at Gloucester, for the putting out of poor boys to trades, 1571. was collected by the gentlemen for that laudable purpose.

10th. Soon after morning service at St. John, Wapping, the neighbourhood was alarmed with the cry of fire, which spread a general consternation among the inhabitants. The house of Mr. Hughes, sail-maker, adjoining to Gun-dock, was all in flames in an instant, and communicated itself to a biscuit baker's adjoining, and with irresistible fury burnt down 15 houses on both sides the way before water could be had to supply the engines, it being then ebb-tide. Numbers of the unhappy sufferers had their goods carried off by persons who pretended to assist them in their distress, some of whom are in custody. A large ship that was repairing at Gun-dock, was set on fire, and her rigging and tops burnt away, and had they not taken the precaution to cut away her bowsprit, the vessel must have been entirely burnt, as she lay close to the houses.

11th. A gentleman was stoppt in Holborn about 12 at night by two footpads, who, on the gentleman's making resistance, shot him dead, and then robbed him. The villains have been since apprehended.

12th. In the afternoon, the Shrewsbury man of war joined the Unicorn and Lizard, and soon got sight of a great number of small coasting vessels, under convoy of the Calipso, and Thetis frigates, and an armed snow, working for Brest. The greatest part escaped by running into the pass of Toulanguet; and the Lizard

got between the pass and the frigates, and engaged them both bravely for above two hours, when the Thetis sheered off, and run in for the rocks at the mouth of Pool Davit, and the Calipso with about twenty of the small craft run in upon the rocks near Point de Levun, where it was supposed they must all perish, it being a lee shore, and the swell of the sea very great. The Lizard had one man killed and eight wounded.

His majesty's ships Kingston and Burford arrived at 14th. Plymouth from Louisbourg, with the transports, having the garrison of Louisbourg on board under their convoy.—His majesty was pleased to make a present of 500*l.* to the Captains Amherst and Edgcombe, who jointly brought the news of the taking of this important fortress; and to order a further sum to each of those gentlemen to purchase a sword and ring.

While two serjeants and a corporal were employed 15th. in making up cartridges in the exchange at Morpeth, the powder took fire, and above 1000 cartridges were blown up. The three men were terribly burnt, and the recovery of one of the serjeants is despaired of. The windows of the exchange were much shattered, and the consequences would have been still more dreadful, had not 3000 cartridges, and two sacks of powder which were upon the table, providentially escaped.

The cannon and mortars 16th. taken at Cherbourg passed by his majesty, and set out from Hyde-Park, and came through the city in grand procession, guarded by a company of matrosses, with drums

drums beating and fifes playing all the way to the Tower, where they arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. There were 23 carriages, drawn by 229 horses, with a postilion and driver to each carriage, in the following manner; the first drawn by 15 grey horses, with the English colours and the French underneath; seven ditto, drawn by 13 horses each; nine ditto, by 9 horses each; three ditto by 7 horses each; one ditto by five horses; then the two mortars by nine horses each. These pieces are finely ornamented with the arms of France, and other hieroglyphics, such as trophies, &c. finished in a masterly manner: their names, exact weight, and nearly their bore, are as under:

	Inches in		Inches in
Cannon wt.	bore	Cannon wt.	bore
Hecuba	4090 6	Antonin	5740 6
Nitocris	4080 do	Insensible	5660 do
Emerillon	5820 do	Malfaisant	5500 do
Temerare	5680 do	Vanqueur	5690 do
Angusta	5770 do	Juste	5470 do
In the second line.			
Ulyssé	2353 4	Sage	4346 5
Foudroyant	3311 5	Violente	4150 do
Renomyne	3367 do	Furieuse	4160 do
Laborieux	3302 do	Imperieuse	4160 do
Diligence	3960 do	Divinerelle	4000 do
Morelque	3980 do		

The two mortars had not their weight expressed. All the pieces except six remain nailed up, as they were taken at Cherbourg.

Eleven seamen accused of being concerned in the practices complained of by the Dutch and Danes, and for the discovery of whom the government offered a considerable reward, were brought up the river by a king's cutter, and are since committed to the Marshalsea prison. One of their accomplices has made himself an evidence, and has impeached several not yet taken.

The foot forces employed in the late expedition against 19th. St. Maloes, were disembarked at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, and marched directly for Newport, near which they encamped, with orders to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning. The light horse disembarked at Portsmouth, and marched to the quarters allotted them at Southampton, Petersfield and Chichester, &c.

His Royal Highness Prince Edward, having arrived at 21st. Kew from Portsmouth the day before, waited upon the King at Kensington in his uniform. His majesty received him graciously, and encouraged him to behave valiantly. There is another expedition against France on foot, in which the Prince is to be engaged.

The boat-builders at Portsmouth received fresh orders 25th. to put in hand directly a number of flat-bottomed boats, to replace those that were destroyed in the bay of St. Cas. They are to be completed in ten days, about which time, it is supposed the troops will be ready to embark.

The soldiers of the first 26th. battalion of the first regiment of guards, began their march from the Isle of Wight for London. They were met on the road by proper officers, with cloathing and other necessaries, of which they were in great want. A draught from the guards has already been made to supply their place, as well as of those who were killed or taken prisoners in the late skirmish on the coast of France.

A farmer near Blandford in Dorsetshire ploughing up part of an inclosed field, the ploughshare struck against an earthen vessel or urn,

urn, and broke it in two, being quite rotten; it was full of ashes and pieces of human bones, among which was the head of a javelin, or spear, of an uncommon size and fashion, much too heavy to be wielded easily by any common man, weighing thirteen pounds and an half, and twenty eight inches long, the socket three inches and a quarter in diameter. There was also in the same vessel an helmet of brass, which seemed to have been curiously wrought, but was quite decayed by time, the rust having eaten holes through it. Its diameter was twelve inches and three quarters, and it weighed near eleven pounds.

28th. Four teadealers were tried before the commissioners of excise, and fined in the penalty of 10l. per pound for selling bohea tea coloured for green tea; the colouring used for this purpose is supposed to be Dutch pink, which will make bohea tea of a fine green.

Was issued a decree of the Aulic council of the Empire, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the noblesse of the Empire, to send to Vienna an exact list of all those who have disobeyed the Avocatoria of the emperor, and who, as the decree expresses it, adhere to the Elector of Brandenburg's rebellion, among whom the Elector of Hanover is particularly mentioned. It is declared that their revenues shall be sequestrated, and they punished in honours, body, and goods.

29th. A letter to the admiralty from Captain Kirk, commander of his majesty's ship *Lynn*, convoy to the Jamaica fleet, consisting of 147 sail, was made public, com-

plaining of the disregard paid to his signals by many of the merchantmen, and of the obstinate and untowardly behaviour of others, by which the fleet suffered much; but more particularly complaining of the irregularities committed by several of the crews in the Spanish settlements, where they were obliged to put in for water, by which much offence was given to the governor of the Havannah, and much injury done to the poor people, whose cattle and hogs they killed and carried off in numbers without reserve, after they had hospitably shewn them where they might be supplied with water.

The plague at Smyrna has continued to rage with so 30th. much violence this summer, that by letters received from thence there is advice, that there are scarce people enough left in the neighbourhood of that city to gather in the fruits of the earth.

Bitter complaints have lately been made by the Spaniards against the conduct of our privateers, which have lately seized some of their ships under pretence of having French property on board.

By advices received from Genoa, the chief of the malecontents, de Paoli, has entered the province of Cape Corso in the island of Corsica, and with 2000 men laid siege to Roglano, to facilitate the surrender of which, he has caused the city of Bastia, to be blockaded with 1500 men.

There are divers accounts from English gentlemen of credit in France, which represent the usage of the poor prisoners there as intolerable; one, in particular, remarks, that the number that has perished by the wretchedness of their condition

in that country, exceeds that of the killed by sea and land during the present war.

OCTOBER.

1st. His Portuguese majesty coming out of the country in the evening, attended by three of his domestics, was set upon by three fellows near Belem, in a lone-some place; two of them had muskets, and the third had a blunderbuss loaded with small shot; one was discharged at the coachman, who is very much wounded; the king is very dangerously wounded in several parts of his body and face, and his right arm is so much shattered, that it is thought his majesty will never have the use of it; the footman was miserably wounded. None are permitted to see the king but the physicians and surgeons, and ministers of state. The queen transacts all public business during his majesty's indisposition.

A part of the battalion of militia for the county of Dorset, commanded by Edward Hooper, Esq; was reviewed near Cranborn by the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant of the county. The men were dressed in their uniform, made a handsome appearance, and performed their exercise with great dexterity.

In other counties so few gentlemen have offered to serve in the militia, that the act has been obliged to be suspended until next year.

2d. The corps of an undertaker and pawnbroker near Moor-gate, was interred in Islington church yard, attended by a com-

pany of the artillery, who were to perform the usual ceremony of firing over his grave, as he was a member of their body: but in the procession of the funeral a mob arose, and committed such enormous outrages, out of resentment to the deceased, that the clergyman who officiated had great difficulty to perform his office. It is said that he died worth several thousand pounds, and that he has left upwards of 200l. to pay to the debtors in prison at his suit, a groat a day each for their maintenance, according to the act of parliament. The croud was so great that several persons were much hurt.

John Houls, a farmer at 6th. Longhope in Gloucestershire, was convicted of drawing a narrow wheeled waggon on the turnpike road with more than four horses, and paid the penalty of 5l. and his servant who drove the horses was also convicted in the same penalty, and for want of ability to pay the same, was sent to the house of correction for a month; which, it is hoped, will be a caution to others.

A great storm of wind at 8th. W. and W. by S. did considerable damage to the shipping in the Downs, at Portsmouth, and in many other places on the sea coast. At the Isle of Wight, a fish of an enormous size, supposed to be a whale, was cast on shore near Athenfield rocks in that island, where he disembogued daily large quantities of oil into the sea. He was upwards of sixty-six feet in length, and had part of an hawser or cable hoisted round his tail, so that it is supposed he was cut loose from the stern

stern of some ship, to prevent her sinking.

A fellow was committed 9th. to the New Gaol in Southwark for selling adulterated tea in the Borough; a vile practice that seems to have got footing in the shops of some considerable dealers in this city, several grocers having been lately convicted before the commissioners of excise of selling dyed tea, and dying it with pernicious drugs, and fined in large sums. Perhaps the legislature may take this practice under consideration.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, and Sir Charles Gilmore, Bart. arrived at court on their paroles of honour, to settle the exchange of prisoners.

The Bristol merchant ship, with wine, grocery, and spirits, ran aground in the road of Liverpool, and since bulged. Part of her lading was put on shore on the Welch side, where the populace, notwithstanding all that could be done to prevent it, breached the wine and spirits, got immoderately drunk, and committed the most violent outrages.

Doctor de Castro, a member of the Royal College of Physicians, and fellow of the Royal Society of London, separated himself from the community of the Jews, by a letter which he wrote to the elders of the synagogue in the following words:

‘Gentlemen,

‘The different opinion and sentiments I have entertained long ago, entirely dissenting from those of the synagogue, do not permit me any longer to keep the appearance of a member of your body; I now therefore take my leave of you, hereby re-

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‘nouncing expressly that communion in which I have been considered with yourselves. I do not however renounce the intercourse I may have with you in the general society of men of honour and probity, of which character I know many among you, and whom, as such, I shall always esteem.

‘I have sent the key of my drawer, that you may dispose of my place.’

J. DE CASTRO SARMENTO.

The public was in great pain for the Admirals Bos- 30th. cawen and Hardy, who with four ships of the line, from Cape-Breton, were left to the westward of Scilly in sight of six large French ships of war; some shots were exchanged, but the French were far from seeking an engagement, and our admirals arrived safe a few days after.

N O V E M B E R.

Doctor Hensley was farther respited during his majesty’s 7th. pleasure.

The Dublin Trader, Captain White, who sailed about the latter end of last month from Park-Gate, and was lost, had on board for the linen merchants in Ireland about 70,000*l.* in money, and 80,000*l.* in goods; above sixty passengers, among whom were the Earl of Drogheda and his second son, and several other persons of fortune.

Began the drawing of the lottery at Guildhall, when 14th. No. 38,500, as first drawn ticket, was entitled to 500*l.*

Admiralty-Office. Captain Saumarez, of his majesty’s ship Antelope, having received intelligence

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in King's Road on the 31st past, that a French ship of war was lying in Lundy Road, he weighed and went in quest of her, and though the wind was contrary, and blew hard, he blew down channel, and, on the 1st instant, saw her at anchor at Ilfracombe. Upon discovering the Antelope, she weighed and stood towards her, and upon coming pretty near, hoisted her colours, and seemed prepared to engage, but soon after hauled them down. When the Antelope came within gun-shot, she fired at the French ship, which she not returning, Captain Saumarez sent a boat with his first lieutenant, to know if they had surrendered; but finding the boat did not return, he bore down upon her stern, and asked if she had struck, and was answered they had. She proved to be the *Belliqueux*, pierced for 66 guns, and had 64 mounted, with 417 men.

21st. No. 49,711 was drawn at Guildhall, a prize of 10,000l.

A rule was given in the great cause so long depending between the Honourable James Annesley, Esq; and Richard the present Earl of Anglesey, for passing publication by Mr. Annesley's clerk in court; that is, closing the examination of witnesses, and resting the determination of the cause on the merits of the evidence given in.

23d. Both houses of parliament met at Westminster, when the session was opened by commission, and the Lord Keeper by his majesty's command made this speech;

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In pursuance of the authority given to us by his majesty's commission under the great seal, a-

mongst other things to declare the causes of his holding this parliament, his majesty hath been graciously pleased to direct us to assure you, that he always receives the highest satisfaction, in being able to lay before you any events, that may promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms.

That, in consequence of your advice, and enabled by the assistance which you unanimously gave him, his majesty has exerted his endeavours to carry on the war, in the most vigorous manner, in order to that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace. It has pleased the Divine Providence to bless his majesty's measures and arms with success in several parts; and to make our enemies feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity.

We have it also in command from his majesty to acquaint you, that the conquest of the strong fortresses of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, of the highest importance to our operations in North America; and the reduction of Senegal; cannot fail to bring great distress upon the French commerce and colonies; and, in proportion, to procure great advantages to our own. The nation has also been made sensible, that whilst their forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of their neighbours, their own coasts are not inaccessible to his majesty's fleets and armies. This they have experienced in the demolition of their works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy this country; and in the loss of a great number of ships

ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown.

In Germany his majesty's good brother the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, have found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates; from which our operations, both by sea, and in America, have derived the most evident advantage. Their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majesty's troops and those of his allies, have been signal and glorious.

His majesty has further commanded us to observe to you, that the common cause of liberty and independency is still making noble and vigorous efforts, against the unnatural union formed to oppress it. That the commerce of his subjects, the source of our riches, has, by the vigilant protection received from his majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles.

In this state of things, his majesty, in his wisdom, thinks it unnecessary to use many words to persuade you to bear up against all difficulties; effectually to stand by, and defend his majesty; vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his majesty's allies; and to exert yourselves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasions it to be uncommonly expensive. This his majesty has ordered us to declare to you, that he sincerely laments, and feels deeply for the bur-

dens of his people. The several estimates are ordered to be laid before you; and his majesty desires only such supplies, as shall be requisite to push the war with advantage, and to be adequate to the necessary services.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His majesty has, in the last place, graciously commanded us to assure you, that he takes so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsists among his faithful subjects, that it is more proper for him now to thank you for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it. This union, necessary at all times, is more especially so, in such critical conjunctures; and his majesty doubts not but that the good effects we have found from it, will be the strongest motives to you to pursue it.

Dr. Shebbeare received 28th. sentence for a libellous pamphlet, intituled, A Sixth Letter to the People of England; he is fined five pounds: to stand in the pillory Dec. 5, at Charing Cross; to be confined three years; and then to give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself bound in 500l. and two others in 250l. each.

In the Canterbury Mercury of this day's date, there is an account of the discovery of some remarkable human skeletons, near the road-side, at a place called Breech-Down; the first was found by a labourer widening the road, and had round his neck a string of beads of various forms and sizes, from the bigness of a pigeon's egg to that of a pea: by his side lay three instruments of war, one a kind of scimitar, the second what the Scots call a dirk, and the third a spear. Near the same place
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were afterwards found seven other skeletons, all ranged in good order at about a yard apart, and about two feet under ground; but neither of these had any thing to distinguish them. How these bodies came to be deposited in this place affords matter of speculation to the curious.

A melancholy affair happened on board a Scotch vessel, laden with corn, which was just come up the river; and lay off Tower-wharf; the captain, on their coming up, would have had his people go on shore to refresh themselves, which they refused, and remained on board. Soon after (whether thro' wantonness, or cruelty, is not known) some fellows got on the deck, fastened their hatches, stopped up their funnel, cut their cables, and set them adrift. In running down with the tide, she fell foul of a tier of ships, the people of whom seeing her without any body on the deck, suspected something, and going down into the cabin, found three men lying dead, and the captain and a boy near expiring. The funnel, &c. being stopped, occasioned such a smoke, as suffocated the three poor fellows; the captain is pretty well recovered, but there are very little hopes of the boy.

29th. Came on to be argued before the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and a special jury of gentlemen, a cause which has been depending above twelve months in that court; wherein Edward Burrow, Esq. collector of his majesty's customs at Hull, on the part of the King, was plaintiff, and a Dutch merchant defendant, touching the seizure of a Dutch vessel, for importing French brandy into the port of Hull; when after many

learned arguments on both sides, (during the space of six hours) a verdict was given for the plaintiff without the jury ever stirring out of court.

By the said determination it is to be hoped a stop will be put to this particular trade of our good friends the Dutch.

D E C E M B E R.

Dr. Shebbeare stood on the pillory, pursuant to his sentence. 5th.

Dr. Hensley was farther respited to January 21. 6th.

No. 72,570, in the present lottery, was drawn a prize of 10,000l. 12th.

The drawing of the lottery was finished, when No. 30,135, being the last drawn ticket, is entitled to 1000l.

An oak in Langley woods, near Downton, Wilts, supposed to be near 1000 years growth, was sold for 40l. It was the property of the Bishop of Salisbury, measured 6 feet 2 inches in diameter, and contained about 10 ton of timber.

On the 11th instant the old castle of Douglas, in Scotland, the residence of the Duke of Douglas, was consumed by fire.

Sunday night, the 26th ult. about nine o'clock, a very remarkable meteor appeared in the firmament, and passed over the city of Edinburgh with great velocity. It was of a conic form, and in appearance about four or five inches diameter at the base, and as it went along, numbers of sparks fell from it, like those of a rocket when its force is spent. A most surprising light issued from it, so strong, that while it lasted, which was for five or six seconds, one easily

easily could perceive the most minute thing upon the street. This meteor was likewise seen in several parts of the neighbourhood, and in appearance was much the same as above described.

This meteor was also seen at Dublin, Newcastle, Plymouth, and by three gentlemen in Chelsea fields, near London.

Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the resolution of the 6th instant, addressed himself to Admiral Boscawen, and gave him the thanks of the house, as he stood in his place, in the following terms:

Admiral Boscawen!

The house have unanimously resolved, that their thanks should be given to you for the services you have done to your King and Country in North-America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you.

I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you, now standing in your place, as a member of this house.

But were I able to enumerate and set forth, in the best manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is, the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of the kingdom.

Their joy too has been equal to their sentiments upon the interesting event: and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, Sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions.

You are now therefore receiving the acknowledgments of the peo-

ple, only in a more solemn way—by the voice, the general voice, of their representatives in parliament—The most honourable fame that any man can arrive at, in this, or any other country. It is, on these occasions, a national honour, from a free people; ever cautiously to be conferred, in order to be the more esteemed—to be the greater reward; and which ought to be reserved for the most signal services to the state, and the most approved merit in them; such as this house has usually, and very lately, made their objects of public thanks.

The use, I am persuaded, you will make of this just testimony, and high reward of your services and merit, will be the preserving in your own mind a lasting impression of what the Commons of Great Britain are now tendering to you, and in a constant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your King and Country, which have made you to deserve it.

In obedience to the commands of the house I do, with great pleasure to myself, give you the thanks of the house for the services you have done to your King and Country in North America.

To which Admiral Boscawen answered:

Mr. Speaker!

I am happy in having been able to do my duty; but have not words to express my sense of the distinguishing reward that has been conferred upon me by this house; nor can I enough thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant manner, in which you have been pleased to convey to me the resolution of the house.

And then the Speaker acquainted the house, that, in obedience to their commands he had signified to

Admiral Osborn their thanks, and had received the following answer:

Sir, I want words to express my sense of the honour the house of Commons has been pleased to confer upon me, and only hope that you, Sir, will be as gracious to me in representing my gratitude to that august assembly, as you have been in acquainting me with their favourable acceptance of my services. I have done no more than my duty. I have only been the humble, though happy, instrument of executing the wise measures directed by his majesty.

I have no title, Sir, to any glory, but what is common to me as a seaman, and as an Englishman zealous for the service of my country, which is pleased to reward me with this instance of their approbation. From the situation of my health, Sir, I can flatter myself with having but few opportunities of employing the remainder of my life, in grateful exertion of my abilities for the honour and interest of my country. But as the house of Commons is so gloriously watchful to encourage the greatest merit, by rewarding the least, England can never want good Officers; and however honoured I am by this distinction, may my services be the most inconsiderable, that shall be thus acknowledged. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, and
Dec. 8, most humble servant,
1758. HENRY OSBORN.

The English prisoners taken at St. Cas, arrived at Dover from France.

At night, about twelve 29th. o'clock, a stove of gunpowder at the Powder-mills on Hounslow-heath, belonging to Samuel Underhill, Esq; took fire, and blew

up; as the quantity of powder that then lay drying therein was great, consisting of 17 cwt. the explosion was extremely violent and alarming, inasmuch that his dwelling-house was considerably damaged thereby, and, though at near 300 yards distance from the works, several of the windows thereof were shattered to pieces, some furniture thrown down, particularly a repeating clock, part of the glass of a sash window was forced upon a bed, in which a gentleman then lay asleep, but happily no person received any hurt. What might be the cause of this accident is unknown to any one. In many parts the shock was felt, and supposed to be that of an earthquake.

Translation of a paragraph of a dispatch wrote by M. da Cunha, secretary of state in Portugal for foreign affairs and at war, dated Belem, Sept. 12.

'Last Sunday the King had a fall in his palace, by which he was considerably hurt in his right arm. He was let blood on Monday, and is at present better. His majesty, being prevented by this accident from attending to public affairs for some days, has empowered the queen to sign dispatches and other instruments, during his illness.'

From Lisbon advice has been received of a most wicked and daring attempt on the life of the King of Portugal. No clear and authentic account has yet been received, either of the particulars of the action itself, or the motives to it. Several persons of the most distinguished rank in that kingdom, have been already secured for this conspiracy; yet every thing concerning it is still involved in an impenetrable darkness, which all reason-

ings and conjectures have hitherto conspired to make only more obscure. During the course of the ensuing year, we hope to receive some farther light, so as to enable us to give our readers a satisfactory account of this very extraordinary affair.

After the remarkable transactions of the year, something of the remarkable turns of humour, whether real or fictitious, which display themselves in the public papers, will not we hope prove disagreeable to our readers.

From the Daily Advertiser.

A Young lady, just come out of Derbyshire, itrayed from her guardian; she is remarkably genteel and handsome; she has been brought up by a farmer, near Derby, and knows no other but they are her parents; but its is not so, for she is a lady by birth, though of but little learning; she has no cloaths with her, but a riding habit she used to go to market in; she will have a fine estate, as she is an heiress, but knows not her birth, as her parents died when she was a child, and I had the care of her, so she knows not but I am her mother; she has a brown silk gown that she borrowed of her maid, that is dyed silk, and her riding dress a light drab, lined with blue tammy, and it has blue loops at the button holes; she has out-grown it; and I am sure that she is in great distress both for money and cloaths; but whoever has relieved her, I will be answerable, if they will give me a letter where she may be found; she knows not her own surname; I understand she has been in Northampton for some time; she has a cut in her forehead. Whoever will give me an account where she is to be found, shall receive twenty guineas reward. Direct for M. W. at the George Inn, Derby.

Ladies! A young gentleman, aged 25, easy in fortune, happy in

temper, of tolerable parts, not superficially polite, but genteel address, some knowledge of the world, and little acquaintance with the Fair, presumes to offer his services to one not exceeding ten years older than himself, of good nature, and affable disposition, absolutely mistress of at least 1000l. will find the utmost sincerity from one, who would make it the ultimate end of his ambition to render the marriage state truly happy. Any lady who has spirit enough to break through the idle customs of the age, and not give trouble out of mere curiosity, inclined to answer this, may leave a line for X. O. at Gregg's coffee-house in York-street, Covent-garden, shall receive immediate answer, and be waited on in person, at any time and place she shall appoint. The most inviolable secrecy and honour will be punctually observed.

A single gentleman, in a very good way of business, and can make 200 per cent. advantage of it, and free from debts, about 26 years of age, and is what the flatterer calls genteel, and rather handsome, of a cheerful disposition, and a very affable temper, not at all given to drinking, gaming, or any other vice that a lady can take umbrage at; one that would rather endeavour to get a fortune than spend one, has been in most parts of England, and is very well acquainted

quainted with London, and no stranger to the fair sex, but entirely so to any one he would prefer for a wife. As he has not been so happy as to meet with a lady that suits his disposition as yet; a cheerful disposition, and free from the modern vices; one that is of the church of England, and has no objection to going there on the sabbath, and to take some care for a future happiness; one that would think herself rather happier in her husband's company, than in public places; one that would more consult the interest of her family than the glass in a morning; to be neat in person and apparel; and as to the lady's person it will be more agreeable to have it what the world calls agreeable than a beauty; with any fortune not less than 500*l.* at her own disposal, except she has good interest, then less will be agreeable. Any lady this may suit, will be waited on by directing a line to G. C. at Peel's coffee-house in Fleet-street.

Inviolable secrecy may be depended on, as the gentleman does not chuse a seven years siege.

A person of character, candour, and honour, who has an intimate knowledge of the world, and has great intimacy with both sexes among the nobility, gentry, and persons of credit and reputation; and as it often happens, that many deserving persons of both sexes are deprived of the opportunity of entering into the state of matrimony, by being unacquainted with the merits of each other, therefore upon directing a line for A. Z. of any one's intention of entering into the above state, to the advantage of each, to be left at Mr. Perry's, Miller's-court, Aldermanbury, secrecy and honour will be observed

in bringing to a conclusion such their intention. Any person who shall send a letter, is desired to order the bearer to put it into the letter-box for fear it may be mislaid: and it is desired, that none but those who are sincere would make any application on the above subject.

In the Edinburgh Courant of the 28th ult. is the following extraordinary advertisement.

Glasgow, Oct. 23.

We Robert M^cNair, and Jean Holmes, having taken into consideration the way and manner our daughter Jean acted in her marriage, that she took none of our advice, nor advised us before she married, for which reason we discharged her from our family, for more than twelve months; and being afraid that some or other of our family may also presume to marry without duly advising us thereof; we, taking the affair into our serious consideration, hereby discharge all and every one of our children from offering to marry without our special advice and consent first had and obtained; and if any of our children should propose or presume to offer marriage to any, without, as aforesaid, our advice and consent, they in that case shall be banished from our family twelve months; and if they should go so far as to marry without our advice and consent, in that case they are to be banished from the family seven years; but whoever advises us of their intention to marry, and obtains our consent, shall not only remain children of the family, but also shall have a due proportion of our goods, gear, and estate, as we shall think convenient, and as the bargain requires;

quires; and further, if any one of our children shall marry clandestinely, they, by so doing, shall lose all claim, or title, to our effects, goods, gear, or estate; and we intimate this to all concerned, that none may pretend ignorance.

A General BILL of all the Christenings and Burials in London, from Dec. 13, 1757, to Dec. 12, 1758.

Christened		Buried	
Males	7347	Males	8932
Females	6862	Females	8544
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14209		17576	
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Decreased in the Burials this Year
3737.

Died under 2 Years of Age		5971
Between 2 and	5	1795
	5 and 10	717
	10 and 20	556
	20 and 30	1362
	30 and 40	1589
	40 and 50	1606
	50 and 60	1368
	60 and 70	1208
	70 and 80	961
	80 and 90	370
	90 and 100	63
	102	2
	103	1
	104	1
	105	1
	106	1
<hr/>		<hr/>
		17576

The following remarkable incident was too long, and indeed of too extraordinary a nature, to be inserted among the common articles of the Chronicle; and as it does not naturally fall under any other head of the work, we have therefore chosen to place it here, at the end of the occurrences of the year.

An account of some threatening letters sent to the Duke of Marlborough, and a prosecution which his Grace carried on against William Barnard, supposing him to have written them.

ON the 29th of November his Grace the Duke of Marlborough received the following letter from an unknown hand.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and speed.

“MY LORD, xxviii Nov.

As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know, then, that my present situation in life is such,

that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me, or to unmake yourself. As I never had the honour to live among the Great, the tenour of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time, to find out a method to destroy another, without exposing my own life: that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power, it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me; which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my

my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of Parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out first upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physic. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday, (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree, beyond the stile in Hyde Park, in the foot walk to Kensington. Secrecy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort; as there is a certain part of the world, where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy. FELTON.

"You will apprehend, that I mean you should be alone; and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

In consequence of this letter, his Grace went to the place appointed at ten o'clock on the Sunday morning. He was on horseback, had pistols before him, and, as he was without a great coat, his star was easily to be seen. He was without any attendant, but had a friend in the Park, who kept at such a distance, as scarce to be noticed. When he first came up to the tree he saw nobody, either at it or near it, whom he could suspect to be the person. He continued some time about the same spot, but nobody appearing, he rode away. It hap-

pened, that when he came to Hyde Park Corner, and turned his horse, he saw somebody stand loitering, and looking at the water, over the bridge, within twenty yards of the tree; this induced him to ride back, which he did very gently, and, passing by the person, expected him to speak to him, but was disappointed. He passed by him a second time, and the person still taking no notice, his Grace made him a bow, and asked, if he had not something to say to him. He replied, 'No; I don't know you.' His Grace then said, 'I am the Duke of Marlborough; now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me.' He replied, 'No; I have not;' and his Grace then rode away.

The next day, or the day after, the Duke received a second letter, as follows:

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

"MY LORD,

You receive this as an acknowledgment of your punctuality, as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, tho' it was owing to you that it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant: the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west isle of Westminster Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person, whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name, and place of abode; according to which directions you will please to send

send two, or three, hundred pound bank notes, the next day, by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite. I am, &c. F."

The Duke was pleased to attend a second time, at the place and hour appointed, and walked five or six minutes in the Abbey before he saw any body that he suspected. He then saw the same person whom he had seen before in Hyde Park. He came in with a good looking man, who had the appearance of a substantial tradesman, and they went about, looking on the monuments. After some time the stranger went into the choir, and the person whom he had seen before, turned back, and came towards the Duke. The Duke then asked him, if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? and he replied, 'No, my Lord, I have not.' The Duke then said, 'Sure you have?' But he replied again with the same words, 'No, my Lord.' The Duke then left him, and as he continued to walk up and down one side of the isle, his Grace walked up and down the other, to give him a little more time; but he did not speak. The Duke had then several persons disguised in the Abbey, who were to have taken up the person he was to meet, if the signal had been given; but the Duke did not give it, because, though he was very sure the person he had spoke to was the same he had seen in the Park, yet he chose rather to run a further risk himself, than to take up an innocent man.

Very soon after this his Grace received a third letter, as follows.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

"MY LORD,

I am fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday. I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature; but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your Grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers; you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These, and the former terms complied with, ensure your safety: my revenge in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not less sure; and strong suspicion, the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it; while the chances would be tenfold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

This letter, by the expression "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," seems to intimate, that the writer had not only seen the Duke but that the Duke had seen the writer so as to know and remember him; for how else could his Grace see him "as it were by accident," so as to note him, and find out whither he went?

His

His Grace however did not see either the person he had seen before, or any other person whom he had the least reason to suppose to be the writer of the letters; but about two months afterwards he received the following letter as from another hand.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

“ May it please your Grace,

I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor in Abingdon buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety; his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately; it would be useless to your Grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair.

Your sincere friend,

ANONYMOUS.

“ He frequently goes to Story’s-gate coffee-house.”

About ten days after the receipt of this letter, the Duke sent a person, whose name is Merrick, to Story’s-gate coffee-house, to tell Mr. Barnard, that the Duke desired to speak to him. The message was delivered to Mr. Barnard on Tuesday the 25th of April in the evening; and he sent word by the messenger, Mr. Merrick, that he would wait upon his Grace on Thursday morning, following, at half an hour after ten.

On Thursday morning, at the time appointed, he went, and the Duke, who instantly knew him

to be the person he had seen before in the Park and the Abbey, took him into a room, and shut the door. He then asked him, as he had done at their former meetings, whether he had any thing to say to him? and he said, he had nothing to say. The Duke then recapitulated all the letters, beginning with the first, and Barnard listened with attention and surprise, but without any appearance of fear. The Duke observed, that it seemed to him a strange thing to find such letters as these written with the correctness of a scholar; to which Barnard replied, “ That a man might be very learned and very poor:” to which he might have added, that he might be very daring and very wicked. The Duke then shewed him the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned; upon which Barnard said, “ It is very odd; my father was then out of town.” This speech the Duke thought remarkable: because, though Barnard said his father was then out of town, the letter was without a date. The Duke then told him, that if he was innocent, it behoved him, more than his Grace, to discover the writers of the letters, especially the last; upon which he gave the Duke a smile, and went away.

How these circumstances came to the knowledge of Mr. Fielding does not appear; but Fielding soon after took Mr. Barnard into custody, and he was tried at the last sessions at the Old Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute.

In the account of the trial, as it is printed in the sessions paper, there is no mention of any evidence to prove the letters to be Mr.

Mr. Barnard's hand-writing*, nor indeed any evidence to prove that he was the writer of them, except his being in Hyde Park, and in the Abbey, at the times when the writers of the first and second letters appointed the Duke to meet him there.

It seemed, however, to be incumbent upon Mr. Barnard, to shew how he came to be at those places just at those times; and this he has done in a very particular manner, supported by very credible testimony.

He proved, that on the Sunday morning mentioned in the first letter to the Duke, his father ordered him to go to Kensington to the solicitor of the turnpike, to know whether the treasurer of the turnpike had not paid some money for his use: That in consequence of this order he did go to Kensington, saw the solicitor of the turnpike there, dined afterwards with his uncle, at his house at Kensington, in company with several other persons, to whom he related the particulars of the Duke's coming up to him in Hyde Park, and asking if he had any thing to say to him. This is attested by Barnard the father, who gave him orders to go to Kensington, by the person to whom he went, by his uncle, with whom he dined, and several others that were at the same table.

As to his being in the Abbey, he proved that Mr. James Greenwood, a relation, a brewer at Deptford, being at breakfast with him, on the Sunday mentioned in the second letter, at his father's,

where he had lain the night before, desired him to get himself dressed and go with him into the Park: That he did not comply till after much solicitation; and that when they came to the end of Henry the VIIIth's chapel, Mr. Barnard would have gone into the Park without going through the Abbey, if Mr. Greenwood had not insisted on the contrary, as he had never seen General Hargrave's monument. This Mr. Greenwood was that good-looking man whom the Duke says he saw come into the Abbey with Mr. Barnard. As Barnard had told Greenwood the strange circumstance of the Duke's speaking to him in the Park, Greenwood, as soon as he saw the Duke, whom he knew, told Barnard who he was; for Barnard, being very near-sighted, had not seen him, and if he had, would not have known him. Mr. Greenwood observing the Duke to come up to him, and pass him several times, supposed he had a mind to speak to Mr. Barnard, but would not do it till he was alone; and for that reason he left him, and went into the choir. These facts are attested by Mr. Greenwood, the only person to whom they could be known; and it should be observed, that Mr. Barnard could not appoint a meeting on these days, in consequence of his having business which at those times would call him to the places mentioned, because he did not know of his going either to the Park or the Abbey, till the very days on which he went.

Mr. Barnard also proved, by

* The three letters are said to have been written in print hand, which accounts for there being no comparing the writing in the letters with his father's books, or with any other writing under his hand.

unexceptionable witnesses, that he mentioned the strange circumstances of the Duke's meeting and speaking to him, both in the Park and in the Abbey, among his friends and acquaintance, openly on the day when they happened, and very frequently afterwards: that his father is established in a very reputable and profitable business, in which his son is likely to succeed him, being extremely capable of the employment, and very diligent in it. It is also proved by several persons of the highest character, particularly Dr. Markham, the present worthy master of Westminster school, that he is in plentiful circumstances, very far from being in any exigence which might urge him to obtain money at such a risk, not only of his reputation but his life; that his conduct had always been irreproachable; and his fidelity often tried.

The fourth letter still remains an inscrutable mystery. No man could imagine, from what Mr. Barnard had said from time to time, concerning the Duke's behaviour to him, that 'he was acquainted with some secrets which

'nearly concerned his Grace's safety;' and why any person, who might hear that the Duke had received threatening letters, without knowing from whom, should mention Mr. Barnard, cannot easily be guessed. The only conjecture that seems probable, if on such an occasion a conjecture may be allowed, is, that some officious person, who had received some slight information of the Duke's business at the Abbey, and observed him speaking to Mr. Barnard, might watch him home; and taking for granted that if he should, in consequence of this information, be detected in any evil design, the informer, whenever he should think fit to reveal himself, would be rewarded, might be induced to make the information at a venture, and conceal himself till the event should be known.

As to the Duke, he appears to have acted with the utmost tenderness and generosity through the whole affair, to have undertaken the prosecution purely from public principles, and to have been more desirous that the prisoner should appear innocent than guilty.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the service
of the year 1758.

DECEMBER 8, 1757.

£. s. d.

1. That 60000 men be employed for the sea service for 1758, including 14,845 marines.

2. That a sum not exceeding 4l. per man, per month, be allowed for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for sea service —

3120000 0 0

DECEMBER 15.

1. That a number of land forces, including 4008 invalids, amounting to 53,777 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, be employed for the service of 1758.

2. That for defraying the charge of the said number of land forces for guards and garrisons, and other his majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, for 1758, there be granted a sum not exceeding — — — —

1253368 18 6

3. For the pay of the general, and general staff-officers, and officers of the hospitals for the land forces, for 1758 — — — —

37452 3 4

4. For maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the garrisons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, and Providence, for 1758 — — — —

623704 0 2

5. For defraying the charge of four regiments of foot, on the Irish establishment, serving in North America and the East Indies, for 1758 — — — —

43958 4 2

1958493 6 2

DECEMBER 20.

1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service, for 1758 — — — —

181505 10 0

2. For defraying the extraordinary expence of the board of ordnance for land service, not provided for by parliament — — — —

210301 17 3

3. To make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders in pursuance of the address of that house — — — —

31000 0 0

422807 7 3

JANUARY 23, 1758.

1. For a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majesty to subsist, and keep together, the army formed last year in his

electoral

electoral dominions, and then again put into motion, and actually employed against the common enemy in concert with the King of Prussia, agreed to *mem. com.*

2. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea officers, for 1758

100000 0 0

224421 5 8

3. Towards carrying on the works of the hospital for sick and wounded seamen, building at Hasler, near Gosport, for 1758

10000 0 0

4. Towards carrying on the works of the hospital for sick and wounded seamen, building near Plymouth, for 1758

10000 0 0

5. Towards the support of the royal hospital at Greenwich, for the better maintenance of the seamen of the said hospital, worn out and become decrepit in the service of their country

10000 0 0

354421 5 8

JANUARY 31.

1. Upon account of the reduced officers of the land forces and marines, for 1758

35602 0 0

2. For defraying the charge for allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four regiments of horse guards, for 1758

3098 17 11

3. For the paying of the pensions to the widows of such reduced officers of the land forces and marines, as died upon the establishment of half-pay in Great Britain, and who were married to them before Dec. 25, 1716, for 1758

2226 0 0

40926 17 11

FEBRUARY 6.

Towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of his majesty's ships, for 1758

200000 0 0

FEBRUARY 23.

For defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospitals, and officers, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 60 days, from Dec. 25, 1757, to Feb. 22, 1758, both inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty

38360 19 10½

MARCH 7.

Towards enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for maintenance and education of exposed

and

and deserted young children, to receive all such children, under a certain age to be by them limited, as shall be brought to the said hospital, before Jan. 1, 1759; and also towards enabling them to maintain and educate such children as were then under their care, and to continue to carry into execution the good purposes for which they were incorporated; and that the sum granted should be issued and paid for the use of the said hospital, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatsoever — — —

£. s. d.

40000 0 0

MARCH 13.

Towards paying off and discharging the debt of the navy — — —

300000 0 0

MARCH 21.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1757 — — —

284802 1 0½

2. For defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9920 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers and others belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 60 days, from Feb. 23, 1758, to April 23 following, both inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty — — —

38360 19 10¼

3. Upon account for out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital, for 1758 — — —

26000 0 0

349163 0 11½

APRIL 6.

1. To enable his Majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies, to be granted in the then current session — — —

800000 0 0

2. Upon account for supporting and maintaining the settlement of the colony of Nova Scotia, for 1758 — — —

9502 5 0

3. Upon account for defraying the charges incurred by supporting and maintaining the said colony in 1756, and not provided for by parliament — — —

6626 9 9½

4. Upon account for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of the colony of Georgia, and other incidental expences attending the same, from June 24, 1757, to June 24, 1758 — — —

3557 10 0

820086 4 9½

APRIL 20.

1. To enable his majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention between his majesty and the King of Prussia, concluded April 11, 1758 — — — —

670000 0 0

2. For defraying the charge of 38,000 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbottle, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckeburgh, together with that of general and staff officers, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from Nov. 28, 1757, to Dec. 24, 1758, inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Hessian forces then in the service of Great Britain, the said body of troops to be mustered by an English commissary, and the effective state thereof to be also ascertained by the signature of the commander in chief of the said forces, the further sum of — — — —

463084 6 10

3. In full satisfaction for defraying the charges of forage, bread-waggon, train of artillery, and train of provisions, wood, straw, &c. and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and losses whatsoever incurred, and to be incurred, on account of his majesty's army, consisting of 38,000 men actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from Nov. 28 last, to Dec. 24 next, inclusive, the said sum to be issued from time to time, in like proportions as the pay of the said troops — — — —

386915 13 2

4. For defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services incurred in 1757, and not provided for by parliament — — — —

145454 15 0 $\frac{1}{2}$

5. For defraying the charge of what remained to be paid, for 2120 horse and 9900 foot, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital, and officers, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from Dec. 25, 1757, to Dec. 24, 1758, both days inclusive, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty — — — —

165175 4 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

6. To be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge — — — —

15000 0 0

 1845629 19 10

£. s. d.

MAY 2.

Upon account towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the militia for 1758, for defraying such expences as were actually incurred upon the account of the militia in 1757 — — —

100000 0 0

MAY 4.

Towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford — —

10000 0 0

JUNE 1.

1. For reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts bay, their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his majesty's service, for the campaign in 1756 — — —

27380 19 11½

2. For reimbursing to the colony of Connecticut, the expence of furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his majesty's service, for the campaign in 1756 — — —

13736 17 7

3. For repairing the parish church of St. Margaret's, Westminster — — —

4000 0 0

45117 17 6½

JUNE 8.

To enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of 1758; and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of the enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require — — —

800000 0 0

JUNE 10.

1. Upon account to be paid to the East India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements — — —

20000 0 0

2. To be employed in maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements upon the coast of Africa — — —

10000 0 0

30000 0 0

Sum total of the grants made by the committee of supply — — —

10475007 0 1

Granted in the same session by an address, as follows.

June 16, it was upon motion resolved, That an humble address should be presented to his majesty, to represent, that the salaries of most of the judges in his majesty's superior courts of justice in this kingdom

L. s. d.

were inadequate to the dignity and importance of their offices; and therefore to beseech his majesty that he would be graciously pleased to advance any sum, not exceeding 11 450*l.* to be applied in augmentation of the salaries of such judges, and in such proportions as his majesty, in his great wisdom, should think fit, for the present year; and to assure his majesty, that the house would make good the same to his majesty.

And on the 19th, the Earl of Thomond reported to the house, that the said address had been presented to his majesty, and that he had commanded him to acquaint the house, that he would give directions as thereby desired; consequently we must add to the above total — — — — —

11450 0 0

Sum total of the grants of last session — 10486457 0 0

From the foregoing articles of supply it is observed, that for the support of our connections on the continent, the following sums have been granted

Jan. 23, article I.	—	—	—	—	100000	0	0
Feb. 23	—	—	—	—	38360	19	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
March 21, art. II.	—	—	—	—	38360	19	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
April 20, art. I.	—	—	—	—	670000	0	0
— art. II.	—	—	—	—	463084	6	10
— art. III.	—	—	—	—	386915	13	2
— art. V.	—	—	—	—	165175	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sum total	—	—	—	—	1861897	4	8

As soon as the house had agreed to the resolutions of the committee of supply of Dec. 8, 1757, it was resolved, that the house would next morning resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his majesty; from which time this committee was continued to June 12, 1758, and in that time the following resolutions were agreed to in the committee, and all upon the report agreed to by the house, as follows.

DECEMBER 12, 1757.

That the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, be continued and charged upon all malt which shall be made, and all mum which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which shall be made for sale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from

June

June 23, 1758, to June 24, 1759. The produce of which is computed at and granted for

£. s. d.

— 75000 0 0

That the sum of 4s. in the pound, and no more, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, and personal estates, and also the sum of 4s. in the pound upon offices and pensions, be raised in that part of Great Britain, called England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, within the space of one year, from March 25, 1758; and that a proportionable cels, according to the 9th article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland

— — — — — 2037874 1 10

Of which sum, there was, by the bill brought in and passed in pursuance of this resolution, the sum of 1,989,920l. 8d. to be raised in England, &c. and 47,954l. 1s. 2d. to be raised in Scotland.

DECEMBER 20.

1. That the sum remaining in his majesty's Exchequer, disposable by parliament, of the produce of the sinking fund for the quarter ended Oct. 10, 1757, be issued and applied towards making good the supply of this session

— — — — — 93371 11 7½

2. That there be issued and applied, out of such monies as shall or may arise of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the sinking fund, the sum of

— — — — — 300000 0 0

— — — — — 393371 11 7½

APRIL 18, 1758.

That the sum remaining in his majesty's Exchequer, disposable by parliament, of the produce of the sinking fund, on April 5, 1758, be issued and applied towards making good the supply this session

— — — — — 492400 8 3

APRIL 22.

1. That the sum of 4,500,000l. be raised by annuities at 3l. 10s. per cent. per ann. and the sum of 500,000l. by lottery, to be attended with annuities, redeemable by parliament, after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. the said several annuities to be transferrable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof; and for which the sinking fund shall be a collateral security: and that every person subscribing for 500l. shall be entitled to 450l. in annuities, and 50l. in lottery tickets, and so in

K 3

proportion

£. s. d.

proportion for a greater or lesser sum; that the said lottery shall consist of tickets of the value of 10l. each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize, the blanks to be of the value of 6l. each; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. to commence from Jan. 5, 1759; and that the sum of 4,500,000l. to be raised by annuities, bear an interest after the rate of 3l. 10s. per cent. per ann. from July 5, 1758; which said annuities shall stand reduced to 3l. per cent. per ann. after the expiration of 24 years, to be computed from July 5, 1758; and shall afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than 500,000l. at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payment or payments respectively; that any subscriber may, on or before April 29 instant, at five o'clock in the afternoon, make a deposit of 10l. per cent. on such sums as he shall chuse to subscribe towards raising the said sum of 5,000,000l. with the cashiers of the bank of England, as a security for making the future payments on the days herein after appointed. On the 5,000,000l. 10l. per cent. deposit on or before April 29 instant, on the whole five millions. On 4,500,000l. in annuities 15 per cent. on or before May 30 next—15 per cent. on or before June 28 next—15 per cent. on or before July 27 next—15 per cent. on or before August 30 next—15 per cent. on or before September 27 next—15 per cent. on or before October 26 next. On the lottery for 500,000l. 20 per cent. on or before June 10 next—15 per cent. on or before July 10 next—15 per cent. on or before August 19 next—20 per cent. on or before September 9 next—20 per cent. on or before October 9 next. Which several sums so received shall by the said cashiers be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to such services as shall then have been voted by this house in this session of parliament, and not otherwise. That any subscriber paying in the whole, or any part of his subscription, previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, shall be allowed a discount after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times, on which such payments are directed to be made; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery, shall have their tickets delivered as soon as they can conveniently be made out.

— 5000000 0 0
2. That

£. s. d.

2. That there be issued and applied out of such monies, as shall or may arise of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the sinking fund, the sum of ————

1606076 5 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ 6606076 5 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

SATURDAY, April 29.

1. That there should be paid yearly the sum of 1s. in the pound of all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and on all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the value of 100l. per ann.

2. That there shall be paid for, and upon every dwelling-house inhabited, which now is, or hereafter shall be erected within the kingdom of Great Britain, the yearly sum of 1s. over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of this instant April, 1758.

3. That there shall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling-house, inhabited, or to be inhabited, within the kingdom of Great Britain, which shall contain 15 windows or lights, or upwards, the yearly sum of 6d. for each window or light in such house, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of this instant April, 1758.

MAY 2.

1. That the annuities payable pursuant to the resolution of this house of April 22 last, be charged upon the several additional rates and duties upon offices and pensions, and upon houses and upon windows or lights, which were granted by the resolutions of this house of Saturday last.

2. That an act made in the 9th year of the reign of his present majesty, entituled, "An Act for further encouraging and regulating the manufacture of British made Sail Cloth, and for the more effectual securing the Duties now payable on Foreign Sail Cloth imported into this Kingdom," which was to continue in force from June 24, 1736, for the term of five years, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and which by several subsequent acts made in the 13th and 24th years of the reign of his present majesty, was further continued until Dec. 25, 1757, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

K 4

3. That

3. That an act made in the 4th year of the reign of his present majesty, entitled, "An Act for granting an Allowance upon the Exportation of British made Gunpowder," which was to continue in force for five years from June 24, 1731, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and which by several subsequent acts made in the 10th, 16th, and 24th years of the reign of his present majesty, was further continued until June 24, 1757, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

4. That an act made in the 6th year of the reign of his present majesty, entitled, "An Act for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of his Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America," which was to continue in force for five years, to be computed from June 24, 1733, and to the end of the then next session of parliament, and which by several subsequent acts made in the 12th, 19th, 26th, and 29th years of the reign of his present majesty, was further continued until June 24, 1759, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

5. That so much of an act made in the 15th and 16th years of his present majesty's reign, entitled, "An Act to empower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum or Spirits of the British Sugar Plantations, to land the same before Payment of the Duties of Excise charged thereon, and to lodge the same in Warehouses at their own Expence, and for the Relief of Ralph Barrow, in respect to the Duty on some Rock Salt lost by the Overflowing of the Rivers Weaver and Dane," as relates to the landing of rum or spirits of the British sugar plantations before payment of the duties of excise, and to the lodging of the same in warehouses at the expence of the importers or proprietors thereof; which was to continue in force until Dec. 29, 1749, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and which by an act made in the 23d year of the reign of his present majesty, was further continued from the expiration thereof until Sept. 29, 1757, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

MAY 9.

1. That the duty of 6d. per ounce Troy on all filplate, made or wrought, or which ought to be

touched,

£. s. d.

ouched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, granted by an act made in the sixth year of his late majesty's reign, shall, from and after June 1, 1758, cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

2. That in lieu thereof, the sum of 40s yearly, shall, from and after June 1, 1758, be paid to his majesty, for a license to be taken out by every person, trading in, selling or vending gold or silver plate.

3. That the sums to be paid for the said licenses, shall be applied to the same uses and purposes, as the present duty on silver plate made or wrought in this kingdom, is now liable, and appropriated unto, and in the same manner.

MAY 11.

That all drawback now payable on the exportation of silver plate, shall, from and after June 1, 1758, cease and determine.

JUNE 1.

That from and after July 5, 1758, no person shall be permitted to sell by retail, any sweets or made wines, without having first taken out a license for retailing wine.

JUNE 10.

That there be raised by loans or Exchequer bills to be charged on the first aids to be granted the next session of parliament, the sum of

800000 0 0

These were all the resolutions, or provisions made by this committee, amounting in the whole to

11079722 6 10

So that they exceed the sum total granted by the committee of supply in the sum of

593265 6 9

To this we subjoin a STATE of the NATIONAL DEBT, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood Jan. 11, 1757, and Jan. 11, 1758, together with an Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in that Year, and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before Dec. 25, 1716, the said Fund has been applied.

E X C H E Q U E R.

A Nnuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original sum contributed and unsubscribed to the South-Sea company Ditto for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, being the original sum contributed _____ Ditto for two and three lives, being the sum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths _____

Exchequer bills made out for interest of old bills _____
Note, The land taxes and duties on malt, being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,500,000*l.* charged on the deduction of 6*d.* per pound on pensions, &c. nor the sum of 800,000*l.* charged on the supply, *anno* 1758.

E. A. S. T. - I N D I A. Company.

By two acts of parliament 9 Will. III. and two other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3*l.* per cent. per ann. _____
 Annuities at 3*l.* per cent. 1744, charged on the surplus of the additional duties on low wines, spirits, and strong waters _____

B A N K. of E N G L A N D.

On their original fund at 3*l.* per cent. from 1 August 1743 _____
 For cancelling Exchequer bills, 3 George I. _____
 Purchased of the South-Sea Company _____
 Annuities at 3*l.* 10*s.* per cent. charged on the duties on coals, &c. since Lady-day, 1719 _____

Ditto charged on the surplus of the funds for lottery, 1714 _____

<i>Amount of the national debt on Jan. 11, 1758.</i>	<i>Increased between Jan. 11, 1758. and Jan. 11, 1759.</i>	<i>Paid off within that time.</i>	<i>Amount of the national debt on Jan. 11, 1759.</i>
<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
1836275 17 10½			1836275 17 10½
180100			180100
83055 14 10½		500	82555 14 10½
2200			2200
3200000			3200000
1000000			1000000
3200000			3200000
500000			500000
4000000			4000000
1750000			1750000
1250000			1250000

Ditto 1746, charged on duties on licences for retailing spirituous liquors since Lady-day, 1746 — — — — — }
 Ditto at 3 *per cent.* charged on the sinking fund, by the acts }
 25, 28, 29, and 31 George II. — — — — — }
 Ditto charged on the said fund by the act 25 George II. viz. }
 Ditto 3 l. 10 s. *per cent.* 14984455 l. 18 s. 4 d. — — — — }
 At 3 l. *per cent.* 2716867 l. 18 s. — — — — — }
 Ditto at 3 l. 10 s. *per cent.* charged on ditto — — — — — }
 Ditto at 3 l. *per cent.* charged on the stamp duties, &c. by the }
 act 30 Geo. II. — — — — — }

Memorandum. The subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity for one life at 9 s. a ticket, which amounted to 2250 l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 19,570 l. 15 s. And the subscribers of 100 l. to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18 s. a ticket, which amounted to 45000 l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 40,023 l. 10 s. And also the subscribers of 100 l. for 3 *per cent.* annuities 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 1 l. 2 s. 6 d. a year, which amounted to 23750 l. which annuities are an increase of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto, as no money was advanced for the same.

S O U T H - S E A Company.

On their capital stock and annuities, 9 Geo. I. — — — — — }
 Annuities at 3 l. *per cent.* charged on the sinking fund — — — — — }

986800	986800		
13537821 5 11 1/2	13537821 5 11 1/2		
17701323 16 4	17701323 16 4		
1500000	1500000		
3000000	3000000		
		500	
			3000000
2502309 13 11 1/2	2502309 13 11 1/2		
2100000	2100000		
74780886 8 2 1/4	74780886 8 2 1/4		
			2100000
			2502309 13 11 1/2
			74780886 8 2 1/4

There was remaining in the hands of the late and present Treasurers of the NAVY, on Dec. 31, 1757, in Money as undermentioned, and may be reckoned towards satisfying the following Debt of the Navy.

<i>In what treasurer's hands.</i>	<i>In MONEY.</i>	<i>On the HEADS of</i>		<i>Total.</i>	
		<i>Wear and tear, ordinary and transp.</i>	<i>Seamen's wages.</i>	<i>ViQuali.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
<i>Right Hon. George Lordington, Esq; first treasurer.</i>	<i>In money.</i>	£. s. d. 5743 6 ½	£. s. d. 1951 5 9	£. s. d. 34 18 2½	7767 10 4
	<i>Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen.</i>	—	38 4½	—	
<i>Right Hon. Henry Legge, Esq;</i>	<i>In money.</i>	6746 3	2423 16 10½	2895 3 7½	12120 16 2½
	<i>Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen.</i>	—	55 15 5	—	
<i>Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq; first treasurer.</i>	<i>In money.</i>	4725 12 2½	4483 6 4½	5125 18 6½	15344 5 6½
	<i>Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen.</i>	—	1009 8 5	—	
<i>Right Hon. George Lordington, Esq; second treasurer.</i>	<i>In money.</i>	11449 13 3½	1945 1 6	1507 5 3½	15978 15 2
	<i>Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen.</i>	—	1076 15	—	
<i>Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq; second treasurer.</i>	<i>In money.</i>	34180 5 10	29058 3 9½	14219 4 4½	83493 16 6½
	<i>Ditto towards the debt for sick and hurt seamen.</i>	—	6036 2 7	—	
		£. 62844 17 7	48077 16 1	23782 10 ¾	134705 3 8½

There remained on Dec. 31, 1757, to come in of the supplies of the year 1757, including 10,000*l.* for Plymouth hospital, 1985*ol.* 7*s.* 9*d.* ½.

An ESTIMATE of the DEBT of his Majesty's NAVY on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on Dec. 31, 1757.

HEADS of the Naval Estimates. *War and tear, ordinary and transports.*

DUE, to pay off and discharge all the bills registered in the course of the navy for stores, freight of transports, &c. supplied for the service thereof
 To pay off and discharge the bills registered on the said course for premiums allowed by act of parliament
 To freight of transports and tenders, and for stores delivered into his majesty's several yards, &c. for which no bills were made out on the aforelaid Dec. 31, as also to several bills of exchange, To his majesty's yards and rope-yards, for the ordinary and extraordinary
 For the half-pay to sea-officers, according to an establishment made by his late majesty in council on that behalf

Seamen's Wages.

Due, to pay the men, &c. unpaid on the books of ships paid off
 To ships in sea pay, on the aforelaid Dec. 31, 1757
 To pay off and discharge all the bills entered in course for flop-clothes, bedding for sea-men, surgeons necessaries, bounties to widows and orphans of men slain at sea, &c.

Videquelling debt, as per estimate received from those commissioners, viz.

Due, for short allowance to the companies of his majesty's ships in pay, and which have been paid off
 For paying off all the bills entered on their course
 For provisions delivered, and services performed, for which no bills were made out on the aforelaid Dec. 31, 1757

For necessary-money, extra necessary-money, bills of exchange and contingencies
 To the officers, workmen, and labourers employed at the several ports

Sick and wounded, the debt of that office, as per estimate received from those commissioners, viz.

Due, for the quarters and cure of the sick and wounded seamen let on shore from his majesty's ships at the several ports, and for prisoners of war and contingencies relating to the said service
 The total amounts to the sum of

From whence deducting the money in the treasurer's hands

As also the money that remained to come in of the supplies of the year [as on the other side]

The debt of the navy will then be

Particulars.	£.	s.	d.	Total.
686708	9			
2987	17	7		
289735	7	5		1196715 14
205795				
11489				
221402	15	11		
1643888				1914184 15 6½
48893	19	7		
14211	11	7		
327336	8	8		
43966	10	4		412711 17
7062		3		
20135	6	3		
93910	10	3½		
3617322	16	10½		
134705	3	8½		
19850	7	9½		
154555	11	6		
3462967	5	4½		

Brought over			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
			34629	67	5	4	3	4
			3148	32	4	1		
			376136	13	8	1		
			61304	9	7	1		
			30868	30	11	8	1	

N. B. In this debt is included for charge of transports between Jan. 1, 1757, and Dec. 31, following
 And it appears by an account received from the commissioners of the victualling, that the expence of victuals supplied the soldiers between Jan. 1, 1757, and Dec. 31 following, amounts to
 For which sum of 376,136l. 13s. 8d. $\frac{1}{2}$ no provision has been made by parliament; but if thought fit to be granted, as the like service was provided for in former years,
 The nett debt of the navy will then be

An Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund, and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before Jan. 11, 1758, the said Fund has been applied.

Dr.			£.	s.	d.	Per contra Cr.		
THE Exchequer is to cash on the sinking fund,			306300	11	4	Monies issued between Jan. 11, 1757, and Jan. 11, 1758,		
Jan. 11, 1757						viz		
To the produce of the sinking fund between Jan. 11, 1757, and Jan. 11, 1758, viz.						By the Bank of England for sub-		
						scribed annuities, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 3l.		
						per cent. for 12 months, interest		
						and charges of management, to		
						Oct. 10, 1757		
						By ditto, for ditto, at 3l. per cent.		
						for 12 months, interest and manage-		
						ment, to Jan. 5, 1758		
						By ditto, for annuities 1756, at $3\frac{1}{2}$		
						per cent. for 12 months, inter-		
						est and management, to Jan. 5,		
						1758		
						By ditto for ditto, upon sundry an-		
						nuities		

Monies brought to this fund pursuant to the act
 25 George II.

Of the duty on wrought plate	7583	19	2
Additional duty on paper	31382	17	9
Surplus of the duties on wines	38477	15	1

Duty on glass, and additional duty on spirits	33867	8	5½
Surplus of the additional duty on spirits	122726	3	2½
Duty on houses and windows	129814	2	4
Duty on coaches	46463	14	10½
Additional duty on poundage	314072	18	3½
Duty on sweets	10288	19	9
Duty on salt	232811	2	11½
Surplus on the additional duty on paper, soap, and coals	28136	0	10
Duty on coals	13431	1	4½
Additional duty on cards and dice	6934	12	11
Ditto on ale licences	60325	18	1
New duty on plate	20331	17	1½
	3121198	17	1½

By the South-sea company for annuities 1757, for 12 months interest and management, to January 5, 1758	64181	5
By cash taken to make good the deficiency of the annuity funds 1757	7546	12 10
In full of 1,300,000 l. granted for the service of the year 1756	362550	10 2
In full of 1,200,000 l. granted for ditto, 1757	1200000	
In part of the supply 1758, to make good the civil list	31000	
	2660350	12 2½
Balance, Jan. 11, 1758	460848	5
	3121198	17 2½

STATE PAPERS.

Hague.

ON the 22^d Dec. 1758, Major General Yorke delivered the following memorial to the deputies of the States General.

“ High and mighty Lords,
“ I had the honour to acquaint you, at the conference I obtained of your high mightinesses on the 7th instant, that the king my master had authorized and instructed me to enter into a negotiation with such persons as your high mightinesses should think proper to nominate for that end; but that, as the affair required a minute discussion, it would be impossible to terminate it without some farther explanations. It is with the highest pleasure that I this day open our conferences on this important subject; and I flatter myself that if your high mightinesses are as desirous of a reconciliation as his majesty is, it will soon be happily concluded.

By the two resolutions of Sept. 12, and Sept. 25, which were delivered to me the day following, your high mightinesses thought proper to make some difficulty of receiving the declaration which I had the honour to present to you, in the King's name, against the trade carried on by your subjects to the French colonies in America, for the account of those very colonies. If his majesty, on being informed thereof, commanded me to declare that he could not depart from his preceding declaration, it was because he thought this claim had no foundation in

the treaties subsisting between him and the republic. Besides, should the persons concerned in this trade even be able to wrest the sense of treaties so as to deceive their friends, and make the obstructing of it by England pass for a grievance, still his majesty is persuaded that their high mightinesses will see with pleasure that his majesty sets aside the discussion of this treaty, which is connected with so many others, and sets himself wholly to do the subjects of his ancient allies all the service, and to grant them every favour that shall not notably prejudice the welfare and safety of his people. It is in this light that his majesty considers the trade directly or indirectly to the French colonies in America.

His majesty is at war with the most christian king: he cannot hope to get out of it with safety, or obtain a speedy and lasting peace, which is his majesty's sole aim, if the princes who have declared themselves neuter, instead of contenting themselves with trading as usual, without any risk, assume a right of carrying on that trade with the king's enemies, which is not allowed them in time of peace. The injustice of this proceeding is too apparent to require more to be said on it: one may venture to appeal to your high mightinesses own conduct in the like case. A trade of this nature was never suffered by you; and it hath been

op-

opposed by the *Salus Populi*, in all countries, in like circumstances.

His majesty sees with pleasure the trade of his neighbours flourish, and would behold its increase with satisfaction, if its prosperity were not repugnant to this primary law. But he likewise persuades himself, that never, for the sake of some transient profit to individuals, will his ancient allies be the first to injure England in this essential part. Considering the thing in this light, I cannot doubt but your high mightinesses will give the king the pleasure to hear that they, for their subjects, have honestly abandoned it, and that this stumbling block is for ever removed. In settling this point, his majesty commands me to include in it the change, commonly called *Overfcheepen*, which is made of a French vessel into a Dutch vessel, when the former dares not continue her course, and endeavours to save herself by carrying neutral colours, in order to avoid seizure at sea by the king's ships. Your high mightinesses, while you acknowledge the justice of my first demand, cannot refuse the second; since that would be to declare, that you treat with good faith, whilst, at the same time, a more dangerous door would be left for fraud. Such a conduct is unworthy of the equity of your high mightinesses, especially in the present case, when the question is the prevention of any object of future dispute, and the restoration of harmony and good neighbourhood between the two powers.

The last point of my instructions, which relates to the amicable demands made by his majesty to your high mightinesses,

requires a more minute consideration. I cannot enter upon that subject yet; but reserve it till afterwards. I must, nevertheless, observe to you, that the king has seen, not without pain, yet without giving them any molestation, a great number of Dutch ships pass by his harbours, since the commencement of the war, laden with all sorts of materials for building and repairing his enemies' fleets. His majesty asks that certain articles of naval stores may be comprehended in the class of contraband: but he will so settle it with your high mightinesses, as that the inoffensive trade of your subjects to the north of Europe (if I may use that term) shall not be involved in this article. Your high mightinesses, who are yourselves a maritime power, and know how to contend for and defend your prerogatives as such, must always allow, that in the present war against France, it is both the king's interest, and his duty, not only to hinder the marine of his enemy from becoming too formidable, but also to employ all means to weaken it. Can it be disputed that naval stores are not, in this view, as prejudicial as balls and gunpowder.

Let France be without ships, and her warlike stores will never make England uneasy. The importance of this article is so evident, that the king ventures to refer it to the judgment of your high mightinesses. These, my lords, are my instructions with regard to the satisfaction which the king would think himself entitled to require from the friendship and justice of the republic, if he had no other foundation for his

his claim. But I have already informed you, that it is his majesty's sincere desire to unite his own safety with the convenience of your high mightinesses; which makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge on this head.

In this representation of the points on which I have orders to insist with your high mightinesses, I have endeavoured to follow the method which you yourselves have begun to put in practice; that is to say, first to state the claim, and afterwards propose the expedients.

I come now to the articles of your resolutions of the 25th of September last.

I. As to the demand contained in the first article, I must observe to your high mightinesses, that this very treaty, which you so strongly insist on, prescribes the manner of proceeding in case of seizure or detention; and that you cannot claim the exercise of an extra-judicial power by his majesty, whose hands are tied with regard to his own subjects by the laws, and with regard to foreigners by treaties. If there have been any irregular sentences, either the judge must have been misled by appearances at the hearing of the cause, or delays were made, of which there was just reason to complain. The supreme court, established for judging in the last resort, hath always been ready to revise and correct abuses, if at any time any could be discovered in the sentences of the inferior courts. But your high mightinesses will give me leave to observe, that it is very extraordinary, that not one appeal hath yet been thrown in, notwithstanding the assurances given to your

high mightinesses by many persons. This is a fact at which every body in England is astonished. And, doubtless, had the appellants been desirous to be heard, the number of complaints would have been greatly diminished.

Mean while, to assist and relieve the subjects of your high mightinesses as much as possible, and to avoid confounding the innocent with the guilty, his majesty hath just now ordered an exact list to be delivered to him of all the Dutch vessels detained in his harbours, in order to call those to an account who may have brought them in on frivolous pretences; to oblige them to release them, and to hasten the finishing of the trials in general. If there remains any thing more to be done for the further facility and security of the navigation of the republic, it will readily be agreed to by his majesty. The nation is desirous to second the king's good intentions on this head. I flatter myself that these assurances will be sufficient to dissipate those ill-grounded fears which possess certain persons in these provinces. A mutual confidence, and a desire to avoid any subject of animosity, are highly requisite in treating of matters of such importance, and of such a complicated nature.

II. As to the second article of the said resolutions, I almost dare venture to assure your high mightinesses, that if you cordially interest yourselves in his majesty's situation in the present war, and discover a readiness to grant the points which he thinks he hath a right to require of you, you will receive all possible satisfaction and security. It is his majesty's intention,

tention, that the subjects of your high mightinesses should fully enjoy all the privileges and immunities resulting from the treaty of 1674, so far as the tenor of it is not derogated from by the present accommodation.

III. As to the third article, as soon as your high mightinesses shall have agreed with his majesty on the points which I have mentioned in his name, it will be easily settled.

IV. The fourth article contains complaints for which perhaps there is too much foundation, by the violences committed by English privateers, or vessels pretending to be such. His majesty is sincerely grieved that such disorders should have been committed, to the disgrace of his subjects. The whole nation joins with the king in endeavouring to suppress those robberies. I take the liberty to communicate to you the orders issued by the admiralty of Great Britain against such behaviour; and, for the honour of the merchants of London, I must add the advertisement published by them, offering a reward for discovering the offenders. His majesty intreats your high mightinesses to assist him on this occasion, by exhorting your subjects to bring to justice the authors of those offences: in which they may depend on the utmost protection and encouragement. As to the rest, the king is astonished, that after so many applications made here for obtaining proofs of the facts alledged, not one, notwithstanding the reward offered, is gone over to England to give evidence. I take the liberty to refer to the contents of my first article for an answer to the fifth resolution of

your high mightinesses; only adding, that his majesty will with pleasure agree to any method that shall be proposed to him for authenticating the genuineness of ship-papers, in which point too many abuses have been committed."

Hague, Aug. 2.

The Count d'Affry, the French ambassador, presented the following memorial to the States General, July 25.

" High and Mighty Lords,

" On the repeated solicitations which M. de Berkenrode hath been ordered to make, and on those which the counsellor pensionary hath often made, particularly of late, that the king my master would be graciously pleased to grant a bounty on herrings taken by the Dutch, and imported into France; his majesty authorises me to declare to your high mightinesses, that he is disposed to grant your subjects such bounty; which shall be immediately settled at Paris, agreeably to the instructions which your high mightinesses shall be pleased to send on that head to Mr. Berkenrode your ambassador.

The king my master has determined to grant this favour to the republic, from his friendship for her, and his assurance, that the republic will never depart from that system of equity and neutrality, which she hath adopted with regard to the present war."

The Count d'Affry, the French ambassador, presented to the States General a memorial on Jan. 25, ult. from which we shall give such extracts as are a reply to Colonel Yorke's memorial.

" Your high mightinesses were informed in the month of July last, that the king my master, and the empress queen of Hungary and

Bohemia had agreed to put French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport. Their majesties, in order to give your republic a fresh proof of their friendship and confidence, were pleased at that time to command their respective ministers to communicate to your high mightinesses, by the president of your assembly, their just reasons for taking this resolution. Accordingly I waited on him the 18th of July, with Baron Reischach, and we declared to him: That, the empress queen, being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, was obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport. That, it was of the more importance to provide for the safety of those two places, as there was great reason to believe that the court of London, which sought only to spread the war, and perpetuate it, had formed a design to seize them; and as the port of Ostend was even blocked up by several English men of war and frigates. That, in these circumstances the empress queen applied to the king, as her ally nearest at hand, to furnish troops which might be substituted in Ostend and Nieuport, in the room of the empress queen's, there to remain only whilst it should be judged necessary and convenient for their reciprocal interests. That the empress queen had reserved to herself, in those two towns, the free and entire exercise of all the rights of property and sovereignty; such as the administration of justice, the collecting of the revenue and taxes, and the disposition even of the artillery and stores of all sorts. (Your high mightinesses know that accordingly the count de la Mothe d'Hu-

gues, who commands the king's troops at Ostend and Nieuport, took an oath to the empress queen, before the Count de Cobenzel, her minister plenipotentiary.) That the friendship of the king, and the empress, for your high mightinesses, was a full security for their majesties constant attention to maintain the best understanding with your republic, and to prevent the regulation in question from doing it any prejudice, or giving it the least uneasiness.

It is by express command of the king, my master, that I declare to your high mightinesses, That the introduction of French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport had no other motive than what I have just mentioned in this memorial: That his majesty's troops shall remain there only to the end of this present war; and that they shall even march out sooner if the empress queen desire it, and they shall march out that very moment that she shall intrust the guard of those two places to her own troops. The necessity of attending to their preservation is the more indispensable, as your high mightinesses cannot, doubtless, be ignorant, that if the Low Countries have any thing to apprehend for their safety and quiet, it is against England alone that the powers interested therein ought to take precautions. It is needless to enter into particulars on this head. It is sufficient to apprise your high mightinesses, that one of the projects of that crown is to carry the war into the neighbourhood of your republic; and it is but too probable that the neutrality and territory of your high mightinesses would perhaps be no more regarded on this occasion, than the law of nations, treaties, and paroles of

of honour have been hitherto. The king persuades himself, that after a declaration so precise, which his majesty has been induced to make only by his affection for your republic, your high mightinesses will form a just notion of the methods which the court of London is incessantly employing, to make your high mightinesses share in the calamities and dangers of a war which his majesty undertook with regret, and not till he was forced thereto, by the most unjust and unexpected aggression; and which he continues only from his fidelity to his engagements, and to fulfil the duty imposed upon him by his quality of guarantee of the laws and liberties of the Germanic body."

Translation of the famous memorial presented to the States General by two hundred and sixty-nine merchants, which is kept very secret in Holland.

"We the undersigned merchants, insurers, and others, concerned in the commerce and navigation of the state, most humbly represent, That the violences and unjust depredations committed by English men of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of the subjects of the state, are not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excesses carried to such a height, that the petitioners are forced to implore the assistance of your high mightinesses, that the commerce and navigation of the republic, which are the two sinews of the state, may suffer no interruption, and be protected in the most efficacious manner, in order that the being of the state may be preserved, and that it may be kept from compleat and final ruin,

The petitioners shall not insert here a long recital of their ships that have been illegally stopped and seized, nor of the piracies and violences that have been committed for a considerable space of time, on the subjects of the republic; nor of the acts of inhumanity with which they were often attended, even so far, that less cruelty might have been expected from a declared enemy, than they have suffered from the subjects of a power with whom the state is connected by the most solemn treaties of friendship. The whole is public and notorious.

Nor will the petitioners enlarge on the insults offered to the Dutch flag, in contempt of your high mightinesses, the natural protectors of the subjects of the republic. The facts are known to your high mightinesses.

But the petitioners beg leave to represent, with all due submission, that they cannot forbear to lay their just complaints before your high mightinesses, who are the protectors of their persons, their estates, their commerce, and navigation; and to lay before you the indispensable necessity of putting a stop, as soon as possible, to those depredations and violences. The petitioners offer to contribute each his contingent, and to arm, at their own charge, for the support and protection of their commerce and navigation.

The petitioners flatter themselves that their toils, and the risk to which their effects are exposed on the seas, will have their proper influence on the general body of the state, since the traders of this country finding themselves left to the discretion of a part of that nation with whom the state is most

intimately connected, thousands of tradesmen and others, who are connected with merchants that have hitherto carried on a flourishing trade, will be reduced to distress and poverty; those connections ceasing by the extinction of the estates of merchants, who have always approved themselves faithful to their country, these will be forced to abandon it, to their great regret, and seek shelter and protection elsewhere; which will give a mortal blow to the principal members of the state.

For these just causes, the petitioners have recourse to your high mightinesses, most humbly imploring them, both in their own names, and in the name of a multitude of unhappy people, who are on the point of being stript of all their effects, of sinking into the utmost distress, and being reduced to beggary, that it may please your high mightinesses to grant to commerce and navigation such speedy, vigorous, and effectual protection, that the faithful subjects of this free state may enjoy their possessions in full security.

And your petitioners, &c."

Memorial which the Princess Gouvernante presented to the States General on the 7th of June, relating to the proposed augmentation of their land forces.

"High and mighty Lords,

"My quality, my duty, and my inclination, lead me to make the following representation to your high mightinesses. I had the honour to represent to you, when the war began to be kindled between France and England, about the limits of their territories in America, that this war would undoubtedly be transferred from that part

of the world to Europe, and that prudence required that an augmentation should be made in the land forces of the state, in order to reinforce the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion.

I further foresaw, that Europe, being made the theatre of war, several camps would be formed in Flanders, on the banks of the Rhine, and in the duchy of Cleves. The event having shewn the justness of those conjectures, I again insisted upon the necessity of making this augmentation, that the republic might be in a condition to cause her neutrality to be respected, and to prevent her territories from being made the seat of war.

The provinces of Guelders and Overysse, frightened at the danger with which those provinces are threatened by the proximity of two formidable armies, have resolved to demand that the affair of the augmentation of the republic's forces may be taken into serious consideration by the other provinces, and have requested me to join my solicitations to theirs, that this augmentation may take place; which I do the more readily, as I am equally sensible with them of the extent of the danger that threatens the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army crossed the Rhine. This augmentation is the more necessary, as it behoves the state to be able to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the state if it should be defeated: for in that case the conqueror, being authorised to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of our country. None of the powers at war could be offended at the
effi-

efficacious measures taken by the republic to cause her neutrality to be respected, and to hinder her territories from being made the theatre of war. The good faith of the Dutch is well known; and from the assurances already given, those powers will rest satisfied, that the Dutch had no bad intention, and that their design is not to take part in the present troubles, but wholly to keep the war at a distance, and prevent their country from being the seat thereof.

Agreeable, therefore, to the request of the provinces of Guelders and Overijssel, I join my solicitation to theirs, that your high mightinesses would take this affair into serious consideration, and that in regard to the crisis in which the republic is at present, this augmentation may take place.

I conclude these representations with praying the God of all understanding to preside in your deliberations, and that he would inspire you with vigorous resolutions proportioned to the dangers that threaten the state, and conformable to my desires and wishes."

In the answer which the Princess Regent gave, on the 7th of December, to the fourth deputation of the merchants, she said, among other things, "That she beheld the state of trade with concern; that she was as much moved at it as any of the merchants; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Harlem, Amsterdam, Tergaw, Rotterdam, and the Brielle; that had it not been for those towns, the forces of the state, by sea and land, would have been on a better footing; and that she had never ceased to protect trade; a proof of which was the letter of

the king her father, wherein his majesty says, *The affair of the Dutch is now under consideration; and Yorke will speedily receive the necessary instructions for settling it amicably. Some method shall be thought of to curb the insolence of the privateers.* That she was informed that Mr. Yorke had asked a conference to treat of this matter, and that she hoped the negociation would be attended with success."

The deputies were afterwards referred by her royal highness to M. de la Larrey, who now does the business that was formerly done by M. de Beck. The merchants laboured much to persuade this minister, that the augmentation of the land forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters quite distinct from each other, as light is from darkness; that there was no pressing motive for the augmentation; whereas innumerable reasons rendered the fitting out of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity.

M. de Larrey contented himself with saying, that the want of a sufficient fleet was not owing to her royal highness; that opinions differed on this head; and that it was a settled point at present, not to fit out a fleet without augmenting the army.

Whatever may be in this, four days after the speech was delivered, her royal highness carried it to the assembly of the States General, addressing herself to them in these words:

"High and Mighty Lords,
"It would be injustice to that zeal and vigilance for the safety of the state, of which your high mightinesses have long given me convincing proof, to endeavour to excite

you now to greater zeal and vigilance: it is from this persuasion I appear in the assembly of your high mightinesses, to represent to you, that, seeing your earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland and West Friseland, of Zealand, and of Friseland, to agree to the proposed augmentation of the land forces, and equipment of a fleet, have been ineffectual, your high mightinesses will be pleased to consider of a way to put an end to this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen; and on the other, to comply with the ardent just desire of the commercial inhabitants of this country, who, *though* I had informed them of the negotiation between Great Britain and your high mightinesses to accommodate the differences that have arisen, and of my own assiduity to forward an equitable accommodation, and of the consequences of the steps I thought it my duty to take, have, *nevertheless*, sent me a deputation for the fourth time to insist on a very considerable augmentation of the naval forces of the state.

This deputation consisted of forty merchants; a number that merits attention no less than the speech they read to me, of which a great number of copies, printed before-hand, were immediately distributed on all parts. I shall make no remarks upon that speech; only that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negotiations begun with England, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention, to a rupture, with that crown. I shall enter no farther into this subject, choosing rather to refer

the whole to the sound and penetrating judgment of your high mightinesses, who may also see by that speech, that it is more than time to finish the deliberations on the motion for augmenting our forces both by sea and land, on which I have always insisted with the greatest earnestness; as without it, I am convinced in my conscience, the state is, and will always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortunes and dangers, both now and hereafter."

In consequence of this speech, the States General sent, the same day, the following letter to the States of Holland and West Friseland.

"Noble and Mighty Lords,

"The princessgouvernante having come to our assembly this morning, in consequence of a deputation of the merchants, who had waited on her a few days before, to insist on a considerable augmentation of our naval forces, her royal highness again represented to us the urgent necessity of coming to a determination both with regard to the augmentation proposed by land, and with regard to an equipment by sea; two points, upon which her royal highness has always most earnestly insisted, and without which the state is, and will remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortunes and dangers, both at present and for the future.

We thought proper to send a copy of the said proposition to your noble mightinesses, and also to the states of the provinces of Zealand and Friseland; and at the same time, to represent to you, that it is now time, if ever, to consider seriously of those two points as soon as possible, and carry

carry them into effect by a salutary and unanimous resolution. It would be both superfluous and tiresome again to point out to your noble mightinesses the dangerous situation of the republic from the war which hath been kindled and rages all over Europe, and which hath spread to the very frontiers of this state: nor is there the smallest prospect of seeing it extinguished next year, as we are informed from all sides, that the principal powers concerned are taking all the necessary measures for making it rage next campaign, with greater fury, if possible, than ever.

Every one who considers how uncertain the consequences of a war between powerful neighbours may be to a state surrounded on all sides by foreign troops, must allow, that it were greatly to be wished the republic were in a proper posture of defence whilst the war is on its frontiers. All who know that the happiness of our country depends upon the safety of trade, must be equally convinced, that an armament by sea is absolutely necessary in this critical conjuncture, when our navigation is disturbed in a manner unheard of; and that the neglect of our naval forces at this time would be wholly unjustifiable. We have always considered the zealous efforts of your noble mightinesses, from time to time, to induce your confederates to consent to this armament, as highly reasonable; and as far as in us lay, we always endeavoured to second them.

Nor can we disapprove of the step taken by the merchants in carrying their complaints on this head where they ought to be carried, when it is done in a proper

and decent manner: but as it is the duty of wise and faithful rulers to extend their care not only to a part of the subjects, but also to all in general; and as the principal aim of a sovereign ought to be, on one side, to watch over the happiness of his subjects, and on the other to protect them against all violence from without, we think that in such a situation as that of the republic at present, an augmentation of the troops of the state, for the defence of the frontiers, is unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of trade; and that they ought to go hand in hand. The states of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, join with her royal highness and us in the same opinion, and accordingly have always insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest.

We doubt not but the said states will explain themselves to your noble mightinesses on this head, and at the same time signify their readiness to interest themselves in the welfare of the trading inhabitants, in case your noble mightinesses will also effectually provide for the safety of their inhabitants.

When we reflect, that not only the interest of the republic in general requires that it be put in a proper state of defence both by sea and land, but that we can see no way of determining this matter, unless, by a reciprocal indulgence, one of the confederates comply with the sentiments of the other, we leave your noble mightinesses to judge, whether by a longer delay in coming to a conclusion, both with regard to the augmentation of the land forces and

and the equipment of a fleet, room will not be given for a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable, while the republic in the mean time will remain in a defenceless state, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours.

We therefore most earnestly intreat your noble mightinesses, as you value the safety of the country, and all that is dear to you, as you regard the protection of the good inhabitants, and as you value the concord and good harmony, which at all times, but especially in the present danger, is of the last necessity, that you will seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highness, and on the instances of the majority of the confederates, and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land forces; so that this augmentation, together with an equipment by sea, may, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion.

Thus concluding, noble and mighty lords, we pray God Almighty to keep your mightinesses in his holy protection, &c. &c."

Hague, Nov. 7.

A deputation of the most eminent merchants of Amsterdam arrived here; and after visiting the pensionary and the president of the week, waited on her royal highness the princess regent, to whom they delivered the following memorial.

"The merchants of this province who have the honour to obtain an audience of your royal highness for the third time, find themselves obliged to renew their

complaint of the great damage which their vessels and cargoes continue to suffer by the English. The deputies therefore take the liberties to put your royal highness in mind, that the first time that their confidence in your highness's equity led them to have recourse to you, their principals, who had the justest ground of complaint, foresaw at that time the total ruin of our navigation and commerce: That, on that account, your royal highness graciously promised powerfully to support their just complaints in the assembly of the States General; and even to make remonstrances in your own name to the British court, provided the losses were properly attested: That the merchants of the province immediately drew up a list of the vessels that had been carried either into the ports of Great Britain, or those of her colonies, with an estimate of the value of the cargoes, and a detail of the enormous robberies committed by English privateers on board those vessels; the whole accompanied with original and credible attestations: That, not content with having respectfully delivered those incontestible proofs to their high mightinesses, and to your royal highness in private, the body of merchants took the liberty to present in writing, and verbally, how much it imported the welfare of the provinces to take proper measures for putting an end to such unjust depredations, and for obtaining reparation for so great losses. That in the second audience which your royal highness was pleased to give them, upon fresh complaints, your royal highness declared, that the subsequent damage

damage exceeded what you could have believed; That your royal highness, in your astonishment, added, in terms full of cordial affection, that if things should continue as they were, your dear country, in whose welfare you took so much concern, having adopted it alone for *your* country, would be ruined: That you would employ your utmost endeavours to obtain reparation of past losses, and would immediately take such means for that end, as should be consistent with the honour of the republic, and the advantage of commerce, which should always have your protection; and that you would justify the sincerity of your promises by facts.

That the deputies, on their return home, made a report of the success of their commission to their principals, who were equally pleased, and certain of seeing the face of affairs soon changed; but their joy and expectation is turned into bitterness, which is the more sensibly felt, as they now again find themselves under a necessity of importuning your royal highness, for the third time, by exhibiting a list of seventy of their ships taken by the English since that time, amounting to near thirteen millions of florins: That these vessels have been condemned, some in the three kingdoms, others in the British colonies, and elsewhere, under the most frivolous pretences, in contempt of all law, contrary to justice and reason, as well as the treaties in force between the two nations: That being informed an accommodation was negotiating with the British ministry, the body of merchants flattered themselves they should obtain by this treaty, an indemnification of their great losses;

but that not one merchant had as yet reaped the smallest fruit from this negotiation.

That with grief they behold their hopes of protection diminish daily, rather than increase: That it is to be feared the evil will grow worse and worse, and rise to the utmost height: That several ships of war, which have returned to the ports of the republic from their voyages, have been disarmed and laid up without being replaced by others: That it is evident to a demonstration, that the aforesaid illicit practices must give a mortal blow to commerce in general, and to our country in particular: That thousands of persons, who were possessed of great wealth, or in easy circumstances, are thereby fallen to decay; and if a speedy remedy be not applied, not only eminent merchants, but swarms of retail traders, will infallibly be ruined: That by this decay of trade many hundred mechanics are deprived of work, particularly those employed in the silk way, in sugar-houses, dying, &c. who consequently languish in idleness.

That at present (and what will it be in the middle of winter?) a great number of creditable tradesmen are forced to subsist on the charity of their respective companies, and of the hospitals: That the number of these necessitous people increases daily, whilst the revenues of the charitable foundations decrease, because they are obliged to give alms to such numbers, and because they are deprived of the contributions they used to received in better times: That it is natural for every one, who foresees a threatening loss, to attend rather

rather to his own preservation, than to the assistance of those whose unhappy lot has rendered them objects of compassion: That frugality, thus prevailing over liberality, people continue to feel the misfortunes of others, but are little disposed to give them any relief: That, considering on the one hand all these disasters, and on the other the welfare of commerce and of their country, the body of merchants have thought it their duty again to represent to your royal highness, that if redress doth not soon succeed to their complaints, it is to be feared, that in case the ships expected home should be taken like the others, want of means will force the merchants to give up trade.

For these reasons, being persuaded of your royal highness's clemency, they presume to claim the performance of the promises you were pleased to make them at their second audience; promises so agreeable, so full of tenderness and regard, and so much confided in by them, that they still expect to feel the effects of them. Accordingly, they most humbly supplicate your royal highness, to be graciously pleased to concur in the necessary measures for saving the commercial subjects of the republic from a calamity that is arrived at its utmost period; and to consider, that, if the restitution of the ships and cargoes be delayed, the one will go to decay, and the other be spoilt. They moreover conjure your royal highness to interpose your good offices in such a manner, that the English nation may make good the immense losses they have suffered, and abstain from doing them farther damage;

to the hazard of totally ruining the republic.

The merchants cannot forbear laying before your royal highness the firm resolution taken by his highness the late Prince of Orange, your illustrious husband, of most laudable memory, to employ, had Heaven been pleased to prolong his days, every method to restore the trade which these provinces carry on by Hamburg, to its former flourishing state. They most humbly recommend to your royal highness this branch of trade, which hath cost them such heavy impositions during so many years, and of which they will be able to continue the payment, when by the interposition of your royal highness, they shall be so happy as to enjoy her protection in this respect, which is not more necessary than ardently desired. If that should fail, the merchants must declare upon their honour, that the commerce of these provinces in general will be at an end; and that, notwithstanding their zeal for the welfare of the commonwealth, they will be unable to pay taxes much less necessary.

To these humble supplications, the merchants add the most sincere prayers for the prosperity of your royal highness's family, whom moreover they request to preserve their common rights and liberties, purchased at so dear a rate, and to maintain them against those who seek to make the republic suffer."

They write from Holland, that the princess gouvernante, when she went to the assembly of the States General, and delivered the famous me-

memorial of the merchants, expressed herself to the following purport.

“ That she came not to the assembly to stir up the zeal of their high mightinesses for the preservation of their country, of which they had given evident proofs on every occasion; but to entreat them to take into their serious consideration, the augmentation of the land forces, which was so necessary in the present critical circumstances of the state, in order to guard its frontiers from insult. That with regard to the fourth deputation of the merchants, and the speech, of which she had delivered to them a copy, she had as yet made no remarks on it, only that it was not expressed in proper terms to bring things to an amicable conclusion, notwithstanding the assurances she had given the merchants. That she hoped, by her repeated solicitations, to bring matters to an happy issue in England; that she therefore laid it before their high mightinesses, and left it to them to do in that affair as they should think proper: That the time became more and more urgent, for thinking of the safety of the republic: That if the equipment proposed by the merchants should be judged necessary, it ought immediately to be carried into execution jointly with the augmentation of the land forces, that the state might be put on a respectable footing by sea and land: That she therefore hoped that on her solicitation, and that of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen, their mightinesses would exhort the province of Holland to desist from its opposition to the said augmentation: and that all the confederates would unanimously consent to

those two points, so essential at all times, but especially in the present circumstances.”

Translation of a rescript sent by Count Kaunitz, prime minister to the empress queen, to the imperial ministers at the several courts of the empire.

“ The unfortunate issue of the last campaign gave the enemy a fine game to play. He had it in his power, from the beginning of spring, to form his plan of offensive operations as he thought best. We, for our part, could only have one principal object, namely, the putting our army on a proper footing, and endeavouring to make in time every other disposition for defence. This was accomplished, no labour or money being spared: to the great surprise of the enemy himself, in a few months our army was put on such a footing, that it did not hesitate to present itself before the enemy. At the same time, a negotiation was commenced with Russia, to induce that court to march, even in the winter, a body of 30,000 men straight into Moravia. That court was so complainant as to declare, that they would march a body of 30,000 fresh troops, either to be employed in Moravia, or to reinforce the imperial army of Russia, and so push the operations of the war with vigour. Their march was left to the option of the court of Vienna. Though at that time our own defensive operations were not brought to maturity, their imperial majesties, in consideration of the common cause, generously receded from their first demand, and signified that the reinforcement in question, ought rather to join the imperial army of Russia, that it might continue to act vigorously.

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The crown of France was at the same time required to send, pursuant to treaty, an auxiliary body of 24,000 men at least. It is unnecessary to mention the interesting circumstances of things at that precise period when this corps ought to have marched; and though, some time after this, it was very uncertain what turn the siege of Olmutz would take, the court of Vienna itself insisted upon postponing the march of those succours till another time; and laboured to concert new measures to divert the unforeseen storm, that threatened to burst over the estates of the patriotic and well-intentioned members of the empire: a point which hath been effectually accomplished.

What was done on our side, during the siege of Olmutz, is generally known. The enemy retired through Bohemia: and scarce had we enjoyed the smiling prospect of our hereditary states being entirely delivered from them, when, after mature deliberation, a resolution was taken at Vienna, by no means to march the imperial and royal army into Silesia, but to carry it directly into Lusatia, as soon as the enemy, in abandoning Bohemia, should direct his march that way. The principal motives which determined us to take this resolution, were, among others, that by such a motion our army drew nearer to those of Russia and Sweden; that it opened a communication with those armies, and the enemy would be molested in the center of his position. Advice was immediately given to the Russian generals of this resolution, and they were left to draw up what plan of operations they should think proper.

In the mean time the imperial

army of Russia, and the body of reserve, had drawn near the estates of the enemy. In a council of war it was debated whether they ought to advance straight to Francfort on the Oder, or towards Lower Silesia, or penetrate by the Wartha into the New Marche. Several difficulties were started with regard to the two former projects, both with regard to the subsistence, and the necessity of preserving a communication with the kingdom of Prussia. The third project was therefore made choice of, and executed; which the court of Vienna learnt with the greater satisfaction, as it had conceived some uneasiness concerning the march of the Russian army towards Francfort on the Oder, or towards Silesia; seeing that with regard to the first case, the corps of general Dohna was already assembled in that part; and on the other hand, the King of Prussia, in retiring from Bohemia, was marching to Silesia, so that he would have it in his power at once to employ his whole force, joined to Dohna's corps, against the Russian army; and this army, by marching towards Lansberg, would be removed from the Prussians; and would moreover have the Oder and the Wartha before it.

The first news of the part taken by the Russian generals was received at Vienna, at the time that Marshal Daun was already advanced with his army towards Goslitz, and almost at the same time that undoubted intelligence was received from several quarters, that the King of Prussia in person was in full march with a body of 15 or 16,000 men to join General Dohna; and on the 12th of August, arrived near Lignitz.

It was the less possible to prevent or hinder this march, as the enemy had, through his own country, a much shorter road, than we had, and could scarce be at any loss for subsistence: that, besides the Russian army, by its march to Landsberg, was removed farther from our army, which had on its flank, on the side of Silesia, an army of 30,000 of the enemy's troops.

In these circumstances, the following points were taken into consideration. Whether for the good of the common cause, the marshal ought not to march forward with his whole army, either towards Berlin, or towards Francfort on the Oder, or whether he ought to direct his operations towards Silesia, or towards Saxony. It was considered that the first of these projects could be regarded as a *coup de main* only, and by no means as a decisive blow; and there were the fewer motives to follow it, as it was easy to imagine that the King of Prussia would give battle to the Russians before we could, for want of subsistence, get into the Lower Lusatia with our whole force.

It seemed at the same time highly improper to transfer the theatre of war into Silesia, because nothing essential would thereby be gained, and it would give to the troops of the enemy that were left in Silesia, an opportunity of taking an advantageous camp near some fortresses in that duchy, and so protract our operations. The court, therefore, as well as Marshal Daun, thought it would be best to march towards Saxony. It was thought that by taking this step essential advantages would be gained, or that at least the enemy would be forced, by the apprehension of suffering a

very sensible loss, to bring all his forces into Saxony against the imperial and royal army, and the combined army, and by that means the Russians and Swedes, as well as the bodies of forces left on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia, under the generals Harsch and De Ville, would have their hands much more free, to act efficaciously.

The real advantage that must result from all this, doubtless consisted in dislodging the army under Prince Henry, and delivering Dresden, and the greatest part of Saxony.

To attain this important end, M. Daun's first project was to advance with his whole army straight to Meissen, there to cross the Elbe, and at once march up to the enemy, at the same time that he should be attacked by the combined army, and thus deprived of an opportunity of throwing himself into Dresden. But at that time, that is to say, on the 3d of September, Sonnenstein was not yet in our possession, and the enemy had taken such an advantageous position, opposite to the combined army, that it was thought scarce feasible, and highly dangerous, for this to make the first attack; and yet, unless it did so, Prince Henry would still have it in his power to throw himself into Dresden, whilst the imperial and royal army passed the Elbe near Meissen, and to maintain himself on this side of the river, and open a communication with the king.

Marshal Daun did not think it consistent with the dignity of arms, or the interest of the service, to make useless marches, and to take insignificant positions. Nor did he think it prudent to remove to a greater

greater distance, either from the Russians or the Swedes, or even from Lusatia or Silesia; he therefore suddenly took a resolution to draw near to the combined army, and to direct his march towards Stolpen; and this the rather, as the city of Dresden could not be attacked in form, and as the news of an entire defeat (as it was falsely called) of the Russian army, was received at the same time. It was therefore very natural to imagine, that the King of Prussia would hasten back with a considerable army, and render the siege of Dresden of no effect.

As soon as the imperial and royal army had fixed its camp at Stolpen, the field marshal employed himself in reconnoitring the position of the enemy, and in forming new plans to give him an effectual blow. On the 9th he held a conference with the Prince of Deux-Ponts, at which he proposed a design a little too bold perhaps; namely, that this prince should attack the enemy next day; that for this end he (the marshal) would approach that very night to the Elbe, pass it between the enemy's camp and Dresden, laying bridges between two fires at a small distance from each other; and carry over his whole army; attack the enemy, and cut him off from Dresden. The Prince of Deux-Ponts entered wholly into this plan; only he found it impossible to make the attack next day, because the time was too short to make the necessary dispositions, call in the detached posts, and employ them where necessary.

Though the marshal insisted with the more vehemence on the necessity of making haste, as we had received sure accounts, that the king was on his march with a consider-

able body, and there was not a moment to lose, he saw himself forced, however, by the obstacles just mentioned, to defer the attack till the 11th. It was agreed therefore, that in the night between the 10th and 11th, the imperial and royal army should approach to the Elbe, and lay bridges over it; that the combined army should advance in order of battle, and make those movements on the flanks which should be deemed proper; and that at day break it should venture to make the attack. This plan of operations was executed, *excepting* the attack; for Marshal Daun received the same day, the 10th, certain intelligence that the king was arrived near Dresden with a considerable body, and that the rest of the enemy's troops were not far off. On this account, it was, after mature deliberation, judged to be an enterprise too rash to attempt to pass such a river as the Elbe, between the army of Prince Henry, and the city of Dresden, and that at a time when there was another army behind them; that in case of any misfortune the imperial and royal army would be exposed to total ruin. The marshal, agreeably to his usual foresight and experience in war, came over to this opinion, and saw himself obliged to signify to the Prince of Deux-Ponts, even the very night in which the attack was to have been made, that difficulties had occurred in relation to the attack which had been concerted, and even in some measure begun.

Thus one principal project, namely, the speedy expulsion of Prince Henry, failed. We could not, however, have hindered him from joining the king a little further down the river, and from opposing
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the siege of Dresden. But, on the other hand, we obtained the whole of the second principal object, that is to say, the drawing the enemy's forces into Saxony, and accordingly he brought into Saxony the greatest part of those troops he had in Silesia, as, well as a numerous body from General Dohna's army; and thereby he has left himself more and more exposed in other parts.

Such is the true plan of the present campaign: and though the issue of it be not as yet intirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions, and that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and that it is still making at present preparations from which it may hope for the most happy consequences. I expect to be soon able to give you an account of them, being, &c."

Declaration delivered the 12th of June to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg.

"The empress having engaged in the present war, in order to succour her allies, has their interests as much at heart as her own: her majesty therefore could not, without some concern, hear of the convention concluded the 11th of April last in London, between the King of Great Britain and the King of Prussia, as the British court thereby pretends not only to make the war kindled up by that prince her own quarrel, but, in that appearance, a firm resolu-

tion is also taken to give no satisfaction to the powers so unjustly attacked and so grievously wronged, and to carry on the war to the last extremity. 'Tis doubtless on this principle, that the continual devastations exercised by the King of Prussia, even in some neutral states, are varnished over with the name of defence or support of the liberties of the Germanic body; that the opposition made by the empress queen against a total invasion of her hereditary dominions, is termed a dangerous design upon the protestant religion; and, in fine, that the assistance given to that prince by her allies, is represented as an aggression against the empire.

It is true, that in the said convention her imperial majesty of all the Russias is not mentioned by name. But the King of Prussia having already published last year, as soon as the Russian troops entered Prussia, a particular declaration against her majesty (a step which he did not take against France when her army entered his territories, though it was notorious that she, as well as Russia, had no other design but to succour their allies) he has thereby plainly shewn that he endeavours if possible to make the war waged in his German dominions common to the whole empire; and that, on the contrary, by entirely excluding Prussia, he strives to persuade neutral princes that he is actuated by nothing but the interest of the empire, and that it is only in this object he desires their concurrence. As to the conservation of Prussia, perhaps he thinks himself singly strong enough to make sure of it; or that, in sacrificing it, he seeks

to represent the part the empress takes in this war as a matter quite foreign to the common cause, and no way connected with it, to the end that the allies may less mind it, and in return, that his party may appear the stronger for it. But besides that this artifice cannot impose upon any body; the empress hopes that, with the help of God, her troops will soon enter the provinces of the king of Prussia that make part of the German empire.

And as on this occasion one must expect to meet with all the false imputations, which the empress's allies are obliged to bear, as if the empire was invaded, its liberties infringed, and the protestant religion menaced; her majesty declares in the most solemn manner, that having taken part in the present war only by virtue of her anterior engagements, and after her reiterated declarations, that she would not look with indifference on any invasion that should be made by the king of Prussia in the dominions of her allies, but would assist, with all her power, the party attacked, did not produce the effect that was hoped from them; and considering the firm resolution taken by the enemies of her allies to continue an unjust war, she also becomes more and more steady in her designs, as well as in her sincere desire to act unanimously with them, and to assist them efficaciously and vigorously, in order to procure just satisfaction to the parties aggrieved, and to settle the general peace on terms that may be productive of a solid and lasting tranquillity. That, towards attaining so salutary an end, the

troops of her imperial majesty will endeavour to penetrate into the King of Prussia's German dominions as far as possible. That every one may persuade themselves beforehand, that on this occasion there will be no violation of the laws and liberties of Germany; but, on the contrary, that even the inhabitants of the enemy's countries shall experience, each in their station, as far as circumstances may permit, the effects of her imperial majesty's benignity, as appears already by the permission she has given for carrying on a free trade even in the places that may become the seat of war. That as on the occasion of the new motions the Russian troops are going to make in favour of the empress's allies, they will be indispensably obliged to pass through the territories of the republic of Poland, her imperial majesty renews the assurances she has more than once given, that neither in this occasional passage, nor in any other circumstance, will they ever dream of violating the rights and liberties of the republic, whose tranquillity will ever be dear to the empress: in fine, that whatever may be the always uncertain events of war, her imperial majesty can beforehand affirm, that her fortitude shall not be shaken by them: that she never will recede from the engagements she has entered into with her allies, not to treat separately about a truce or peace; but that her majesty will faithfully and punctually perform whatever she has once promised and declared."

Translation of the brief, which the pope addressed to the empress queen, when he conferred upon

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her the title of Apostolical Queen of Hungary.

“The Roman pontiffs, whom we have succeeded notwithstanding our want of merit, wisely neglected not, greatly to their honour, amidst different regulations, paternally to distinguish, and load with favours, as occasion offered, the countries situated on the frontiers of the perpetual enemies of the Christian name, and always regarded those countries as the bulwarks, which alone could secure Christianity from hostile invasions. We have regarded in the same light, the most flourishing kingdom of Hungary, possessed by our dearly beloved daughter in Christ; which, both by its situation and the bravery of the people, is the most proper for the propagation of the Christian lustre and name. All the world knows how the noble Hungarians have contributed, by their valour, to the extending and defending the Christian religion; and how often, and with what success, they have fought against its hereditary enemy. Who knows not the signal and almost incredible victories which they have gained, when Christendom was in danger of being totally ruined and overwhelmed?

These actions are generally known. They are recorded in the most authentic annals, and will be transmitted down to the most distant posterity. Mean while we ought to call to mind St. Stephen, that valiant sovereign of Hungary, whose memory is precious to the church; which has been inscribed in the catalogue of the saints, and whom we particularly reverence. We talk, even in these parts (to the honour of

the Hungarian nation) of his virtues, his piety, and his magnanimity. The princes who have succeeded him, have exerted themselves at all times to imitate his virtuous example.

No wonder, then, that the sovereign pontiffs, having regard to the sincere and unshaken attachment of the princes and kings of Hungary to the catholic faith, and calling to mind the service they have done the holy see, have, from time to time, heightened their merit, and granted them particular privileges. Among other privileges, their kings enjoyed that of having a cross carried before them by a bishop, when they appeared in public on solemn occasions, as the most eminent sign of their apostleship; a particular concession of the holy see, which would thereby shew that the Hungarian nation, and its kings, gloried only in the cross of our Saviour Christ, and have always been wont to fight and overcome for the catholic faith, under this holy banner.

The kings of Hungary have also, at diverse times, acquired the privilege of being decorated and honoured with the glorious and magnificent title of Apostolic kings, though the true origin of this custom, and the authenticity of such a high prerogative, cannot be precisely discovered.

We, for our part, though we cannot manifest the true spirit of our predecessors, have, nevertheless, made it our constant endeavours to follow their sentiments. We cannot, we imagine, more advantageously distinguish the beginning of our pontificate, than by conferring all possible honours, and the

utmost splendor on those princes and kings whom we know to be attached to the holy see; and therefore we have thought proper to contribute particularly to the exaltation of your Apostolic majesty, and of your kingdom of Hungary. We cannot do this more effectually, than by confirming, as far as in us lies, by our papal authority and power, this apostolical denomination. We therefore, of our own proper motion, certain knowledge, and plenitude of apostolic authority, invest, honour, and decorate your majesty, as Queen of Hungary, and your successors in that kingdom, with the title and denomination of Apostolic Queen; willing that all, and every one, shall name and acknowledge you, and your successors, for Apostolic Queen.

Receive then, dearly beloved daughter in Christ, this title joyfully; not, however, as a mark of that power which the vanity of the age, and a deceitful ambition may invent, but as a symbol of a christian submission to Jesus Christ, by whom alone the true glory of your kingdom can subsist for ever. This title you receive as a testimony or recompence of your zeal for the propagation of the catholic religion; a zeal, which hath been transmitted to you by a long series of ancestors, which you have kept up, and which increases in you more and more. Transmit this title of honour and splendor to the best and best-beloved of sons, that son who shall possess the whole glory of his mother's inheritance. Receive this brief as the pledge and the first-fruits of the paternal love and af-

fection, which we bear towards your Apostolic majesty; and we give you, dearly beloved daughter in Christ Jesus, most tenderly our apostolic benediction.

Rome, August 25."

Translation of the instructions given by the States of Courland and Semigallia to Mr. Schopping, whom they sent as their deputy to Warsaw, about the election of a new duke.

"1. He shall, with the most profound respect, assure his majesty, our most gracious king and lord paramount, of the inviolable obedience and fidelity of these duchies, and most humbly recommend them to his majesty's paternal benevolence and protection.

2. He shall most respectfully beseech his majesty, and the most illustrious republic, to procure the release of the unfortunate duke and his family.

3. His excellency Count Malachowski, high chancellor of the crown, having written to the states, that it was in vain to hope any longer for the release of that duke and his male issue: and M. Simolin, minister-resident from her majesty the empress of all the Russias in these duchies, having declared and confirmed the same thing, by order of his court, adding, that her imperial majesty of all the Russias would be glad to see his royal highness Prince Charles of Poland elected Duke of Courland; and her imperial Czarish majesty having given the like instructions to her minister at Warsaw; the deputy must also represent to the high chancellor or the crown, that, according to
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the precise terms of the constitutions of our government, the assembly of the states cannot attempt any thing against the investiture of the duchies; and that so long as the king and republic do not declare the seat to be vacant, we must, according to our laws, continue to pray for our unfortunate lord and his family.

4. But, whereas his royal highness prince Charles has gained the veneration of all hearts by his great qualities, and his gracious deportment, both in going to and returning from Peterburgh, the deputy is to make known the inclination of the states for this prince in case the seat of the duchies be declared vacant, and intimate that they should deem themselves very happy if his royal highness would make profession of the confession of Augsburgh, and thereby impower them humbly to beseech his majesty to grant him the sovereignty of these duchies.

5. This being supposed, then, if his royal highness will be pleased, according to custom, previously to secure to the country all its civil and religious rights, the deputy shall declare that the states will not hesitate a moment to take advantage of the dispositions of the empress of all the Russias in favour of this prince, and will entreat her to grant him the sovereignty of these duchies.

6. But since, according to the compacts of subjection, the guaranties of religion, and other documents, these duchies must have as heretofore a Teutonic magistracy of the confession of Augsburgh; as no change can be made in this respect, without failing in

the assurances given and confirmed upon oath; and as Gothard, first Duke of Courland, did keep to himself, in quality of grand master, the whole administration of ecclesiastic affairs, which the protestant princes have also done, in consequence of the compacts of subjection, whose authority ought to be immutable, according to the constitutions of the government; the deputy shall constantly and most strenuously insist on this object, most humbly representing the firm persuasion of the states that his majesty and the illustrious republic will take into consideration the said assurances given to this country by his majesty's predecessors, and will preserve the Teutonic magistracy which it has had ever since its subjection to the republic, viz. a prince of the confession of Augsburgh.

7. As for the rest, the states will always continue with the most inviolable loyalty to live under the gracious supremacy of his majesty and the illustrious republic of Poland, and never will they wish for a duke that is not agreeable to their gracious lord paramount. This is what the deputy shall declare; and he is desired to conform exactly to his instructions, without deviating therefrom in any one point. Whereupon we wish him a good journey, and a happy issue to his negotiation."

[These instructions are signed by Christopher Frederick Sacken, governor; Otho Christopher von der Hoon, chancellor; Henry Christian Offenberg, burgrave; Francis George Frank, marshal; all members of the great council; and also by twenty-five deputies of the parishes of Courland.

The dyet of Poland breaking up without settling any one national affair, the Courlanders are just where they were before; for though the Empress of Russia and King of Poland may declare the seat of their duke to be vacant, the republic must concur in this verdict before it can be filled up; and should these two sovereigns attempt by force to carry an election in Courland in favour of Prince Charles, it might possibly occasion an insurrection in Poland. Besides, the change of religion required for qualifying him to be a candidate, is another bar to his preferment: but this might, perhaps, be got over with the help of a dispensation from Rome, allowing him to keep covenants with his subjects only till he should be able to break them.]

Translation of the Universalia issued by the king of Poland, for the assembling of a general dyet of the states at Warsaw.

“ Augustus III. by the grace of God King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, &c.

In the horrid calamities which have so long afflicted our hereditary dominions, the happiness and prosperity of the republic is the greatest alleviation we can find to the grief with which we are penetrated.

In 1756, about the time that was fixed for the ordinary dyet, the whole force of the enemy came and fell upon our hereditary dominions, and at one instant presented us with a prospect of all the misfortunes that were afterwards to ensue to that unhappy country.

This idea, painful as it was, would not so deeply have wounded

our paternal breast, if the army of an enterprising neighbour, which surrounded us on all sides, had not prevented us from coming to you at the time appointed for the assembling of the states of the republic; for the sight of that assembly, and of a people that have been ever dear to us, would have assuaged our other sorrows.

The tenor of the laws empowers us to convoke the general dyet this year at Warsaw, in order to treat there of the several necessities of the republic; therefore waving the consideration of the toil attached to this obligation, and animated only with the pleasing hopes of the public good, which, through your unanimity, may perhaps result from thence to the country, we fix the said ordinary dyet at Warsaw on the 2d of October, 1758; the anti-comital dyet at the usual place on the 21st of August; and that of the generality for the 18th of the same month.

As in former dyets we never proposed any thing relating to our own private interests, or those of our royal family, so we now solemnly protest, that we have no such views in this, and that we are very far from seeking our own advantage to the prejudice of Poland, by wanting to involve it in the present fatal troubles of the rest of Europe.

It is by so upright a conduct that we hope to silence all those, who, by secret and artful insinuations, endeavour to destroy the confidence that subsists between ourselves and the states of the republic, and render suspicious our most salutary measures for your welfare, that they may perpetuate disorder in the country,
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overturn the basis of public deliberations, and on the ruins of Poland erect trophies of glory to foreign nations, whose interest it may be to foment and keep up these divisions.

Zeal for the public good alone, the motive that has always influenced our actions hitherto, will direct and animate all our deliberations at the approaching dyet. And without insisting now upon any particular propositions, we are ready even to go contrary to natural subordination, in conforming ourselves, though we are the father of the country, to the desires of its dear children, provided that, laying aside every other sentiment, the three estates of the republic will unanimously concur in every thing that shall be found for the good of the country."

Memorial concerning the destroying of the suburb of Dresden.

" Marshal Daun having taken advantage of the king's absence, who was gone to fight the Russians, to fall upon Saxony with all his forces, in the month of July last, the army of the empire having entered it on another side by Peterswalde, Count Schmettau, governor of Dresden, thought that place in such imminent danger, that he found himself indispensably obliged to take every possible measure to guard against a surprise, and to hinder the Austrians from carrying the place by a *coup de main*. An enterprize of this nature would have been the more easy, as most of the houses of the suburbs, from the gate of Pirna to that of Wilsdorf, absolutely command the body of the

town, both by their prodigious height, being six or seven stories high, and by their proximity to the rampart. From this consideration Count Schmettau caused it to be declared to the court by M. de Bose, chief cup-bearer, that as soon as the enemy should make a shew of attacking Dresden, he should find himself under the disagreeable necessity of burning the suburbs, and that for that end he had just put combustible matters in the highest houses, and those next to the rampart, that his orders for that purpose might be speedily executed, whenever the reasons of war obliged him to issue them in his own defence. The same declaration was made to the magistrates, the governor having sent for the burgo-master to come to him. The court and the city earnestly implored, that this misfortune might be averted from the inhabitants; but the governor insisted that it would be indispensably necessary to come to that extremity, if the enemy themselves would pay no respect to the royal residence; and caused every thing to be got ready for the execution of his threats.

Meanwhile, the city as well as the states of Saxony, who were then assembled at Dresden, sent a deputation to M. de Borcke, the king's minister, to intreat him to intercede with the governor in their behalf. M. de Borcke, after conferring with Count Schmettau, answered them, that it depended on the court and the city themselves, to prevent the attacking of Dresden; but that if the Austrians should attack it, it would be impossible to spare the suburbs, the houses of which commanded the

rampart, the governor having expressed orders to defend himself till the last extremity. The minister at the same time pointed out to them the imminent danger to which the city and the castle, and even the royal family, would be exposed, if he should be forced to come to that extremity, as the fire of the suburbs could not fail, without a miracle, to reach the town; and make terrible havock: He at the same time conjured the deputies of the states, to use their utmost endeavours to divert the storm, and not to consider the governor's declaration as a vain threat, for he could assure them upon his honour, that upon the firing of the first cannon against the town, they would see the suburbs on fire.

Marshal Daun happily changed his resolution upon the king's approach, who was returning victorious from Zorndorff; and the governor of Dresden, yielding to the intreaties of the inhabitants, ordered the combustible matters with which he had filled the houses to be removed. But marshal Daun returning a second time into Saxony, appeared again, namely on the 6th of November, within sight of Dresden, with a formidable army. This army having made a motion on the 7th, and taken a camp on this side Lockowitz, the governor, who could no longer doubt that his views were against the capital, caused the combustible matters to be quickly replaced in the houses of the suburbs which surrounded the town ditch, and commanded the rampart. The court was immediately informed of it by M. de Bose, the chief cup-bearer, whom Count Schmettau charged to represent again to his

court, that if the enemy's army should approach the suburbs, he would that instant set fire to them. It was answered, that as the court, its hands being tied, was obliged to acquiesce in all, and wait the last extremities, the governor was free to do whatever he thought he could answer.

The same day (Nov. 8.) at noon the enemy's advanced troops, attacked the hussars and independent battalions which were posted at Streissen and Gruene-Wiese. This skirmish continued till night came on, and made the governor judge that it might have consequences, as the enemy might easily repulse those advanced posts, and enter pell-mell with them into the suburb. He therefore detached next day (the 9th) in the morning Colonel Itzenplitz with 700 men, and some pieces of cannon, and posted them himself in the redoubts that surrounded the suburb, that, in case of need, they might support the hussars and the independent battalions. About noon he sent for the magistrates of the town; put them in mind of what he had said to them in the month of July last; and told them, that the enemy having evidently a real design against Dresden, he gave them notice for the last time, that on the first appearance of an Austrian in the suburbs, they would be set on fire. The magistrates answered by only shrugging their shoulders, and deploring the misfortune of their fellow citizens. The governor told them, that they had nothing to do but to apply to the court, who alone could avert the calamity.

About noon the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced posts, re-

repelled the hussars, whose number was too small to make resistance, and even forced them, as well as Monjou's independent battalion, to quit the great garden, and gain the suburbs. The enemy immediately attacked the small redoubts, where 700 men of the garrison had been posted, forced three of them, and penetrated to Zinzendorf-house, and even made such progress, that an Austrian soldier was killed on the draw-bridge of Pirna-gate, and some cannon were obliged to be fired on Zinzendorf-house to drive out the Austrians. During this attack the enemy's cannon played into the town, and several six-pounders fell in the arsenal, in the Prince's hotel, and in the houses of Loos, Mnifceck, and Counsellor Fritsch. One ball even fell before the house of Marshal Count Rutowsky.

Notwithstanding this declared attack against the town and suburbs, no house was yet on fire; a plain proof that there was little inclination to proceed to that extremity. The cannon of the rampart forced the enemy to retire; and before night even all the redoubts of which they had got possession were retaken.

Mean while the army of General Itzenplitz marched through the town, passed the Elbe, and encamped under the cannon of the new town; and General Meyer was ordered to defend the suburbs with his independent battalions, and four others, and to set fire to them after giving notice to the inhabitants. One of this general's officers told the governor, about midnight, that he heard men at work, and that the enemy seemed to be erecting batteries, and planting cannon; accordingly, all who were sent out

beyond the barriers to reconnoitre, had a smart fire to sustain. These preparations, added to the preceding affair, giving room to think that at day-break the enemy would make a vigorous attack, and make themselves masters of the suburbs, into which the cannon of the town could not dispute their entrance, by reason of the height of the houses, the governor had no other measures to take but those which the interest of his master, reasons of war, and his own honour, dictated. The signal was given by General Meyer, and immediately, at three in the morning of the 10th, the greatest part of the suburbs of Pirna, the houses adjoining to the ditch, and two in the suburb of Wildsdorff, were in flames. The six battalions with the 700 men, entered the town by the three gates, which were immediately barricaded; and after six in the morning there was not a Prussian in the suburbs, as the inhabitants of the town can testify. The story of the frequent sallies of the Prussians to light up what was not yet consumed, is void of all foundation. It is likewise absolutely false that the inhabitants had not timely notice given them. These atrocious calumnies are sufficiently confuted by the annexed certificates of the chief cup-bearer De Bose, and of the magistrates. As to the red-hot bullets fired upon the inhabitants, the lighted waggon, the children thrown into the fire, these are so many horrible lies, which will fall of themselves, when the aforesaid certificates of the court, the magistrates, and the judges of the suburbs are seen. The order given to the burghers to remain quiet in their houses was intimated only to the magistrates of the city, in the month

month of July; and not to those of the suburbs; and there was nothing in this but what is usual. What hath been said to the contrary is, in short, so false, that the court of Dresden was pleased to thank the governor for the good order he caused to be observed during those troubles: as will appear by the annexed letter of De Bose the chief cup-bearer.

It only remains that we should say something of the messages that passed between Marshal Daun and Count Schmettau, by the intervention of Colonel Sawoisky. After the first compliments, M. de Sawoisky told the governor, that Marshal Daun was extremely surprised at the burning of the suburbs; that he (Sawoisky) was desirous to enquire whether it was by order that this was done in a royal residence, which was a thing unheard of among christians; and that he hoped the city of Dresden would not be treated in the same manner. The marshal then made his compliments to the court; and added, that the governor should be responsible in his person for what had been done, or for what might be done, against this royal residence.

The colonel received for answer, in presence of Lieutenant-general Rizenplutz, that the governor had the honour to be known to be marshal; that he had orders to defend the town to the last man; that his excellency was too well acquainted with war, to be ignorant that the destruction of the suburbs, which the marshal had attacked, was according to rule: that as to what concerned the town, it depended upon his excellency, since if he attacked it, the go-

vernor would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street; and that the whole infantry of the army was ready to defend the city.

On the 11th, the governor having learnt from several burghers of the suburbs, who, at their own request, had been brought into the town with their effects by water, that the enemy had thrown into the flames, or massacred without pity, some defenceless people belonging to the Prussian army, who had remained behind, particularly a surgeon; sent at noon Captain Collas with a trumpet to the marshal, with orders to tell him, that his excellency's well known character did not permit it to be believed that such cruelties were committed by his order; and therefore to demand to whom they were to be ascribed; that as to the destruction of the suburbs, Colonel Sawoisky had already carried an answer on that head to the marshal, but that this opportunity was taken to declare to his excellency, that if he desired to save the rest of the suburbs, he must hinder his troops from appearing in them; that no body had the preservation of the town and suburbs more at heart than the governor, as far as was consistent with his duty, and his honour; that the houses would not have been set on fire, had not the troops of his army forced their way into the suburbs, and even fired several cannon into the town (which M. Daun pretended not to know; saying, that it had been done without his orders;) and that the combustible matters were ready to consume what was left of the suburb, in case his troops should again enter it. The court took advantage of

of this message to ask a passport from M. Daun for bringing some sheep and fire-wood into the town.

His excellency answered to these three heads, That he had no irregular troops with him; and that he had forbid any person of his army to approach the suburbs; that he did not apprehend any excesses had been committed; but in case there had, he desired to know the number of the persons massacred; that he was the more astonished at those complaints, as he never suffered such disorders; that he abhorred them, and that perhaps the burghers had no foundation for what they had said. As to the suburbs, M. Daun answered, that he would not suffer rules to be prescribed to him; that it depended upon him to send troops into the suburbs, as he should judge proper, and the governor might do as he pleased; but that he hoped that in the mean while no more families would be made wretched; and that he had forbid his troops, on severe penalties, to enter the suburbs to pillage. As to the demand made by the court, he answered, that he would particularly attend to it; and assured them of his profound respects.

On the 12th, his excellency sent an officer with a permit to deliver the sheep and fire-wood for the court, which were to be brought into the town by Prussians; and Captain Collas was sent to regulate this affair. The captain, in passing through the suburbs, shewed the lieutenant sent by M. Daun the marauders of his troops, both foot and hussars, who exceeded 200; and the officer promised to make a report of it to the marshal. The rest of the time, to the 26th, that

the enemy's army retired, passed in amazing tranquillity.

C. Count de Schmettau.
Dresden, Dec. 5, 1758.

No. I. Letter from M. De Bose, chief cup-bearer to Count Schmettau.

I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, in answer to what you wrote me this day, I must own that ever since you had the government of Dresden, I informed you of all that his royal highness charged me to tell you in his name, and I have likewise reported to his highness your excellency's answers.

As to the first point, I also remember very well that your excellency charged me, in the month of July, to represent in your name to his royal highness, that if Marshal Daun should attack the city, you must set fire to the suburbs, particularly the houses that adjoined to the ditch; into which houses your excellency immediately ordered combustibles to be put. I also remember, that upon the solicitations which his royal highness made, by me, to your excellency, you ordered them to be removed when Marshal Daun retired; and of this also I made an humble report.

It is also true, that when Marshal Daun was at Lockowitz, on the 8th of November last, your excellency charged me to acquaint his royal highness in your name, that if the marshal should approach nearer the town and attack it, you should be obliged to burn the suburbs, and the houses adjoining to the town ditch. Although I made several remonstrances to your excellency from the court, you declared,

clared, that you was ordered by the king your master to defend yourself to the last extremity, and that you could not change your measures, unless Marshal Daun should be prevailed with not to attack the town. To which I answered, in his royal highness's name, That he knew nothing of Marshal Daun's designs; that he could not intermeddle in the operations of war, and would consequently be obliged to endure what he could not hinder.

Lastly, it is well known that your excellency, during the fire, took every possible measure in the town to prevent those excesses and disorders, which might have been apprehended; and his royal highness charged me to return you his thanks for it. I have the honour to be, &c.

Joachim Frederick De Bose.

Dec. 4, 1758.

No. II. Certificate of the Magistrates of Dresden.

In consequence of orders received from his excellency Count Schmettau, lieutenant-general and governor, we certify what we know concerning the burning of the suburbs, viz.

That it was about the end of July when combustibles were put into the new built houses on the counterescarp; that upon the representation made thereupon to his excellency, by the court and the magistrates, he answered, that our court itself had given its consent to it; and that if the enemy did not approach he would not cause the houses to burnt. Though we have since heard that those combustibles were taken away, no person ever told us, nor have we ever heard

that any one suffered the least damage thereby.

On the 2d of November, at noon, his excellency ordered the burgo-masters and magistrates to come to him, and told us, that he was commanded by the king, his master, to defend the place to the last extremity; that though the new works were sufficiently provided with men, he should be obliged, if the enemy should force them, to set fire to the houses, and had already given orders accordingly. Though we made the most pressing intreaties that he would spare the town, representing that it did not belong to the magistrates, but to his majesty the king of Poland, and that it was the residence of an elector; his excellency answered, that he would not alter his measures, were it the residence of the emperor himself; that it was not our fault; and that we might apply to our court, who had drawn thither the enemy. Upon which he sent us away, and would not hear our remonstrances.

Being returned to the town-house, we apprized the judges of the Fishmongers and Ram quarters, of the danger with which the suburbs were threatened; we enjoined them to give notice to the judges of the other quarters to repair to the town-house; and we told those who attended there, that their suburbs were in the greatest danger of being set on fire; that they must warn their burghers to be on their guard; to provide themselves with instruments against the fire, and mutually to assist each other in case of any misfortune, since no assistance could be expected from the town. We have heard, since the

the misfortune happened, that this order was executed.

This fire burnt 252 houses of the jurisdiction of the magistrates, which have been entirely consumed, and two more were much damaged. Thirty-one houses of the jurisdiction of the Bailiwick were likewise entirely burnt down.

Two persons were burnt to death, two killed, three hurt by the fire, and two wounded by the soldiers.

We never heard, in any shape, of a waggon full of goods which they were endeavouring to save, and which it was pretended was covered with combustibles, and so set on fire; nor of ninety persons said to have perished at the Hart; nor of the Austrian troops, who, it is pretended, assisted in extinguishing the flames.

Dresden, Dec. 4, 1758.
(L.S.) The Magistrates of Dresden.

No. III. Certificate of the Judges of the suburb of Dresden.

We the judges of the suburb of Dresden, certify and attest, that at the time of the calamity that hath just happened, things passed in this manner.

1. In the month of July combustibles were placed on the counterescarp, and removed in the month of August following, without doing the least damage.

2. They were replaced there a second time on the 7th of November, about six in the evening. On the 7th, about three in the afternoon, the magistrates ordered all the judges to attend them. Accordingly Simon Steltzner, judge; John Christian Dittrich, alderman; John Michael Faber, and John Christian Kretschmar, judges: attended, and were told (being en-

joined at the same time to acquaint the other judges with it) to provide the houses with water, to give notice to the landlords, and keep the pumps ready, and endeavour to assist one another, because, if any misfortune should happen, the people of the town could not come to our assistance, nor could we go to theirs; and of this we informed all the burghers.

3. On the 8th and 9th the Austrian army approached the town; and on the 9th the Austrian hussars forced their way to the suburb of Pirna and to Zinzendorf-house.

4. On the 10th, at two in the morning, fire was set to the quarters of Pirna, Ram, and Wildorf, which consumed

7 houses in the Fishmongers quarter.

141 — in Ram quarter.

82 — in Pirna quarter.

1 — in Halbe Gasse quarter.

2 — in Seethor quarter.

9 — in Poppitz quarter.

23 — in the Bailiwick quarter.

1 The excise-house, as also the excise-house and guard-house at Pirna gate, and the excise and guard-houses at Seethor.

— 266 houses in all.

Persons who lost their lives, or were hurt.

In Ram quarter. Two persons burnt.

In Pirna quarter.

A burgher, named Kammerling, killed by a cannon-ball fired from the town, and buried at Pirna.

A girl of fourteen wounded, who was removed to Pirna.

A widow

A widow wounded, carried into the town.

In Poppitz quarter.

One woman killed by the independent battalion.

There have been therefore in all, two persons burnt, a man and a woman greatly advanced in years, and whom it was impossible to save; two killed, and two wounded.

What has been said of a waggon is false; and it is equally false that 90 persons perished at the Hart; only four persons in all having lost their lives, as we have just mentioned.

The 10th, in the morning, there were found before Wilsdorff gate, among some straw, which had been unloaded there and laid before the houses, some parcels of gunpowder, which a burgher threw into the water. Two rooms in the house called Jungfer Palais were set on fire; but it was soon extinguished.

Lastly, it is false that the Austrian carpenters assisted us in extinguishing the fire. We never saw one of them.

We certify that all the above is strictly conformable to truth.

Simon Steltzner, judge;
John Christopher Groll,
Godefroi Schneider,
C. Benjamin Stamm,
John Daniel Karichs,
John Michael Faber,
John Christ. Grohmann,
John George Seyffert,
John Gottfried Peter,
John Christ. Kretschmar.

Dresden, Dec. 4, 1758.

The Saxon account of the damage done by the burning of the suburbs of Dresden, referred to in the several passages of the fore-

x

going memorial, is contained in the following.

Translation of a memorial presented on the 24th Nov. to the dyet of the empire, by the Saxon minister.

It was reserved for the history of the war, which the king of Prussia hath kindled in Germany, to transmit to future ages an action of such a nature as is that, which, according to the authentic advices that have been received by the undersigned minister of his majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, Lieutenant-general Schmettau, the Prussian governor of Dresden, hath just now ordered and executed in that royal residence and in the suburbs. The proceeding is so atrocious, that he thought it his duty, without waiting for his master's orders, most humbly to give notice of it to the laudable dyet of the empire. Those advices are dated the 14th ult. and are to the following effect.

“ The Austrian army having on the 9th instant forced the Prussian corps under General Itzenplitz to decamp from Gorlitz, and driven Meyer's independent battalion out of the Great Garden, General Schmettau, governor of Dresden, ordered the burghers to carry a vast quantity of straw into the suburbs, which was put into the houses in trusses. He made the inhabitants perfectly easy by making the strongest protestations to them, that they had nothing to fear; and ordered them to remain quiet within doors; and that no person should be seen in the streets in the night, for fear of danger, in case the enemy should make an attack.

At two in the morning a cannon was fired. On this signal the gunners and the soldiers of the independent

dependent battalion dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Wilschen suburbs, broke open the doors of the houses and shops, set fire to the straw, added fresh quantities of it, and increased the flames by torches of pitch, and afterwards shut the houses.

By the violence of the flames, which was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses and along the streets, the whole was instantly on fire. Those who wanted to run out of their houses were in danger of being killed by the fire of cannon and small arms. There were even soldiers in the streets, who pushed down with their bayonets such as were endeavouring to save their persons or effects. By this means a multitude of people of all ages, who inhabited those populous suburbs, perished amidst the flames, and under the ruins of houses. The number of those who were killed in the single inn, the sign of the Golden Hart, amounted to ninety; and upwards of two hundred of the principal houses have been reduced to ashes. Humanity is shocked at the thought of the cruelties committed this night and the two following days. A shoemaker, who was running away with his infant on a pillow, to save it from being burnt to death, was met by a volunteer, who snatched the pillow from him, and threw the babe into the flames. Many persons, and even some of distinction, after losing all their effects, were forced to make their escape in their shirts, through gardens, to the neighbouring villages. Others, who had saved a part of their beds and bedding in a garden, saw it set on fire, before their eyes, with torches. Some poor people saved their clothes and a few other things

in the church-yard; but even there did the red-hot balls follow them, and set on fire their little furniture, and even the coffins of the dead. One man had got his things into a waggon; the Prussians stopped it, covered it over with pitch, and set it on fire.

On the following days, such as ventured to return to the suburbs to save a part of what they had lost, were fired at. Prussian soldiers sallied out of the city, from time to time, to set one house on fire after another; many of these men were seized by the Austrian hussars and Croats, who discovered so much humanity and tenderness on this occasion, that they were seen, with tears in their eyes, readily parting with their own allowance of bread to give to the starving sufferers; they even gave them money; and ventured through the flames with them, honestly to assist them in saving their effects.

The Austrian army beheld these horrible acts, and was filled with indignation and rage. Its generals melting with compassion, tried every method to remedy them. They sent 300 carpenters into the suburbs to endeavour to extinguish the flames. The Austrians brought away all the inhabitants that had taken refuge in the Great Garden, and very generously set open to them their magazines. The general officers even made a considerable collection for them. Field Marshal Count Daun, with a view to stop the horrid ravages of the enemy, sent M. Sawoisky, a colonel in the Polish service, with a trumpet, to General Schmettau, the Prussian governor of that capital, to represent to him, that these proceedings were quite unheard of in civilized nations, among Christi-

ans,

ans, and even among Barbarians; and to declare to him, that he should be responsible for them in his person, as well as for all that might happen to the royal family, the rather as he had no reason given him for them; as he had not been summoned, nor had one inch of ground in the suburbs been taken, nor one musket fired into the town. To which the Prussian governor answered, That he was a soldier; that he acted according to the articles of war, without troubling himself about the royal family, or the fate of the town; and that what he did was by express order of his master.

There remains to be added to these afflicting advices, that the enormities committed even in the royal residence were equal to those in the suburbs. We have been already informed that persons perfectly innocent have been exposed to the most rigorous treatment, and that several houses have been pillaged.

What moderation soever shall be used in judging of these horrible excesses committed by the Prussian troops in a royal and electoral residence, still it must be acknowledged that this conduct is very strange, and altogether singular. For there was neither reason nor necessity for committing a devastation so horrible, and accompanied with the shedding so much innocent blood. It should seem that pains were taken to silence the voice of humanity, to fill the numerous royal family, residing in that unfortunate city, with the greatest terror, and to put their lives in danger.

It is unnecessary for me to enlarge farther by observing to the laudable dyet of the empire, that

besides the cruelties committed on this occasion, the regard due to the persons of sovereigns, their families, and residences, a regard which men have ever held sacred and inviolable, was trampled on.

John George Ponickau. Translation of the memorial presented on the 27th of November, to the dyet of the empire, by M. de Plotho, the Brandenburg minister, in answer to that of the Saxon minister.

There is not perhaps an instance of such a denunciation to the dyet of the empire, as that which was made in relation to what preceded the burning of the suburbs of Dresden, by the Saxon minister, in a memorial dated November 24, in which all the facts set forth are founded on advices pretended to be most authentic: yet it hath not been judged proper to venture to tell whence, or from whom, those advices were received, that the assembly of the empire, and the impartial world, might judge with certainty, what degree of credit they deserved.

The Saxon electoral ministry ought not therefore to be surprised, if on this occasion their ministerial credit should receive some check; and if blind zeal should not meet with as blind credulity.

We are therefore obliged, on our part, to give, as the Saxon minister hath done, but strictly adhering to truth, the authentic preliminary advices received from our court.

[Here Baron Plotho inserts, word for word, the relation of what passed at Dresden, and before that city, from the 8th of November, till the sending of M. Sawoisky. See page 168, &c.]

M. Plotho proceeds thus:

From

From this genuine relation of what preceded the affair, every one will easily judge, that nothing was done but what necessity and the exigency of war required. It is certainly most natural, that when siege is laid to a town which is a royal residence, he that defends it should employ the same precautions in its defence that are used in ordinary fortresses; and we cannot conceive on what foundation the besieged can be required to use tenderness when none is shewn by the besiegers; this would be to carry complaisance too far.

Mean while, all this, alas! is the deplorable effect of the war; and those who will not agree to gentle methods, but demand fire and sword, and insist on it, see their wishes and their desires fully, and more than fully, accomplished.

The undersigned can, nevertheless, most solemnly assure, with the greatest truth, that the King of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always feels the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern at the sight of the profuse effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the inconveniences of war, by which so many thousands are overwhelmed: and if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, could have prevailed, or been listened to, in any shape, the present war, attended with so much bloodshed, and ruinous to so many countries, would have been prevented and avoided.

Those, therefore, who stirred up the present war, and who, instead of extinguishing it without shedding of blood, took measures by which oil was thrown on the flames, and the

fire rendered fiercer, have to answer to God for such a profuse effusion of blood, for the ruin and devastation of so many countries, and for the loss of the lives and effects of so many innocent persons.

Ehrich Christopher,
Baron PLOTHO.

On the 26th of July, M. Le Chevalier Drucour, Governor of Louisbourg, surrendered that place by capitulation, on the following articles, viz.

I. The garrison of Louisbourg shall be prisoners of war, and shall be carried to England in the ships of his Britannic majesty.

II. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, as well as the arms of any kind whatsoever, which are at present in the town of Louisbourg, the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and their appurtenances, shall be delivered without the least damage, to such commissaries as shall be appointed to receive them for the use of his Britannic majesty.

III. The governor shall give his orders that the troops which are in the island of St. John, and its appurtenances, shall go on board such ships of war as the Admiral shall send to receive them.

IV. The gate called Port Dauphine, shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majesty, tomorrow at eight o'clock in the morning, and the garrison, including all those that carried arms, drawn up at noon, on the Esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements and ornaments of war. And the garrison shall go on board, in order to be carried to England in a convenient time.

V. The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded that are in
N the

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the hospitals, as of those belonging to his Britannic majesty.

VI. The merchants and their clerks that have not carried arms, shall be sent to France, in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.

Louisbourg, 26th July, 1758.
(Signed) Le Chevalier de Drucour.

Two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores, had been found in the place, and it was expected that more would be found. The following is the return of the state of the garrison when it capitulated.

State of the garrison of Louisbourg the 26th of July 1758, when it capitulated.

Names of the Regiments.	Officers.	Soldiers fit for duty.	Sick and wounded.	Total.
Twenty-four companies of marines of the usual garrison and two of the artillery	76	746	195	1017
Second battalion of Volontaires Etrangers	48	402	86	536
Second battalion of Cambise	38	466	104	608
Second battalion of Artois	32	407	27	466
Second battalion of Bourgogne	30	353	31	414
Total of the garrison	224	2374	443	3041
Sea Officers, private men, and marines fit for duty, with the sick and wounded, belonging to the ships	135	1124	1347	2606
Total prisoners	—	—	—	5637

All the French men of war that were in the harbour have been taken and destroyed, viz.

Prudent, 74 guns, burnt by the boats of the fleet, under the Captains Leforey and Balfour.

Entreprenant, 74 guns, blown up and burnt, by a shot from the marine battery.

Capricieux and Celebre, both 64 guns, burnt by the Entreprenant.

Bienfaisant, 64 guns, taken by the boats of the fleet, and towed from under the walls of the town into the east harbour, by Captain Balfour.

Apollo, 50 guns, Chevre, Biche, and Fidelle frigates, sunk by the

enemy across the harbour's mouth, to prevent the fleet's going in.

Diana, 36 guns, taken by his majesty's ship Boreas.

Echo, 26 guns, taken by his majesty's ship Juno.

Of his Majesty's forces were killed and wounded as follows.

KILLED.

Royal. Lieut. Fenton, Lieutenant Howe.

Gen. Amherst's. Lieut. Nicholson, Lieut. Campbell.

Gen. Forbes's. Capt. Earl of Donald.

Gen. Webb's. Ensign Godfrey Rowe.

Col.

Col. Monkton's. Lieut. Hart.
Col. Frazer's. Capt. Bailey, Lieut.
Curthbert, Lieut. Frazer, Lieut.
Murray.
Capt. Rogers's Rangers. Ensign
Francis Caruthers.
10 Non-commission officers.
146 Private men.
Artillery. 1 Gunner, and 3 ma-
troffes.

WOUNDED.

Col. Bastide, engineer in chief.
Royal. Lieut. Fitz-Simmons, Lieut.
Bailey, Lieut. Athe, Ensign Wat-
terson.
Gen. Amherst's. Lieut. Hamilton,
Lieut. and Adjutant Mukins,
Ensign Moneypenny.
Gen. Forbes's. Captain Rycat,
Lieut. Francis Tew.
Gen. Whitmore's. Lieut. Pierce
Butler, Lieut. John Jermyn,
Lieut. William Hamilton.
Gen. Bragg's. Capt. Browne.
Gen. Otways. Lieutenant Allan,
Lieut. Brown, Lieut. and Ad-
jutant Cockburn, Ensign Arm-
strong.
Gen. Hodgson's. Lieut. Lilly.
Gen. Webb's. Lieut. Hopkins.
Col. Anstruther's. Capt. Smith.
Col. Frazer's. Captain Donald
M'Donald, Lieutenant Alexan-
der Campbell, Lieutenant John
M'Donald.
7 Non-commission officers.
2 Drummers.
315 Private men.
Artillery. 1 corporal, 1 gunner, 3
matroffes,

Translation of a letter from the
Chevalier Drucour, late governor
of Louisbourg, to a friend at
Paris, dated Andover, October 1,
1758.

Infandum regina jubes—I wish,
Sir, I could erase from my me-

morv the four years I passed at
Louisbourg. The bad state of the
place, the impossibility of making
it better, the subsistence of a gar-
rison and inhabitants supported
there at the king's expence, and
threatened with famine once a
month, gave no little uneasiness
and anxiety to all who were charg-
ed therewith. This situation—
manet alta mente repositum. Many
old officers, from all the provinces
of the kingdom, have been wit-
nesses of my conduct; and I dare
assert that it was never impeached.
But he who views objects at a
distance only, may judge different-
ly. I hope, Sir, this was not your
case; but that you said 'It must
'have been impossible for Du-
'cour to act otherwise.' Of this
I cannot so easily convince you,
till I have the pleasure of seeing
you. Mean while, know that
twenty-three ships of war, eigh-
teen frigates, sixteen thousand land
forces, with a proportionable train
of cannon and mortars, came in
sight on the first of June, and
landed on the 8th. To oppose
them, we had at most but 2500
men of the garrison, and 300 mi-
litia of the burghers of the town
and St. John's island; a fortifica-
tion (if it could deserve the name)
crumbling down in every flank,
face, and courtine, except the right
flank of the king's bastion, which
was remounted the first year after
my arrival. The covered-way was
covered as much as it could be,
and yet was commanded and en-
filaded throughout, as well as the
dauphin and king's bastions. In
the harbour were five men of war.
This was our force. The suc-
cours I expected from Canada did
not arrive till the end of the
siege;

siege; and consisted of about 350 Canadians only, including 60 Indians.

The enemy was at first very slow in making his approaches; for on the 15th of July he was three hundred toises from the place. He was employed in securing his camp by redoubts and epaulements, thinking we had many Canadians and Indians behind him. We, on our parts, used every method to destroy and retard his work, both by the fire of the place and that of the ships in the harbour. The commodore of those ships warmly solicited leave to quit the place; but knowing the importance of their stay to its safety, I refused it. It was our business to defer the determination of our fate as long as possible. My accounts from Canada assured me, that M. de Montcalm was marching to the enemy, and would come up with them between the 15th and 20th of July. I said, then, 'If the ships leave the harbour on the 10th of June (as they desire) the English admiral will enter it immediately after;' and we should have been lost before the end of the month; which would have put it in the power of the generals of the besiegers to have employed the months of July and August, in sending succours to the troops marching against Canada, and to have entered the river St. Laurence at the proper season. This object alone seemed to me of sufficient importance to require a council of war, whose opinion was the same with mine, and conformable to the king's intentions. The situation of the ships was no less critical than ours. Four of them were burnt.

with two corps of caserns, by the enemy's bombs. At last, on the 29th of July, no ships being left, and the place being open in different parts of the king's, the dauphin's, and the queen's bastions, a council of war determined to ask to capitulate.

I proposed much the same articles as were granted at Portmahon: But the generals would listen to no proposals, but our being prisoners of war. I annex their letter, and my answer, by which you will see that I was resolved to wait the general assault, when Mr. Prevot, commissary-general and intendant of the colony, brought me a petition from the traders and inhabitants, which determined me to send back the officer who carried my former letter, to make our submission to the law of force; a submission which, in our condition, was inevitable. This condition was such, that, for eight days, the officers had not, any more than the private men, one moment's rest, nor indeed any place in which to take rest. In all besieged towns there are entrenchments, where those who are not on duty may retire, and be covered from the enemy's fire; but at Louisbourg we had not a safe place even for the wounded; so that they were almost as much exposed every minute of the four and twenty hours, as if they had been on the covered-way. Nevertheless the men did not murmur in the least, nor discover the smallest discontent; which was owing to the good example and exact discipline of their officers. None deserted but foreigners, Germans; one of whom prevented an intended sally. As he had gone over to the

the enemy two hours before, it was not thought prudent to make it. The burning of the ships and of the caserns of the king's and queen's bastions, hindered our making another. A third had not better success; we proceeded no farther than the glacis of the covered way, having missed the quay of a small passage which it behoved us to turn, in order to take the enemy in flank: so that of four sallies which were intended, only one succeeded, in which we made 30 grenadiers, and two officers prisoners, besides those that were killed, among whom was a captain. We had about 350 killed and wounded during the course of the siege, including officers. The crews of the king's ships are not comprehended in that number.

As to the landing, it must have been effected, by sacrificing lives in one part or another; it being impossible to guard such an extent of coast with a garrison of 3000 men, and leave men in the place for the daily duty. We occupied above two leagues and a half of ground in the most accessible parts: but there were some intermediate places we could not guard; and it was precisely in one of these that the enemy took post.

The captain of a ship strikes when his vessel is dismasted, his rigging cut to pieces, and several shot received between wind and water. A governor of a town surrenders the place when the breaches are practicable, and when he has no resource by entrenching himself in the gorges of bastions, or within the place. Such was the case of Louisbourg. Add to this, that it wanted every ne-

cessary for such operations: General Wolfe himself was obliged to place centinels on the ramparts; for the private men and the sutlers entered through the breaches and gaps with as much ease, as if there had been only an old ditch. Of 52 pieces of cannon, which were opposed to the batteries of the besiegers, 40 were dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable. It is easy to judge what condition those of the place were in. Was it possible, in such circumstances, to avoid being made prisoners of war? I have the honour to be, &c.

Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.

General Amherst's letter to the Governor of Louisbourg referred to above.

'In answer to the proposal I have just now had the honour to receive from your excellency, by the Sieur Loppinot, I have only to tell your excellency, that it hath been determined by his excellency admiral Boscawen and me, that his ships shall go in to-morrow to make a general attack upon the town. Your excellency knows very well the situation of the army and the fleet; and as his excellency the admiral, as well as I, is very desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, we give your excellency one hour after receiving this, to determine either to capitulate as prisoners of war, or to take upon you all the bad consequences of a defence against this fleet and army.

BOSCAWEN.

JEFF. AMHERST.'

The Governor's answer to General Amherst.

'To answer your excellencies in as few words as possible, I shall have

have the honour to repeat to you that my resolution is still the same; and that I will suffer the consequences, and sustain the attack you speak of.

Le Chevalier, de DRUCOUR.

A piece extracted from authentic documents of the French administration in Hanover.

One Guatier, a farmer of Paris, arriving at Hanover some days before Christmas, and there fixing his office, there appeared a decree of council of the King of France, dated the 18th of October, 1757, the tenor of which is as follows:

Extract from the registers of the council of state.

The king having, by a result of council of the 11th of this instant, charged John Faidy, citizen of Paris, to take upon him, on his majesty's account, the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues, of what nature soever they may be, without any exception, and under what denomination soever they may be levied and collected, belonging to his majesty in the electorate of Hanover, the countries, states, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, that have been subjected to his majesty since the beginning of this year's campaign, or may hereafter be subjected, to receive and bring to account all such persons as have had the direction, receipt, and administration of all the said revenues, of what kind soever they may be, since the conquest of the electorate of Hanover, the countries,

states, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, for all the sums which they shall have received; to bring, in like manner, to account all persons, who, before the electorate of Hanover, and the other conquered countries passed under his majesty's dominion, were employed in the direction and receipt of the revenues of the country, whether they farmed them on a lease for a certain term, or had the receipt and direction thereof, for the account of the preceding sovereign: In short, to receive of the said persons the sums due from them for the value of their farms, as well as from those who have had the direction and receipt of the revenues previous to the possession taken for, and in the name of his majesty, of the said electorate of Hanover, the countries, states, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations: And it being his majesty's will, that the said John Faidy be put into immediate possession of the said direction and general administration, the report having been heard of the Sieur Boulogne, counsellor in ordinary to the royal council, comptroller general of the finances, the king in council has ordered, and does hereby order, that in the interim, till letters patent, sealed and registered, where necessary, shall be issued forth, in consequence of the result of the council of the 11th instant, the said John Faidy be put into possession of the direction, receipt, and administration of all the revenues and duties, of what nature soever they be, without any exception, and under what denomination so-

ever

ever they have been received, levied, and collected, or may hereafter be so, in the electorate of Hanover, countries, states, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, from the time they have been subjected to his majesty: It is his majesty's will, that the receipt, direction, and administration of all the revenues whatsoever, be in the hands of the said John Faidy, his receivers, directors, attornies, clerks, and others appointed by him; and for that purpose, that all the registers, accounts, papers, estimates, and documents, relating to the receipt, direction, and maintenance of the said duties and revenues, be delivered to him by those in whose custody they shall be found, or who shall have been employed in the receipt and direction thereof, on account of the preceding sovereign, before the electorate or other countries, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, passed under the dominion of his majesty, and by those, who, since the possession taken of the said country, have directed, administered, and received the revenues of the said electorate, countries, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations: It is his majesty's will and order, that all those, who have been employed in the receipt and directions of the said revenues, under what title soever, be obliged to account to the said John Faidy, or to the directors, re-

ceivers, and cashiers, appointed by him, for all receipts by them made, and to pay the sums due from them, whether as farmers, directors, or receivers; whereto they shall be obliged by the ordinary methods used in the king's revenues and affairs, upon complaints exhibited against them by the said John Faidy, or his attornies: His majesty orders, that the receivers, of whatsoever kind they may be, be likewise obliged to produce and deliver to the said John Faidy, or his attornies, upon their giving receipts, the accounts they have given in, their registers, land-rolls, and other deeds, by virtue whereof they have received and collected the duties and revenues of the preceding sovereign, and that the said receivers shall account for what they have received, and shall pay the sums still remaining due from them, under pain of being obliged thereto by the aforesaid methods: His majesty empowers the said John Faidy to remove the receivers, and all other persons who shall have been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues, of what nature, and under what denomination soever they may be, of the electorate of Hanover, states, countries, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, and to place others in their room, his majesty reserving to himself the power of ordering the vouchers of those in employment, who may be removed, to be produced, and to provide for the reimbursing them the money they shall prove to have paid, in the manner he shall judge proper: His majesty orders, that all persons, of what rank and con-

dition soever, who have been entrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, estimates, and in general, any thing relative to the direction, receipt, and administration of the revenues of the electorate of Hanover, the countries, states, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, already conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, or those that may hereafter be so, to communicate the same to the said John Faidy, his attornies, directors, and officers, and to deliver them authentic copies of all the papers they shall desire to have, without any exception for so doing, under pain of disobedience: His majesty in like manner orders, under the same penalties, that the magistrates of the towns, those of the districts and commonalties, the persons who are at the head of the particular administrations of the states and provinces, shall deliver, upon the first requisition of the said John Faidy, his attornies, directors, and officers, estimates, certified by them, of the produce of six years, reckoning from the first of January 1751, to the last of December 1756, of the duties and revenues which the said towns, districts, commonalties, and states of the provinces, are in possession of; that they likewise deliver to the said John Faidy, his attornies, directors, and officers, states, certified by them, of the sums they shall have paid to the preceding sovereign during the said six years, and states of the charges necessarily incurred during the said term, independent of the sums they have paid: It is his majesty's intention and will, that the said John Faidy be put into posses-

sion and enjoyment of the houses, offices, and utensils hitherto made use of in the direction and general management of the duties and revenues of all kinds, with the direction and administration whereof he is charged, payment being made by him to the proprietors of the houses for the rent thereof, upon the footing they shall agree: His majesty likewise orders, that the receivers, clerks, and in general all those who are actually employed in the direction and general management of the duties and revenues of all kinds, of the electorate of Hanover, countries, states, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, may, after having been authorized thereto by the said John Faidy, his directors and attornies, continue to act in their employments, without being obliged to take any new oaths, and that those, who shall replace them, or come in upon a fresh establishment, shall be admitted without any charges to take the oath, and discharge the duty of the employments to which they shall be named, upon the simple presentation of the said John Faidy, or of his directors and attornies, or upon the commissions which shall be delivered to them: His majesty orders, that the states, towns, and administrations, commonalties, farmers upon lease, the directors of the duties and revenues, treasurers, receivers general, and particular cashiers, and in general all those who shall be accountable and indebted to the duties and revenues, of what nature soever they be, comprehended in the direction and administration with which the said John Faidy is charged, shall be well and truly acquitted and discharged towards

towards his Majesty and all others, of whatsoever they shall be found to owe, by producing receipts from the said John Faidy, his attornies, receivers, and general cashiers of the accounts they shall have given in at the time they shall be balanced and acquitted: It is his majesty's will, that any disputes that shall arise with regard to the direction, receipt, and general administration of the duties and revenues of what nature soever they be, of the electorate of Hanover, countries, states, provinces, towns, districts, commonalties, and administrations, wherewith the said John Faidy is charged, appurtenances and dependencies thereof, be brought before the intendant and commissary, who has the department of the conquered country, and adjudged by him, saving an appeal to the council, his majesty reserving to it the determination thereof, and forbidding the same to all courts and judges: His majesty enjoins the said intendant and commissary of the said department, to support the execution of the present decree, which shall be executed, notwithstanding all opposition and hindrances, of which, if any should happen, his majesty reserves to himself and his council the cognizance, and forbids the same to all courts and judges.

Done at the King's council of state, held at Versailles the 18th of the month of October, 1757.

(Signed) EYNARD,
and compared with the paraphe.
It appears from the date of this decree, and by what is said therein, that, in the weeks immediately subsequent to the convention of

Bremervorde, the council of Versailles was already employed in framing it; and the said decree implies in clear and precise terms, that it was determined in the council of Versailles, to change the government and system of the electorate of Hanover, notwithstanding what was expressly promised by the capitulation made the 9th of August, 1757, upon the surrender of the capital, and that the administration herein mentioned, with which the said John Faidy is charged, was to extend itself to the countries which might hereafter be conquered.

If this confession, made by the crown of France itself, cannot but be considered as an undeniable proof, that the same crown had a premeditated design of making an ill use of the cessation of arms, in order to proceed in taking possession of the provinces they had not yet seized upon, when the cessation of arms was concluded, and bring to utter destruction the electorate of Hanover, without leaving the sovereign thereof any method of preserving it; neither can any one dispute, but that great weight is hereby added to the motives, which have induced the king, our sovereign, to take up arms afresh, and which have already been laid open to the eyes of the public.

Lewis Fra. Armand du Plessis, Duke de Richelieu, General of the French army in Germany.

The breaking of the capitulation of Closter-seven, in spite of the most solemn treaty, and the word of honour given by the generals, renders void the treaty made with the country of Hanover, when the

the king's army entered it; and this infraction of good faith requires the greatest rigour toward the Hanoverian army; now actually in hostilities.

Wherefore we order, that all the goods, and all other effects of what nature soever, belonging to all the officers or others actually with the said Hanoverian army, be confiscated to the king's use, and that the administrator general of the conquered countries, take possession thereof, in order to collect the revenues arising therefrom, which are to be added to the contributions, and to make use of them in the most advantageous manner for his majesty, in whatever places of the conquered countries they may be situated.

We strictly require Monsieur le Duc de Randan, commander in the country of Hanover, and all other commanders, to enforce the execution of these presents, and to support the same as far as it may concern them.

Done at Zell, Dec. 22, 1757.

(Signed) The Marshal Duc de Richelieu.

And underneath, Le Lurez. Conditions of a subsidy treaty, delivered on the 18th of October, in the name of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to his excellency the Abbe Count de Bernis, minister for foreign affairs, by M. Packbelle, the duke de Deux-Ponts' minister.

His most serene highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, desires nothing more ardently, than to attach himself wholly to France, and to make a treaty with the king for that end. It should seem that it might be concluded on the following conditions:

I. The basis and foundation of it shall be the laws and constitutions of the empire, and the treaties of Westphalia, of which his majesty is a guarantee.

II. The landgrave shall enter into no engagement against the king and his allies, and shall never give any troops to serve against France or her allies, nor give any assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majesty and of his allies.

III. He shall never give his vote in the general or particular assemblies of the empire contrary to his majesty's interest. On the contrary, he shall employ his influence jointly with France, to put an end to the troubles of the empire.

IV. For this end his most serene highness shall put his troops which have served in the Hanoverian army, into the pay of France, on conditions that shall be agreed on, this condition particularly, that they shall not serve in the present war against his Britannic Majesty.

V. His majesty shall, in return, as soon as the treaty is signed, restore to the landgrave his estates; and all things shall be put in the condition they were in before the French troops entered them.

VI. Those estates shall not only be evacuated by the French as soon as the treaty is signed, but they shall in consequence thereof be exempted from winter quarters, and from all further contributions, either in money, grain, forage, wood, cattle, or any thing else, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse: but his majesty shall likewise cause ready money to be paid for provisions, and every kind of subsistence, of which his troops may stand in need in Hesse; upon condition, however, that in considera-

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tion of all this, the landgrave shall take no toll for warlike stores and provisions, and other effects of that nature, which may pass through his country.

VII. The king shall guaranty all the estates which his most serene highness possessed before the French seized them, and all the rights of the house of Hesse Cassel.

VIII. His majesty shall guaranty to that prince the act of assurance given him by his son the hereditary prince with regard to religion; and shall not suffer it to be violated by any person, or under any pretext.

IX. The most christian king shall use his interest with the emperor and the empress queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness hath suffered since the French entered his country, and of the great sums he loses with England, in arrears and subsidies, by this accommodation with his most christian majesty, he may be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, and from paying the Roman months granted by the dyet of the empire.

X. If, in resentment of this convention, the estates of his most serene highness shall be attacked, the king shall give the most speedy and efficacious succours.

Translation of a memorial presented in November to the dyet of the empire, by Baron Gimmengen, electoral minister of Brunswick Lunenbourg.

His imperial majesty hath been pleased to communicate to the dyet of the empire, by a pretended most gracious decree of the Aulic council, dated the 28th of August last, mandates issued the 21st of the same

month, on pain of the ban of the empire, and with avocatory letters thereto annexed, against his majesty the King of Great Britain my most gracious master, and also against some others of the most respectable princes of the Germanic empire.

There is not an example of this kind in the history of the empire. His Britannic majesty, during the one and thirty years of his glorious reign, hath observed so unimpeachable a conduct towards all his co-estates of the empire, without distinction of religion, that no prince of the empire hath received greater proofs of esteem and confidence than he can produce. His majesty hath, as much as the weakest states, always observed right and justice.

On the death of the emperor Charles VI. he beheld the time, which will be a famous æra in the history of the house of Austria, when the crown of France poured numerous armies into the empire to exterminate that house; and make itself master of Germany. His majesty, in his double capacity of king and elector, put himself in the breach; he led in person the auxiliary army of her majesty the empress queen, the greatest part of which was composed of his own troops; at the battle of Dettingen he exposed his sacred person for that prince's, and his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland his son, still bears the scars of wounds there received.

The year 1745, when his present imperial majesty was chosen Emperor, is still recent in the memory of all the states of the empire, as well as the pains which his Britannic majesty took upon that occasion. He purchased the preservation

tion of the house of Austria, which was effected by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the blood of his subjects, and by means of the most important conquests of his crown. He hath endeavoured to maintain the imperial crown in that house, by negotiations for the election of a king of the Romans. The treaty of succession concluded with the Duke of Modena, and the aggrandisement resulting from it to the house of Austria, was owing to his majesty's friendship for it.

Instead of a recompence, instead of performing the tender protestations of regard and gratitude, which his majesty then received from her majesty the empress queen, and which his magnanimity hinders him from making public; instead of the observation due to the most solemn treaties, her majesty the empress queen refuses him the assistance which he ought to give him against an invasion, proceeding wholly from the hatred of France, which his Britannic majesty has drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his imperial majesty even denies him the dehortatorial letters he solicited. The court of Vienna signs a treaty with the crown of France, in March 1757, at a time when his majesty's troops were quiet in his own dominions, by which the French troops were to pass the Weser the 10th of July, and enter the electorate of Hanover. She joins her troops to those of that crown, and ravages the king's dominions worse than the French troops had done. The same Duke of Cumberland who was wounded at Dettingen in defending her imperial majesty, is obliged to fight at Hastenbeck, against the troops of

that princess which attacked the king's dominions.

The empress queen sends commissaries to Hanover, who are to share, and actually did share, with the crown of France in the contributions. She rejects all proposals of peace; she dismisses the king's ministers from her court; and after the Divine Providence, according to its righteous ways, had, by a victory granted to the king's army, delivered the electorate from its enemies, when we were endeavouring to hinder the French troops from entering it a second time, as they threatened, and as all the world knows, his imperial majesty, who, by virtue of the capitulation which he has sworn, ought 'to protect the empire, and 'at all times consider the electors 'as its internal members and main 'pillars, and oppose the entrance 'of foreign troops destined to oppress the states of the empire,' finds it his duty, without making the least mention of this invasion by the French troops, to require his majesty to withdraw his troops from the countries where they then were, to put a stop to all his warlike preparations, and by that means again open a passage for the French army to enter his German dominions. His imperial majesty thinks proper to recall the king's troops, to seduce them from their allegiance and duty to his majesty; to enjoin them never more to obey his orders, but to abandon their colours, their service, and their post; threatening the said troops with punishment, in body, honours, and estates; and the king himself with being put under the ban of the empire, which is not in the power of the emperor; and em-

employing in the proceedings on this occasion, a style proper only to be used to a Tuscan or an Austrian subject.

The public has already judged of these proceedings, and history will transmit them to posterity, without disguise, but with indelible colours.

His Britannic majesty still retains the same veneration for the Germanic body: that respect peculiar to the house of Brunswick Lunenburg, which will always hold it inviolable, is become habitual to his majesty in particular: accordingly he again hath recourse, in quality of elector, to the dyet of the empire by means of this memorial, though previously reserving to himself a power to do it hereafter in a more ample manner. The records of the empire shew what he has done for Germany in such a manner, that at least it cannot yet be forgotten in that country. He hopes that upon this occasion it will have some weight, the rather as his high co-estates will easily consider, that what is now endeavoured to be done to his majesty, may one day, and perhaps sooner than they think, be done to themselves.

His majesty, as elector, is charged, 1st, With not conforming to the resolutions taken the 17th of January, and the 9th of May, last year; but on the contrary, refusing his concurrence, and declaring for a neutrality. 2dly, With giving succours, aid, and assistance, to his majesty the King of Prussia, entering into an alliance with that prince, joining his troops to those of Prussia, under the command of a general in the service of his Prussian majesty, of sending English

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troops into Germany, and making them take possession of the city of Embden, and employing the auxiliary troops of some other states of the empire: And, 3dly, It is complained that contributions had been exacted in his majesty's name of divers states of the empire.

With regard to the first charge, it is very true, in the deliberations held at the dyet of the empire the beginning of last year, it was given as his majesty's opinion, as well as that of most of his Protestant co-estates, that the present troubles should be amicably terminated. His majesty in giving this opinion, had, as usual, no other view than what equity and the good of the Germanic empire seemed to him to require. Whatever judgment shall be formed of the unhappy war that hath broke out, the public will always remember, that by a bare declaration of her majesty the empress queen, 'That she would not attack his Prussian majesty,' the rupture would have been avoided, and the effusion of much blood, as well as the desolation of Germany, prevented. The states that have suffered by the calamities of the war, may judge whether the way that was taken was the shortest for the re-establishment of peace, so much to be desired; and whether it were not to be wished that laying aside all private views, his Britannic majesty's proposal had been followed.

It is true, his majesty took no part in the resolutions, which were contrary to his sentiments. But the laws of the empire have not thereby received the least infringement. The question, whether in

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materia collectarum, the majority be sufficient, has been referred *ad comitia imperii*, by the *instrumentum*, P. W. Art. v. § 52. and is yet undecided. It is not by the plurality of voices that it can be there determined, but only by means of an amicable accommodation; since otherwise that reference would have been a very useless course; and it is well known, at the negotiations for the peace of Westphalia, what was the tendency of the opinion of the catholic states, which formed the majority; those very states, and all other members of the empire, ought however to consider well, whether it be their essential interest to acknowledge, in the present case, that every state in the empire is obliged to submit to the majority of votes, in matters of consent, as in the present case; which the principal catholic electors have in other cases denied; and which will certainly be retorted upon them in proper time.

But whatever principles shall be assumed, with regard to this question, nothing is more evident, than that, considering circumstances and the situation of the affair then and now in question, his majesty could never be required to give his troops to comply with those resolutions of the empire. All Germany knows, though the decree of the Aulic imperial council says not a word about it, that at the very time when those resolutions were taken, his majesty's electoral dominions were most unjustly threatened with an invasion by France. In the month of March that year, the court of Vienna signed a convention with France, by vir-

tue of which the enemy was to pass the Weser in the month of July, and enter the king's territories. This invasion was made accordingly. The empress queen joined her own troops to those of France; and in return stipulated by solemn treaties, signed beforehand, to have half of the contributions that should be exacted. The damage which the king's subjects suffered by the first invasion, exclusive of the sums which the provinces were to furnish (and which have been paid out of the royal demesnes) amounted to several millions. And still the unjust rage of his majesty's enemies was not exhausted. The French army, which entered on the other side under the command of the Prince de Soubise, in company with the troops of Wirtemberg, which the reigning duke, a thing of which there is no example, led himself, under a French general, against a co-estate, hath again invaded, for the second time, his majesty's dominions and those of his allies; exacted insupportable contributions; carried off the king's officers, entirely foraged the country, and plundered several places, and committed the greatest disorders, whilst the court of Vienna boasts of having ordered this invasion (the sole end of which was to ravage the king's dominions and those of Hesse) as an effect of its magnanimity, and as a merit with the Germanic body.

If in such circumstances his majesty should be required to suspend the preparations he has begun, and join the troops that he wants for his own defence to those, which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, are led against
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his Prussian majesty by a prince who doth not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command hath been conferred without a previous conclusion of the Germanic body; the right of the states of the empire to defend themselves when such defence squares not with the views of the imperial court, ought, at the same time, to be settled. It is hoped that things are not yet come to this pass in Germany. Self-defence is the most urgent duty. The resolutions of the empire cannot deprive the meanest man, much less a free state, and an elector of the empire, of his right: nor require him to join the troops he wants for that end, to those which, jointly with the troops of France, have invaded his country, and shared in the contributions there extorted.

In the second place, his majesty doth not deny that he hath entered into an alliance with the king of Prussia, which is entirely conformable to the rules of right: but as he is accountable to God alone for what he doth as king, on the other hand, in the report made of what he has done as elector, the times which preceded have been confounded with those that followed the French invasion. From the beginning of the last year his majesty took every method to shew, that the only thing he aimed at, without taking part, otherwise, in the war, was to oppose the French foreign troops, knowing they were sent only to invade his electorate, as indeed they have employed themselves almost wholly in ruining estates comprehended under the guaranty of the empire, as well those of the Duke of Saxony of the Ernestine line,

of the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the count of Lippe Schaumbourg, as those of his majesty. This just intention, founded on the laws, from which his majesty hath been so far from derogating in the smallest matter, that no instance thereof hath been, or can be brought, did not, nevertheless, hinder the French troops, who were furnished with the emperor's letters requisitorial, from entering Germany in the avowed quality of auxiliary troops to the empress queen, in company with those of the house of Austria and the elector Palatine. The empire hath already been informed, on the third of December last year, of the first proposals made, both to the imperial court, and the court of France, for an amicable determination of differences; proposals, which could not have been rejected, had not an hostile attack been resolved on. These offers, which from the manner in which they were received, his majesty hath reason to regret that he ever made, leave no shadow of plausibility to the reproaches that may be made on account of the engagement that ensued, in whatever light the king of Prussia's cause may be considered. His majesty is, indeed, fully persuaded, that he might, at any time, have entered into an alliance with that prince for their common defence; but no one can doubt, that in this urgent necessity, when he was left alone, he had a right to seek assistance where it could be got. No fault can possibly be found with that which the King of Prussia gave him to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, and those of Wolfenbuttel, Hesse, and

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Buckebourg. The very nature of this deliverance, and the prudence and bravery with which it hath been effected, have acquired immortal glory to his most serene highness Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lunenbourg (who doth not command the King's army as a Prussian general) a glory, which is the greater, as it is more laudable for that prince to have delivered from such heavy and unjust oppression the dominions of a king from whose family he is descended, and principalities in which he drew his first breath, where his ancestors have reigned, and where the duke his brother still reigns. It is with an equally just right that this duke, with the duke of Saxe-Gotha, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Count of Schaumbourg Lippe, put their troops into his majesty's pay. Posterity will hardly believe, that at a time when Austrian, Palatine, and Wirtemberg auxiliaries were employed to invade the countries belonging to the states of the empire, other members of the Germanic body who employed auxiliaries in their defence, were threatened with the ban. His majesty ordered the English troops to be sent over, and possession to be taken of Embden, in his quality of king; and hath no occasion to give account thereof to any. Mean while the laws of the empire permit the states thereof to make use of foreign troops in their own defence; they forbid only the introduction of them into the empire to invade the dominions of another, as the empress queen hath done.

In the third and last place, his majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick-Lunen-

bourg, sent ministers, particularly to the Palatinate court and that of Cologne, to divert them from joining in the designs of France against his dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted, that it would have been highly agreeable to him, if those courts had taken measures that would have freed him from the burthen of the war. But none can expect that his majesty should with indifference see himself treated as an enemy by his co-estates. The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Liege had no troops that were wanted in the French army: but, in consideration of subsidies, opened to it the gates of their towns, and gave it all the assistance in their power; without which that army could not at that time have proceeded so far as the electoral estates, where the Austrian and Palatine troops behaved much worse than the French themselves. How can it be expected that his majesty, after God hath blessed his arms with success, should not resent this treatment? The laws of the empire forbid the attacking of the states of the empire; but they permit defence against, and the pursuit of those who by their invasion have violated the public peace.

If the crown of France be free to ravage the dominions of the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, because they have given the king auxiliary troops: if the empress queen may, for the assistance she hath lent the French king to attack the king's dominions, appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised there; his majesty ought to be equally permitted to make those states, who have favoured the unjust enter-

enterprizes of his enemies, feel the burden of the war.

These are facts notorious to the whole empire: his majesty hath too good an opinion of the penetration of his high co-estates, to doubt of their perceiving the importance of them, and laying to heart what the merit he has acquired with the empire might have required, and still requires; and therefore his majesty expects that the dyet will, by way of advice, propose to his imperial majesty, to annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take the most effectual measures to protect the electorate and the countries of his majesty, and those of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, Hesse Cassel, and Lippe Schaumberg, and procure them a proper indemnification; but also give orders for those proceedings against the empress queen, as archduchess of Austria, the elector palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, which her majesty, without being required to do it, puts in force against his Britannic majesty, Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg. For which end the undersigned most humbly requests your excellencies to ask immediately necessary instructions from your principals.

Can it be said, that this was approving of a convention, and demanding an explanation so important, and so contrary to its true meaning? His majesty the King of Denmark had too great regard for the king, to think it just to engage him to subscribe to that, as a consequence of the treaty signed at Closter-seven. If Marshal Richelieu did not mean by his pretended words of honour, the assurance not to begin hostilities before the rupture of the

negotiation, we own we know not what he meant, at least that is, the sense in which we have ever understood those expressions, and in which we have executed the convention. The French ministry know very well, that the chief point is to determine how long the obligation of the treaty ought to subsist, according to the views of the contracting parties.

Hence, say they, it is evident, that the expression of final reconciliation is made use of in Article III. only to denote that Bremen and Verden were to remain in the hands of the French till that final reconciliation should happen. This is the same thing as if it had been stipulated, that the French should remain in possession of that country till a peace. That the Duke of Cumberland knew very well that his most Christian majesty had formerly refused to treat with him about a neutrality for Hanover; that he had therefore left out the condition of a separate reconciliation, fearing that his proposal might have caused the convention to be rejected, which he had so much interest and honour to obtain. That it is plain, from the preamble to the convention, that the intention of it was to hinder the countries of Bremen and Verden from being any longer the theatre of the war.

His royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, so far from being convinced of the impossibility of obtaining a separate accommodation for the king, knew that the court of Vienna had promised her utmost efforts to bring it about, and had even, for that purpose, sent a courier to Versailles

to hasten its conclusion. These promises were the more to be depended on, as France had all along pretended in her writings, that her sole motive in not acceding to these proposals, was because she was not willing to do it *without the concurrence of her allies*. The final reconciliation of the two sovereigns, namely, the king as elector, and the king of France, had certainly no relation to a general peace. The proposals made to France of an accommodation, and known both to Marshal Richelieu and Count Lynar, could leave no difficulty as to the true sense of the term of a final reconciliation. She may exaggerate, as much as she will, the dangerous situation, and the extremity to which the king's army was reduced, when the suspension of arms was concluded; but the event could not have been more fatal than that which France wanted to bring about, as the intention of the two contracting parties; for by her principles the states of the king would have remained in the hands of the enemy, as long as the court of Versailles should have thought proper to keep them; the auxiliary troops would have been disarmed, and those of the king exposed to total destruction. It is plain that the preamble to the convention speaks only of the reasons which induced his Danish majesty to interpose in that affair. The king gives them that justice which they deserve, and looks upon the care of the King of Denmark as a proof of his inestimable friendship, and at the same time, as an effect of his humanity, and of the generous concern which his Danish majesty

took to prevent the effusion of blood, and to stop the scourge of war; but by this also the king is persuaded, that the court of Copenhagen never intended to become an instrument to France, to make the king submit to the severe terms which the latter wanted to impose upon him, under pretence of the convention, and by means of pretended necessary explanations.

The disarming of the Hessians is properly the rock on which the convention split, so the French spare no pains to give a colour to this pretence. 'The duke of Brunswick, say they, ratified, without any alteration, the convention signed at Vienna, relating to the disarming of his troops. The landgrave had formerly demanded to be treated as that prince. It was not natural to trust to a considerable body of troops, which submitted only through fear, and it was a silly precaution to take away the means of offence, without being sure of taking away the inclination. It follows evidently from the terms of the convention, that these troops being disbanded, they were disengaged from all connections with the King of England, Elector of Hanover, who consequently had no right to retain them, and to steal away the son of the Duke of Brunswick. The only condition which the Hanoverian general had a right to demand for the auxiliary troops, was, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war; and he could not pretend but that they had been disarmed. The condition of disarmed troops is by

‘ by no means equal to that of
‘ troops prisoners of war.’

It is not our purpose here to examine the negotiations which, it is pretended, the Landgrave, and the Duke of Brunswick entered upon with the court of France; but every one knows that these princes thought themselves in no wise bound by what passed. The design of sowing diffidence among the allies, which France had certainly in view by alledging these pretended negotiations, will not have its desired effect. Nor will we trouble ourselves to examine whether the prudence and interest of the court of Versailles required the disarming of the auxiliary troops: Though that court has long adopted it as a maxim to consult only her own interest, and to give no other reason but her own convenience, without considering whether it would be possible to reconcile these motives with the laws of justice and equity; these are not, however, sufficient means to justify to the eyes of the public, the pretensions formed with regard to the auxiliary troops.

Nor need we enter into explanations with France about the manner in which the Brunswick troops were retained, nor of that which concerns his royal highness the hereditary Prince of Wolfenbützel. It would be very easy to free ourselves from all reproach on that head. It is sufficient that these two articles were amicably terminated with his royal highness the Duke of Brunswick. The question between the king and France is, whether the king had reason to oppose the disarming of the auxiliary

troops, and whether he had a right to keep them in his pay. We need only see the convention to decide in favour of the affirmative. It does not contain one word which can naturally mean a disarming; nor does it contain any tacit consent to this pretence. It is indeed stipulated, that the troops should not be considered as prisoners; but if it could be concluded from hence that the disarming had been granted, it must at the same time be owned, that the convention delivered up these troops to the mercy and discretion of France. The French ministry themselves would not go upon so strange a supposition.

These troops, in quality of troops, and consequently armed, were to return home, and there to find quarters. It was in consequence of this regulation that advice was given of the convention to the sovereigns of the auxiliary troops. It is absurd to say, that by this means they had been disbanded. The Landgrave's troops remained, notwithstanding, in the pay of Great Britain, and the troops of the Dukes of Brunswick and Gotha, and also those of the Count de la Lippe, never lost their quality of subsidiary troops of the king, as elector. To maintain the contrary, would be to say, that his majesty, in quality of king and elector, had the power of revoking the treaties of subsidy concluded between them, without consulting these princes, a power which his majesty does not pretend to, and which the Duke of Cumberland neither had, nor could have, a design to make use of. The true sense of the convention certainly

was, that during the continuance of the suspension of arms, these troops should remain quiet in their respective countries, and at the expiration of the suspension they should be at liberty to renew their services by virtue of treaties, and in consequence of their quality of subsidaries, which was by no means destroyed. This having happened, it would be useless to examine the extent of the articles of the convention, with regard to the destination of the Hessian troops in the pay of England.

The French ministry make but a very short answer to the accusations of their having broke the convention, set forth in the *Motives* and General Zastrow's letter of Nov. 14. They say, 'That none of the reasons alledged could occasion the breaking of the convention; that no stipulation had been made for the castle of Scharzfeld, nor the restitution of prisoners; that no mention had been made of the treatment of the conquered countries; and lastly, that the things set forth in M. Zastrow's letter did not happen till after the convention had been first broken by the Hanoverians.'

When one of the contracting parties thinks itself authorised to break a treaty, and no recourse can be had to a superior judgment, it is most natural for the other to think itself equally disengaged from all obligation. It is true, that in the treaty of Closter-seven no mention had been made of prisoners of war; but this point was adjusted six days after, by the act of accommodation concluded at Bremerworde, the 16th of September, 1757, between General Sporcken and General Villemur.

The suspension of arms had put an end to the hostilities of all sorts which the French army could commit against the king, in quality of elector; but was it not an hostility to take by assault the castle of Scharzfeld, to plunder it, and carry off the garrison prisoners of war? Was it not an hostility to redouble, after signing the convention, the exactions and violences toward the king's subjects, instead of granting them the relief which they expected? When a people submits and ceases to make resistance, they have a natural right to a milder treatment from the conqueror, than another which is still in fear of hostilities. The subjects of the electorate tried, though impossible, to satisfy the exactions that were imposed upon them; their resignation only multiplied the most exorbitant demands, accompanied with threatenings, which but too plainly shewed, that the total ruin and destruction of the country would be the consequences of a convention concluded to prevent this misfortune. Lastly, if the other breaches by the French had not existed before the open breaking of the convention, General Zastrow would have no reason to complain of them in his letter of the 14th of November.

They pretend to justify themselves by saying, 'That the pretence of disarming the Hessians had been taken away by the king's complaisance, in desisting from that condition; that what was said in the *Motives* was false; that France had but very lately softened her language on that head; that as early as the 2d of November, Marshal Richelieu had declared his having desisted

‘ desisted from them by virtue of
‘ his full powers, and in that case
‘ the Hanoverian general had no
‘ pretence left for executing the
‘ convention of Closter-seven.’

On the 17th of October, 1757, Count Lynar wrote to his majesty’s electoral minister, that Marshal Richelieu’s courier was returned from Versailles with instructions, which expressly said, the court would hear of no terms of peace; that it was resolved to hold to the scheme of explanation; and lastly, that it would less than ever desist from the condition of disarming the Hessians, and that it had rejected the offer of his Danish majesty, to receive these troops into his territories.

It was therefore necessary to come to a determination on this head, or to wait to see the war kindled up afresh. The battle of Roßbach happened on the 5th of November, soon after the arrival of that letter. The king could not foresee that France would then change her tone; he saw himself obliged to take measures, in consequence of the declarations which he had been informed of, by the letter of October 17, nor could he afterwards change them, when it at length pleased the court of Versailles to come down, though very little, from her unjust pretensions. On one hand, he had already addressed himself to his Prussian majesty, and on the other, the proceedings of France shewed but too plainly, that he had reason to be diffident of her fidelity. Besides, it is not true, that she desisted from the disarming of all the auxiliary troops. In Marshal Richelieu’s letter of November 9, he makes only mention of the Hessians, and is silent with regard to the fate of

the troops of Brunswick; lastly, she never pronounced her pretensions to keep the states of the king till a general peace.

It is plain, that during the continuance of a negotiation, and before every thing be regulated and concluded, the two parties have a power to renounce their engagements. If all difficulties had been removed by the convention of Closter-seven, what need was there of a new negotiation? France persisting to want further clauses and explications to be added to it, gave the king an incontestible right to declare himself according to the nature of the subject and circumstances.

Not content with having combated the motives, which engaged the king to take up arms, they criticise violently upon the manner in which that was executed, ‘ Had
‘ there been, say they, any honour-
‘ able way of withdrawing from
‘ the execution of that solemn act,
‘ it would have been to declare it
‘ void, by putting themselves in
‘ the same position they were be-
‘ fore it was concluded; but in-
‘ stead of that the most odious
‘ means were made use of to vio-
‘ late that capitulation successively
‘ and with impunity. The time
‘ was spun out for three months,
‘ to find an opportunity to break
‘ the convention. The French
‘ army was suffered to go to Hal-
‘ berstadt, and they waited till it
‘ was separated by the bad season.
‘ They seized the opportunity of a
‘ repulse to come out of the limits
‘ prescribed them, under pretence
‘ of extending their quarters. They
‘ afterwards took advantageous
‘ posts, under pretences equally
‘ contrary to the convention. They
‘ made all the dispositions for the

‘ siege of Harbourg, without any
 ‘ previous declaration of war; and
 ‘ having made all these prepara-
 ‘ tions, and when they thought
 ‘ the enemy sufficiently weakened
 ‘ and deceived, to fight them with
 ‘ advantage, they declared that hos-
 ‘ tilities were to be commenced,
 ‘ and that they considered the con-
 ‘ vention as broken, while they
 ‘ were marching against them, and
 ‘ attacking their posts.’

The more the author of the *Pallast* exhausts his rhetoric in this sort of declamation, so much the less regard doth he pay to truth. It is certain and incontestible, that the Hanoverians conformed on their part, in every respect, to the convention, as it was signed. It was neither the king’s generals, nor Marshal Richelieu, who caused it to be broken by their declarations; but the court of Versailles, which would not look upon the convention as obligatory, unless it should be extended to the disarming of the auxiliary troops, and unless the king would leave his country to the discretion of his enemies, till a general peace. The king, therefore, had the same right to look upon this affair as depending upon the resolution of the respective courts, and to take his measures accordingly. He made use of that right. It was natural not to commit hostilities as long as Count Lynar’s negotiation lasted; but that minister, as the court of Versailles well knows, could never bring about negotiations of peace, which was, however, the true intention of the suspension of arms. Could it be thought strange, if the king, by virtue of the right which the inflexible severity of his enemies gave him, determined himself, according to the events that happened, and

the victory gained over the French army at Rosbach? This event, however, did not influence his majesty’s resolutions. If any one will but calculate the date of these events, he will be convinced of the contrary. The battle of Rosbach happened on the 5th of November, and the motions of the Hanoverian army were renewed on the 26th of the same month. The king could not have been informed at London, in so short a time, of that success, to give orders to his minister to solicit the consent of his Prussian majesty, with regard to Prince Ferdinand, to whom the king offered the command of the army, so as to receive the King of Prussia’s answer, to hear of the prince’s arrival, and cause hostilities to be renewed. If the rules of good faith had not been scrupulously observed, the French army might have been reduced to a more dangerous situation than it really was. In what a critical situation would it have found itself, if the king’s troops, as they were fully authorized to do, had marched, on the first discovery of the design to disarm the auxiliary troops, and, at the same time that the battle of Rosbach happened, and when Marshal Richelieu was at Halberstadt with his army, had attacked him in the rear? The operations of the army did not begin till after the King of Prussia was gone into Silesia, and when the French were not only upon their guard, but the first columns of their army had even advanced beyond Lunenbourg, with design to obtain, by open force, the unjust conditions proposed by the court of Versailles. As to the pretended preparations for the siege of Harbourg, we know nothing at all of them. We do
 not

not deny but the quarters of the troops were extended; but that we were obliged to do it through unavoidable necessity, the quarters destined to receive only the Hanoverian troops, not being, at the same time, sufficient for those of Hesse and Brunswick also, which by a natural consequence of the proceedings of France, could not be separated from the body of the army. Neither of the two French detachments were surprised; the two armies were assembled when the scene of operations was again opened, and in this respect they were in the same situation as at Closter-seven. Nor was it in the year 1757, but the year following, that the French army was driven out of his majesty's German dominions. The victory gained at Rossbach, the bad season, the diseases, and decrease of the French army, events which never followed from the king's resolutions, could not oblige his majesty to maintain a convention, which in itself was not binding, and which France would not acknowledge as such, when it was a proper time.

We flatter ourselves we have fully answered the reproaches of the court of Versailles; at least none of the objections that relate to the decision of the subject, have been wilfully forgot. We do not pretend to anticipate the judgment of the public; we leave it to pronounce, after having seen a true representation of his Britannic majesty's conduct, whether the ministry of Versailles are in the right, when they say, 'That such odious principles and proceedings can only be owing to the artifices and evil counsels of some corrupt ministers.' We will not trouble ourselves to answer this abusive lan-

guage: nor will we retort it, but pass over the above, as well as many other reproaches equally odious and trifling. The French ministry cannot be so ignorant of the judgment, which their own nation forms of their principles, to doubt that we might, if we had a mind, reproach them with their evil counsels and measures, equally ruinous to France and Germany, in a manner which, even in France itself, would not fail to make an impression. It is, however, necessary to add two remarks on what has been said. Our days have produced a phenomenon, of which history does not furnish us with an example; we have seen the houses of Austria and Bourbon, uniting their forces to give chains to Europe, and especially to Germany. Providence does not want means to prevent this misfortune. This dominion so eagerly sought for could not be exercised in concert, if they should make themselves masters of it. That alliance, the first years of which have flowed with rivers of blood, will occasion no less bloodshed, when it comes one day to be broken; but the violent tumults, and the imminent dangers, with which the politic system of Europe, and so many kingdoms and states are threatened during this crisis, merit the most serious attention of those who are at the helm of government. Especially it is manifest that the Protestant religion is in inevitable danger, notwithstanding the false protestations given to the professors of it. The pretended schemes of secularization ascribed to his Britannic majesty and the King of Prussia, are so ill-founded, that they are taken upon the authority of an obscure work, every page of which shews the

author to have no right to be a negotiator of peace. Never had the Catholic religion less to fear than at a time when its arms are united, and dissension reigns among the Protestants. It is not the same with regard to what the latter have to fear from their enemies. The designs of the court of Vienna to render the Catholic religion predominant in Germany, have been plainly exhibited by the reflections and the advices of a very able minister, who certainly would not have imposed upon his court, and who had his information from the fountain-head. The justice of his discoveries has been proved by the event, for we see not one Catholic state of the empire, but what have bowed the neck to this new system, out of a zeal for religion, notwithstanding the real disadvantages that must naturally follow. It is only answered to these arguments, that the treaty of Versailles has been founded upon the treaty of Westphalia. But are not the courts which have contracted these new engagements free to change them at pleasure, and according to circumstances? Besides, if the Protestant states, as they pretend, are bound to adopt the treaty of the peace of Westphalia, in what sense the Catholics please to give it, it is but too clear, that the Protestants are already divested of the most important privileges, granted to them by that treaty.

All the king's measures will ever tend to the general safety of Europe, to the liberty and independence of the empire, and the maintenance of the Protestant religion. Neither the misfortune which his estates of Germany have suffered, nor the base treatment which he hath received from the court of

Vienna, nor the conduct of several of his co-estates, which favour the unjust designs of that court, will ever be able to divert him from an end so worthy of himself. He hopes that the Divine Providence will continue to bless the arms which he has taken up in his own defence, and that it will make this the means of procuring peace to the empire, and also of blasting the wicked designs of those who have brought into it the flame of war, and have opened a scene of calamities, of which we have not seen an instance since the peace of Westphalia.

Extract from the manifesto of the court of France, lately published by authority at Paris.

THIS sophistical and scurrilous piece consists of three parts; the first contains what they call preliminary eclaircissements: the second is called, Parallel of the king's conduct with that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover: and the third contains the vouchers of the facts mentioned in the two former.

The first labours to prove the justice of the king's sending his armies into Germany, and attacking the Elector of Hanover and Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and the reasoning in it would have some foundation, if they had proved, that the king of Prussia was the first aggressor, and consequently the first infractor of the peace of the empire. But this they take for granted, so that the whole is founded upon a *petitio principii*, or what we call a begging the question, therefore deserves no notice.

As to the second part, after some scurrilous strictures upon the conduct

duet of Hanover, with relation to the convention of Closter-seven, they proceed as follows :

“ As it is chiefly from the king's alliance with the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, that the King of England, Elector of Hanover, has sought to take advantage for stirring up the states of Germany against their most Christian and Imperial Majesties, and cover with a specious pretext his pernicious attempts against the quiet and safety of the empire ; the first thing must be to deface the false impressions intended by him to be made on the public.

To this end it will be demonstrated, that this alliance which his Britannic majesty has pretended to be so very unnatural and so dangerous for the Germanic liberty, has, on the contrary, been quite natural ; that the kings of England and Prussia have themselves rendered it necessary, and that if the liberty of the Empire is threatened with the greatest dangers, it is from those who have attacked it, and who in contempt of the Germanic constitutions, and of whatever among sovereigns is most sacred, labour to oppress it, and not from those who defend it, pursuant to their engagements, in conformity to the resolutions of the empire, and at the hazard of their own safety.

It is manifest that on the first hostilities in North America of the King of England against the French, the king formed the design of confining himself to his own defence against the English, in order, were it possible, to preserve to Europe in general, and the Empire in particular, the advantages of peace, of which he

found himself deprived by the injustice and ambition of his enemies.

But very different were the thoughts of other powers ; the King of Prussia, dazzled, as he himself owns, by the King of England's glittering promises, quitted the alliance of France ; and suddenly came to light a particular treaty betwixt the courts of London and Berlin, containing the most dangerous views, and which, among other objects, imposed laws on the princes of Germany, interdicting them the liberty of foreign succours, which is reserved to them by the Germanic constitutions, in case of their being attacked.

These two courts indeed gave out that this treaty tended only to the support of the tranquillity of Germany, and that it was the motive for the clause expressing, that they would suffer no foreign troops to enter it under any pretence whatever ; but as the Empire had in no wise commissioned them with this care, and the King of Prussia, in concert with the King of England, was making immense preparations of war, at a time when he had no enemies to fight, it was easy to judge, that the real scope of a clause so contrary to the Germanic constitutions, was to hinder any opposition coming from without Germany to the war which those two princes had determined to kindle within, if they should not find the court of Vienna favourable to the project of exciting a general war, in which France might be implicated.

If the expression of this clause drew a suspicion on their views, they were entirely laid open by the

the omission of another; that is, by their affectation of not inserting into the treaty of Westminster, the neutrality of the Low Countries, in favour of the empress queen, at the same time as that of Germany. The public soon saw into this artifice. The King of England having, to no purpose, used all his endeavours with that princess, for drawing her into the scheme of the general war which he was concerned and resolved to bring on the continent; their Britannic and Prussian majesties contrived the expedient of leaving exposed the Low Countries, then very thin of troops, and by this bait to incline France to attack them. The drift of these two princes in the supposition of such an event was to reap a double advantage from it, to alienate the Dutch from the neutrality, and to join the empress queen to their measures by the necessity of defending herself.

The good faith of the king and the empress queen frustrated this deceptive project; the king did not think it just to fall on the Low Countries, because the English made war on him; the empire held it unworthy of her to join in the design of kindling a general war to serve the excessive ambition of England, at the expence of France, against whom she had no cause of complaint, and to the prejudice of the quiet and safety of the empire.

In these circumstances, the king and the empress, abandoned at the same time by their principal allies, could no longer remain under an uncertainty of their respective designs: the empress's territory lay open towards France,

as likewise towards the King of Prussia, and the King of England, Elector of Hanover; his majesty, on his side, might fear that this critical conjuncture would at length oblige the empress to yield to the solicitations and menaces of the King of England. The similarity of their most Christian and Imperial majesties situation, that of their zeal for the general tranquillity, the mutual sentiments of esteem with which they had long before inspired each other, made them open their eyes. They at length perceived, that the private ambition of princes continually inflaming one against the other, was the main cause of their variances, and of the wars which had so long desolated Europe; and especially Germany: and in order to destroy the very root of the evil, their majesties united together in a treaty of friendship, purely defensive, and in a convention of neutrality for the Low Countries, and their respective dominions.

Thus had the kings of England and Prussia the art of bringing about by their conduct what, for several centuries past, all the efforts of policy had in vain been labouring at, and what for the tranquillity of the empire, the best inclined part of Germany had always desired. Thus their ambition and infidelity proved both the natural and necessary cause of the union of the courts of France and Vienna; there, and there only, it is to be sought for.

All the illusory suspicions, all the imaginary fears, which the kings of Prussia and England have endeavoured to infuse into the public against the union of those two powers, as comprehending

ing the design of injuring the rights of the princes of the empire, and of exalting the Roman Catholic religion on the ruin of the Protestant, are mere chimeras, forged by the vexation of not having been able to arm the courts of France and Vienna against each other as formerly, and by a strong impatience to remedy that disappointment, by stirring up the Protestant princes against those courts, under the mask of religion.

The difference of the conduct of the king from that of the kings of England and Prussia, need but be considered, to know the difference of their intentions, and to be convinced of the truth of what is here alledged. His majesty, as it is before noticed, and as all the world has perceived, has omitted nothing that the American disturbances might not reach the continent of Europe; and whilst their Britannic and Prussian majesties left no stone unturned for drawing the war into the empire, and subverting its laws, his majesty was intent on keeping off the conflagration, and preserving those laws from utter destruction.

It is with this motive, that by means of the convention of neutrality which the king has concluded with the empress queen for the Low Countries, and of the declaration given him by the States General of the United Provinces, he has secured peace in that part of Europe, which had hitherto been most exposed to the flame of war; which had generally, if not always, communicated it to Germany, and which by their Britannic and Prussian majesties

had been left to the discretion of France.

It is likewise with the same motive, that the king and the empress have made known to all Europe, that the principal object of their union was the maintenance of the laws and constitution of Germany; that in consequence thereof the two courts have taken for the basis of the treaty of Versailles the peace of Westphalia, which is the surest barrier of the Germanic liberty: and that his majesty, together with Sweden, joint guarantee of this peace, has declared to all the empire, that he would use his utmost efforts for maintaining the rights of the states, and particularly of the three religions established in Germany.

Had the kings of England and Prussia been possessed with the same zeal for the peace of Europe as his majesty, the treaty of Versailles, the neutrality of the Low Countries, and that of Holland, could not have raised in them that passionate resentment which they have shewn at it, and the empire would still enjoy the most profound calm, secured from the storms which have broke out in America; but the projects of those princes were not compatible either with the quiet of Europe, or that of the empire; they could not do without a continental war.

The ill success of the unjust and violent enterprizes of the King of England against France, both in America and Europe, having changed the brilliant expectations with which that prince's ministers had flattered the British nation into real losses for the present,

sent, and apprehensions for the future, they have been forced to have recourse to fresh expedients for allaying the resentment of that nation, and especially for getting from it such an augmentation of subsidies of which the Elector of Hanover should come in for a part: the way which has seemed to them the fittest for settling their affairs, has been to throw those of others in confusion, and at any rate to kindle a war in Germany.

The King of England and his ministers have done so much justice to the king, as to conclude, that in case of any attack made on the principal states of the empire to which he was united, or of any violation of the Germanic laws and constitutions, his majesty's fidelity towards his allies, his quality of guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, his constant zeal for the quiet and safety of Germany, would induce him to take part in this war, and that by this diversion they should weaken the efforts which France was obliged to make by sea, for defending itself against the English.

The court of Hanover has not forgot its advantages in the plan which it has formed for itself. As the interests of the British nation have for a long time been subordinate to the elector's convenience, it had two views relative to the latter: the first of procuring to his electoral highness large subsidies, by arming the Hanoverians for supporting the King of Prussia's enterprizes, and thus weaken the king's operations for the defence of the liberty of the empire, and that of the states of the allies.

The second view has been to convert the war in Germany into a religious war, in order to gain to themselves the support of the Protestant princes; hence a double advantage was to result; if these princes by their succours facilitated the execution of the designs of their Britannic and Prussian majesties, an increase of authority and power was thus procured to the Elector of Hanover, to the detriment of his neighbours, both Catholic and Protestant; and this is known to have long been the favourite object of his ambition; if on the other hand, the successes should fail, a great part of the damages to be sustained was to be thrown on the allied princes.

A project of such danger to the empire could not be executed but with the concurrence of the King of Prussia, and this the King of England has obtained by soothing the ambition of that prince with the hopes of a new acquisition at the expence of the empress queen, who was to be chastised for having dared to refuse assisting in the execution of the unjust projects of the King of England, Elector of Hanover. His Prussian majesty the more readily came into those views, as from the ideas which he had formed on the conjunctures of Europe at that time, and particularly on the situation of Saxony and Bohemia, as defenceless, he imagined that he should penetrate to Vienna itself, without meeting with any obstacles of strength to stop him; that there he should dictate the conditions of peace; that, in fine, he should give laws on the continent, whilst his British majesty did the like on the ocean; and that to the public the

the success would sufficiently justify the enormity of the attempt, and all the odious practices made use of for its accomplishment.

Such have been the projects of the two kings; such is the whole mystery of this unjust war, set on foot by those princes, in contempt of the faith of treaties, and of the laws of the empire. It would be in vain for the King of England, Elector of Hanover, to alledge, as he before has, that he had no hand in this war, and that he even disapproved of it; the contrary is not only demonstrated by facts, but there are still other proofs, which attest that he was the first promoter of it, and they are such as cannot be disputed, proceeding directly from the Kings of England and Prussia; these two princes have laid each other open in the declarations which passed betwixt them in the month of September last.

In that of the King of Prussia, on the intelligence he had received of a neutrality proposed by the Duke of Cumberland to the Marshal de Richelieu, he expresses himself thus:

"I just now hear that the business of a neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet dropped; can your majesty have so little constancy and firmness, as to be discouraged by a few cross events? Are affairs so far gone that they cannot be retrieved? Consider the step which your majesty proposes to take, and that which you made me take. You are the cause of all the misfortunes now impending over me. I

should never have departed from the alliance with France but for your many magnificent promises. I do not repent of the treaty which I have made with your majesty; but after having drawn on me most of the forces of Europe, do not meanly leave me to the mercy of my enemies. I make account that your majesty will call to mind your engagements, which have been renewed no longer ago than the 26th of the last month, and that you will not hearken to any accommodation in which I am not included."*

The King of England's answer to this declaration confirms the truth of its contents, as this prince does not contradict the charge brought against him of being the cause of the war in Germany; and after clearing himself but very indifferently of the reproach made him for entering on a negotiation for the electorate of Hanover, he concludes with these words:

"In such a critical situation, whatever might have been the success of arms, his majesty is determined steadily to concur with the King of Prussia in the most efficacious measures for disappointing the iniquitous and oppressive designs of their common enemies; and the King of Prussia may assure himself that the crown of Great Britain will continue religiously to fulfil its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and support him with vigour and constancy."

The King of Prussia's declaration, and the King of England's answer, having been inserted in the public papers without any contradiction from them, their authenticity is not

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* N. B. This letter was disowned and declared to be supposititious, by an article in the Berlin Gazette, after the Hanoverians had resolved to renew hostilities.

to be questioned, nor consequently the credit of what they contain.

To these proofs it cannot but be pertinent to add some observations on the endeavours put in practice for instigating the Protestants of Germany against France, under the false pretence that it has designs pernicious to their religion.

To carry this point, the most odious devices are daily employed. Licentiousness has, very lately, been carried so far as to insert in the public news-papers fictitious facts, and no less ridiculous than injurious, in order to impose on the good faith of the Protestant states, and arm them against the French troops; but the motives of those who have invented such fables, and the means they make use of for gaining them credit, have evidenced to the whole empire, that the intent of making a religious war of that which has been stirred up merely by ambition, is only to associate the Protestants in Germany in the bad cause taken in hand, and by their succours and at their expence, procure a facility of carrying it through.

The states of Saxony are particularly a proof and instance of this truth; the Prussians have by the most flagitious injustice forcibly made themselves masters of Saxony, which has been the nursery of the Protestant religion, and where it subsists in the greatest vigour; yet have they there, against the sovereign of the country, against his family and his subjects, committed such violences as are shocking to human nature.

The territories of the Duke of Mecklenburgh have had the same fate. The Prussians entered it sword in hand without any reason, and in contempt of the public peace. The

duke they have obliged to seek refuge at Lubeck; the fortresses they have taken possession of; and by despotic orders, without any payment, have made themselves be supplied with the corn and forage; the young men have been forced away from their parents, to enlist them and make them serve against their own sovereign; in a word, without the slightest complaint against the Duke of Mecklenburgh, his duchy is treated by the Prussians like a conquered country. In fine, to persuade the Protestants of Germany that their religion is threatened, martyrs of it have been made; and the authors of all these violences would have them be esteemed as preparatory acts of the zeal with which they are animated for the defence of that religion.

One must be void of common sense to be caught by such coarse-spun artifices! The three religions of the empire, and particularly the Protestant, cannot have any more sure guarantees of their rights than those of the peace of Westphalia; as in these are united both the interest and will to provide for the conservation of them.

This piece the king has taken for the basis of his treaty with the empress queen. He has, jointly with Sweden, declared, that he would maintain the Germanic liberty, and particularly the rights of the three religions rendered sacred by the treaties of Westphalia; and his majesty here renews the authentic declaration, that he never entertained a design of doing the least hurt to either of those three religions; and that he will, with the greatest punctuality, fulfil the engagements which, on that head, he has entered into with the crown of Sweden; what greater security would

would the Protestant states have, should they after this suffer themselves to be drawn into real calamities by an imaginary fear; a fear suggested to them merely as a veil to such ambitious views as are highly detrimental to the whole empire?

After this discussion, let us re-assume the thread of the events. When the war, which had been meditated by the King of England, Elector of Hanover, in concert with the King of Prussia, had broke out in Germany; the ideas which these two princes had formed from the king's fidelity to his engagements, were not mistaken. The states of the empire attacked by the King of Prussia, together with the princes, who had most at heart the Germanic system, applied for assistance to his majesty, both as an ally of the empire and guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, as in virtue of his alliances merely defensive with several courts of Germany; and tho' the king was engaged in a personal and onerous war with England, he did not hesitate to form the generous resolution of employing the greatest part of his forces in the defence of his allies, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire, and of the Germanic system, threatened with a total subversion from their Britanic and Prussian majesties, both as kings and electors.

Sweden being joint guarantee of the peace of Westphalia, together with the king, was required to make good its guaranty; and such was its magnanimity, its regard to honour and good faith, that immediately it formed the same resolution.

The king at the same time signified to the empire, that he would act up to his quality of guarantee; he

expressly assured it that he would support the liberty of the three religions jointly with Sweden, which has always been the most declared protectress of the Protestant religion: and his majesty made all the necessary preparations for fulfilling his engagements by sending a considerable body of troops to the Lower and Upper Rhine.

The King of England was conscious, that every kind of reason authorised his majesty not to make the chimerical distinction he was for establishing betwixt his quality of king and that of elector, especially when one raises a war and pays the costs, and the other takes upon him the execution of it. It was a critical conjuncture for that prince, as great part of the Hanoverian troops, by the allurements to the ample subsidies which the elector had got from the parliament, and under the colour of defending the British nation, had been drawn over to England; but this nation sending them back, the elector was afraid that France would march a detachment of its army into the electorate of Hanover, before the Hanoverians, who were to return into Germany, should get back.

It was in these moments of incertitude and dread, that the elector caused some insinuations to be made for a neutrality of his German dominions.

The king and the empress-queen, animated with an equal zeal for the good of the empire, were desirous that the war should not spread to the states forbearing to assist the infractor of the public peace, and with this view her imperial majesty solicited the king to grant a neutrality for the elector of Hanover.

The

The proposal was not without difficulty; the forced situation of that prince, and the instance of the neutrality in 1741, no sooner concluded than violated by the Hanoverians, raised suspicion of the sincerity of the insinuation made by his ministers. It was natural to apprehend that their own drift was to disturb the operations of the then opening campaign, to procure his electoral highness time for stirring up a part of the princes of Germany against the king and the empress, and then to join all their troops to his, in order, at the first favourable opportunity, safely to fall on the French army.

These reflections, in themselves so just, and of which the solidity was confirmed by past experience in a like circumstance, certainly deserved great regard; but the king's deference for an ally in all respects so faithful and respectable as the empress-queen, together with the fear that his majesty might one day be reproached with having rejected a measure which seemed to promise a more speedy restoration of the peace of the empire, prevailed in his mind above every other consideration, and he consented that her imperial majesty should offer on his part a neutrality for the Hanoverian states.

The elector answered it in the memorial of the 20th of February, hereto annexed; but it will be seen that the loftiness with which his electoral highness expresses himself in it, and the invectives against France scattered throughout it, with so little decency, do not indicate very sincere intentions towards a neutrality. The truth is, this prince had almost at the same time asked and obtained from his parliament subsidies for the King of

Prussia, and likewise for assembling an army composed of his electoral troops and those of his allies, under the name of an army of observation, in order to support the cause of the infractor of the public peace against the king's troops which had been sent to the assistance of his allies, and the defence of the liberty of the empire. The Duke of Cumberland had already been appointed for commanding this army, and the 8000 Hanoverians were on the point of passing from England into Germany, so that there seemed to remain no hope for the success of the negotiation; yet did the empress, on fresh insinuations from the elector, desire that the king would empower her to make new trials with that prince. The courts of Russia and Denmark added to them their good offices; they offered their guaranty, and the king was pleased again to come into this fresh negotiation, and condescend to the conditions which alone could render the neutrality solid and lasting; and of which a copy is annexed to this memorial.

The elector's fresh overtures having no more sincerity in them than the former, this second trial had no better fate than the first; the Elector of Hanover clamoured against the conditions proposed, and especially rejected that of the *free passage through his dominions*, and the possession of Hamelen for a cautionary town, as unjust, contrary to his honour, and containing suspicious views; yet that he might not seem totally to renounce the neutrality, his electoral highness proposed to accept of it, provided that, instead of the king's troops passing through his dominions, they should take their way thro' the countries of Cassel, Brunswick, Gotha and Weimar;

mar; but this rout being naturally longer and more difficult, it could not be accepted of; and from this time the elector took occasion to break off the negotiation, and throw the blame on the pretended injustice of the French conditions."

Then, after giving several reasons why the King of England, Elector of Hanover, ought to have accepted of the terms offered, and why they could not accept of the terms he proposed, they proceed thus:

From the concurrence of all these reasons, it results, that the Elector of Hanover in his overtures for a neutrality, aimed only at getting time; that he never intended to accept of it, and that he has refused it unjustly and on false pretences. It results further, that the King of England, Elector of Hanover, having been the author of this war, and having, to the neutrality offered him, preferred the party of supporting the King of Prussia's cause, and to take up arms against the king's and empress queen's troops, he has declared himself the aggressor against their most christian and imperial majesties, and an accomplice of the breach of the public peace, and that he was to be treated as such by the king, by the empress, and by the empire.

This proposition, besides its adherent justice, has acquired a new degree of force by the behaviour of the Hanoverian troops, both with regard to those of the king and of his allies. The first, far from confining themselves according to the assurance given of it by the elector in public instruments, to the defence of the territories of the electorate in case of a design to attack them, entered with open force into the states of the Elector of Cologne, where those of France were;

they pillaged the subsistences destined for the French army, carried off the grains and forage, dispersed the troops of the empire's contingent: in a word, they have committed all kinds of violences in the states of the Elector of Cologne, the king's ally; yet would not his majesty begin hostilities against the Elector of Hanover; and even, if possible, to avert them from his dominions, he caused a demand to be made by the Marshal d'Etrees to the Hanoverian general, of a *free and amicable passage* through his electoral highness's territory; but that prince had already dispersed manifestoes against the entrance of the French troops into Westphalia: and the Duke of Cumberland sent answer by General Sporken, that he was ordered to attend to the defence and conservation of the states of the King of Prussia and of his allies, and to hinder the passage of any foreign troops through the said states.

At length the Hanoverians having provoked his majesty's troops by hostilities of every kind, the moment came for repelling force by force, and to make them and their allies repent of their outrages; and victory seconded the justice of the king's arms, by the successive advantages which the French troops obtained over them."

They then come to the convention of Closter-seven, as follows:

But the king's generous sentiments have never shone with greater lustre than in the capitulation of Closter-seven. The Hanoverian army being forced to fly before that of the Marshal de Richelieu, had been obliged, as its last shift, to betake itself to Stade. In a more dangerous condition it could not be. It was the concern

of the Duke of Cumberland, general of the Hanoverians, besides fearing the just discontent of his allies, which was near breaking out, to save his troops from the total destruction with which they were threatened, to secure the treasure of the king his father, and to hinder the duchies of Bremen and Verden from becoming the theatre of war, and to exempt all the King of England's dominions in Germany from the miseries consecutive to a general defeat, and which by a concurrence of circumstances would have been but too justifiable.

It was no favourable conjuncture for softening the victor. The King of England was sending away a very strong squadron, with land forces for a descent, with a design of making themselves masters of Rochefort, or at least to burn the docks and store-houses; in a word, to commit all possible hostilities on the coast of France.

Besides many subjects of apprehensions for the defeated party, there was one of greater weight than all the others; past experience seemed to have inspired a grounded mistrust of any proposal from the King of England, Elector of Hanover; of this the Duke of Cumberland had recent proofs. After he had been obliged to retreat into the duchy of Bremen, he had proposed a neutrality, and it was refused him; he had acquainted the French ministry, that he was authorised by full powers from the king his father, to treat of a peace, of a neutrality, or of a preliminary accommodation, and the king, faithful to his allies, would hearken to no proposal but in concert with them.

From all these reasons, the Duke

of Cumberland did not believe that he should be able, by himself, to obtain the capitulation, which alone could secure him from all the several dangers he had to fear; but being informed of the king's great regard for the king of Denmark, his ally, he implored the assistance of that prince, and got a cessation of arms to be proposed to the Marshal de Richelieu by the negotiation of the Count de Lynar, the King of Denmark's minister, and under his Danish majesty's guaranty.

On this proposal the marshal deliberated which was best for the empire, to grant or refuse the capitulation. By the latter he answered the king's just vengeance; in the former he considered the advantages of keeping the Hanoverians and their allies inactive during the remainder of the war, and consequently of reserving his troops for marching without delay to Halberstadt, and by the celerity of his operations to hasten the evacuation of Saxony, and the restoration of the peace in Germany. As the king's sentiments were perfectly known to him, he immediately preferred that measure which he judged might be most beneficial to the empire and the allies of France, and he granted the capitulation or military convention which the Duke of Cumberland offered to him through the Count de Lynar. It was concluded at Closter-seven on the 8th of September: and the execution of it was secured both by the Marshal de Richelieu's word of honour and that of the Duke of Cumberland, lodged in the Count de Lynar's hands, and by the engagement of the King of Denmark's guaranty, accepted by the two generals.

As in the first moment of the conclusion, several particulars and explanations in favour of the Hanoverians and their auxiliaries had been omitted, the Duke of Cumberland two days after, and by the mediation of the Count de Lynar, desired such omissions might be supplied by some separate articles, which Marshal Richelieu made no difficulty of granting.

After some remarks on this convention, they proceed thus:

The king, such was his zeal for his allies and for the empire, approved of the Marshal de Richelieu's conduct, and to strengthen the capitulation, proposed the adding of some explications, which should so clearly fix its meaning, as to obviate any misrepresentations. These explications were of the following tenor.

1. That the cessation of hostilities should last during the whole time of the present war.

2. That the Hanoverian troops which were to go on the other side of the Elbe into the duchy of Lawenburg, should not come out of it, and, together with the troops remaining on this side, should not commit any hostility neither against the king, nor against his allies; and that the French troops likewise should not commit any hostilities against them.

3. That no English troops should be admitted into the duchies of Bremen and Verden.

4. That the troops, both the Hanoverians and those of the auxiliaries, should not serve during the present war, either against the king, or against his allies, nor join those of the King of England, nor those of his allies.

Had there on the side of the court of Hanover been the same

good faith as on the king's side, these explications would have met with no difficulty.

The sense they offer had been contained in the conventions of the 8th and 10th of September, either in equivalent terms, or by a natural inference; and so just were they, that the Count de Lynar, to whom they were delivered, judged them to be the true meaning in which the convention had been understood, and the court of Copenhagen was of the same opinion.

They then endeavoured to shew, that these explications were virtually contained in the convention; that, though not agreed to, the convention remained in full force; and that the Danish minister was of this opinion. After this they go into a long and tedious account of the behaviour of the Hanoverians, Hessians, and Wolfenbutlers, and the methods which the Hanoverian generals took to deceive the French general by making him believe, that they were resolved to observe punctually the convention, while at the same time they were concerting with the King of Prussia, and preparing to recommence hostilities, as soon as they should find a favourable opportunity, by the French army's being dispersed into winter quarters; and this second part they conclude as follows.

One reflection shall put a period to this detail. If the Duke of Cumberland acted to capitulate, it was because he found himself in a critical position, and justly feared that, should the Marshal de Richelieu attack him, he would ruin the Hanoverian army irretrievably, and make himself master of the town of Stade, and of the depositum lodged there. Had not his situation been so dangerous in every respect, can

it be supposed that a prince, whose courage all Europe has beheld, would have asked to capitulate at the head of an army of near 40,000 men, under the cannon of the town, and in a post of difficult access and well intrenched? but this prince, whose capacity gave him to perceive, that no retreat remained for him in case he should be beaten, preferred the glory of saving the king his father's troops, and those of his allies, to the vain honour of fighting the king's army, without any grounded hope of success. The more of his self-love he had by this step sacrificed to the good of the king his father, the more sacred and inviolable did the capitulation, which he had asked and obtained, become to him. It is unquestionable in the rules of honour and war, that a capitulation is never to be asked of an enemy till at an extremity; but when reduced to it, it is not lawful to employ those arms against him, which by promise were to be laid down. Honour would look on such a procedure with indignation; and if private persons detest a treachery of this nature, is it not still more unworthy of sovereigns, who are the protectors of good faith, and who are more concerned than private persons to preserve their glory and reputation?

Accordingly the Duke of Cumberland, by laying down his military employments, was for saving himself the infamy of breaking such sacred engagements; he has proved by that step that he is incapable of being so far wanting to himself; but in sheltering his own honour, why has he not been afraid of exposing that of the king his father?

If the King of England, Elector of Hanover, on his receiving advice

of the capitulation, had disowned the Duke of Cumberland his general and son, still would the king have had cause of complaint, military conventions not requiring a ratification; but, at least, there would have been in this proceeding an appearance of good faith; but to temporize during near three months, in seeking occasion for breaking the capitulation with impunity, let the French army march away for Halberstadt, wait till it was separated in the bad season, lay hold of the circumstances of a check to come out of the prescribed limits under pretence of extending quarters, afterwards take advantageous posts, equally contrary to the convention; make every disposition for the siege of Harburg, without any previous declaration of war; and when all these preparations are made, and the enemy is thought to be sufficiently weakened and deceived, to be fought with advantage, to declare to him, that hostilities are to be renewed, and that the capitulation is looked on as broken, at the very same moment that the troops are marching to him, and his posts are attacked; to engage one prince, by seducement, to violate this capitulation, and to hinder another by open force from executing it; to imprison the general of the latter, and detain his troops, and take away his son from him, to make him serve as an instrument to the treachery; this is trampling on the laws of nations, on the laws of justice, honour, and good faith; the rights of sovereignty of the states of the empire; the ties of nature and of blood; it is to fear neither the judgment of contemporaries, or of posterity; it is wilfully branding one's life and memory with an indelible mark of infamy;

in a word it is daring to set up and give a sanction to the pernicious maxim, "That every means is lawful to obtain one's end."

Principles and procedures so heinous are to be attributed only to the artifices and evil counsels of corrupt ministers. To suspect princes themselves of them, would be wanting to the respect due to them.

After the preceding faithful representation of the king's conduct, and that of the king of England, Elector of Hanover, all Europe, and especially Germany, may easily judge of the differences of the intentions of these two princes; and it is hoped, that they will impute the blame of the consequences of this war to those only, who, in contempt of all laws and all rules, have again taken up arms to hinder the conclusion of it.

This is the cause of all sovereigns, but especially that of the empire; it being the bad faith of the Hanoverians which has retarded the success of the king's operations for restoring the peace of Germany; and their unjust and violent proceedings, both towards the king and the Duke of Brunswick, are a fresh breach of the public peace, and of the treaties of Westphalia.

The king will omit nothing to acquit himself of what he owes to his dignity, injured by the outrage done him by the court of Hanover. As to the Germanic body, his majesty will redouble his efforts for preserving it from the new dangers with which it is threatened; and fulfil the engagements he has entered into both with his allies and the empire. He is persuaded that the electors, princes, and states, will do justice to the uprightness and generosity of his sentiments;

and he with the greater confidence hopes they will second his measures and operations, as, agreeable to the wish and resolution of the dyer, they tend only to succour the allies of France, to maintain the Germanic system, and to restore order and peace in Germany.

Versailles, December

the 30th, 1757.

In the appendix to the Parallel of the Conduct of the two Kings is the following letter (dated Nov. 27, 1757) to Prince Ferdinand from the reigning Duke of Brunswick his brother, who sent a copy of it to Marshal Richelieu. It shews that Prince Ferdinand contributed greatly to the just resentment which had been shewn of the French infraction of the treaty of Closter-seven. It serves, too, to discover that duke's character, and his high esteem of his brother Ferdinand.

S I R,

I know you too well to entertain a doubt that the situation we are in with respect to each other gives you pain; nor can you have any doubt that it gives me concern: indeed it afflicts me greatly. Mean while, my dearest brother, I could never have believed, that it would be you who should carry away from me my eldest son: and how great is my mortification to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you, that this step is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitution of the empire; and that if you persist in it you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to serve. The hereditary prince my son was at Ham-burgh by my order; you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust

trust his uncle, an uncle, who hath done so much honour to his house! Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty! a liberty never refused to the lowest officer. I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have staid with the Hanoverians, would it not still have been in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? And would you, my dear brother, hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son who is the hereditary prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible that you could have conceived such designs without the suggestion of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add, to the infraction of all these, the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who loves you. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole empire, and all Europe? Is not your proceeding without exam-

ple? What is Germany become! What are its princes, and what is our house, in particular, become! Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause, that you pretend to support? —I repeat it, brother, that this design could never have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey, and I cannot conceive that you will give any obstruction. If you should (which I pray God avert!) I solemnly declare to you, that I shall not be constrained by such means, and that I shall never forget what I owe to myself.

As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-seven, dismissed them and sent them home: the said ministry gave me notice of this convention as what bound me: the march of the troops was settled: an incident happening, they halted; the obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will no longer be bound by the convention; whilst I not only accepted it on their word; but have also, in conformity to their instructions, negotiated at Versailles and Vienna*. After

* It should seem that the Hanoverian ministry, foreseeing what would happen, advised the Duke of Brunswick, even before the convention of Closter-seven was concluded, to make his peace with France; for that convention was signed Sept. 10, and the duke's minister signed at Vienna the following treaty with France, ten days after; a space too short to send from Brunswick to Paris, and from Paris to Vienna.

1. The king shall keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttele, while the war lasts; and the general of his majesty's forces shall make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores, in the arsenals of those two towns.

2. The Duke of Brunswick shall, when his troops return from the Duke of Cumberland's camp, disband them in his own country. Their
arms

After all this, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and intirely ruin my estate and my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? It is true, that I have, as you say, sacrificed my all; or rather, I have been sacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour: and in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you, and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot listen to it: I cannot recede from my promise; my troops, there-

fore, must return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you.

Not to detain your express too long, I shall send you by the post copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your's, &c.

Blanckenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757.

arms shall be deposited in the aforesaid arsenals; and the general and subaltern officers of the said troops shall take an oath not to serve against the king, or his allies, during the present war.

The Duke of Brunswick shall, nevertheless, be permitted to keep, if he pleases, for the guard of his person and castles, a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse.

3. The regulations made by Marshal Richelieu, and the intendant of his army, shall subsist on their present footing.

4. The Duke of Brunswick shall furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire; his troops shall immediately join those which the Germanic body has assembled, and he shall order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the diet approved and confirmed by the emperor. On these conditions the Duke of Brunswick shall be restored to the king's favour; all due respect shall be paid to his most serene highness, and all the princes and princesses of his house; neither his revenues nor his treasures shall be touched, nor shall the administration of justice, civil or ecclesiastical, be exacted, and winter quarters only shall be demanded for the general officers and regiments which shall winter in the Duke of Brunswick's country.

The aforesaid conditions of a formal convention being presented to me in the name of his most christian majesty, by his excellency the Count de Stainville, his ambassador at the imperial court, and in the name of the empress queen by his excellency Count Kaunitz, chancellor of state; and notwithstanding my pressing remonstrance and solicitations to get some of the articles changed or mitigated, having received for answer that they were the *ultimatum*, I declare, by virtue of the full powers received from his most serene highness, my most gracious master, that I accept the aforesaid conditions; and acknowledge them to be binding. In witness whereof I have hereto set my name and arms.

Vienna, September 20, 1757.

L. S.

BERNARD PAUL DE MOLL.

P 4

The

The King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover; in answer to a Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover.

THE conduct of his majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg, with regard to the troubles of the empire, gave no reason to think that France could hope to be a gainer by a parallel of that conduct with her own. She has, however, undertaken this comparison. The public has seen the memorial published by France under the title of *A Parallel of the King's Conduct with that of the King of England, relative to the breach of the capitulation of Cleves-feren by the Hanoverians.*

In the introduction to this piece we are assured, that it was merely from moderation, and to avoid the kindling of animosities, that the publication of it was so long delayed. Indeed, in several places of this piece, the style and expressions are far from being conformable to that regard which crowned heads, though at war, owe one to another. As to the things themselves, so little regard is paid to truth, that we are certain they will not have the promised effect.

His Britannic majesty has too great a value for the judgment which the public forms of the actions of the greatest monarchs, and which posterity will make with still greater freedom, not to let them know the motives upon which he has acted, and which render his conduct irreproachable. It is there-

fore, with the greatest readiness, that he seizes an opportunity which France furnishes him, to expose them to the view of Europe. Very different from those who have attacked him with animosity, he will use the language of moderation. The truth, set in its proper light, carries so strong conviction with it, that it loses nothing by a simple and dispassionate relation. It will be sufficient simply to relate what is past, to make appear which side justice is on, and to whom are to be imputed the torrents of blood that have been spilt, and which in all probability will yet dye the earth.

The troubles appeased by the late treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, are too recent to be yet forgot. France, which, notwithstanding the continual wars which Lewis XIII. Lewis XIV. and Lewis XV. made on the empire, notwithstanding the desolations which she has caused, and the provinces which she has taken from it, thinks, however, that she may give herself the title of *Ancient Friend and Ally of the Empire*; France, which makes no scruple to advance that the private ambition of princes, who continually excited the two houses of France and Austria against one another, was the chief cause of their divisions, and of the wars which so long desolated Europe, and especially Germany; France, without being excited thereto, attempted, at the death of the Emperor Charles VI. to make herself mistress of that superiority of dominion which she always had in view. She would have obtained her end, had she been able to divide the estates of the house of Austria, among the different princes who formed pretensions to them, and

and of whom none would have been in a condition to make head against France. To defeat this project, the king then took part with the house of Austria, when attacked on all sides, and abandoned by every power. He took that part with a greatness of soul, which, though forgot at Vienna, and repaid with ingratitude, will never be forgot in history; that generous monarch fought in person for the cause of his ally, sacrificed the blood of his subjects, the treasures, and even the most important conquest of his crown, to prevent the ruin with which she was threatened on all hands. The effects of these measures are known to the whole world. It is true, that the empress queen yielded up by the most solemn treaties the dutchy of Silesia to the king of Prussia; but the numerous armies which that princess keeps on foot in the present war, sufficiently shew that the house of Austria has preserved since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the power which was thought necessary to maintain the balance of Europe, in hopes that, conformable to the laudable example of Leopold I. Joseph I. and Charles VI. she would make use of this power in defence of the common liberty.

The conclusion of these troubles convinced France that she could never expect to succeed in her designs, while Great Britain preserved by her commerce, sufficient force vigorously to oppose her. Scarce therefore was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle concluded, when she sought out other ways to execute her projects which that peace had defeated. With this view, she began to disturb the English, to

hem in her colonies in the new world on all sides, in contempt of the clearest articles of the peace of Utrecht, in order to put them in the most critical situation, and take away the strongest support of the liberties of Europe.

It is not our purpose here to defend the rights of the king in these differences, they have been made sufficiently manifest: but we cannot help remarking, that the cause of the British crown ought naturally to be that of all those who must expect their dependency from the common liberty. We may easily see what would infallibly happen in Germany and elsewhere, should France, with the forces she has at land, ever get possession of the sovereignty of the sea.

His majesty therefore had good grounds to expect the assistance of other powers in the differences we have just mentioned; but he was far from desiring to involve them unnecessarily in that affair; on the contrary, he did all in his power to maintain peace on the continent.

None but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England, can believe that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England had, therefore, no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different system: accordingly she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable, and that the king's dominions

nions in Germany would be its principal object. France did not confine herself to bare declarations; in the autumn of the year 1755 we saw the French troops assemble upon the Moselle, and the Upper Rhine. It could not be affirmed that these troops were destined to maintain peace, and with defensive views only, as no one could think of carrying the war into France. These grand preparations could therefore have no other end, but that of carrying the war elsewhere herself, and of entering the territories of the empire. The king, in these circumstances, first addressed himself in quality of king and elector, to the imperial and royal court. It was certainly the empress queen whom this affair principally regarded. His Britannic majesty expected of her, as king and elector, that she would call to remembrance the times not long elapsed, and also the accomplishment of the treaties which the king had fulfilled with the most scrupulous exactness. He might above all have expected, in quality of elector, that his imperial majesty would execute faithfully what he had promised by his capitulation.

He might perhaps have obtained the assistance of the court of Vienna, had he been willing to enter into the views which the ministers of that court had sufficiently made known; but the king thought them as improper for answering his intention to maintain peace in Europe, as contrary to justice. Hence the dry and unsatisfactory answers which he received from Vienna; answers which sufficiently discovered the new plan that court was pursuing, and which was totally different from that to

which the house of Austria had been so often indebted for its preservation.

Such were the circumstances when a favourable opportunity offered for concluding with his Prussian majesty the treaty of Westminster, Jan. 16, 1756. The two contracting monarchs considered it as a sure means to maintain peace in Europe, and especially in Germany. Then it was that France saw the hopes vanish with which she had flattered herself, of being assisted by the king of Prussia in her views against the peace of Europe. No body then thought, that the court of Vienna would, in order to obtain its ends, make an alliance with that of Versailles, and throw itself into the danger which must inevitably follow. It seemed, therefore, natural to hope, that France would abandon a scheme which she wanted allies to execute, and that the peace of the empire would continue undisturbed. This is as evident as what the French have advanced in their memorial, in order to throw a false gloss upon the treaty of Westminster, is weak, and void of probability. It is there said, 'That the kings of England and Prussia had no enemies to contend with when the treaty of Westminster was concluded.' But is not the contrary known to all the world? Had not France already assembled troops in 1755, and threatened to attack the king's German dominions? This piece adds, 'That the king of Great Britain had reasons to wish for a war upon the continent: That the operations of France by sea would thereby be weakened: That the Hanoverian troops would obtain subsidies: That endeavours

endeavours were used to turn the war in Germany into a religious war, in order to gain the assistance of the Protestant princes: That the concurrence of the king of Prussia was obtained by flattering his ambition with the hopes of a new aggrandisement, at the expence of the empress queen: And that the King of Prussia, in a public news paper, reproaches the King of Great Britain as being the first mover of this war.'

If the question, which of the two powers is to be considered as the author of the war in Germany, is to be decided by the advantages to be reaped from it by such party, the impartial public would be at no loss to give its judgment. They must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces and aspire at conquests. Nothing can be more odious, or more groundless, than the reproach of the pretended design to procure subsidies to Hanoverian troops.

The king defrayed the expences of the campaign of 1757 at his own proper charge, and except the payment which the Hessian troops received from England, that crown contributed only 200,000*l.* sterling to that campaign: a sum which, it is easy to see, was sufficient but for a small part of the necessary expences. Had it been in the power of the king to shun this war, the Hanoverian troops would have had no need of subsidies.

Can it be imagined, that the king would have desired to purchase these subsidies at the price of the danger to which he exposed his German dominions, in case the French armies should penetrate to the heart of the empire? Every one may easily see what the Protestants had to expect from the court of Versailles. It was not, therefore without reason that this object was recommended to the consideration of the Protestant powers and states of the empire; but the king was so far from using this motive to excite a war on the continent, that he had nothing more at heart than to prevent it.

The King of Prussia has published to the world the reasons that forced him to take arms. We leave the impartial to judge, whether these reasons were not sufficient of themselves, without any view of aggrandisement, to kindle up a war between that prince and the empress queen; at least it can never be imputed to the king, who exposed his sacred person, and also the blood and treasure of his subjects, to save the house of Austria, that he occasioned the present troubles, that lay waste the empire, with a view to distress that house.

The French ministry are very sensible of all the weakness of these pretended conjectures. Hence they have recourse to a letter which his Prussian majesty is said to have written to the king. Can there be a more formal acknowledgment that they want solid proofs, than their having recourse to a writing which bears the most evident marks of falsity and forgery, and which only have proceeded from the wicked hearts of those who are not ashamed to use venal pens, to forge pieces

pieces purposely to impose upon the abused and credulous public, and to answer the sinister ends which they hoped to make of it at a proper time and place?

It is said also, in the memorial of the court of France, 'That the clause contained in the treaty of Westminister to oppose the introduction of foreign troops into Germany, is contrary to the right which the states have to make alliances with foreign powers; and that it had France principally in view: That his Britannic majesty was not ignorant, that, by virtue of his defensive treaties, and his guaranty of those of Westphalia, the king of France would be obliged, at the requisition of those states, to send troops to their assistance, in case of their being attacked; and that the engagement made to oppose those troops, was a most unjust declaration of war.'

The second article of the treaty of Westminister absolutely destroys this objection. It speaks only of troops that should come to *disturb the peace of the empire*; for what other troops could be then thought of? To suppose a design had been formed to attack Saxony and Bohemia, and to exclude the entrance of lawful succours, is to assert the very thing that is called in question, and, considering the evidence to the contrary, is entirely void of all proof. It is objected in the last place, 'That in the treaty of Westminister the neutrality of the Low Countries, in favour of the empress queen, was not inserted with that of Germany: That the public soon discovered the artifice; and that it was the intention and design of the contracting parties to excite

France, by this fact, to attack those countries, in order, by that means, to kindle up a general war.'

The reason why the Austrian Netherlands were not comprehended in that treaty is very clearly explained in a separate article. His Prussian majesty was not obliged by the peace of Dresden, to guaranty these countries. Besides, what reason could there be for such a guaranty for the empress queen, who had signified on several occasions, that she feared nothing from France? Was it not in the power of his most Christian majesty not to attack the countries in question; or did the treaty of Westminister give him a right to invade them? At least, if he had taken so unjust a resolution, it is plain that his Britannic majesty would not have been answerable for the event. However, the peace of these provinces was no less secured by that treaty, than if they had been expressly included. France would naturally avoid carrying the war thither, at a time, when, by her own confession, she was abandoned by her ally, and engaged in a burthenome war. She would have been afraid of drawing upon her Austria, Holland, and other powers, who, both by virtue of treaties, and also from motives of self-interest, must, in that case, have taken part in the war.

Nothing then can be more unexceptionable than the king's conduct with regard to the treaty of Westminister, which will be for ever an irreproachable witness of the care he took to maintain the peace of Europe.

France took quite different measures: her numerous land forces persuaded

persuaded her that it was her interest to make war on the continent. Her envoys made no secret of her design, as we have already observed. The preparations which she made, and the troops which she assembled in 1755 upon the Upper Rhine and the Moselle, were a convincing proof of the blow which she meditated. She even induced the empress queen to make a treaty with her, signed at Versailles the first of May 1756. Nothing can be less difficult than to discover the views of the courts of Vienna and Versailles, in making that alliance, and the consequences which they promised themselves from that system. France wanted to punish the King of Prussia for having dared to dispute the dependence which she exacts from all the courts of Europe, and for having made with England a treaty, which, though inoffensive, was inconsistent with the views of the French ministry.

She above all flattered herself, that by the measures she had pursued, by the war which she was going to make on the continent, and by the invasion of the king's German dominions, he would be brought to make a peace prejudicial to his crown, or in case he refused to come into that, designs might be accomplished, that would include the ruin of the house of Hanover. These are not mere conjectures; they are the sentiments of a person whose penetration, and the confidence which the allied courts justly put in him, enabled him to discover the truth, and who had the intelligence which he sent to his court, from the fountain head.

The following is part of a letter from Count Fleming, dated July 29, 1756. 'If the court of London does not separate itself from the King of Prussia, and make peace with France on the best terms possible, the latter will go on from success to success, and from scheme to scheme, which may in the end become, fatal to the house of Hanover.' The court of Vienna, which the king had so faithfully succoured, and which, in consequence of the most solemn treaties, ought to have defended the electorate of Hanover, made so little opposition to its being invaded, that Count Fleming gave the following opinion of it in a letter, dated June 12, 1756. 'I think (says he) that it would not be ill-timed, if France, the more to embarrass the King of Prussia, should send an army of 60,000 men into the country of Hanover; which would greatly facilitate its designs.' The same minister informs his court of his reasons for thinking so, and of the court of Vienna's motives for refusing to succour the king in case of an hostile invasion, in a letter dated May 10, 1756, being the very day the treaty of Versailles was signed. 'It plainly appears (says he) that since the court of Vienna cannot have the King of Prussia for the object of the war, it will no longer run the risque with England against France, which it looks upon as a much less dangerous enemy than the King of Prussia.'

His dispatch of June 9, 1756, gives the following account why it did not yet fear France so much as the King of Prussia: 'Never-
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‘ theless (says he) it is but too remarkable, that it wants to get rid of all these difficulties, and is bent on giving a different face to the affairs of religion in the empire, and to conquer Silesia.’ In a dispatch of the 16th of the same month, he says, ‘ I am more and more persuaded, that the reflections which I have made in my former letters, and especially in that of the 9th instant, are not without foundation, and I can no longer doubt that the court where I am has formed a scheme, the principal objects of which are religion, and the recovery of Silesia.’

Lastly, he tells us the manner in which this scheme was to have been executed, in a letter well worthy of attention, dated July 8, 1756.

‘ They know very well (says the count) that it is necessary to pursue, without interruption, the measures already begun, that they may be able to play a double game, and put themselves in so good a condition, that the King of Prussia shall be thereby obliged by supporting his armaments, and the augmentations made or to be made, either to waste away by little and little, or, to prevent that inconvenience, suffer himself to run into some precipitate resolution, which to me seems to be the very thing they expect.’

It is in consequence of these designs, and by these means, that Germany is become the unhappy theatre of war. Does Europe at present say that this is to be laid to the king’s account, or to whom does justice ascribe it?

The conduct of the king, after

the war broke out was the same; always just and irreproachable. The harmony between him and his Polish majesty subsisted upon its former footing; he desired peace; and though he neither could nor would engage the King of Prussia to neglect the necessary means of defence, he did not fail to remonstrate to that monarch, not to use them but in the utmost necessity. The king was at peace with the empress queen; he had no hand in the war between Prussia, Austria, and Saxony, nor had he ever been solicited by the King of Prussia to take part in it. This has been declared, on different occasions, as well to the court of Vienna and the dyet of the empire, as to the principal courts of Germany, by ministers sent expressly for that purpose.

At a comital deliberation of the 10th of January, 1757, the king, as elector, gave it as his opinion, that the empire should interpose its mediation to appease, in an amicable manner, the troubles in which it was involved. All these things are publicly known, nor can any one have the face to alledge the least step, the least measure, from which the contrary can be inferred.

The winter which followed, hindered France from sending her troops in 1756 against the dominions of his Britannic majesty: but at the same time it opened a new scene by the neutrality offered the king for these dominions. After shewing what passed upon this occasion, we shall draw from them the consequences which naturally follow. On the fourth of January, 1757, Count Kaunitz declared to Baron Stenborg, the Hanoverian minister

minister at Vienna, that he had a proposal to make to him which he did not expect; that the empress queen had ordered him to give him a memorial (which the count at the same time presented) and that she desired that his court would return an answer to it as soon as possible. This memorial remarks, that, in offering that neutrality, all the securities and just and reasonable indulgencies and conditions were required for the empress and her allies, which ought to follow from such an engagement. Nothing could be more natural than for the king to desire an explanation of those equivocal terms, which were susceptible of any meaning that might be put upon them. He did so, in an answer, conformable to the same language which he had always used in quality of elector, and repeated, with that freedom and uprightness from which he never departed, his resolution to stop the French troops, and to take no other share in the war. These assurances would have been sufficient, if there had really been no design to injure the king's dominions, and those of his allies, as long as, in quality of elector, he remained neuter.

The court of Vienna had previously answered, that it would treat with France concerning that affair; but it at the same time signed a convention with the Count d'Etrees, by virtue of which the French army was to pass the Weser the 10th of July. This circumstance, after the testimony which M. d'Etrees himself has given of it, cannot be called in question.

Instead of the explanation that was expected, the Count de Col-

lorado sent to London in the month of April to Baron de Munchausen his Britannic majesty's electoral minister, the scheme of a treaty of neutrality; wherein not only a passage for the combined army was demanded, but it was also said, that the king had delivered up his strong places to foreign troops; that he should not augment nor assemble his own; but should disperse them in such a manner as should be agreed on. The king by submitting to these terms, was no longer master of his own country, nor of his own troops, and voluntarily disarmed himself. The French ministry, however, have not scrupled to annex to their Parallel the piece which contains such strange propositions. The consequences were such as the court of Vienna might naturally expect, and which, after signing the convention with the Count d'Etrees, it might desire. The king broke off a negotiation which only shewed the arrogance of the courts which had begun it.

The reader is now able to judge of that part of the memorial of the court of France that regards this article. It first endeavours to render the king suspected by his allies, when it says, 'That he had given ' insinuations for the neutrality of ' his German dominions, and that ' afterwards he had proposed to ' admit of it, provided that the ' French troops, instead of passing ' through his dominions were ' made to pass through the countries of Cassel, Brunswick, Gotha, and Weimar.'

Certainly the author of the French memorial, when he wrote this, forgot that the king's answer, annexed

annexed to the Parallel, destroys both those reproaches. The king there owns with what satisfaction he received the offer which had been made him, and speaks of it as a proposal not coming from him, but solely from the empress queen: 'His majesty (says that paper) has heard, with as great pleasure as regard for her majesty the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, that her imperial and royal majesty wanted to hinder the countries belonging to his Britannic majesty in Germany, from being involved in the present troubles. The king also declares, that he persisted in the resolution to take all possible measures to keep out foreign troops from his possession, and from their neighbourhood, more effectually to prevent the danger which might threaten them.'

The French army would not have been far from the king's territories, had he followed the path which was marked out for him. After sending this explanation to the court of Vienna, it was necessary to wait for its answer before passing to other proposals. This answer was only received in the scheme of the convention: and the court of Vienna must own, that the negotiation was then absolutely broken off.

The court of France is very sensible that these objections have nothing to do with the principal affair; but that the question properly is, whether the king was obliged to accept the neutrality offered him? Whether his refusal of it justifies their proceedings afterwards towards his dominions, and those of his allies? And

whether the conditions offered him are not the clearest proof of the unjust designs the French had against him? Thus they seek to excuse themselves; but nothing can be more weak than that pretended justification. 'The king, it is said, was obliged to permit the French army to have a passage through his dominions; it could take no other rout: the conditions offered had nothing in them unjust, dishonourable, nor dangerous, as it was proposed to put the fortresses of Hamelen into the hands of the empress of Russia, or of the king of Denmark.'

Nothing can be worse founded than the pretended obligation of the king, to permit the French army a passage through his dominions. According to the law of nations, and that of the states of the empire with regard to foreign powers, no state can be forced to grant a passage to the troops of another state through its territories; much less ought that passage to be demanded, when it might give occasion or pretence to bring the theatre of the war into the country, where it would get footing. The laws of the empire do not allow the emperor to introduce foreign troops into Germany, without the consent of the states. In the case wherein, by the constitution of the empire, the states are obliged to allow such passage, it is not to be done with prejudice or danger to the countries. For this reason it is ordained, that first of all, the person to whom the troops belong shall give security to cause the troops to march in small bodies, without causing any damage to the coun-

try, and paying for every thing that shall be furnished them for their subsistence.

To apply these regulations to the passage demanded of the king. The empire had not consented to the introduction of the French troops. [France had lately signified to the dyet, that she thought it just to take what revenge she could of the king's states in Germany, on account of the differences that had arisen in America. It was not France that could give such security; she demanded the king to deliver up his fortresses, to disarm himself, and leave it to the discretion of France, whether she should think proper, under pretence of a passage, to exercise her declared revenge, and ruin the electoral states as much as she could by an open war. The very demand of a passage sufficiently proves, that this was the design of France. She needs only throw an eye upon a map to be convinced, that the shortest way to go from France to Saxony and Bohemia, which were then the theatre of the war, was not to pass through the territories of the king in Germany, nor those of his neighbours. It is no wonder that France finds the conditions, which she proposed to the king, neither dishonourable, unjust, or dangerous. Having imbibed ideas of despotism, she thinks, that all other powers ought to consider every thing that she thinks fit to impose upon them, as equitable, just, and proper. Delicate with regard to her own honour, she would have others to be indifferent about theirs; but such notions will never alter the nature of things, nor hinder every one from being persuaded, that there

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is nothing more hard, more unjust, or more incompatible with the dignity of a free state of the empire, than to see that power, that strength, and authority, for which she is alone indebted to Providence, taken from her by the hand of a stranger. The states of the empire may see, from this example, of what nature the passage is, which the court of France thinks she has a right to demand as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, and with the approbation of the court of Vienna. The imperial town of Cologne has experienced it in this war, and perhaps the time is nearer at hand than they expect, when those, whose zeal for their religion, the subsidies which they receive, and other views, make them look upon the sufferings of their co-estates with a careless indifference, will themselves share the same fate in their turns.

We flatter ourselves that we have said enough to set the conduct of the king and that of France, with regard to the neutrality, in a clear light. We have seen that the king seized the offer that was made him to repeat the assurances that he would endeavour, on his side, to maintain peace in Germany. That, on the contrary, the courts of Vienna and Versailles have been, from the beginning, very equivocal and suspicious; that while they made a shew of procuring the neutrality of the electorate, they signed a convention, by which the combined armies were to enter the electorate after the 10th of July; and lastly, that the conditions proposed to the king, were so hard, so dangerous, and so inconsistent with his honour, that they were only intended to make him reject them, to give them

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a pretence for executing the resolution they had taken to invade his majesty's dominions, in contempt of the laws of equity and justice.

This fatal design was soon put into execution. Was the public ignorant what the king's territories have suffered by that invasion, we could give it a long detail on this head. The suburbs of Zell burnt, the town of Hoy almost reduced to ashes, without any reason of war, so many villages plundered, so many towns ravaged, almost all the horses of the country carried away, the country foraged, exactions amounting to immense sums, indecencies committed with regard to the king's principal officers: all these horrors will transmit to the latest posterity, the remembrance of an invasion equally unjust and cruel. If France could justify her conduct in the eyes of the world, she would not fail to give valid reasons for the invasion of the electorate; but no such thing appears in the paper published in her defence. It is true, she alleges the war of England, and hostilities commenced, as she says, by the Hanoverians; but she yet barely touches upon these two articles, she sees that this would be an open violation of the best established maxims of the law of nations, and would involve the empire in continual wars, if it might be maintained that the states of which it was composed, could be attacked for quarrels that regard only their sovereigns in quality of sovereign powers.

If the approach of a numerous French army ought not to be considered as a declaration of war, at least, they cannot deny, but that before the two armies were near enough to come to blows, Marshal d'Eures committed the first acts of

hostility in the county of Bentheim, of which the king was in possession, and which France thought she could put into the hands of the count of that name, by virtue of the authority which she arrogated of supreme judge of the empire. To colour these violences, she had no other pretence left but the quality of guarantee of the peace of Westphalia. She pretends, that to perform this obligation, she might send troops into Germany; that the King of Prussia had invaded Saxony and Bohemia; that the king and his allies, by supporting the cause of his Prussian majesty with an army, had formally declared themselves adherents to the breaker of the public peace, and consequently their countries ought to be treated as those of enemies.

It is true that it is against the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, that this pretence of guarantee is chiefly urged; but as no better reason is alleged to justify the invasion of the different states of the empire, as the king besides considers the conduct of his serene highness the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel as both just and glorious, and as he never pretends to separate the cause of that prince from his own; this reason, which France gives for her conduct, ought not to be left unanswered.

The parallel supposes that the King of Prussia was the aggressor in the war with her majesty the empress queen, and that he had not sufficient reason to take up arms in his own defence. How many things might be urged in answer to this imputation? Count Fleming's remarkable letter of the 28th of July 1756, speaks in a very different strain. But as it is not our design at present to justify the King of Prussia, who has no need of a foreign

reign pen to defend him, we shall, for a moment, suppose the accusation against him well founded. To come at the end proposed, it will be sufficient to make two remarks, which will wholly expose the emptiness of the pretence which France has thought proper to make use of. First, it is notoriously false, that the king as elector, or any of the other princes his allies, had taken any part in the differences between the king of Prussia and the house of Austria, before they were invaded by the French. The king had, on several occasions, declared, that he had no design to interfere in the war, and that all his views and measures should only be to keep out of his possessions and their neighbourhood the foreign troops with which they were threatened. Nothing can be more conformable to these declarations than the measures that have been pursued, nor can any thing be alledged to infer the contrary. At the deliberations of the dyet of the 10th of January, the king, and his allies, voted for an amicable accommodation, and did not join in the measures approved by the majority. But the peace of Westphalia stipulates that all mild methods shall be tried before the guarantees are authorised to take up arms. It secures the states of the empire an entire liberty of voting, and leaves the decision of that question to the dyet, so that the majority of voices determines with regard to collections and contributions necessary for the expences of a war. If then France wanted to take advantage of her quality of guarantee of the peace of Westphalia, she ought not to have used any other means but those prescribed by treaty, and proposed by his Britannic majesty; but so far

from that, she pretends to assume the right of executing the conclusions of the empire, and usurps a more extensive power than the emperor himself in Germany. But in the second place, nothing is a stronger proof of the monstrous abuses which France has made of the guaranty of that treaty, than her conduct in the king's territories, when she saw herself able to speak and act as their mistress. If there be any one who doubts that she had a design to revenge herself upon the king's German dominions for the differences in America, by spoiling, ruining, and destroying his territories, and those of his allies, and by putting it out of their power to succour the Protestant religion, and the liberty of Germany, it is sufficiently demonstrated to them by this conduct. Scarce were the French troops in possession of the country, but, not content with raising heavy contributions, she took upon her the regulation of the revenues, and poured in a croud of placemen and commissioners, who followed the army, to whom the administration was entrusted. The country changed its master, and in all the ordinances published in the name of the intendant, or of the generals, it was filed a country of his most christian majesty; the town of Hamelen was even summoned to take the oaths of allegiance to the King of France. Notice was given to his Britannic majesty's ministers of state, that by virtue of a convention signed between France and the empress queen, the revenues and contributions arising from the electorate should be divided between the two powers; even all the conquered countries, and those that should be conquered, belonging to the king, as elector of Ha-

nover, were farmed out to a citizen of Paris, which was notified by a public edict to the whole electorate, and would have been soon put in execution.

To maintain that these are privileges which a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia hath a right to; to pretend that France had no other view but to execute the laws of the empire, and to put the King of Poland again in possession of Saxony, is contrary to the impression which plain facts must make upon the minds of the most prejudiced. It would be needless to attempt overthrowing a pretence, of which all the world sees the weakness; a pretence of which France did not avail herself when she saw herself in possession of Hanover; a pretence, in short, which she has refuted in the plainest manner by her conduct, when the king, as elector, caused proposals of peace to be made to her.

We come now to examine the rest of these measures, the convention of Closter-seven, and the objections to which it has given occasion.

On reading what the court of France says of that convention, one would think that this is the article on which she laid the greatest stress. It is plain, however, that the plan which it has followed in this affair is most unjustifiable, and that the king's conduct here, as in every other respect, is void of all just censure. To prove this we shall, as the most proper way, relate the whole matter of fact. We shall first shew it to the public in the most natural light, and then answer the objections made by France.

After the affair of Hastenbeck on the 26th of July 1757, wherein the two armies, though very unequal in numbers, fought long with doubtful success till the weakest was

obliged to retreat, by reason of the too great superiority of the enemy's troops over those of the Duke of Cumberland; the greatest part of the king's German territories, and also those of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and of the Duke of Brunswick, fell into the enemy's hands, who made them feel all the hardships of war. They, however, always pretended, that these misfortunes were a consequence of the measures taken by his majesty, who would not grant the peace intended for his states, and those of his allies. His majesty then resolved, in quality of elector, to make proposals of peace to the empress queen and the court of France. He saw that the efforts which he had made to stop the French army had been ineffectual; his paternal heart was sensibly affected to see the oppression and ruin of his faithful subjects.

The severity with which they acted with regard to his allies, excited in his soul sentiments of the most sincere compassion; he then repeated his former declarations, that he would observe the most strict neutrality as elector, during the troubles of Germany, and promised to separate his army, on condition that his states, and those of his allies, were delivered from the yoke under which they groaned. These offers were absolutely all that the courts of Vienna and Versailles had demanded, and the latter especially could not reject them, without taking off the mask, discovering her design to make conquests in Germany, and of destroying, contrary to all the laws of nations, the electorate of Hanover, incorporated with the empire, and taking no part in these quarrels on account of the war in America. The two courts had as yet given no definitive answer,

answer, when his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, by the mediation of Count de Lynar, concluded the truce of Sept. 8, 1757. We only know, that the court of Vienna had assured Baron de Steinberg, envoy from the king, as elector, to that court, that when the first overtures were made of a peace, it had given orders to Count de Stahremberg to support them at Versailles. That convention bore, that hostilities should cease on both sides; and that the auxiliary troops should return into their own countries: that the Hanoverians should be placed in the part of his majesty's dominions which should be assigned them, and that the French should possess the rest till a final reconciliation. The most remarkable of these separate articles is that wherein it is declared, that the allies *should not be looked upon as prisoners of war.*

It needs but little attention to discover the nature and end of this convention: it is a suspension of arms, a military regulation, which the French minister himself drew up: it was to continue till the issue of a negotiation, begun by his Britannic majesty in the quality of Elector of Hanover, and upon the declaration of the courts of Vienna and Versailles which was expected. This was the reason why it was not thought necessary to fix the time the suspension of arms was to last. It was drawn up by the generals of the two armies, who mutually agreed that it might be concluded without the ratification of the two courts: and, indeed, they might well agree to a truce, which was to last only for a short time; but it is impossible to suppose that they had power to make a treaty by which, without the ratification of the sovereigns,

the king's dominions should be delivered up into the hands of foreigners, till a general peace, of which there was not the least appearance. It is a thing unheard of to give the general of an army so extensive an authority.

The conduct of Hanover, immediately after it was signed, shews still more clearly the meaning and end of the convention: not only the instructions given to the king's envoys, but the original letters which remain in the hands of the most respectable ministers who were employed in this affair, testify to the whole world the truth of what we have here advanced. His royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, in the first memorial, delivered to Count de Lynar, informs him, 'that he had a view to procure, ' by means of the convention, a ' suspension of arms on both sides, ' as the first means of a reconciliation.' Baron de Schwegeld, his Britannic majesty's minister, writes the 10th of September, the same day the convention was signed, to Baron de Bernstorff, his Danish majesty's minister of state, as follows; 'I need not enter into a ' detail of a negotiation of which ' your excellency will be already ' fully informed by Count de Lynar. You will see, Sir, by the ' account which he will give you, ' that nothing but the hopes that ' this first step would serve as a ' foundation and introduction to ' other measures, made us overlook numberless considerations, ' which otherwise would have merited the most serious consideration in many respects.' Baron de Steinberg, minister of state, wrote in the following terms to the Count de Lynar, who had sent the scheme of explanation. This letter is dated

September 28. ' Your excellency
 ' has too well observed, during
 ' your residence here, how faith-
 ' fully we have acted, and how ar-
 ' dently we have desired to continue
 ' the negotiation begun, to pave
 ' the way to more particular expla-
 ' nations, and to the relief which
 ' the states of the king stand so
 ' much in need of. Your excel-
 ' lency, I say, has too well ob-
 ' served all this, to make the least
 ' doubt that the hopes which you
 ' gave occasion to, in your letter
 ' of the 27th, are not entirely
 ' agreeable to the ministry, who
 ' are under the greatest obligations
 ' to your excellency for the zeal
 ' which you shew in this affair, and
 ' the care which you have pro-
 ' mised to take. As to a more par-
 ' ticular convention mentioned to
 ' us by your excellency, I shall
 ' conform entirely to what his royal
 ' highness the Duke of Cumberland
 ' shall signify on that head. I add,
 ' however, that the king's mi-
 ' nister has seen, with great plea-
 ' sure, the efforts which your ex-
 ' cellency, who hath so sure and ex-
 ' tensive a knowledge, hath made
 ' to bring things to a formal
 ' negotiation. And as there is the
 ' greatest reason to think, that the
 ' exhibition of full powers will,
 ' with this view, be insisted upon,
 ' the ministry make no doubt
 ' but your excellency will take
 ' all possible care to cause those
 ' of Marshal Richelieu, or of any
 ' other, to extend farther than to a
 ' negotiation *ad interim*, and con-
 ' sequently to an entire conclusion
 ' of the accommodation which they
 ' have in view. The articles con-
 ' tained in your excellency's scheme
 ' of explanation will furnish suf-
 ' ficient arguments on this head,
 ' as every suspension of arms un-

' determined with regard to time,
 ' first supposes that the principal
 ' negotiation will follow, and that
 ' equitable terms will be granted
 ' on both sides. The promise of
 ' the King, the Duke of Brunswick,
 ' and the Landgrave of Hesse,
 ' not to employ their troops du-
 ' ring the present troubles, must be
 ' founded upon the hopes, that in
 ' consideration thereof their states
 ' shall be delivered from the op-
 ' pression under which they at pre-
 ' sent groan, and that no pretences
 ' shall be made to put off this con-
 ' dition till a general peace, which
 ' a series of unforeseen events, of
 ' which the present year has fur-
 ' nished so great a number, may
 ' long prevent.'

Lastly, it is plain that France
 herself understood the convention
 in the very same sense. For whe-
 ther the hands of the Hanoverians
 were tied up by the suspension of
 arms concluded at Closter-seven,
 till a general peace, or whether the
 state of inaction was only to last
 till it should be seen whether the
 king, as elector, could obtain a
 particular accommodation: In the
 former case, and if that obligation
 existed already, why did France in-
 sist upon having it stipulated by the
 scheme of explanation proposed by
 Count de Lynar. And in the other,
 the king must have been at liberty
 to put an end to the truce when
 there were no hopes left of obtain-
 ing a particular peace. In a word,
 if we but simply consider the con-
 vention of Closter-seven, both these
 points are incontestible. If the
 convention was a suspension of
 arms, a military regulation, the
 duration of which depended upon
 the success of the proposals for
 a particular peace, it might then
 be revoked when the courts of
 Vienna

Vienna and Versailles had rejected these proposals. If, on the contrary, it was a formal treaty, by virtue of which the king's dominions were to remain in the enemy's hands, till an entire reconciliation of the sovereigns, which was at a great distance, it required the ratification of the king, which had never been obtained.

The court of France has furnished the king with many other reasons for regarding the convention as null and void. Scarce was the news of it received at Paris, but they thought they had gained the point so long desired, and that they were able to make the king accept the most unsupportable terms. They not only declared, that they would absolutely hear no terms of peace, but even protested against the validity of the convention, and refused to accept the guaranty of the King of Denmark, unless the troops should take a solemn engagement not to serve during the war against France or her allies. This is formally declared in the postscript to a letter to Count de Lynar. Another equally authentic proof of this fact is found in a letter of Marshal Richelieu to General de Zalkrow. The disarming of the troops was also insisted upon, though by the advice of France herself, the convention had observed a profound silence on that head. This pretension was so obstinately maintained, that the proposal made without the concurrence of his Britannic majesty, by his majesty the King of Denmark, to receive these troops into his dominions, was rejected.

The weight of the yoke imposed upon the electorate of Hanover was doubled, by giving it in farm to a

citizen named Faigy: so that the sentiments of humanity which a people reduced to the last extremity might expect from some placemen of France, were more effectually stifled by the avarice of the farmer, whose interest rendered him deaf to prayers and remonstrances. To leave no doubt of the ambitious views of the court of Versailles; to shew that it expected to make new conquests over the king, the said Jean Faigy obtained by patent the farm of the territories of his Britannic majesty, which were conquered or to be conquered.

The convention was infringed in numberless other respects by France, of which an ample account was given in a piece, intitled, *Previous expostitions of the reasons which induced his Britannic majesty, in quality of Elector of Hanover, to take up arms against the French army, which is again in motion.*

The king's territories and those of his allies were threatened with the most severe treatment. They even threatened to rase and reduce to ashes the royal palaces, and those of the king's ministers, in case they should make the least difficulty to subscribe blindly to the will and orders of the court of France. Of this Count Lynar's letter gives sufficient proof. As to the court of Vienna, it spared no pains to second the unjust designs of its ally. After the example of the latter, it declared that it was not a separate peace that would be sought: and that the king might not change his premeditated design of putting the last hand to it, the Aulic and Imperial Councils ought to interpose on this occasion. The Prince of Tour-Tax had also the

credit and influence at Vienna, precisely in these circumstances, to bring about the most unjust and illegal proceedings against his Britannic majesty in the affair of the posts.

The king easily perceived to what the threatenings of his enemies tended. They wanted to throw an indelible stain upon his arms, by disarming the auxiliary troops, who had no other resource left but either to disband or enter into the French armies. The Hanoverian troops were confined in so narrow a space, that it would have been impossible for them to subsist long, but must have perished in misery. Besides, the king, by subscribing to the new terms which they wanted to impose upon him, could not afterwards have claimed the assistance of the British nation for that electorate. The revenues of his German dominions would have been seized, and the country exhausted in such a manner, that nothing could have been expected from it in a long course of years. The king would then have seen himself unable to maintain either his own or subsidiary troops, which by a natural consequence he had been forced to disband. Then would his majesty's enemies have accomplished the dangerous schemes which Count Fleming foretold, *might one day become fatal to the house of Hanover.*

Let any one but examine this picture, whose natural colours are much stronger than here represented; let him but listen to the voice of reason, justice, and equity; let him, in short, but put himself in the king's place, it will be impossible for him to hesitate a moment, what part the king had to take in

these circumstances. The court of France itself acknowledged, that the last conditions proposed did not exist in the treaty of Closter-seven, as it wanted them to be granted by new conventions. The king had therefore an undoubted right to reject them. France also maintained that the convention, before it could become obligatory, wanted the ratification of his most Christian majesty. The king, therefore, had an equal power to grant his, or to refuse it. Was he to renounce this power, and abandon his country and people to the discretion of an enemy, who sought their total ruin and destruction?

The king, then, took the most just measures, and the most agreeable for his own dignity and preservation; the only measures which the arrogance of his enemies had permitted him to take; measures, in short, which, however dangerous and uncertain they then appeared, could not possibly prove more fatal, than the equally heavy and shameful yoke which France wanted to impose upon the king, by the new convention. He resolved to try, what was possible, to deliver his estates, and those of his allies, from tyranny and oppression, and for this purpose, and to defend himself, to join in quality of elector, with his Prussian majesty. He ordered a person of confidence to be sent to that monarch, to desire him to permit Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, a prince of the blood-royal, to take the command of his army. This was the first of November, and consequently five days before the battle of Rosbach, when Major General Count de Schulembourg departed from Stade, to go to the King of Prussia. In the mean time,

time, the generals and ministers had not yet received orders to commence hostilities. The king would not permit them to pursue any measures which might give France room to think that he was disposed to enter into her views. General Zastrow's letter, annexed to the Parallel, shews that they conformed exactly to his majesty's intentions, and that they signified that they thought the king was resolved henceforward to regard the convention as null and void. As soon as we were sure of a general, a resolution was taken to march against the enemy. Duke Ferdinand gave notice of this to Marshal Richelieu, by a letter of the 28th of November.

The king gave all the world an account of the just motives of this conduct in a memorial published the 26th of that month, and hostilities were renewed on both sides. This is the justest idea that can be given of an event, which will serve as an eternal monument of France's manner of acting as soon as she thinks she has the superiority on her side; her conduct will convince all the states of the empire, that there is nothing to be gained by yielding to her, and that the pride, and the abuse of her strength, increase in proportion as they become abject.

We shall examine as we go along, and dissipate the falshoods with which the court of France has sought to amuse the public with regard to this event, and the sophistry which she has made use of for her justification. It is impossible in doing this, not to fall into some repetitions. The French ministry begin with an exaggerated description of the condition of the Hanoverian army at the signing of

the convention. It is said in the Parallel, 'That the generous sentiments of the King of France were never more conspicuous than in the capitulation of Closter-seven: That the Hanoverian army, forced to fly before that of Marshal Richelieu, had been obliged to retire to Stade, where it was in the most dangerous situation.'

It will be easily granted, that at the time of making the convention, we had no hopes of soon delivering the king's dominions, and those of his allies, by force of arms, because we saw an army making head against us, greatly superior to ours in number. But had not Marshal Richelieu reason, on the other hand, to fear a reverse of fortune, if he was resolved to drive an army of forty thousand men to despair, whose valour he had experienced at the affair of Hastenbeck? Besides, it was that marshal, and not the Duke of Cumberland, who was informed of the march of the King of Prussia against the Prince of Soubise. So there is not the least mention made of the haste with which the French army flew to the assistance of the latter, immediately after signing the convention. As to the rest, it is impossible to conceive that this convention can serve as an example of the generous sentiments of his most Christian majesty. They ingenuously own, that Marshal Richelieu granted the capitulation of his own accord, without consulting his court. As to the new conditions proposed by the court of Versailles, and with which she connected her ratification, it would be absurd to maintain that they were dictated by sentiments of generosity.

The

The court of France saw very well that she could not claim the right of refusing the capitulation of the treaty of Closter-seven, without giving the same right to his Britannic majesty. In order, therefore, to throw a false gloss upon the explanation of the treaty, it pretends 'That the King of France, out of his zeal for his allies and the empire, approved of the conduct of Marshal Richelieu; and to render the capitulation more solid, his majesty proposed to add to it some explanations, to fix the sense of it in so clear a manner, as to obviate every false interpretation; explanations which the court of Copenhagen and Count Lynar had found conformable to the true sense of the capitulation.'

But this tale is absolutely contrary to the true state of things. The court of France declared, that it would not acknowledge the validity of the convention, unless the

new terms which it intended to add were agreed to, and the auxiliary troops were disarmed. This circumstance, which is most clearly related in Count de Lynar's letter, which is known to the court of Copenhagen, and which was the cause that the guaranty of that court was not sought, is also mentioned in Marshal Richelieu's own letter, annexed to the Parallel. His words are as follow: 'His Danish majesty having offered to guaranty them (the articles of the convention) the king my master thinks, that before he signs his acceptance of them, it will be proper to obviate some obscurities which might occasion difficulties in the execution, which has been suspended reciprocally upon words of honour, to make no alteration in their substance, and always to execute them, when both sides have come to an understanding relating to any doubts that may arise.'

CHARACTERS.

WE have set apart this article, for some remarkable characters of those, whether in the political or literary world, whether living or dead, who have been distinguished by such talents as merit the public attention. The three first are drawn by hands altogether worthy their subjects; neither are the others contemptibly executed. If the first of these pictures inclines somewhat towards panegyric, and if the second should be thought to partake of satire, the reader will not therefore think either of them less just.

An essay towards the character of the King of Prussia, translated from the French of M. Maupeituis.

THE most faithful and scrupulous historian would be the best panegyrist of Frederick king of Prussia. I pretend to be neither; I only attempt the out-lines of his character, which even cotemporary jealousy, envy and malignity, are forced to admire, and which more impartial posterity, if it can believe, will almost adore.

By the mere natural strength and superiority of his genius, without experience, he broke out at once, a general and a hero. He distinguished with precision, what inferior minds never discover at all, the difference between great difficulties and impossibilities, and being never discouraged by the former, has often seemed to execute the latter.

Indefatigably laborious and active, coolly intrepid in action, he discerns, as by intuition, seizes

with rapidity, and improves with skill, the short, favourable, and often decisive moments of battle. Modest and magnanimous after victory, he becomes the generous protector of his subdued, and captive enemies. Resolute and undaunted in misfortunes, he has arisen superior to distresses, and struggled with difficulties, which no courage, no constancy but his own would have resisted, nor could have surmounted.

But as he cannot always command the success which he always deserves, he may perhaps be obliged to yield at last to the superior numbers of almost all Europe combined against him; their legions may perhaps conquer, but his virtues must triumph.

As a king, he is a *man*, a citizen, a legislator, and a patriot. His own extensive mind forms all his plans of government, undebauched by selfish ministerial interests and misrepresentations. Justice and humanity are his only ministers*.

In

* The following account, the truth of which is not disputed, will serve to give some idea of that great prince in that part of his character.

An English lady being possessed of actions [shares] in the Embden company, and having occasion to raise money on them, repaired to Antwerp, and made

In his own dominions he has re- to equity by a code of his own
 formed the law, and reduced it digelting. He has thrown cavil
 out

made application for that purpose to a director of the company, established there by the King of Prussia, for the managing all affairs relating thereto. This person very willingly entered into treaty with her: but the sum he offered to lend being far short of what the actions would bear, and also insisting on forfeiture of her right in them, if not redeemed in twelve months, she broke off with him, and had recourse to some merchants at Antwerp, who were inclinable to treat with her on much more equitable terms. The proceeding necessarily brought the parties before this director for receiving his sanction, which was essential to the solidity of the agreement; and he, finding he was like to lose the advantage he had flattered himself with, disputed the authenticity of the actions, and thereby threw her into such discredit, as to render all attempts to raise money on them ineffectual. Upon this the lady wrote a letter by the common post to his majesty of Prussia, accompanied with a memorial, complaining of the treatment she had received from the director; and likewise inclosed the actions themselves, in another letter to a friend at Berlin. By the return of the post, his majesty condescended to answer her letter; and the actions were returned authenticated, which so restored her credit, that in a few hours all difficulties were removed, relating to the transactions she had in hand; and it is more than probable, the director has felt his majesty's resentment for his ill behaviour.

A translation of the lady's letter.

S I R E,

Having had the happiness to pay my court to your majesty, during a pretty long residence at Berlin, and to receive such marks of favour from their majesties, the queens, as I shall ever retain a grateful sense of, I presume to flatter myself that your majesty will not be offended at the respectful liberty I take, in laying before you my complaints against one Van Erborn, a director of the Embden China company, whose bad behaviour to me, as set forth in my memorial, hath forced me to make a very long and expensive stay at this place: and as the considerable interest I have in that company may further subject me to his caprices, I cannot forbear laying my grievances at the foot of your majesty's throne, most respectfully supplicating your majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to give orders, that this director should not act towards me for the future, as he hath done hitherto.

I hope for this favour from your majesty's sovereign equity; and I shall never cease offering up my ardent prayers for the prosperity of your glorious reign; having the honour to be, with the most respectful zeal, S I R E,

Your majesty's most humble,
 most obedient,
 and most devoted servant,

* * * *

Translation of his Prussian majesty's answer.

Madam,

I received the letter, of the 19th instant, which you thought proper to write me, and was not a little displeased to hear of the bad behaviour of one of the directors of the Asiatic company of Embden towards you, of which you were forced to complain. I shall direct your grievances to be examined, and have just now dispatched my orders for that purpose, to Lentz, my president of the chamber of East Friesland. You may assure yourself the strictest justice shall be done you that the case will admit. God keep you in his holy protection.

Potterdam,
 Feb. 26, 1756.

FREDERICK.

out of the shifting and wavering scales of justice, and poized them equally to all.

Indulgent to the various errors of the human mind, because tainted with so few himself, he has established *universal toleration*; that decisive characteristic of true religion, natural justice, social benevolence, and even good policy. He equally abhors the guilt of making martyrs, and the folly of making hypocrites.

Greatly above all narrow local prejudices, he has invited and engaged, by a *general indiscriminating naturalization*, people of all nations to settle in his dominions. He encourages and rewards the industrious, he cherishes and honours the learned; and *man as man*, wherever oppressed by civil, or persecuted by ecclesiastical tyranny, finds a sure refuge in his sentiments of justice and humanity, which the purple robe has not been able to smother.

A philosopher undazzled with the splendor of the heroic parts of this character, may perhaps inquire after the milder and social virtues of humanity, *and seek for the man*.

—He will find both the man and the philosopher too in Frederick, unallayed by the king, and unsullied by the warrior.

A patron of all liberal arts and sciences, and a model of most. In a more particular manner cultivating, adorning and adorned by the *belles lettres*. His early and first attempt was a refutation of the impious system of Machiavel, that celebrated professor of political iniquity; nobly conscious that he might venture to give the world that public pledge of his future virtue. His memoirs, in-

tended to serve only as materials for a future history of the house of Brandenburg, are such as must necessarily defeat his own purpose, unless he will write the history too, himself. There are also specimens enough of his poetical genius to shew what he might be as a poet, were he not something greater and better.

Neither the toils of war, nor the cares of government, engross his whole time, but he enjoys a considerable part of it in familiar and easy conversation with his equals, *men*. There the king is unknown, and what is more, *unfelt*. Merit is the only distinction, in which his unasserted, but confessed, and undecided superiority, flatters a mind formed like his, much more delicately, than the always casual, and often undeserved, superiority of rank and birth.

But not to swell an essay towards a character, to the bulk of a finished character, still less to that of a history; I will conclude this sketch with this observation: Many a private man might make a great king, but where is the king who could make a great private man, except FREDERICK?

The following character of M. de Voltaire is said to have been written by a P—ce.

M De Voltaire is below the stature of a tall man, or, in other words, he is a little above those of a middling size: he is extremely thin, and of an adult temperament, hot and atrabilious; his visage is meagre, his aspect ardent

ardent and penetrating, and there is a malignant quickness in his eye; the same fire that animates his works appears in his actions, which are lively even to absurdity; he is a kind of meteor, perpetually coming and going with a quick motion, and a sparkling light that dazzles our eyes. A man thus constituted, cannot fail of being a valetudinarian: the blade eats away the scabbard; gay by complexion, grave by regimen; open without frankness, politic without refinement, sociable without friends: He knows the world, and he forgets it; in the morning he is Aristippus, and Diogenes at night; he loves grandeur, and despises the great; with his superiors his carriage is easy, but with his equals constrained; he is first polite, then cold, then disgusting. He loves the court, yet makes himself weary of it; he has sensibility without connections, and is voluptuous without passion. He is attached to nothing by choice, but to every thing by inconsistency. As he reasons without principle, his reason has its fits like the folly of others. He has a clear head, and a corrupt heart; he thinks of every thing, and treats every thing with derision. He is a libertine without a constitution for pleasure, and he knows how to moralize without morality. His vanity is excessive, but his avarice is yet greater than his vanity; he therefore writes less for reputation than money, for which he may be said both to hunger and thirst. He is in haste to work that he may be in haste to live; he was made to enjoy, and he determines only to hoard. Such is the man, and such is the author.

There is no other poet in the world, whose verses cost him so little labour: but this facility of composition hurts him, because he abuses it; as there is but little for labour to supply, he is content that little should be wanting, and therefore almost all his pieces are unfinished. But though he is an easy, and ingenious, and elegant writer of poetry, yet his principal excellence would be history, if he made fewer reflections, and drew no parallels; in both of which, however, he has sometimes been very happy. In his last work he has imitated the manner of Bayle, of whom, even in his censure of him, he has exhibited a copy. It has long been said, that for a writer to be without passion, and without prejudice, he must have neither religion nor country, and in this respect Mr. Voltaire has made great advances towards perfection. He cannot be accused of being a partisan to his nation; he appears on the contrary to be infected with a species of madness somewhat like that of old men, who are always extolling the time past, and bitterly complaining of the present. Voltaire is always dissatisfied with his own country, and lavish in his praise of those that are a thousand leagues off. As to religion, he is in that respect utterly undetermined, and he would certainly be the neutral and impartial being, so much desired for an author, but for a little leaven of anti-jansenism which appears somewhat too plainly distinguished in his works. Voltaire has much foreign and much French literature; nor is he deficient in that mixed crudition which is now so much in fashion. He is a politician,

litician, a naturalist, a geometri-
cian, or whatever else he pleases;
but he is always superficial, be-
cause he is not able to be deep.
He could not, however, flourish
as he does upon these subjects
without great ingenuity. His taste
is rather delicate than just; he is
an ingenious satyrist, a bad critic,
and a dabbler in the abstracted sci-
ences. Imagination is his element,
and yet, strange as it is, he has
no invention. He is reproached
with continually passing from one
extreme to another; now a *Phi-
lantropist*, then a cynic; now an
excessive encomiast, then an out-
rageous satyrist. In one word,
Voltaire would fain be an ex-
traordinary man, and an extra-
ordinary man he most certainly
is!

*Anecdotes of the Life of Baron Mon-
tesquieu, author of the Spirit of
Laws.*

From the French of M. D'Alembert.

Charles de Secondat, Baron of
la Brede and Montesquieu,
president *à mortier* in the parlia-
ment of Bourdeaux, member of
the French academy, of the royal
academy of sciences and belles
lettres at Berlin, and of the royal
society of London, was descended
of a noble family in Guienne,
and born at the castle of la Brede,
near Bourdeaux, on the 28th of
January, 1689. His father was
a younger brother, and served
some time in the army, from which
he soon retired. Young Montef-

quieu gave early proofs of his
superior talents, and his father
was diligent to improve them. At
the age of twenty he was employ-
ed in preparing the materials of
his *Spirit of Laws*, by judicious
extracts from the immense volumes
that compose the body of civil
law. Jurisprudence, though less
dry to him than to most who
apply to it, because he cultivated
it as a philosopher, was not suf-
ficient for his extensive and active
genius. He entered, at the same
time, into the depths of the
most important and delicate sub-
jects †, and treated them with
that judgment, decency, and just-
ness, which distinguish all his writ-
ings.

His father's brother, president
à mortier of the parliament of
Bourdeaux, who was the eldest
branch of the family, losing his
only son, left his fortune and his
office to M. Montesquieu, who
had been admitted a counsellor
in the parliament of Bourdeaux,
Feb. 14, 1714, and was received
president *à mortier* July 13, 1716.
In 1722, during the king's mi-
nority, he was deputed by the
parliament to make remonstrances
against a new oppressive tax. He
discharged this commission with
so much boldness and address,
that the tax was abolished. April
3, 1716, he was admitted a mem-
ber of the infant academy of
Bourdeaux, and diverted the so-
ciety from the study of the fine
arts, which can seldom be culti-
vated to advantage but in the
capital, to the more useful study of
physic.

† This was a tract in the form of letters; designed to shew that the idolatry
of most of the Pagans did not deserve eternal damnation.

In 1721, when he was 32 years of age, he published his first work, intitled, *Persian Letters* [*Lettres Persannes.*] In these he exposes, with great sprightliness and energy, the custom of the French, to treat the most trifling things with seriousness, and turn the most important into ridicule; their conversation so noisy and frivolous; their languor, even in the lap of pleasure; their prejudices and their actions in continual contradiction to their understanding; their ardent love of glory joined to the most profound homage to the idol of court-favour; their courtiers so servile, and yet so vain; their outward politeness to, and their innate contempt of foreigners, or affected partiality towards them; the extravagance of their taste, than which nothing can be more contemptible, except the eagerness of all Europe to adopt it; their barbarous disdain of the most respectable occupations of a citizen, namely, commerce and the administration of justice; their literary disputes, so warm and yet so useless; their rage of writing without thought, and judging without knowledge. To this lively portrait he opposes, in the apologue of the Troglodites, a representation of England, which he calls a virtuous nation made wise by misfortunes.

Though this piece had the greatest success, it was not owned by the author. There were several free expressions in it, relating not to the essentials of Chris-

tianity, but to things that many people study to confound with Christianity; concerning the spirit of persecution, with which so many Christians have been animated: the temporal usurpations made by the clergy; and the excessive multiplication of monasteries, which lessens the number of subjects in the state, without increasing the sincere worshippers of God. These and some other points being misrepresented to the ministry, when M. de Montesquieu stood candidate for a place in the French academy, vacant by the death of M. de Sacy, it was signified to the members, that the king would not approve of the election of the author of the *Lettres Persannes.* M. de Montesquieu saw the consequence of this blow, to his person, his family, and the tranquillity of his life. He considered perpetual exclusion from the academy, especially from such motives, as an injury. He waited on the minister; represented that for private reasons he did not acknowledge himself to be the author of the *Lettres Persannes*; but that there was nothing in them he was ashamed of; and that he ought to have been judged not upon the representation of an informer, but upon a candid perusal of his work*. The ministers did what they ought to have done at first: they read the book, and liked the author, and learned where to place their confidence. France retained a subject whom superstition and calumny

* Voltaire says (Siccle de Louis XIV. edit. 1756) that Montesquieu caused a new edition of his book to be printed off in a few days; in which he either omitted or softened whatever could give offence to Cardinal Fleury, and carried the book to him himself. The Cardinal, who scarce ever read, cursorily looked into some parts of it, and the air of confidence Montesquieu assumed, joined to the solicitations of some persons of high rank, made him drop his opposition.

were on the point of making her lose. For M. de Montesquieu declared, that after such an affront, he would seek among strangers, who held out their arms to receive him, that security and quiet, and perhaps those recompences, which he might have hoped for in his own country. He was received into the academy, Jan. 24, 1728.

The new academician was the more deserving of that title, as he had a little before quitted every other employment to follow entirely his genius and taste. He was sensible that he could be more serviceable to his country, and to mankind, by his writings, than by deciding, in obscurity, private contentions. He, therefore, determined to sell his place; and ceasing to be a judge, devoted his time to letters only.

But to be useful to different nations, it was necessary that he should know them. With this view he set out on his travels. He went first to Vienna, where he often saw the celebrated Prince Eugene. This hero so fatal to France (to which he might have been useful) after bringing Lewis XIV. into jeopardy, and humbling the Ottoman pride, lived, in time of peace, without pomp, a lover and encourager of letters, in a court where little honour is paid to them, and set an example to his masters to patronise them.

M. de Montesquieu went next to Hungary, an opulent and fertile

country, inhabited by a proud and generous people, the scourge of tyrants, and the supporters of their sovereigns. As this country is little known, he is very full on it in the account of his travels, which are not yet published. He went next to Italy. At Venice he saw the famous Law, who had nothing left of his former grandeur, but projects that were happily destined to die with him, and a diamond which he often pledged to raise money to play at games of chance. One day the conversation turned on the famous system invented by Law, the æra of the ruin and the opulence of many people in France, and of a remarkable corruption of manners in that kingdom. Law met with opposition to his scheme from the parliament of Paris, who are the immediate depositaries of the laws during a minority. M. de Montesquieu asked him why he did not try to gain them by that which proves infallible in England, money? 'The members of your parliament,' replied Law, 'have less fire and generosity than my countrymen; but they have more integrity*.' Another person not less famous, whom Montesquieu saw often at Venice, was Count Bonneval. This man, so well known by his adventures, which were not yet brought to their final period, pleased to have a judge that deserved so well to hear him, took great pleasure in giving M. de Montesquieu a de-

* M. D'Alembert's remark on this passage, is as follows:

'We shall add, without any prejudice from national vanity, that a body which is free for a short time only, must resist corruption better, than a body which is always free: the first, if it sells its liberty, loses it; the second only lends it (if I may be allowed the expression) and exercises it even in pledging it. Thus the vices and virtues of nations arise from circumstances and the nature of the government.'

tail of his very extraordinary life, of the military actions he had a part in, and the characters of the generals and ministers he had known. Montesquieu often recalled to mind those conversations, and related many passages of them to his friends.

From Venice he went to Rome. In this ancient capital of the world, which is still so in some respects, he particularly attended to that by which it is at present distinguished, the works of Raphael, Titian, and Michael Angelo. He had never particularly studied the fine arts: but the expression that shines forth in the master-pieces of that kind, never fails to strike every man of genius. Accustomed to attend to nature, he knows her when he sees her imitated; as a good likeness strikes all to whom the original is familiar.

After travelling through Italy, M. de Montesquieu went to Switzerland, and carefully examined the vast countries that are watered by the Rhine. There remained nothing more in Germany for him to see; for Frederick was not yet come to the crown. After staying some time in the United Provinces, which are an admirable monument of what *Industry* can do animated by the love of *Liberty*, he came over to England, where he resided two years. He had nothing to regret, but that he did not come sooner; Locke and Newton were both dead. But he had often the honour to wait on their protectress, Queen Caroline, who cultivated philosophy on the throne, and had a just relish for M. de Montesquieu's conversation. He was equally well received by the nation; who in this instance did not want to have the example set them by the court. At

London he formed connections with men accustomed to meditation, who qualified themselves for great actions by study. From them he informed himself of the nature of the English government, and acquired a perfect knowledge of it. Germany, he said, was fit only to travel in, Italy to reside in, England to think in, and France to live in.

On his return to France, he retired for two years to his seat at la Brede, and put the last hand to his work, of the causes of the rise and fall of Rome, *Sur la cause de la grandeur & de la decadence des Romains*: which appeared in 1734. It might justly have been intitled, *The Roman History for the use of Statesmen and Philosophers*.

How much reputation soever he might have gained by this and his former works, he had, as yet, only cleared the way for a much greater undertaking, that which ought to immortalise his name, and render his memory respectable to future ages. He had long before this time formed the design of it: he had meditated on the execution of it for twenty years, or rather his whole life was one continued meditation. He first made himself, as it were, a stranger to his own country, that he might know it better. He next visited Europe, and with the deepest attention studied the characteristics of the different nations by which it is inhabited. That famous island, which glories so much in its laws, and makes such bad use of them, was to him, in this long tour, what the isle of Crete was formerly to Lycurgus, a school where he improved in knowledge, without approving of the whole. In fine, he had examined and judged nations and eminent men that no longer exist, but in the annals of the world. Thus he gradu-

gradually rose to the highest title a wise man can arrive at, that of Legislator of nations.

If he was animated by the importance of his subject, he was discouraged by its extent; he abandoned and resumed it several times. And at length, encouraged by his friends, he mustered all his strength, and gave the public his *Spirit of Laws*.

Among the authors by whom he was assisted, and from whom he borrowed some of his sentiments, the principal are the two of deepest meditation, Tacitus and Plutarch: but though a philosopher who reads two, may dispense with many others, Montesquieu neglected or slighted none that could be of use. *The Spirit of Laws* discovers immense reading: and the judicious use which the author made of the prodigious mass of materials will appear still more surprising, when it is known that he was almost wholly deprived of sight, and obliged to make use of other peoples eyes.

Though M. de Montesquieu did not long survive the publication of his *Esprit des Loix*, he had the satisfaction to see the beginning of its effects upon the French nation; the natural love of the French to their country, turned to its proper object; a taste for commerce, agriculture, and the useful arts, beginning to spread throughout that kingdom; and that general knowledge of the principles of government, which renders the people more attached to what they ought to love.

Nevertheless a multitude of pieces appeared in France against his book. The anonymous author of a periodical work, who imagined himself the successor of Paichal, because he succeeded to his opinions, thought to ruin M. de Mon-

tesquieu, but was the occasion of new lustre being cast on his name, as a man of learning, by provoking him to write a *Defence of his Spirit of Laws*. This work may serve as a model on account of the moderation, truth, and humour that appear throughout the whole of it. M. de Montesquieu could easily have rendered his adversary odious; but he chose rather to make him ridiculous. What adds to the value of this excellent piece, is, that the author, without thinking of it, has in it drawn a true picture of himself: those who knew him imagine they hear him speak; and posterity, when they read his *Defence*, will see that his conversation was not inferior to his writings.

While the insects thus buzzed about and molested him in his own country, M. Daffier, famous for his medals of illustrious men, went from London to Paris, 1752, to strike a medal of M. de Montesquieu. M. de la Tour, also, an eminent painter, was very desirous to paint the author of the *Spirit of Laws*: but M. de Montesquieu constantly refused, in a polite manner, his pressing solicitations. M. Daffier met with the same difficulties at first: 'Don't you think (said he one day to Montesquieu) 'that there is as much pride in refusing 'my request, as there would appear in granting it?' Disarmed by this pleasantry, he suffered M. Daffier to do what he pleased.

He was at last in peaceable possession of the glory he so justly acquired, when he was taken ill in the beginning of February. His health, naturally delicate, had long before begun to break by the slow and almost imperceptible effects of his close study, the chagrin given

him on account of his work, and the multiplicity of company that crowded to him at Paris. His end was worthy of his life. Oppressed by grievous pain, and at a distance from a family he loved, he breathed his last with the tranquillity of a good man, conscious of having devoted his talents to the service of virtue and mankind. He died on the 10th of February, 1755, universally and sincerely regretted. ' His virtues (says Lord Chesterfield) ' did honour to human nature, his writings justice. A ' friend to mankind, he asserted ' their undoubted and unalienable ' rights and freedom, even in his ' country, whose prejudice in matters of religion and government ' he had long lamented, and endeavoured (not without some success) to remove. He well knew, ' and justly admired, the happy ' constitution of this country, where ' fixed and known laws restrain ' monarchy from tyranny, and liberty from licentiousness. His ' works will illustrate his name, ' and survive him as long as right ' reason, moral obligation, and the ' true spirit of laws shall be understood, respected, and maintained.'

With regard to his private life. In company he was always pleasant and gay : his conversation, by the many men and nations he had conversed with, was sprightly, agreeable, and instructive. It was abrupt, like his style; full of piquant sallies, without bitterness or satire. Nobody told a story with more life, readiness, and grace, and less formality; he knew that the conclusion of a pleasant story is the chief point, and he hastened to it, and produced the desired effect without having promised it. The pleasure found in his company

was not the effect of his temper and genius, but of a kind of regimen, also, which he observed in his studies: though capable of deep and long-continued meditation, he never exhausted his strength; but always quitted labour before he felt any sensation of fatigue.

Nothing does more honour to his memory, than his œconomy; which was thought too great in an age of avarice and dissipation, when its motives were not perceived, nor if perceived, could have been felt. Beneficent, and consequently just, M. de Montesquieu would take from his family nothing of what he gave to relieve the distressed, nor of the large expences occasioned by his long travels, the disorder in his eyes, and the printing of his works. He left to his children the inheritance of his father, without diminution, and without increase.

He married, in 1715, Jane de Lartigue, daughter of Pierre de Lartigue, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Maulévrier; by whom he had two daughters, and a son, who by his character, his manners, and his writings, hath shewn himself worthy of such a father.

We omitted to mention in its place some of the author's less considerable works, which served him for relaxation. The most remarkable of these is the *Temple de Gnide*, which appeared soon after the *Lettres Persannes*. In this piece he paints the delicacy and naivety of pastoral love, as it appears in a mind uncorrupted by the commerce of the world. He concludes the preface, in which he represents the work as a translation from the Greek, with these words: ' If grave people should desire of me a less ' frivolous work, I can satisfy ' them :

‘ them : I have been employed
‘ for these thirty years on twelve
‘ pages, which are to contain all
‘ that we know of metaphysics,
‘ politics, and morals ; and all
‘ that very great authors have
‘ forgotten in the volumes they
‘ have written on those sciences.’

*Some remarkable passages of the life
and death of the celebrated Dr.
Boerhaave.*

IT was the daily practice of that eminent physician, Dr. Boerhaave, through his whole life, as soon as he rose in the morning, which was generally very early, to retire for an hour to private prayer, and meditation on some part of the scriptures.—He often told his friends, when they asked him how it was possible for him to go through so much fatigue ? that it was *This* which gave him spirit and vigour in the business of the day. *This* he therefore recommended as *the best rule* he could give ; for nothing, he said, could tend more to the health of the body, than the tranquillity of the mind ; and that he knew nothing which could support himself, or his fellow-creatures, amidst the various distresses of life, but a well-grounded confidence in the Supreme Being upon the principles of Christianity. This remark of the doctor’s is undeniably just ; for a benevolent manner of acting, and a true greatness of soul, can never flow from any other source than a consciousness of the divine favour and assistance.—This was strongly exemplified in his own illness in 1722, which can hardly be told without horror, and by which the course of his lectures as well as his practice was long inter-

rupted. He was for five months confined to his bed by the gout, where he lay upon his back without daring to attempt the least motion, because any effort renewed his torments, which were so exquisite, that he was at length not only deprived of motion but of sense.—Here his medical ART was at a stand, nothing could be attempted, because nothing could be proposed with the least prospect of success. But having (in the sixth month of his illness) obtained some remission, he determined to try whether the juice of fumitory, endive, and succory, taken thrice a day in a large quantity (viz. above half a pint each dose) might not contribute to his relief, and by a perseverance in this method he was wonderfully recovered. This patience of Boerhaave’s was founded not on vain reasonings, like that of which the *Stoicks* boasted, but on a religious composure of mind, and christian resignation to the will of God.

Of his sagacity and the wonderful penetration with which he often discovered and described, at the first sight of a patient, such distempers as betray themselves by no symptoms to common eyes, such surprising accounts have been given as scarcely can be credited, though attested beyond all doubt.—Yet this great master of medical knowledge was so far from a presumptuous confidence in his abilities, or from being puffed up by his riches, that he was condescending to all, and remarkably diligent in his profession ; and he often used to say, that the life of a patient (if trifled with, or neglected) would one day be required at the hand of the physician.—He always called the

poor his best patients, for God, said he, is their pay-master.

The activity of his mind sparkled visibly in his eyes.—He was always cheerful, and desirous of promoting every valuable end of conversation; and the excellency of the christian religion was frequently the subject of it; for he asserted on all *proper* occasions, the divine authority and sacred efficacy of the scriptures; and maintained, that *they only* could give peace of mind, that sweet and sacred peace which passeth all understanding; since none can conceive it, but he who has it; and none can have it, but by divine communication. He never regarded calumny, nor detraction, (for Boerhaave himself had enemies) nor ever thought it necessary to confute them. *‘They are sparks, said he, which if you do not blow will go out of themselves.—The surest remedy against scandal, is TO LIVE IT DOWN; by a perseverance in well doing; and by praying to God that he would cure the disordered minds of those who traduce, and injure us.’* An excellent method this: especially as it keeps our minds contented and unruffled, whilst the hearts of our enemies are overflowing with rancour, envy, and other diabolical passions.

He was not to be over-awed or depressed by the presence, frowns, or insolence of great men, but persisted on all occasions in doing what was right, regardless of the consequences.—He could, too, with uncommon readiness, and almost to a certainty, make a conjecture of men’s inclinations and capacity by their aspect.—A sagacity perhaps unequalled, and which often surprised even his most intimate ac-

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quaintance, though they so well knew his talents.

Being once asked by a friend, who had often admired his patience under great provocations, whether he knew what it was to be angry, and by what means he had so entirely suppressed that impetuous and ungovernable passion? Dr. Boerhaave answered, with the utmost frankness and sincerity, that he was *naturally* quick of resentment, but that he had, by daily prayer and meditation, at length attained to this mastery over himself. But this he said was the work of *God’s Grace*; for he was too sensible of his own weakness to ascribe any thing to himself, or to conceive that he could subdue passion, or withstand temptation, *by his own natural power*: he attributed every good thought, and every laudable action, to the Father of goodness.

To the will of God he paid an absolute submission, without endeavouring to discover the *reasons* of his unsearchable determinations; and this he accounted the first and most inviolable duty of a christian.

About the middle of the year 1737, he felt the first approaches of that fatal illness, which brought him to the grave, viz. a disorder in his breast, which was at times very painful; often threatened him with immediate suffocation; and terminated in an universal dropsy; but during this afflictive and lingering illness, his constancy and firmness did not forsake him. He neither intermitted the necessary cares of life, nor forgot the proper preparations of death. About three weeks before his dissolution, when the Rev. Mr. Schultens, one of the most

most learned and exemplary divines of the age, attended him at his country-house, the doctor desired his prayers, and afterwards entered into a most remarkably judicious discourse with him on the spiritual and immaterial nature of the soul; and this he illustrated to Mr. Schultens with wonderful perspicuity, by a description of the effects which the infirmities of his body had upon his faculties; which yet they did not so oppress or vanquish, but his soul was always master of itself, and always resigned to the pleasure of its maker—and then he added, “*He who loves God ought to think nothing desirable but what is most pleasing to the supreme goodness.*” These were his sentiments, and such was his conduct in this state of weakness and pain. As death approached nearer, he was so far from terror or confusion, that he seemed less sensible of pain, and more cheerful under his torments, which continued till the 23d day of September, 1738, on which he died (much honoured and lamented) between four and five in the morning, in the 70th year of his age—often recommending to the by-standers a careful observation of St. John’s precepts concerning the love of God, and the love of Man, as frequently inculcated in his first epistle, particularly in the 5th chapter.

Such were the qualities of the great BOERHAAVE.—So far was this truly eminent man from being made impious by philosophy, or vain by his extraordinary genius for physic, that he ascribed all his abilities to the bounty, and all his goodness to the grace of God.—May his example extend its influence to his admirers and followers! May those who study his writ-

ings as a physician, imitate his life as a christian! And thus, while they are endeavouring after his medical knowledge, be aspiring likewise to his exalted piety, as he was so admirable a pattern of patience, fortitude, cheerfulness, charity, candour, humility, and devotion.

His funeral oration was spoken in Latin before the university of Leyden, to a very numerous audience, by Mr. Schultens, and afterwards published at their particular desire.

After these remarkable characters, in which the advantages of birth or education have joined to adorn and perfect natural genius, we present the reader with as remarkable an instance of the power of natural capacity and application contending with every difficulty, and without any of these advantages arriving at a very high point of erudition. After this we have placed one of the most curious accounts that perhaps ever was published. As in the case of John Ludwig one sees the triumph of industry and perseverance over all the obstacles of a hard fortune: in the case of a lady who suffered by the small-pox, we have a strong instance of the power of these virtues in overcoming even natural defects, in supplying the want of several of the senses themselves, and of those senses too which are the general inlets of knowledge.

An account of John Ludwig.

IT is usual for the commissaries of excise in Saxony to appoint a peasant in every village in their district

district to receive the excise of the place, for which few are allowed more than one crown, and none more than three. Mr. Christian Gothold Hoffman, who is chief commissary of Dresden and the villages adjacent, when he was auditing the accounts of some of these peasants in 1753, was told that there was one John Ludwig among them, a strange man; who, though he was very poor and had a family, was yet continually reading in books, and very often stood the greatest part of the night at his door, gazing at the stars.

This account raised M. Hoffman's curiosity, and he ordered the man to be brought before him. Hoffman, who expected something in the man's appearance that corresponded with a mind superior to his station, was greatly surprised to see the most rustic boor he had ever beheld. His hair hung over his forehead down to his eyes, his aspect was sordid and stupid, and his manner was, in every respect, that of a plodding ignorant clown. Mr. Hoffman, after contemplating this unpromising appearance, concluded, that as the supposed superiority of this man was of the intellectual kind, it would certainly appear when he spoke; but even in this experiment he was also disappointed. He asked him, if what his neighbours had said of his reading and studying was true? and the man bluntly and coarsely replied, "What neighbour has told you that I read and studied? If I have studied, I have studied for myself, and I don't desire that you or any body else should know any thing of the matter." Hoffman, however, continued the conversation, notwithstanding his disappointment, and asked several questions con-

cerning arithmetic and the first rudiments of astronomy; to which he now expected vague and confused replies. But in this too he had formed an erroneous prognostic; for Hoffman was struck not only with astonishment but confusion, to hear such definitions and explications as would have done honour to a regular academician in a public examination.

Mr. Hoffman, after this conversation, prevailed on the peasant to stay some time at his house, that he might further gratify his curiosity at such times as would be most convenient. In their subsequent conferences he proposed to his guest the most abstracted and embarrassing questions, which were always answered with the utmost readiness and precision. The account which this extraordinary person gives of himself and his acquisitions, is as follows:

John Ludwig was born the 24th of February, 1715, in the village of Cossé-daude, and was, among other poor children of the village, sent very young to school. The Bible, which was the book by which he was taught to read, gave him so much pleasure, that he conceived the most eager desire to read others, which, however, he had no opportunity to get into his possession. In about a year his master began to teach him to write, but this exercise was rather irksome than pleasing at first; but when the first difficulty was surmounted, he applied to it with great alacrity, especially as books were put into his hand to copy as an exercise; and he employed himself almost night and day, not in copying particular passages only, but in forming collections of sentences, or events that were connected with each

each other. When he was ten years old, he had been at school four years, and was then put to arithmetic, but this embarrassed him with innumerable difficulties, which his master would not take the trouble to explain, expecting that he should content himself with the implicit practice of positive rules. Ludwig, therefore, was so disgusted with arithmetic, that after much scolding and beating he went from school, without having learnt any thing more than reading, writing, and his catechism.

He was then sent into the field to keep cows, and in this employment he soon became clownish, and negligent of every thing else; so that the greatest part of what he had learnt was forgotten. He was associated with the fordid and the vicious, and he became insensibly like them. As he grew up he kept company with women of bad character, and abandoned himself to such pleasures as were within his reach. But a desire of surpassing others, that principle which is productive of every kind of greatness, was still living in his breast; he remembered to have been praised by his master, and preferred above his comrades when he was learning to read and write, and he was still desirous of the same pleasure, though he did not know how to get at it.

In the autumn of 1735, when he was about twenty years old, he bought a small Bible, at the end of which was a catechism, with references to a great number of texts, upon which the principles contained in the answers were founded. Ludwig had never been used to take any thing upon trust, and was therefore continually turning over the leaves of his Bible, to find the

passages referred to in the catechism; but this he found so irksome a task, that he determined to have the whole at one view, and therefore set about to transcribe the catechism, with all the texts at large brought into their proper places. With this exercise he filled two quires of paper, and though when he began, the character was scarce legible, yet before he had finished it was greatly improved; for an art that has been once learnt is easily recovered.

In the month of March 1736, he was employed to receive the excise of the little district in which he lived, and he found that in order to discharge this office, it was necessary for him not only to write, but to be master of the two first rules of arithmetic, addition and subtraction. His ambition had now an object; and a desire to keep the accounts of the tax he was to gather, better than others of his station, determined him once more to apply to arithmetic, however hateful the task, and whatever labour it might require. He now regretted that he was without an instructor, and would have been glad at any rate to have practised the rules without first knowing the rationale. His mind was continually upon the stretch to find out some way of supplying this want, and at last he recollected that one of his school-fellows had a book, from which examples of several rules were taken by the master to exercise the scholars. He, therefore, went immediately in search of this school-fellow, and was overjoyed to find upon enquiry, that the book was still in his possession. Having borrowed this important volume, he returned home with it, and beginning his studies as he went along,
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he pursued them with such application, that in about six months he was master of the rule of three with fractions.

The reluctance with which he began to learn the powers and properties of figures was now at an end; he knew enough to make him earnestly desirous of knowing more; he was therefore impatient to proceed from this book to one that was more difficult, and having at length found means to procure one that treated of more intricate and complicated calculations, he made himself master of that also before the end of the year 1739. He had the good fortune soon after to meet with a treatise of geometry, written by Pachek, the same author whose arithmetic he had been studying; and finding that this science was in some measure founded on that which he had learnt, he applied to his new book with great assiduity for some time; but at length, not being able perfectly to comprehend the theory as he went on, nor yet to discover the utility of the practice, he laid it aside, to which he was also induced by the necessity of his immediate attendance to his field and his vines.

The severe winter which happened in the year 1740, obliged him to keep long within his cottage, and having there no employment either for his body or his mind, he had once more recourse to his book of geometry; and having at length comprehended some of the leading principles, he procured a little box ruler and an old pair of compasses, on one point of which he mounted the end of a quill cut into a pen. With these instruments he employed himself incessantly in making various geometrical figures on paper, to illustrate the theory

by a solution of the problems. He was thus busied in his cot till March, and the joy arising from the knowledge he had acquired was exceeded only by his desire of knowing more.

He was now necessarily recalled to that labour by which alone he could procure himself food, and was besides without money to procure such books and instruments as were absolutely necessary to pursue his geometrical studies. However, with the assistance of a neighbouring artificer he procured the figures, which he found represented by the diagrams in his book, to be made in wood, and with these he went to work at every interval of leisure, which now happened only once a week, after divine service on a Sunday. He was still in want of a new book, and having laid by a little sum for that purpose against the time of the fair, where alone he had access to a bookseller's shop, he made a purchase of three small volumes, from which he acquired a complete knowledge of trigonometry. After this acquisition he could not rest till he had begun to study astronomy; his next purchase therefore was an introduction to that science, which he read with indefatigable diligence, and invented innumerable expedients to supply the want of proper instruments, in which he was not less successful than Robinson Crusoe, who in an island, of which he was the only rational inhabitant, found means to supply himself not only with the necessities but the conveniencies of life.

During his study of geometry and astronomy, he had frequently met with the word *philosophy*, and this became more and more the object of his attention. He conceived that it

it was the name of some science of great importance and extent, with which he was as yet wholly unacquainted; he became therefore impatient in the highest degree to get acquainted with philosophy; and being continually upon the watch for such assistance as offered, he at last picked up a book, called *An introduction to the knowledge of God, of man, and of the universe*. In reading this book he was struck with a variety of objects that were equally interesting and new.

But as this book contained only general principles, he went to Dresden, and enquired among the booksellers who was the most celebrated author that had written on philosophy. By the booksellers he was recommended to the works of Wolfius written in the German language; and Wolfius having been mentioned in several books he had read, as one of the most able men of his age, he readily took him for his guide in the regions of philosophy.

The first purchase that he made of Wolfius's works, was his logic, and at this he laboured a full year, still attending to his other studies, so as not to lose what he had gained before. In this book he found himself referred to another, written by the same author, called *Mathematical Principles*, as the fittest to give just ideas of things, and facilitate the practice of logic; he therefore enquired after this book with a design to buy it, but finding it too dear for his finances, he was obliged to content himself with an abridgement of it, which he purchased in the autumn of 1743. From this book he derived much pleasure and much profit, and it employed him from October 1743 to February 1745.

He then proceeded to metaphysics, at which he laboured till the October following, and he would fain have entered on the study of physics, but his indigence was an insuperable impediment, and he was obliged to content himself with his author's morality, politics, and remarks on metaphysics, which employed him to July 1746; by this time he had scraped together a sum sufficient to buy the physics, which he had so earnestly desired, and this work he read twice within the year.

About this time a dealer in old books sold him a volume of Wolfius's *Mathematical Principles* at large, and the spherical trigonometry which he found in this book was a new treasure, which he was very desirous to make his own. This however cost him incredible labour, and filled every moment that he could spare from his business and his sleep for something more than a year.

He proceeded to the study of Kahrel's *Law of Nature and Nations*, and at the same time procured a little book on the terrestrial and celestial globes. These books with a few that he borrowed were the sources from which he derived such a stock of knowledge, as is seldom found even among those who have associated with the inhabitants of an university, and had perpetual access to public libraries.

Mr. Hoffman, during Ludwig's residence at his house, dressed him in his own gown, with other proper habiliments, and he observes that this alteration of his dress had such an effect, that Hoffman could not conceive the man's accent or dialect to be the same, and he felt himself secretly inclined to treat him with more deference than when

when he was in his peasant's dress, though the alteration was made in his presence and with his own apparel.

It happened also that before Ludwig went home there was an eclipse of the sun, and Mr. Hoffman proposed to his guest that he should observe this phenomenon as an astronomer, and for that purpose furnished him with proper instruments. The impatience of Ludwig till the time of the eclipse is not to be expressed; he had hitherto been acquainted with the planetary world only by books and a view of the heavens with the naked eye; he had never yet looked through a telescope, and the anticipation of the pleasure which the new observation would yield him, scarce suffered him either to eat or sleep; but it unfortunately happened, that just before the eclipse came on, the sky became cloudy, and continued so during the whole time of its continuance: this misfortune was more than the philosophy even of Ludwig could bear; as the cloud came on he looked up at it in the agony of a man that expected the dissolution of nature to follow; when it came over the sun, he stood fixed in a consternation not to be described, and when he knew the eclipse was past, his disappointment and grief were little short of distraction.

Mr. Hoffman soon after went in his turn to visit Mr. Ludwig, and take a view of his dwelling, his library, his study, and his instruments. He found an old crazy cottage, the inside of which had been long blacked with smoke, the walls were covered with propositions and diagrams written with chalk. In one corner was a bed, in another a cradle, and under a little window at

the side, three pieces of board, laid side by side over two treffels, made a writing table for the philosopher, upon which were scattered some pieces of writing paper containing extracts of books, various calculations and geometrical figures; the books which have been mentioned before were placed on a shelf with the compass and ruler that have been described, which, with a wooden square and a pair of six inch globes, constituted the library and museum of the truly celebrated John Ludwig.

In this hovel he lived till the year 1754, and while he was pursuing the study of philosophy at his leisure hours, he was indefatigable in his day labour as a poor peasant, sometimes carrying a basket at his back, and sometimes driving a wheel-barrow, and crying such garden-stuff as he had to sell about the village. In this state he was subject to frequent insults, "such as patient merit takes of the unworthy," and he bore them without reply, or any other mark either of resentment or contempt, when those who could not agree with him about the price of his commodities used to turn from him with an air of superiority, and call him in derision *silly* clown, and a stupid dog.

Mr. Hoffman, when he dismissed him, presented him with a hundred crowns, which has filled all his wishes, and made him the happiest man in the world: with this sum he has built himself a more commodious habitation in the middle of his vineyard, and furnished it with many moveables and utensils, of which he was in great want; but above all he has procured a very considerable addition to his library, an article so essential to his happiness,

ness, that he declared to Mr. Hoffman, he would not accept the whole province in which he lived upon condition that he should renounce his studies, and that he had rather live on bread and water than withhold from his mind that food which his intellectual hunger perpetually required.

An account of some remarkable particulars that happened to a lady after having had the confluent kind of the small-pox.

IN the course of this disease, during which the lady was attended by the late Sir Hans Sloane, several threatening symptoms appeared, which, however, were at length overcome; and the patient, being thought out of danger, took several doses of such purgative medicines as are usually administered in the decline of the disease, without any bad consequence.

But in the evening of the day on which she had taken the last dose that was intended to be given her on that occasion, she was suddenly seized with pains and convulsions in the bowels; the pain and other symptoms became gradually less violent, as the force of the medicine abated, and by such remedies as were thought best adapted to the case, they seemed at length to be entirely subdued.

They were, however, subdued only in appearance; for at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the next day they returned with great violence, and continued some hours; when they went off, they left the muscles of the lower jaw so much relaxed that it fell down, and the chin was supported on the breast. The strength of the patient was so

much exhausted during this paroxysm, that she lay near two hours with no other sign of life than a very feeble respiration, which was often so difficult to be discerned, that those about her concluded she was dead.

From this time the fits returned periodically every day, at about the same hour. At first they seemed to affect her nearly in the same degree; but at length all the symptoms were aggravated, the convulsions became more general, and her arms were sometimes convulsed alternately; it also frequently happened, that the arm which was last convulsed remained extended and inflexible some hours after the struggles were over. Her neck was often twisted with such violence, that the face looked directly backwards, and the back part of the head was over the breast; the muscles of the countenance were also so contracted and writhed by the spasms, that the features were totally changed, and it was impossible to find any resemblance of her natural aspect by which she could be known. Her feet were not less distorted than her head, for they were twisted almost to dislocation at the instep, so that she could not walk but upon her ancles.

To remove or mitigate these deplorable symptoms, many remedies were tried, and, among others, the cold bath; but either by the natural effect of the bath, or by some mismanagement in the bathing, the unhappy patient first became blind, and soon afterwards deaf and dumb. It is not easy to conceive what could increase the misery of deafness, dumbness, blindness, and frequent paroxysms of excruciating pain; yet a very considerable aggravation was added; for the loss of
her

her sight, her hearing, and her speech, was followed by such a stricture of the muscles of her throat that she could not swallow any kind of aliment, either solid or liquid. It might reasonably be supposed that this circumstance, though it added to the degree of her misery, would have shortened its duration; yet in this condition she continued near three quarters of a year, and during that time was supported, in a very uncommon manner, by chewing her food only, which having turned often, and kept long in her mouth, she was obliged at last to spit out. Liquors were likewise gargled about in her mouth for some time, and then returned in the same manner, no part of them having passed the throat by an act of deglutition: so that whatever was conveyed into the stomach, either of the juices of the solid food, or of liquids, was either gradually imbibed by the sponginess of the parts, which they moistened, or trickled down in a very small quantity along the sides of the vessels.

But there were other peculiarities in the case of this lady, yet more extraordinary. During the privation of her *sight* and *hearing*, her *touch* and her *smell* became so exquisite, that she could distinguish the different colours of silk and flowers, and was sensible when any stranger was in the room with her.

After she became blind, and deaf, and dumb, it was not easy to contrive any method by which a question could be asked her, and an answer received. This however was at last effected, by talking with the fingers, at which she was uncommonly ready. But those who conversed with her in this manner, were obli-

ged to express themselves, by touching her hand and fingers instead of their own.

A lady who was nearly related to her, having an apron on, that was embroidered with silk of different colours, asked her, in the manner which has just been described, if she could tell what colour it was? and after applying her fingers attentively to the figures of the embroidery, she replied, that it was red, and blue, and green, which was true, but whether there were any other colours in the apron, the writer of this account does not remember. The same lady having a pink-coloured ribbon on her head, and being willing still farther to satisfy her curiosity and her doubts, asked what colour that was? her cousin, after feeling some time, answered that it was pink colour, this answer was yet more astonishing, because it shewed not only a power of distinguishing different colours, but different kinds of the same colour; the ribbon was not only discovered to be red, but the red was discovered to be of the pale kind, called a pink.

This unhappy lady, conscious of her own uncommon infirmities, was extremely unwilling to be seen by strangers, and therefore generally retired to her chamber, where none but those of the family were likely to come. The same relation, who had by the experiment of the apron and ribbon discovered the exquisite sensibility of her *touch*, was soon after convinced by an accident, that her power of *smelling* was acute and refined in the same astonishing degree.

Being one day visiting the family, she went up to her cousin's chamber, and after making herself known, she intreated her to go down,

down, and sit with her among the rest of the family, assuring her, that there was no other person present; to this she at length consented, and went down to the parlour door; but the moment the door was opened, she turned back, and retired to her own chamber much displeased, alleging, that there were strangers in the room, and that an attempt had been made to deceive her. It happened, indeed, that there were strangers in the room, but they had come in while the lady was above stairs: so that she did not know they were there. When she had satisfied her cousin of this particular, she was pacified; and being afterwards asked how she knew there were strangers in the room, she answered, by the smell.

But though she could by this sense distinguish in general between persons with whom she was well acquainted, and strangers, yet she could not so easily distinguish one of her acquaintance from another without other assistance. She generally distinguished her friends by feeling their hands, and when they came in they used to present their hands to her, as a means of making themselves known; the make and warmth of the hand produced in general the differences that she distinguished, but sometimes she used to span the wrist and measure the fingers. A lady with whom she was very well acquainted, coming in one very hot day, after having walked a mile, presented her hand, as usual; she felt it longer than ordinary, and seemed to doubt whose it was; but after spanning the wrist, and measuring the fingers, she said, "It is Mrs. M. but she is warmer to-day than ever I felt her before."

To amuse herself in the mournful and perpetual solitude and darkness to which her disorder had reduced her, she used to work much at her needle; and it is remarkable, that her needle-work was uncommonly neat and exact; among many other pieces of her work that are preserved in the family, is a pin-cushion, which can scarce be equalled. She used also sometimes to write, and her writing was yet more extraordinary than her needle-work; it was executed with the same regularity and exactness; the character was very pretty, the lines were all even, and the letters placed at equal distances from each other; but the most astonishing particular of all, with respect to her writing, is, that she could by some means discover when a letter had by some mistake been omitted, and would place it over that part of the word where it should have been inserted, with a caret under it. It was her custom to sit up in bed at any hour of the night, either to write or to work, when her pain or any other cause kept her awake.

These circumstances were so very extraordinary, that it was long doubted whether she had not some faint remains both of hearing and sight, and many experiments were made to ascertain the matter; some of these experiments she accidentally discovered, and the discovery always threw her into violent convulsions. The thought of being suspected of insincerity, or supposed capable of acting so wicked a part as to feign infirmities that were not inflicted, was an addition to her misery which she could not bear, and which never failed to produce an agony of mind not less visible

visible than those of her body. A clergyman, who found her one evening at work by a table with a candle upon it, put his hat between her eyes and the candle, in such a manner that it was impossible she could receive any benefit from the light of it if she had not been blind. She continued still at her work, with great tranquillity, till putting up her hand suddenly to rub her forehead, she struck it against the hat, and discovered what was doing; upon which she was thrown into violent convulsions, and was not without great difficulty recovered. The family were, by these experiments, and by several accidental circumstances, fully convinced that she was totally deaf and blind, particularly by sitting unconcerned at her work, during a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, though she was then facing the window, and always used to be much terrified in such circumstances; but Sir Hans Sloane, her physician, being still doubtful of the truth of facts, which were scarce less than miraculous, he was permitted to satisfy himself by such experiments and observations as he thought proper; the issue of which was, that he pronounced her to be absolutely deaf and blind.

She was at length sent to Bath, where she was in some measure relieved, her convulsions being less frequent, and her pains less acute; but she never recovered her speech, her sight, or her hearing, in the least degree.

Many of the letters, dated at Bath, in some of which there are instances of interlineations with a caret, the writer of this narrative hath seen, and they are now in the custody of the widow of one of her brothers, who, with many

other persons, can support the facts here related, however wonderful, with such evidence as it would not only be injustice, but folly, to disbelieve.

The following characters of Lord Somers, the Duke and Dukes of Marlborough, Lord Godolphin, Lord Sunderland, Lord Wharton, Lord Cowper, the Earl of Nottingham, and Sir Robert Walpole, are extracted from the history of the four last years of the queen, by Dr. Swift, who professes to describe these qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appeared chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage: 'For I do not intend (says he) to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out these passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.'

These characters, and the history from whence they have been extracted, are far from giving us a very just idea of the times, or the persons they profess to describe; they may be read very usefully notwithstanding this defect. For they may serve as a striking example of the melancholy effects of prejudice, and party zeal; a zeal which, whilst it corrupts the heart, vitiates the understanding itself; and could mislead a writer of so penetrating a genius as Dr. Swift, to imagine that posterity would accept satire in the place

place of history, and would read with satisfaction a performance in which the courage and military skill of the Duke of Marlborough is called in question. The real character of these great men was not what the low idolatry of the one faction, or the malignity of the other, would represent it. They were men who, with great virtues and great talents, mixt with some human infirmities, did their country much service and honour. Their talents were a public benefit; their failings such as only affected their private character. The display of this mixture had been a very proper task for an impartial historian; and had proved equally agreeable and instructive to the reader in such hands. But these characters before us, have all the signs of being written, as Tacitus calls it, *recentibus odiis*. In all other respects the piece seems to be a work not unworthy of its author; a clear and strong, though not an elevated style; an entire freedom from every sort of affected ornament; a peculiar happiness of putting those he would praise in the most odious and contemptible light, without seeming directly to intend it.

These are the characteristics of all Swift's works, and they appear as strongly in this as in any of them. If there be any thing different in this performance, from the manner of his works published in his life time, it is that the style is in this thrown something more backwards, and has a more antique cast. This probably he did designedly, as he might think it gave a greater dignity to the work. He had a strong prejudice in favour of the language

as it was in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and he rated the style of the authors of that time a little above its real value. Their style was indeed sufficiently bold and nervous, but deficient in grace and elegance.

THE Lord Somers may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party; he hath raised himself by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune; he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. The accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops, whom King James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit which the revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons; that since we had accepted a new king from a calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government: but since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy as delivered down from their ancestors; it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or gesture, which

are in the highest degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow; but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished, and in private conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal: two reasons are assigned for this behaviour; first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect, and it is, indeed, true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence to himself: so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments, when his words, and the cadence of his voice were in the humblest and softest manner; perhaps that force upon his nature, may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of

his time amuseth himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person who now presideth over the discontented party: although he be not answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of Dr. Sacheverel, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared, her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace, he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with after the treaty of Ryswick; and the safest, as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him: and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The Duke of Marlborough's character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed
a nature

a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side without the suspicion of flattery or detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical: but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army, than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the tory principles, and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be general for life: I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites, by continuing the war; and that he had then no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect

of money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises; but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife the duchess may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness and his fall; for above 20 years she possessed, without a rival, the favours of the most indulgent mistress in the world, nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable court-reputation, with respect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were fordid avarice, disdainful pride, and ungovernable rage; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and hath in her time affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the earl of Godolphin. It is said he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which some have very

unjustly objected as a reproach. He hath risen gradually in four reigns, and was more constant to his second master King James, than some others who had received much greater obligations, for he attended the abdicated king to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her in the style of what the French call double entendre. In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always asked King William's leave, as if without her privity; because, if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed he would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord, that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress with a pencil and card; or that he hath tears at command like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his passion for the duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trine, taking fire at a nickname (Vespene) delivered by Dr. Sacheverel, which he applied to himself: and this is one among many instances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The earl of Sunderland is another of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politics from his tutor (Dr. Trimnel, since bishop of Winton). It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for, in his father's life time, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuse the title of Lord (as he hath done to myself) swear he would never be called otherwise than Charles Spencer, and hoped to see the day when there should not be a peer in England. His understanding, at the best, is of the middle size: neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he had done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he had given great cause to complain; for which reason he will never forgive either the queen, or the present treasurer.

The Earl of Wharton hath filled the provinces allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He hath imbibed his father's [the earl, his father, was a rigid Presbyterian] principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up

up no other in its stead; excepting that circumstance, he is a firm Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure for making converts of young men of quality, upon their first appearance; in which public service he contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for besides his talents above-mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gift upon such occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an uncontrollable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since, being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a figure.

The Lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the rest, deserveth a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer: but as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in the late times have been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interests of princes, further than the municipal, or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign

affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience: but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs, wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list, is the Earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance. I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles directly opposite to those of his new friends: his vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the Prince of Orange to the throne, are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master, of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to King William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse of that stiffness

ness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His austere complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He hath some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least: a facility of utterance descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, hath brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother Guernsey, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great ambition was to be the head of those who were called the Church-party; and, indeed, his grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause; but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one single proselyte, to keep himself in countenance.

The following character is also by the same hand, and an instance equally strong, of the same party blindness.

Sir Robert Walpole was a person much caressed by the opposers of Queen Anne and her ministry, having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any

principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place [of secretary at war.] His bold forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, hath justly intitled him, among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader of the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

It is not foreign to the plan of this article to insert the following description of the court and person of Q. Elizabeth, from the journey into England, of Paul Hentzer, in 1598.

Minds of a much deeper turn than the author of this itinerary seems to have been, may find matter of agreeable reflection in his account of England, as it appeared under Q. Elizabeth. That great princess had as much state and magnificence in her court, as wisdom and steadiness in her government. She knew that it was necessary to strike the imagination as well as to pursue the real interest of her people. Thus she threw a veil over the foibles of her personal character, and prevented the weak vanity of an old coquette from eclipsing the virtues of a great Queen. Our traveller is a very minute painter; but even minute things, where they concern great characters, seem to quit their nature, and become things of consequence: besides that they bring us nearer to the times and persons they describe. It will be equally agreeable in his character of the English, to trace the difference which increase of riches, refinement, and even time itself, have

have made in the manners and tastes of the people; and no less so, to observe that ground-work of character, which is the same in the people of those days and of ours, and which no accidental circumstances are able totally to alter.

WE arrived next at the royal palace at Greenwich, reported to have been originally built by Humphry Duke of Gloucester, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the present Queen, was born; and here she generally resides, particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of its situation. We were admitted, by an order Mr. Rogers had procured from the lord-chamberlain, into the presence-chamber, hung with rich tapestry, and the floor after the English fashion, strewed with hay, through which the queen passes in her way to chapel; at the door stood a gentleman dressed in velvet, with a gold chain, whose office was to introduce to the queen any person of distinction that came to wait on her: it was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of nobility. In the same hall were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, a great number of counsellors of state, officers of the crown, and gentlemen who waited the queen's coming out; which she did from her own apartment, when it was time to go to prayers, attended in the following manner; first went Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, Knights of the garter, all richly dressed, and bare-headed; next came the chancellor bearing the seals in a red silk purse between two; one of which carried the royal sceptre, the other the sword of state, in a red scabbard

studded with golden fleurs de lis, the point upwards; next came the queen, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, we are told, very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar); she had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false hair, and that red; upon her head she had a small crown, reported to be made of some of the gold of the celebrated Lunebourg table: her bosom was uncovered, as all the English have it till they marry; and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels; her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither tall nor low; her air was stately, and her manner of speaking mild and obliging. That day she was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans; and over it a mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness; instead of a chain, she had an oblong collar of gold and jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian; for, besides being well skilled in Greek, Latin, and the languages I have mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch: whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling; now and then she raises some with her hand. While we were there, W. Slawata, a Bohemian baron, had letters to present to her; and she, after pulling off her glove, gave him her hand to

kiss, sparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular favour. Wherever she turned her face, as she was going along, every body fell down on their knees. The ladies of the court followed next to her, very handsome and well-shaped, and, for the most part, dressed in white; she was guarded on each side by the gentlemen pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes. In the anti-chapel, next the hall, where we were, petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of *Long live Queen Elizabeth!* she answered it with, *I thank you, my good people.* In the chapel was excellent music; as soon as it and the service was over, which scarce exceeded half an hour, the queen returned in the same state and order, and prepared to go to dinner. But, while she was still at prayers, we saw her table set out with the following solemnity: A gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table; and, after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with the salt-feller, a plate, and bread; when they had kneeled, as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they two retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a countess) and along with her a married one, bearing a talling knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the most grateful

manner, approached the table, rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the queen had been present; when they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bare-headed, clothed in scarlet, with golden roses upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate, most of them gilt; these dishes were received by gentlemen in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, being carefully selected for this service, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of all this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who with particular solemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the court. The queen dines and sups alone, with a very few attendants; and it is very seldom that any body, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time, and then only at the intercession of somebody in power.

Descriptions of Theobalds and Nun-juck, from Hentzer.

THeobalds belongs to Lord Burleigh the treasurer. In the gallery was painted the genealogy of the kings of England; from

from this place one goes into the garden, encompassed with water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are a great variety of trees and plants, labyrinths made with a great deal of labour, a *jet d'eau*, with its basin of white marble, and columns and pyramids of wood, and other materials, up and down the garden; after seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman emperors in white marble, and a table of truck-stone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and, in summer time, they are very convenient for bathing; in another room, for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was a noble table of red marble. We were not admitted to see the apartments of this palace, there being nobody to shew it, as the family was in town attending the funeral of their lord.

Nonfuch is a royal retreat, in a place formerly called Cuddington, a very healthful situation, chosen by K. Henry VIII. for his pleasure and retirement, and built by him with an excess of magnificence and elegance, even to ostentation; one would imagine every thing that architecture can perform, to have been employed in this one work: there are every where so many statues that seem to breathe, so many miracles of consummate art, so many charms that rival even the perfection of Roman antiquity, that it may well claim and justify its

name of Nonfuch, being without an equal, as the poet sung:

This which no equal has in art or fame,

Britons deservedly, a Nonfuch name.

The palace of itself is to encompassed with parks full of deer, delicious gardens, groves ornamented with trellis-work, cabinets of verdure, and walks so embrowned with trees, that it seems to be a place pitched upon by Pleasure herself, to dwell in along with Health.

In the pleasure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that spout water, one round the other, like a pyramid, upon which are put small birds that stream water out of their bills: in the grove Diana is a very agreeable fountain, with Actæon turned into a stag, as he was sprinkled by the goddess and the nymphs, with inscriptions.

There is besides another pyramid of marble, full of concealed pipes, which spout upon all who come within their reach.

From the same itinerary we shall present our readers with the manner of celebrating harvest-home in England, in our author's time.

AS we were returning to our inn, we happened to meet some country people celebrating harvest-home: their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed, by which perhaps they would signify Ceres; this they keep moving about, while men and women, men and maid servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can, till they arrive at the barn; the farmers here do

not

not bind up their corn in sheaves, as they do with us, but directly as they have reaped or mowed it, put it into carts, and convey it into their barns.

He gives the following account of the manners of our ancestors.

THE English are serious, and, like the Germans, lovers of show; liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their masters arms in silver, fastened to their left arms; a ridicule they very deservedly lay under. They excel in dancing and music, for they are active and lively, though of a thicker make than the French. They cut their hair close on the middle of the head, letting it grow on either side. They are good sailors, and better pirates, cunning, treacherous, and thievish; above * 300 are said to be hanged annually in London. Beheading with them is less infamous than hanging. They give the wall as the place of honour. Hawking is the general sport of the gentry. They are more polite in eating than the French, devouring less bread, but more meat, which they roast in perfection. They put a great deal of sugar in their drink. Their beds are covered with tapestry, even those of farmers. They are often molested with the scurvy, said to have first crept into England with the Norman conquest. Their houses are commonly of two stories, except in London, where they are of three and four, though but freedom of four; they are built of

wood, those of the richer sort with bricks; their roofs are low, and where the owner has money, covered with lead.

They are powerful in the field, successful against their enemies, impatient of any thing like slavery; vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise. If they see a foreigner very well made, or particularly handsome, they will say it is a pity he is not an Englishman.

The two following pieces having appeared within the last year, and the first throwing some light on ancient customs, and the latter containing some particulars of a very remarkable personage, we thought it best to insert them here.

Order of King Henry VIII. for the supply of Lady Lucy's table, taken from a collection of letters and state papers, from the original manuscripts of several princes and great personages in the two last centuries. Compiled by L. Howard, D. D.

HENRY. By the King.

WE wol and commaunde you to allowe dailly from henceforth, unto our right dere and wel beloved, the Lady Lucy, in-

* Although it is likely that the people, being then poor to what they are now, were more addicted to theft, as it usually happens; yet this account of executions must certainly be exaggerated. As to the cunning and treachery he mentions, it seems never to have been the real character of the English.

to her chambre, the dyat saire hereafter ensuying :

First, Every morning at brekefast, oon chyne of beyf at our kechyn, oon chete loff and oon manchet at our panatrye barr, and a galon of ale at our buttrye barr :

Item, At dyner, a pese of beyf, a stroke of roste, and a rewarde at our said kechyn, a cast of chete bread at our panatrye barr, and a galon of ale at our buttrye barr :

Item, At after none, a manchet at our panatrye barr, and half a galon of ale at our buttrye barr :

Item, At supper, a mels of porage, a pese of mutton, and a rewarde at our said kechyn, a cast of chete bread at our panatrye, and a galon of ale at our buttrye :

Item, At after-supper, a chete loff and a manchet at our panatrye barr, a galon of ale at our buttrye barr, and half a galon of wine at our seller barr :

Item, Ev'ry morning at our wood-yard, four tail shyds and twoo faggots :

Item, At our chaundrye barr in winter, ev'ry night, oon picket and four syles of waxe, with eight candells, white lights and oon torch :

Item, At our picker-house, weekly, six white cuppas :

Item, At ev'ry time of our removal, oon hool carte for the carriage of her stuff.

And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe, at all tymes hereafter. Given under our segnet at our manour at Eithampstede, the 17th day of July, the 14th yere of our reign.

To the lord steward of our household, the treasurer, comptroller, cosserer, clerks of the greene clothe, the clerks of our kechyn, and all other our bed officers of our said household, and to ev'ry of them.

The character of Oliver Cromwell may be seen in the following extract from the said state papers.

To his highness the Lord Protector of the common wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The humble petition of Marjery, the wife of William Beacham, mariner,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioner's husband hath been active and faithful in the wars of this commonwealth both by sea and land, and hath undergone many hazards by imprisonment and fights to the endangering of his life, and at last lost the use of his right arm, and is utterly disabled from future service, as doth appear by the certificate annexed, and yet he hath no more than forty shillings pension from Chatham by the year :

That your petitioner having one only sonne, who is tractable to learn, and not having wherewith to bring him up, by reason of their present low estate, occasioned by the publique service aforesaid :

Humbly prayeth, That your Highness would vouchsafe to present her said sonne Randolph Beacham, to be scholar in Sutton's hospital called the Charter-house.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, P.

We referre this petition and certificate to the commissioners of Sutton's hospital.

July 28, 1655.

Copy of a letter sent by Oliver to his secretary on the above petition.

You receive from me this 28th instant, a petition of Marjery Beacham, desiring the admission of her son into the Charter-house. I know the man who was employed one day in a very important secret service, which he did effectually to our great benefit, and the commonwealth's. The petition is a brief relation of a fact, without any flattery. I have wrote under it a common reference to the commissioners, but I mean a great deal more, that it *shall be done*, without *their debate or consideration of the matter*, and so do you privately hint to * * * *

I have not the particular shining bauble or feather in my cap, nor crouds to gaze at, or kneel to; but I have power and resolution for toes to *tremble at*: to be short, I know how to *deny* petitions; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to refer to any officer or office. I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be also looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing done. See therefore that the boy is admitted.

Thy true friend,

July 28, 1655.

OLIVER, P.

An account of the origin, and manners and customs of the Calmucks and Cossacks, who have lately committed such outrages on the subjects of the King of Prussia. From an account given by the Chevalier de Polignac, Secretary to King Stanislaus; written in 1750.

As this is a good account of two very remarkable nations, which the present troubles have brought much into conversation, we thought it naturally referable to this head.

THAT these people are Tartars, and that the Tartars are of Scythian original, is evident from their sentiments and manners at this day. The Scythians sacrificed to their gods the prisoners taken in war. The Tartars do not indeed deprive their prisoners of life, but they make death preferable, by selling them to masters that equal themselves in cruelty. The ancient Scythians lived on mares milk, applied themselves to the feeding of cattle, and neglected tillage. They had no other habitations but tilted waggons, which were drawn from pasture to pasture as herbage failed, and necessity required. Their cloathing was the skins of beasts. They made use of poisoned arrows. To cross a river they filled sacks with cork, on which they placed themselves, and were drawn over by horses which they held by the tail. They had no written laws, but administered justice according to the natural dictates of reason. These customs still subsist, with little variation, among the Tartars. There was one very singular custom among the Scythians: when two friends wanted to swear a lasting friendship, they made incisions in their fingers, and

and received the blood in a cup. Both dipt the points of their swords in it, and lifting them to their heads eagerly sucked it. When the modern Tartars take an oath, they dip their sabres in water, which they afterwards drink. The barbarity of some of their customs appears to have been softened by time; but one thing that has remained inviolable in the character of these people, is their rage of invading the neighbouring nations upon every opportunity that offers, and often of falling upon one another, when they are confined in their own country by superior force or fear. Their wars, their incursions, their ravages, differ in nothing from those of the Scythians. We may apply to them what the prophet Jeremiah said, speaking of the irruption of their ancestors into Judea: *Their chariots are as a whirlwind; their horses are swifter than eagles, and their quiver is as an open sepulchre*, iv. 13.

Asia hath often felt that they have lost nothing of the brutal impetuosity of their ancestors. Their success is less surprizing than that continuance of their valour, which, though not always sufficient to preserve their conquests, still kept up in them a desire to recover them. Thus, though expelled China in 1368, after possessing it above a century, they never ceased their efforts to recover it, and in 1644 reduced it in such a manner, that they have no reason to apprehend a second expulsion. The exploits of Tamerlane*, the chief of one of their rulers, are well known. He was equal to Cæsar in courage, and not inferior to Alexander in good

fortune. He conquered the Indies, subdued Persia, vanquished the Turks, and ravaged all Egypt. His name and his reputation have reached nations to whom his country is still unknown.

The Tartars are generally divided into three distinct powers: the first are those known by the name of Tartars; the second are the Calmucks; and the third the Mougals.

The Tartars, properly so called, live to the west of the Caspian sea. The most considerable of them are the Usbecs; the Kara Kallpacks; the Nagais, who are subject to Russia; the Baskirs, who also hold of that empire; and the Daghestans, who depend on no power, and who are more savage than any of those just named.—The Nagais, who at present occupy the lands of Astracan, between the Jaick and the Wolga, and the Baskirs, who are situated in the eastern part of the kingdom of Casan, between the Wolga and the river Kama, formerly received tribute from Russia, which the Great Duke of Muscovy carried to them annually upon his own horses. He was obliged to walk on foot, followed by the principal persons of his court, to meet the persons who came to demand this tribute, who were the poorest and most wretched of all the tribes. John or Iwan, Duke of Muscovy, surnamed the Great, was the first, who, to free himself, from this shameful mark of servitude, attempted to bring the Tartars under subjection. His son Basil continued to reduce them; but the final blow was given them by John Basilides, a prince detested for his barbarity, but resolute and

* The Orientals call him Timur lang, that is, Tamur the lame. He in fact halted by reason of a wound received in his youth. He was born in 1332, reigned six and thirty years, and died at the age of 63.

valiant. He extended his power even over the most distant of their hords.

The Kan of the Calmucks, who occupy a great part of the country, which lies between the Moungal and the Wolga, is so rich and powerful, that it is said he can bring an army of an hundred thousand men into the field. There is always a body of them in the Russian army. I have seen them, and can therefore describe them. They are rather short than tall; but strong, robust, courageous, and insured to fatigue. Their complexion is tawny; their faces flat, and their noses sunk to a level with their cheeks; only their two nostrils are striking, because larger than their eyes; these are so small, that they could not be perceived, if they were not extremely black and brilliant. They have scarce any beard, and their hair, of which they wear only a tuft on the crown of the head, is rough like a horse's mane. They wear a round bonnet with a border of fur in the Polish manner, and a kind of loose coat of sheep-skins, which comes down to the middle of their leg. They serve only on horseback; their arms are a bow which is larger, and arrows which are longer than usual. It is said that their arrows are so sharp-pointed, and that they make them fly with such force, that they will pierce a man through. They carry also a fusée, which hangs by their side; and a lance, which they handle with great dexterity. They are all pagans: the name Calmucks is a kind of nick-name given them by the Mahometan Tartars, with which they are much offended. They want to be called Mogouls.

Those Tartars who are at present called Moungals, are situated, on one side, between these last people and the sea of Japan, and on the other between China and Siberia. It is of little importance to mention their several tribes.

Those that lie next to Poland, and who by their incursions into that kingdom, have made themselves better known than the others, are called Little Tartars, to distinguish them from those of Asia. Like these they are divided into several hords, each forming a different nation: The Kubans? the Tartars of the Crimea or Perecop; the hord of Oczakow; and that of Buoziack.

Besides these four species of Little Tartars, there is another very singular one, of which it may not be improper to take notice. They are situated in the heart of Lithuania. Some tribes of this people formerly threatened that duchy: Vitoldus, uncle of Flagellon, a bold and haughty prince, marched against them, and succeeded. He led captive into Lithuania many thousands of those Tartars of both sexes. He treated them mildly, and assigned them lands near Vilna to cultivate, which their posterity possess at this day. They have retained Mahometanism, and all their ancient customs; but they are less barbarous than those of the Crimea and its neighbourhood. They love work, are very sober, and of inviolable fidelity. The grandees of Poland are fond of having them in their service. They have escorted me in many journies, and it is from them I have received the following portrait of the present Tartars, who were originally one and the same people with themselves. They come into the world with their eye-

lids

lids closed together so fast, that for some days they cannot open them. They are thickset, with broad shoulders, and extremely strong and vigorous. They have a short neck and large head, a flat face almost round, a large forehead well shaped, bright eyes, a short nose, a little mouth, white teeth, an olive complexion, rough black hair, and scarce any beard. They clip the hind part of their head, leaving only a tuft before. They never till the ground, and are strangers to all the arts of luxury and effeminacy. They know nothing of the sciences. Their laws are simple; and are derived from plain good sense, as much as from custom. Gentle and affable among themselves, they are so likewise to those whom trade brings into their country. They have no law-suits nor quarrels among them. If any one has a claim upon another, he goes to one of the principal men, called Murzas, who determines it without long discussion, and without formality. Prejudiced in favour of the principles of Mahomer's law, which they profess, they abhor all Christians; and in their invasions, covering their avarice with a religious motive, they make a merit of causing Christians to feel all the ferocity of their character.

They are brought up very hardy. Destined to a life of toil, they are inured to it from their infancy. Mothers often wash their children in cold water, mixed with salt, to harden their skins; hence, in the depth of winter, they swim across rivers without suffering any inconvenience. To teach them to be marksmen, they receive no food after they are seven years old, but what they kill with their arrows.

Their cloathing is sheep-skins. In winter, they wear the wool next to them; but in summer, or when it rains, they wear the other side next them. The Kan and all his family are cloathed in silk, which they usually receive in presents from the neighbouring nations, particularly Poland; and the officers wear cloth. They wear no turban, but bonnets of the Polish fashion.

Their arms are a crooked sabre, a lance, and a bow. They are afraid of fire-arms. They fight at a distance, and even in their flight they let fly their arrows; but if they cannot avoid a close fight, they use their sabres with such dexterity, that it is not easy to parry them. In their flight they are very swift, and their pursuers run a great risk, not so much from their arrows, as from their unexpected return. They all carry a knife and an awl to make leather straps to bind their prisoners. They often poison the points of their arrows.

Their horses are extremely brisk and nimble runners; and as indefatigable as their riders; but they make no shew: the Tartars often make them travel fifty or sixty miles without halting. They cut the cartilage which separates their nostrils, that breathing more easily they may be less apt to give out, however violently they may be rode. They always lead several in their hands, and when one is tired, they spring on the back of another without stopping a moment.

The usual food of these Tartars and that of which they are most fond, is horse-flesh. Bread and mutton are reserved for the rich, and for the wealthy burghers, that live in their towns without ever taking the field. The poorer sort bake

bake under ashes, cakes made of millet, barley, or Sarrazin corn, which grows spontaneously. The Poles call this bread *Tatarka*. Tho' some become servants to others, yet most of them choose rather to seek their food by rapine, than to earn it by any ignominious subjection. It is scarce conceivable, considering their indefatigability in war, how lazy and slothful they are in their families, where they spend their days in the most contemptible indolence. When they kill a horse, they first thrust a knife into his throat, and carefully saving the blood, they mix it with flour of millet, and make a kind of pudding, which they hold to be delicious. They afterwards cut the horse into four quarters. The master reserves one only for himself, and sends the other three as presents to his friends or neighbours, who make returns in kind.

Their usual drink is water. In some parts of their country there is none, and they either have not the sense to dig pits, or they neglect it through indolence. Snow, however, in the winter, supplies the defect. Those who live more comfortably than the rest, make a kind of drink of boiled millet. It is of the consistence and colour of milk, and drank to excess will intoxicate. However, they esteem nothing comparable to mares milk, which they chiefly use when they cross deserts to make war. Being Mahometans, they abstain from wine, or drink it only by stealth; but they think the frequent use of brandy no breach of their laws.

When they find themselves indisposed, they open a vein of a horse, drink the blood hot, and fatigue themselves as much as possible, by galloping*. If any one is so weak that he cannot use this exercise, two of them get on horseback, and holding him each by an arm, make him ride at full speed. There are few ailments which they do not actually cure, or believe they cure, by this remedy. Without any other occasion, than to appease their hunger or thirst, when they have nothing else, they bleed their horses, and drink the blood. This likewise was the custom of the ancient Scythians. They all carry meal of millet with them when they go to war. They mix it with water; and this supports them in their painful marches, and extremely refreshes them in the great heats. Polish lords, who have been obliged to follow them, have often experienced what I say: and it is upon their testimony I relate it.

Ever ready to make incursions among their neighbours, because they have no other way of supplying themselves with what they want, they are not apprehensive of being attacked in their turn. They trust to the power of the Turks for their protection.

When they are preparing for an expedition, they send their horses for some time to graze in the fields to fatten: their Kan holds council with the *Galga*, or general of the army: they assemble their chief *Murz*as: they draw up the plan of operations, or rather of the ravages to be committed. If the Kan com-

* Persons of credit have assured me (says M. Polignac) that when Charles XII. was at Bender, the Swedes or his retinue, having neither surgeons nor physicians to attend them in their illness, made use of this remedy, and were all cured by it.

mands in person, all must march with him; none must stay even to guard their country; nor are the infirmities of old age admitted as an excuse. On these occasions, the army amounts, as I have said, to 100,000 men, and 2 or 300,000 horses; for each Tartar has two or three.

They cross rivers in a very extraordinary manner. Every one gathers rushes or reeds, which he fastens to two long poles, and makes a kind of raft, on which he places his cloaths and arms. He ties these poles to the tail of one of his horses, whose mane he holds with one hand, and holding a rod in the other to guide the horse, he swims with his feet, and passes the river quite naked. As to the rest, these rafts, though made in haste, are so well joined and so firm, that they carry safely such of their slaves as cannot swim.

If they have effects which water might damage, they kill four horses that are nearly of a size; and preserving the skins whole, after taking out the flesh and bones, they blow them like bladders, and place them on sledges, or waggon, of which they take off the wheels. Several Tartars swim at the sides to secure this floating machine, which is drawn by two horses, each of which hath a conductor to guide him to shore.

They are more eager to make incursions in winter than in summer, because in that season they find in the houses of the peasants, all the provisions which in summer they must collect in the fields, and the rivers and marshes being frozen, they can go any where without hindrance; the snow too renders the roads more convenient for their horses, which they never shoe.

The feeding of their horses gives them no more trouble than the feeding of themselves; they require neither provisions nor magazines.

Moss, bark of trees, and poor herbs, are to them as good, and support them as well as the choicest forage; and in the winter they seek their food under snow, which they remove with their feet.

The Tartars in their expeditions never follow the usual beaten paths, They always choose the least known and most difficult roads; and to cover their march still more, they never make fires in their camp. By these means, they surprise even those who are most upon their guard against these incursions.

When they arrive within three or four leagues of the country into which they intend to penetrate, they halt for some days to rest. They then divide into three bodies; two of which compose the main body of their army: the third is subdivided, and forms a large detachment at each side. In this order they enter the country. The center advances in a parallel line with the right and left; but the whole marches night and day, without halting above an hour at most.

After marching sixty or eighty leagues into the country (which tract they spare at present, passing through it only as travellers) the two wings are ordered to disperse themselves six leagues round. Divided again into ten or twelve brigades, of about 5 or 600 men each, and these into several others as they advance, they make what haste they can to pillage the country; and joining again by degrees, and in the same order in which they separated, they carry the booty to the main body of the army, which during this time kept together to

repel the inhabitants, who might assemble to attack them. Two new corps are detached to scour the parts where the former had been; and in the instant these return, a third detachment is sent out to gather the gleanings the others may have left.

These barbarians spare none. They cut the throats of infants and old people; but men and women, boys and girls, they compel to follow them. The number of their captives hath sometimes exceeded 50,000. They generally burn the houses they have plundered, and turn the most pleasant and fruitful countries into a frightful desert.

The same havock which they make round the places they fix for the limits of their incursions, they make also in their return in those parts which they spared at first, provided they be not pursued. When they pass the frontiers and get to a place of safety, they repose themselves and divide the booty, of which one tenth is always reserved for the Kan. They cruelly separate all the members of one family; the husband from the wife, the children from the parents, allotting them to different persons, and selling them into different countries. They sell many of them to the Turks, who employ them on board their galleys; but they reserve the young women to be the unfortunate victims of their brutality. Tho' they arrive in a country all together, yet in going back they march in several divisions, that those who follow them, seeing several tracks, may not know precisely which road they have taken. On these occasions, the Cossacks, who have almost as much ferocity, and no less love of plunder, generally lay am-

buscades for them. They wait for them in defiles, or even in the midst of plains, where they march in *tabors*; that is the name they give to their manner of travelling between two rows of waggons, which enclose them: and from thence they fire on the Tartars with small arms. It seldom happens, but that the whole army is put into disorder. They fly in such confusion, that one runs over another, without respect even to their leaders. Each runs whither his fears carry him: and if they are pursued, they gradually throw away all they carry. They strew effects in the way, to amuse the enemy. They throw away even their arms, and often, without ceasing to run, they cut the girths of their saddles, and let them fall off, in order to relieve their horses, that they may run more swiftly.

The following remarkable part was acted in Dublin, by a person who has acted very remarkable parts wherever he has appeared; who has good humour enough to make a life of dissipation and frolic, serve as a sort of merit; who has great talents for mimicry, without being an actor, and who has a considerable share of wit and humour, which could acquire him the reputation of a writer. But he has made more noise than many who have had a larger share of these talents, which is all he seems to desire. In a word, he is the most singular man in this age, and is able to appear in a greater variety of characters than any body else, because he has no character of his own.

From

From Drontheim in Norway, having also visited in his tour the cities of Peterburgh, Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and London, (from which last capital he is just arrived) Ulan Smolenzco Czerniznigeroff, the celebrated Laplander, born within the confines of the Arctic circle.

HE tells things past, present, and to come, by means of a quobdas, kannus, or drum, handed down from nine generations from his great ancestor Ulan Gorff, who, in the reign of Swein, King of Norway, was burnt for being a wizard, being charged by some missionaries with having a familiar, but was in reality no other than a Gam, or good genius, which is a constant attendant on the chief fire of each tribe of the Laplanders and most of the aborigines or old inhabitants of Scandinavia, and all the regions of the north.

His life hath been devoted to the study of astrology; and he hereby informs the learned, that his chief reason of his present visit to these southern regions of the globe, is to have the opportunity of beholding and observing the expected amazing comet, or blazing star, whose appearance was predicted by him in his Ephemeris Septentrionalis, published at Copenhagen and Stockholm in 1745, the transit of which, being by him and Dr. Halley laid down to the south of the equinoctial line, could not be observed in his own country, the latitude or altitude of the pole being there 73 degrees north, consequently the comet's path being below the horizon of Lapland, that stupendous phenomenon will

be invisible to all the inhabitants thereof.

He begs leave to acquaint the public, that he hath by frequent converse with some Bramins (who, by means of the Russian caravans from China and India, have passed from the east into Norway) acquired all the wisdom of the oriental Magi or Gymnosophists, the same as that of the ancient soothsayers, modern rosycrusians, or followers of Peter Lully, the first European professor of the cabalistical and hermetic arts, derived originally from the Pythagorean sect; and hath, according to the unalterable rule and law of the original founder, condemned himself to a septennial silence and cessation of speech, but utters his responses in writing, void of all ambiguity, and easy to be comprehended by the meanest capacity.

He therefore professes and understands all the mysteries of chyromanchy, alestromanchy, and catoptromanchy, he having a magical glass to be consulted upon some extraordinary occasions. He can also divine either by hydromanchy or necromancy, and is fully possessed of the art, called by the Greeks, oneiocritica, or the interpretation of dreams: and will prove to the virtuosi, that he hath the true felinites lac lunæ, or moonstone, proper for the making of talismans, only to be found genuine near the dreadful volcano of Mount Hecla in Iceland; and though he also hath in his museum several of the mystical knots and magical darts of his countrymen, the Samoides and Finlanders, he sticks chiefly to his drum.

From all which it is evident, (even to the literati themselves)

that he can inform mankind whether life be happy or unhappy? Suits at law, who shall overcome? If the party is to be rich, and how wealth may lawfully be obtained? He answers to all questions, relating to love, gallantry, and marriage, as what manner of person one shall be courted by, and be married unto? Whether at present bachelor, maid, husband, wife, widower, or widow? Whether the party be beloved or not? Children, their number and sex? also the diseases, crosses, accidents, or other fortunate and unfortunate adventures and events, he, she, or they shall meet with, or be incident unto, with the means of preventing and avoiding them; and can foretel most people's business, even before they deliver any questions; all which he performs with due regard to honour and the strictest secrecy.

* * * He sells prolific drops for barrenness in women, the true arcanum by which the northern hive hath anciently poured forth its swarms over the rest of Europe, the use of them counteracting the inclemency of that climate, and invigorates cold and languid constitutions. Price of the bottle half a guinea, with compleat directions for use.

††† He hath a few remaining bottles of his grand cosmetic wash, for the invention of which her Serene Highness the Archduchess of Livonia presented him with a vest of fables; and honoured him with a seal ring from her own finger, and 500 Livonian Ducats. Price of this inestimable secret one guinea.

He is to be spoke with at his lodgings at Mr. Tucker's, a por-

trait painter, at the house with the Venetian window in Usher's street, the back of Usher's quay, from the hours of seven till nine, on the evenings of Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays only, the other parts of his time being devoted to astrology and the study of the occult sciences, when he will not be interrupted on any account whatsoever.

Dublin, Dec. 14.

Yesterday morning the learned world was deprived of one of its most useful ornaments by the death of the celebrated Lapland philosopher and virtuoso, Ulan Smolenzco Czernznigorff, who is greatly lamented by persons of all ranks, sexes, and distinctions. His dissolution, which was long since predicted by himself, was occasioned by an atrophy contracted by intense study. He was attended by several eminent physicians, whom he discovered by his art to have mistaken the state of his case. Many divines remarkable for their learning and piety, waited also upon him, and exhorted him to make a full and ample confession of his misdeeds, as they were persuaded that he had certainly practised the black art, and dealt with the devil, and more especially, as he gave each of them a succinct account of all their most secret transactions; but he persisting to the last, that all his knowledge was obtained by means of the Gam or good genius, that inhabited his drum, they denounced an anathema against him, and refused him the rites of their function. He has given all the product of his gain, since his arrival in this kingdom, to charitable uses, and bequeathed many legacies, particularly

particularly his quobdas or drum, to be placed in our museum. To his trusty and well-beloved faithful servant Peter, he has left a great number of original letters and queries, from doctors of divinity, physic and law, lords and esquires, ladies, widows, lawyers, kept-mistresses, politicians, courtezans, attornies, waiting-women, civil and military officers, belles, beaus, spruce curates, and many others of all ranks, ages, denominations, and sexes; together with several horoscopes ready drawn for persons, who, he understood by his art, intended to favour him with their company, many of which last will be sent by the said Peter to their respective owners. The memoirs of several transactions that befel him, since his arrival in this metropolis, being a compleat secret history of all the private intrigues, anecdotes, &c. thereof, he hath ordered to be

printed under the inspection of an eminent bookseller who lately went to visit him; so that the public may shortly expect to see several curious, useful, and truly valuable discoveries, the benefit of which works is to go also to his man Peter. It appears by a sketch, found among his papers, that he had formed the plan of an academy for instructing the youth of this kingdom in the Pythagorean philosophy; and particularly in the judicious *Art of holding the tongue*, which it is thought would prove of great and singular advantage to several persons who speak in public; and that so useful an institution may not be lost, it is hoped, that such gentlemen as have the reputation of this country at heart, will appoint some place of meeting to consider of proper ways and means to carry this important design into execution,

EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES.

PERHAPS the human mind can have no entertainment at once more congenial and more useful to it, than such stories as compose the following article; stories of extraordinary distresses, and wonderful deliverances. In the former part our humanity is cultivated; in the latter is inspired a spirited hope and a trust in Providence, which may enable us to act with resolution in the trying emergencies of life. They have the effect which Aristotle attributes to good tragedy, in correcting the passions by terror and pity. They give us striking examples of the resources in which ingenious distress is fruitful; and instances as remarkable of magnanimity and virtue, sometimes even in rude minds, and where it might least be expected. For these reasons we have not confined ourselves wholly to the publications of the last year, for narratives of that kind, but have collected from those of the preceding, such as we thought most memorable.

A genuine narrative of the sufferings of the persons who were confined in the prison called the Black Hole, in Fort William at Calcutta, in the kingdom of Bengal, after the surrender of that place to the Indians in June 1756, from a letter of J. Z. Holwell, Esq. to William Davis, Esq.

THE ill conduct of Drake, the late governor of Calcutta, who had, among other things, unjustly imprisoned a very considerable merchant of the country, whose name was Omychund, and who was a Gentoo, having drawn the resentment of the viceroy upon the factory, he marched against it in person, with a very considerable force, and laid siege to the fort.

Drake, who had brought on this misfortune, no sooner saw it approach, than he deserted his station, and left the gentlemen of the factory

and the garrison to shift for themselves. As soon as Drake was gone, Mr. Holwell, from whose letter this account is taken, took the command upon himself, and resolved to defend the place as long as he was able. This voluntary opposition of Mr. Holwell incensed the viceroy against him; and, supposing that he would not have undertaken a work of supererogation, attended with such fatigue and danger, upon disinterested principles, he made no doubt but that there were very great treasures in the fort, in which he was deeply concerned as a proprietor; he therefore pushed on the siege with great vigour.

A very good account of the whole transaction is given by Mr. Holwell himself, in the following manner.

“The suba, or viceroy of Bengal, and his troops, were in possession

possession of the fort, before six in the evening. At a third interview with him, before seven, he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us: and, indeed, I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower Jemautdaars, or Serjeants (to whose custody we were delivered) for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard set over us to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched Veranda, or Piazza, to the west of the Black-hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard. Just as it was dark, about 400 or 500 men, who were drawn up upon the parade, advanced, and ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks. We were no sooner all within them, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall; and with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barrack, commonly called the Black-hole prison. Few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, had the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should, at all events, have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongst the first that entered were myself, Messieurs Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, Ensign Scott, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got possession of the window near-

est the door, and Messieurs Coles and Scott into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first I believe mortally.) The rest of the above mentioned gentlemen were close round about me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

What must ensue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitless. . . .

Amongst the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old Jemautdaar near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance. I called him to me, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place and half in another, and that he should in the morning receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He withdrew; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand; he

withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with, I believe, much real pity and concern) told me, that it could not be done but by the suba's order, and that no one dared awake him.

We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, you can form no idea of it. This brought on a raging thirst, which increased in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture.

Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their cloaths; this was approved as a happy motion, and in a few minutes I believe every man was stripped, (myself, Mr. Court, and the two young gentlemen by me excepted.) For a little time they flattered themselves with having gained a mighty advantage; every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air, and Mr. Baillie proposed that every man should sit down on his hams. This expedient was several times put in practice, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whose natural strength was less than that of others, or who had been more exhausted and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to rise, fell to rise no more; for they were instantly trod to death or suffocated. When the whole body sat down, they were so closely wedged together, that they were obliged to use many efforts before they could put themselves in motion to get up again.

Before nine o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Efforts were made again to force the door, but in vain. Many insults were used to

the guard to provoke them to fire in upon us. For my own part, I hitherto felt little pain or uneasiness, but what resulted from my anxiety for the sufferings of those within. By keeping my face between two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs easy play, though my perspiration was excessive, and thirst commencing. At this period, so strong a urinous volatile effluvia came from the prison, that I was not able to turn my head that way, for more than a few seconds at a time.

Now every body, excepting those situated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious: *Water, water*, became the general cry. And the old Jemmaut-daar before mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring some skins of water. This was what I dreaded. I foresaw it would prove the ruin of the small chance left us, and essayed many times to speak to him privately to forbid its being brought; but the clamour was so loud, it became impossible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the universal agitation and raving the sight of it threw us into. I flattered myself that some, by preserving an equal temper of mind, might out-live the night; but now the reflection, which gave me the greatest pain, was, that I saw no possibility of one escaping to tell the dismal tale.

Until the water came, I had myself not suffered much from thirst, which instantly grew excessive. We had no means of conveying it into the prison, but by hats forced through the bars; and thus myself

myself and Messieurs Coles and Scott (notwithstanding the pains they suffered from their wounds) supplied them as fast as possible. But those who have experienced intense thirst, or are acquainted with the cause and nature of this appetite, will be sufficiently sensible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation; the cause still subsisted. Though we brought full hats within the bars, there ensued such violent struggles, and frequent contests to get at it, that before it reached the lips of any one, there would be scarcely a small tea cup full left in them. These supplies, like sprinkling water on fire, only served to feed and raise the flame.

Oh! my dear Sir, how shall I give you a conception of what I felt at the cries and ravings of those in the remoter parts of the prison, who could not entertain a probable hope of obtaining a drop, yet could not divest themselves of expectation, however unavailing! and calling on me by the tender considerations of friendship and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me! Think, if possible, what my heart must have suffered at seeing and hearing their distress, without having it in my power to relieve them: for the confusion now became general and horrid. Several quitted the other window (the only chance they had for life) to force their way to the water, and the throng and press upon the window was beyond bearing; many forcing their passage from the further part of the room, pressed down those in their way, who had less strength, and trampled them to death.

From about nine to near eleven, I sustained this cruel scene and painful situation, still supplying them with water, though my legs were almost broke with the weight against them. By this time I myself was near pressed to death, and my two companions, with Mr. William Parker (who had forced himself into the window) were really so. . . .

For a great while they preserved a respect and regard to me, more than indeed I could well expect, our circumstances considered; but now all distinction was lost. My friend Baillie, Messrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simpson, and several others, for whom I had a real esteem and affection, had for some time been dead at my feet: and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common soldier, who, by the help of more robust constitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held fast by the bars over me, till at last I became so pressed and wedged up, I was deprived of all motion.

Determined now to give every thing up, I called to them, and begged, as the last instance of their regard, they would remove the pressure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window, to die in quiet. They gave way; and with much difficulty I forced a passage into the center of the prison, where the throng was less by the many dead, (then I believe amounting to one third) and the numbers who flocked to the windows; for by this time they had water also at the other window.

In

In the black-hole there is a platform* corresponding with that in the barrack: I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, just opposite to the other window. Here my poor friend Mr. Edward Eyre came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good-nature, asked me how I did? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myself down on some of the dead behind me, on the platform; and, recommending myself to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my sufferings could have no long duration.

My thirst grew now insupportable, and the difficulty of breathing much increased; and I had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast, and palpitation of heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding; and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped; but could no longer bear the pains I suffered without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined to push for the window opposite to me; and by an effort of double the strength I had ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained the second, though I think there were at least

six or seven ranks between me and the window.

In a few moments the pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceased; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for *Water for God's sake*. I had been concluded dead; but as soon as they found me amongst them, they still had the respect and tenderness for me, to cry out, *Give him water, give him water!* nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I had no relief; my thirst was rather increased by it; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event; and kept my mouth moist from time to time by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt-sleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain, from my head and face; you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

I came into the prison without coat or waistcoat; the season was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards, who robbed me of it, when we were under the Veranda. Whilst I was at this second window, I was observed by one of my miserable companions on the right of me, in the expedient of allaying my thirst by sucking my shirt-sleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a considerable part of my store; though after I detected him, I had even the address to begin on that sleeve first, when I thought my reservoirs were sufficiently reple-

* This platform was raised between three and four feet from the floor, open underneath; it extended the whole length of the east side of the prison, and was above six feet wide.

nished;

nished ; and our mouths and noses often met in the contest. This plunderer I found afterwards was a worthy young gentleman in the service, Mr. Lushington, one of the few who escaped from death, and since paid me the compliment of assuring me, he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my sleeves. Before I hit upon this happy expedient, I had in an ungovernable fit of thirst, attempted drinking my urine ; but it was so intensely bitter, there was no enduring a second taste, whereas no Bristol water could be more soft or pleasant than what arose from perspiration.

By half an hour past eleven, the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable ; few retaining any calmness, but the ranks next the windows. They all now found, that water, instead of relieving, rather heightened their uneasinesses ; and, *Air, air*, was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuse that the suba, Monickchund, &c. could be loaded with, were repeated to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, rushing tumultuously towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to heaven to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted, laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows : others who had yet some strength

and vigour left, made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks ; and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated ; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which affected us in all its circumstances, as if we were forcibly held by our heads over a bowl of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn, until suffocated ; nor could the effluvia of the one be distinguished from the other ; and frequently, when I was forced by the load upon my head and shoulders, to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again, to escape suffocation.

I need not, my dear friend, ask your commiseration, when I tell you, that in this plight, from half an hour after eleven till near two in the morning, I sustained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees on my back, and the pressure of his whole body on my head ; a Dutch serjeant, who had taken his seat upon my left shoulder, and a Topaz * bearing on my right : all which, nothing could have enabled me long to support, but the props and pressure equally sustaining me all around. The two latter I frequently dislodged, by shifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs ; but my friend above stuck fast, and, as he held by two bars, was immovable.

The repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge this insufferable incumbrance upon me, at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock,

* A black christian soldier ; usually termed subjects of Portugal.

o'clock, finding I must quit the window, or sink where I was, I resolved on the former, having borne, truly for the sake of others, infinitely more for life, than the best of it is worth.

In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships, whose name was Carey, and who behaved with much bravery during the siege, (his wife, a fine woman tho' country born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my station. On my quitting, he made an attempt to get my place; but was supplanted.

Poor Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing*.) He laid himself down to die: and his death, I believe, was very sudden, for he was a short, full, sanguine man: his strength was great, and I imagine had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

I was at this time sensible of no pain, and little uneasiness. I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison.

When I had lain there some little time, I still had reflexion enough to suffer some uneasiness in

the thought that I should be trampled upon, when dead, as I myself had done to others. With some difficulty I raised myself and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation: the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my lying down, was, my fast being uneasy about my waist, which I untied and threw from me. Of what passed in this interval to the time of my resurrection from this hole of horrors, I can give you no account.

When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make a search for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence, and imagining I had some signs of life, brought me towards the window I had first possession of.

But as life was equally dear to every man (and the stench arising from the dead bodies was grown so intolerable) no one would give up his station in or near the window: so they were obliged to carry me back again. But soon after Captain Mills, (now captain of the company's yacht) who was in possession of a seat in the window, had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought by the same gentlemen and placed in the window.

At this juncture the suba, who had received an account of the havoc

* Unable to fall by the throng and equal pressure round,

rock death had made amongst us, sent one of his Jemautdaars to enquire if the chief survived. They shewed me to him; told I had appearance of life remaining; and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the suba, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning.

As the door opened inwards, and as the dead were piled up against it, and covered all the rest of the floor, it was impossible to open it by any efforts from without; it was therefore necessary that the dead should be removed by the few that were within, who were become so feeble, that the task, though it was the condition of life, was not performed without the utmost difficulty, and it was 20 minutes after the order came before the door could be opened.

About a quarter after six in the morning, the poor remains of 146 souls, being no more than three and twenty, came out of the Black-hole alive, but in a condition which made it very doubtful whether they would see the morning of the next day; among the living was Mrs. Carey, but poor Leech was among the dead. The bodies were dragged out of the hole by the soldiers, and thrown promiscuously into the ditch of an unfinished ravelin, which was afterwards filled with earth.

Mr. Holwell, Mr. Court, Mr. Walcot, and Mr. Burdet, were ordered into the custody of an officer, and the rest were immediately set at liberty, except poor Mrs. Carey, whose youth and beauty caused her to be detained for the conqueror, or some officer of state.

Mr. Holwell when he came out of the prison was in a high fever, and not able to stand; he was, however, sent for to be examined by the viceroy, and was in this condition carried to his presence. It was some time before he could speak, but as soon as he was able, he began to relate the sufferings and death of his unhappy companions.

The viceroy, without taking any notice of this tale of distress, stopt him short, by telling him, that he had been informed, there was treasure to a very considerable value secreted in the fort, and that if he did not discover it, he must expect no mercy. Mr. Holwell replied, that he knew of no such treasure: and then began to remind him of his assurance the day before, that no hurt should come either to himself or his friends. To this remonstrance he paid no more regard than he had done to the complaint, but proceeded in his enquiry concerning the treasure; and when he found no intelligence could be got, he ordered the general of his household troops, whose name was Mhir Muddon, to take charge of Mr. Holwell as his prisoner.

Among the guard that marched before Mr. Holwell, when he went out from the presence of the viceroy, there was a man who carried a large Moratta battle-ax on his shoulder, which occasioned a report, first, that his head was to be struck off, and afterwards that the sentence was executed.

It happened unfortunately, that Mr. Holwell, in the hurry and confusion of the siege, after the fort had been deserted by Drake, forgot to set Omychund, the black merchant, whom Drake had injuriously imprisoned, at liberty. This neglect

Omychund

Omychund resented as an act of wilful injustice, and Mr. Holwell is of opinion, that if it had not been for Omychund's insinuations, he should have been discharged with the rest, notwithstanding the offence he had given to the viceroy by defending the fort; and the notion that prevailed of his being privy to the concealment of money; and in this opinion he says he is confirmed by the confinement of the three gentlemen who were detained with him, who were all of them persons against whom Omychund was known to have conceived a particular resentment.

Mr. Holwell and his associates in captivity, were conveyed in a kind of coach, drawn by oxen, called a hackery, to the camp, where they were loaded with fetters, and lodged in the tent of a Moorish soldier, which being no more than 4 feet by 3 feet, they were obliged to lie, sick as they were, half in and half out the whole night, which happened to be very rainy; yet the next day their fever happily came to a crisis, and boils broke out on every part of their bodies, which, though they were extremely painful, were the certain presages of their recovery. The next day they were removed to the coast, and, by order of General Mhir Muddon, were soon after sent by sea to Maxadavad, the metropolis of Bengal, to wait the viceroy's return, and be disposed of as he should farther determine.

At Maxadavad they arrived, after a voyage of 13 days, in a large boat, in which they had no better provision than rice and water, and no softer beds than some bamboos laid on the bottom timber of the vessel; they were, besides, exposed

alternately to excessive heat and violent rains, without any covering but a bit of old mat and some scraps of sacking. The boils that covered them were become running sores, and the irons on their legs had consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

When they arrived at Maxadavad, Mr. Holwell sent a letter to Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory, with an account of their distress, and Mr. Law, with great politeness and humanity, sent them not only cloaths, linen, provision and liquors, in great plenty, but money.

About 4 o'clock on the 7th of July, they landed, and after marching a considerable way as a spectacle to the multitude that thronged round them, they were deposited under an open shed, not far from the palace.

In this place they received every possible relief, not only from the great kindness of the French and Dutch chiefs, but from the Arabian merchants.

On the 18th of July, the viceroy arrived, and the prisoners then learned that he had enquired for them, in order to set them at liberty before he left Calcutta, and was offended with Mhir Muddon for having so hastily removed them to Maxadavad. He did not, however, order their immediate discharge when he arrived, which it is natural to suppose he would have done, if they had been detained in custody contrary to his inclination.

On the 25th they were conducted to the palace, to have an audience, and to know their fate; but they could have no audience that day, which, as it happened, was a favourable circumstance, for

at night the viceroy's grandmother solicited their liberty, at a feast, to which she was invited on his safe return, and the viceroy promised that he would release them on the morrow.

On the morrow, about five in the morning, they were waked, and told that the viceroy would in a few minutes pass by to his palace of Mooteejeel. Upon this intelligence they got up, and when the viceroy came in sight, they paid him the usual homage, and uttered their benediction aloud. He looked at them with strong marks of compassion in his countenance, and ordering his litter to stop, he called them to him, and having heard a short extemporary petition, which was spoken by Mr. Holwell, he made no reply, but ordered two of his officers to see their irons instantly struck off, and conduct them safely wherever they chose to go, giving them a strict charge to see that they suffered no injury or insult by the way.

This act of mercy, however late, or from whatever motive, was the more meritorious, as great pains were taken by some time-serving sycophants to prevent it: they told the viceroy, that Mr. Holwell, notwithstanding his losses, was still possessed of enough to pay a considerable sum for his freedom; to which the viceroy nobly replied, "If he has any thing left, let him keep it; his sufferings have been great, and he shall have his liberty."

Mr. Holwell and his friends being thus dismissed, immediately took boat, and soon after arrived safe at the Dutch settlement at Corcomadad, where he afterwards embarked for England.

An authentic narrative of the loss of the Doddington Indiaman, and of the adventures of those on board who survived the shipwreck; from the journal of one of the surviving officers.

THE Doddington, Captain Samson, sailed from the Downs on the 23d of April 1755, in company with the Pelham, the Houghton, the Streatham, and the Edgecourt, all in the service of the East India Company, and in about seven days got clear of the channel; during this time Captain Samson perceived that his ship sailed faster than any of the others, and he was unwilling to lose the advantage of this superiority by keeping them company: he therefore stood on alone, and having very soon lost sight of them, he made Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd islands, lat. 16 North, on the 20th of May, and on the 21st he got into Porto Prior bay. It now appeared either that he had been mistaken in supposing his ship to out sail the rest of the fleet, or that he had lost time by the course he had steered, for he found the Pelham and the Streatham had reached the bay two hours before him. The Houghton arrived soon afterwards, but the Edgecourt did not come in till the 26th.

On the 27th of May, the Doddington, Pelham, Streatham, and Houghton, having taken in their water, proceeded on the voyage together, leaving the Edgecourt in the road; they continued in company steering S. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. till the 28th, when Capt. Samson thinking the course too far easterly, ordered the Doddington to be kept South,

which again separated her from the rest of the fleet, and after a fine voyage of seven weeks she made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. Having just doubled the Cape, a new departure was taken from de Agulhas on the 8th of July; and the vessel having steered eastward about twenty-four hours, between the latitude of 35 d. 30 m. and 36 d. the captain ordered her to be kept E. N. E.

In this course she continued till about a quarter before one in the morning of Thursday, July 17, when she struck: the officer from whose journal this account is taken, was then asleep in his cabin, but being suddenly awaked by the shock, he started up in the utmost consternation, and made all the haste he could to get upon deck; here all the terrors of his situation rushed upon him at once; he saw the men dashed to and fro by the violence of the sea that rolled over them, and the ship breaking to pieces at every stroke of the surge; he crawled over, with great difficulty, to the larboard side of the quarter-deck, which lay the highest out of water, and there he found the captain, who said very little more than they must all perish; in a few minutes a sea parted them, and he saw him no more. He made a shift to get back to the quarter-deck, but he was very much bruised, and the small bone of his left arm was broken: all the rest of the ship was under water, and shattered to pieces. In this dreadful situation, expecting every moment to be swallowed up, he heard somebody cry out, *Land!* upon this he looked eagerly about him, but though he saw something which he supposed was taken for land, he believed it only the range of the sea on the other side of the

breakers; at the same moment the sea broke over him with great violence, and not only forced him from his hold, but stunned him by a violent blow upon his eye. Though from this time he lay insensible till after day-light, yet he continued upon the wreck, and when he recovered he found himself made fast to a plank by a nail that had been forced into his shoulder. Besides the pain that he felt from his wounds and bruises, he was now so benumbed with cold, that he could scarce move either hand or foot: he called out as loud as he could, and was heard by the people on the rocks, but they could give no assistance, so that it was a considerable time before he could disengage himself, and crawl on shore.

This shore was a barren uninhabited rock, in the latitude of 33 d. 44 m. South, and distance about 250 leagues East of the Cape of Good Hope. Here were now met Mr. Evan Jones, chief mate, Mr. John Collet 2d, Mr. William Webb 3d, and Mr. S. Powell 5th mate; Richard Topping, carpenter; Neal Bothwell and Nathaniel Chisholm, quarter masters; Daniel Ladova, the captain's steward; Henry Sharp, the surgeon's servant; Thomas Arnold, a black, and John Mackdowal, servants to the captain; Robert Beaseley, John King, Gilbert Chain, Terence Mole, Jonas Rosenbury, John Glas, — Taylor, and Hendrick Scantz, seamen; John Yets, midshipman; and John Lister, Ralph Smith, and Edward Dyfoy, matrosses. These persons, being 23 in number, were all that remained of 270 souls that were on board when the ship struck.

Their first care was* to search among the things which had been thrown

thrown upon the rocks from the ship, for something to cover them, in which they succeeded beyond their hopes. The next thing they felt the want of was fire: and this was not so easily supplied; some of them attempted to kindle two pieces of wood, by rubbing them together, but without success; others went peeping about among the rocks to pick up something that might serve for a flint and steel; after long search they found a box that contained two gun flints and a broken file; this was a joyful acquisition, but still they had nothing that would kindle from a spark, and till something like tinder could be procured, the flint and steel were useless; a farther search was therefore undertaken with inexpressible solicitude and anxiety; a cask of gun-powder was at last discovered, but to their great disappointment it proved to be wet; however, upon a near examination, a small quantity was found at the bottom of the cask which had suffered no damage. Some of this they bruised on a linen rag, which served them very well for tinder, and a fire was soon made; the bruised and wounded gathered about it, and the rest went in search of other necessaries, without which the rock could afford them but a short respite from destruction. In the afternoon a box of wax-candles, and a cask of brandy were brought in: both very extremely welcome, especially the brandy, of which every one thought it adviseable to take a dram. Soon after some others of the party returned with an account that they had discovered a cask almost full of fresh water, which was yet of more consequence than the brandy, and Mr. Jones brought

in some pieces of salt pork, and soon after some others arrived, driving before them seven hogs, which had come on shore alive; some casks of beer, water, flour, were also seen at a distance, but it was not then possible to get them over the rocks. The approach of night made it necessary to provide some shelter; all hands therefore were employed to make a tent of some canvas that had been thrown on shore, which was at last effected, though it was so small for want of more sail-cloth, that it would not hold them all. The island was much frequented by a kind of water-fowl something larger than a duck, called a gannet, and the highest part of it was covered with their dung; upon this part they were obliged to build their tent, for fear of being overflowed, and they placed those who could not walk, under the tent, and kindled a fire near them; but as they had passed the day without food, they passed the night without rest; for besides that they were sunk a foot in the fowls dung, the wind was so tempestuous that the wind blew about their fire, and before it could be scraped together again, the rain put it out.

In the morning, which was Friday, July the 16th, those that were able went again about the rock, to see what could be saved from the wreck, but to their great mortification, they found all the casks which they had seen the night before, except one of beer, and one of flour, staved to pieces against the rocks; soon after these were secured the tide flowed up, and put a stop to the work of that day. The company therefore was called together to eat their first meal,

meal, and some rashers of pork were broiled upon the coals for dinner.

The sitting down thus desolate and forlorn, to a repast, which they used to share in the convivial cheerfulness which naturally arose from the consciousness of present plenty, with the hope of future, struck them with such a sense of their condition, that they burst into passionate lamentations, wringing their hands, and looking round them with all the wildness of despair. In such tumult of mind, our thoughts hurry from one object to another, to fix, if possible, upon something that may afford comfort; and one of the company recollecting, that as the carpenter was among them, they might build a strong sloop, if they could procure materials and tools, mentioned this as a subject of hope to the rest. Every man's attention was immediately turned upon the carpenter, who declared that he had no doubt but he should be able to build a sloop that would carry them all to some port of safety, if tools and materials could be found; at that time indeed, they had no rational prospect of procuring either, any more than of being able to victual a sloop, if they had had one ready built; yet they had no sooner placed their deliverance one remove beyond total impossibility, than they seemed to think it neither improbable nor difficult; they began to eat without farther repining, and that moment the boat engrossed their whole conversation; and they not only debated upon the size and manner of rigging her, but to what port they should steer her, whether to the Cape or Delagoë.

As soon as they had finished their repast, some went in search of

tools, others to mend the tent; no tools however were found that day.

Saturday, July 19, they secured four butts of water, one cask of flour, one hoghead of brandy, and one of their little boats, which had been thrown up by the tide, in a shattered condition; but they found no tools except a scraper.

Sunday, July 20, they had the good fortune to find a hamper, in which there were files, sail-needles, gimblets, and an azimuth compass-card. They also found two quadrants, a carpenter's adze, a chissel, and three sword-blades, and a chest of treasure. This search was made very early in the morning, as there had been a prodigious surf rolling in all the day before, by which it was reasonable to suppose something would be thrown up. At ten o'clock they all assembled to prayers, and did not go out again till after dinner, when they found most of the packets of letters belonging to the king and the company; these they carefully dried and laid by.

The same day, as they were searching about the beach, they found the body of a gentlewoman, which they knew to be that of Mrs. Collet, the wife of their second mate, who was then at a little distance from the spot. The mutual affection of this couple was remarkably tender, and Mr. Jones, the first mate, immediately stepped aside to Mr. Collet, and found means to take him to the other side of the rock, while the other two mates, the carpenter, and some others, dug a grave in the bird's dung, in which they deposited the body, reading over it the burial service, from a French prayer-book, which had driven ashore with her
from

from the wreck. Having thus paid the debt of humanity to the dead, and concealed from Mr. Collet a sight which would most sensibly, if not fatally, have affected him, they found means, after some days, to disclose to him by degrees what they had done, and to give him the wedding ring, which they had taken from her finger. He received it with great emotion, and afterwards spent many days in raising a monument over the grave, by piling up the squarest stones he could find, on the top of which he fixed an elm plank, and inscribed it with her name, her age, the time of her death, and some account of the fatal accident by which it was occasioned.

On Monday, July 21, they secured some more water and pork, and found some timber, plank, cordage, and canvas. These they secured with great joy for the boat, though as yet they were in want of many implements, without which it was impossible for the carpenter to work. He had just finished a saw, but he had neither hammer nor nails. It happened, however, that one of the seamen, Hendrick Scantz, a Swede, having picked up an old pair of bellows, brought them to his companions, and told them, that he had been by profession a smith, and that with these bellows and a forge, which he hoped they would be able, by his direction, to build, he could furnish the carpenter with all the tools he would want, nails included, as plenty of iron might be obtained by burning the timber which had come on shore from the wreck. This account was received with a transport of joy; the smith immediately applied himself to mend the bellows, and the three follow-

ing days were spent in building a tent and a forge, in bringing together one timber and plank for the carpenter's use, who was also busy in getting ready the few tools he had, that he might begin the boat as soon as possible.

Thursday, July 24, the carpenter, assisted by Chesholm the quarter-master, began to work upon the keel of the boat, which they had determined should be a sloop, thirty feet long, and twelve wide. This day also the smith finished his forge, and laid in a quantity of *ir* for fuel. From this time the carpenter and smith continued to work with indefatigable diligence, except when they were prevented by the weather; the smith having fortunately found the ring and nut of a bower anchor, which served him for an anvil, supplied chisels, axes, hammers, nails, as they wanted, and the carpenter used them with great dexterity and dispatch, till the 31st, when he fell sick.

As the lives of the whole company depended upon the carpenter, they watched his recovery with the utmost impatience and anxiety, and, to their unspeakable joy, he was so far recovered on the 2d of August, as to return to his work.

In the mean time the stores which they had saved from the wreck were so near exhausted, that they came to an allowance of two ounces of bread a man per day, and had no salt pork, except what they were determined to keep to victual the boat; water also fell short. In this distress they had recourse to several expedients; they dug a well, in hopes to find a spring; but were disappointed; they attempted to knock down some of the gannets that settled on the top of the rock, and in this they had some success;

but they found the flesh very rank, of a fishy taste, and as black as a shoe. They also made a raft or float, called a catamaran, on which they purposed to go out a fishing, with such hooks and lines as had come ashore. They killed also some seals, but all those who eat of them were sick.

When they were driven to great distress, they killed a hog, but they had generally success in fishing on a float, and they sometimes sent out two at a time. It happened, however, that Mr. Collet the second mate, and Mr. Yetts the midshipman, were very near being driven out to sea on one of these floats, where they would inevitably have perished.—On the 20th of August they had been fishing all the afternoon, till about four o'clock, when they weighed, and endeavoured to come in again, but the wind suddenly freshening up to the westward, they found, that instead of gaining a-head, they drove out very fast. The people on shore perceived their distress, but knew not how to assist them; at last, however, they sent out another float, with killicks and ropes, which they hoped would enable them to ride till the wind became more moderate; but the surf was so great, that it overset three times, and the men were obliged to swim back. In the mean time, they saw their friends driving out to sea at a great rate, and were just giving them up to inevitable destruction, when the carpenter sent them word, that he would make the little boat so tight, that she should not take in water, faster than one man could lave it out. This gave them fresh hope, and every one was ready to venture out for the deliverance of

their friends. The carpenter dispatched the boat in a quarter of an hour, and the soon overtook the float, and took Collet and Yetts on board. They soon found, however, that the water gained very fast upon them, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, and when she came in, she was so full of water, that in a few minutes she must have sunk.

As they were now afraid of venturing any more on the raft, the carpenter went again to work on the little boat, and put her into compleat repair. Their success in fishing was very uncertain; sometimes they took great quantities, and sometimes they took none. Nor were the supplies they gained on shore less precarious; the gannets would sometimes settle in amazing numbers like a cloud, and sometimes they would totally disappear for several days together. This made them very desirous of finding some way to preserve the food they caught from putrefaction, that they might lay by the surplus of a fortunate day, to serve them when neither gannets nor fish were to be caught. They made several attempts to cure both their fish and their fowl by smoaking it, but without success. They then attempted to make salt, but this had like to have been fatal to them all. The smith had mended a copper vessel for the experiment, and they immediately began to work, without knowing that their process in salt-making would dissolve the surface of the copper, into verdigrease, and that this solution or rust of copper was poison. Salt, however, was procured, but the quality that made it poisonous happened to abound in such a degree, as to make it intolerably offensive

fenfible to the taste; it was therefore thrown away, but those who had ventured to palate it, were seized with violent cholics, cold sweats, and retchings, which sufficiently convinced them of the danger they had escaped.

Wednesday, Sept. 3. They had now been inhabitants of this desolate rock ever since the 17th of July, near seven weeks, and during this time they had often seen a great smoke on the main land, which made them very desirous to send the boat, to try what assistance might be obtained from thence. On this day, therefore, Bothwell, Rosenbury, and Taylor, set out on the discovery, and at night the people on shore made a large fire on the highest part of the rock, as a signal to them.

While they were waiting the return of the boat, they were all thrown into the utmost consternation by an accident which happened to the carpenter, who unfortunately cut his leg with an adze, in such a manner that he was in great danger of bleeding to death, they having no surgeon among them, nor any thing proper to apply to the wound. At length, however, tho' with much difficulty, the blood was stanch'd, and the wound healed without any bad symptom intervening.

Saturday, Sept. 6. The weather having been fair for 48 hours, they impatiently expected the return of the boat. At noon they became very uneasy at having seen nothing of her; but just as they were sitting down to dinner, they were agreeably surpris'd by two of their people, who came running over the rock, crying out, *the boat! the boat!* They all started

up, overjoyed at the sound, and ran to see her come in, with great hopes that she had succeeded; but they soon distinguish'd, that she was rowed only by one man, who plied both oars: they concluded, therefore, that the other two were lost or detained; but presently they saw another get up from the bottom of the boat, where it was supposed he had lain down for a short refreshment, and then the boat came forward somewhat faster, though still at a slow rate. The dinner was now entirely forgot, and after they had waited an hour on the beach with the utmost impatience, the boat came in. The two men were Rosenbury and Taylor, who, the moment they slept on shore, threw themselves on their knees, and in short but earnest ejaculations returned thanks to God for having once more set them safe upon this place, which, barren and desolate as it was, they now considered as an asylum from a situation of much greater distress. Having exerted their utmost effort to bring the boat in, their strength forsook them at once, and they were not able to rise from the ground without assistance.

As soon as they were got over to the tent, every body was busy to procure them some refreshment, for they found that the boat was quite empty both of provisions and water. They dress'd them some fish, with as much haste as they could; and perceiving that they were quite exhausted with watching and labour, they left them when they had eaten their meal, without asking any questions, and they immediately fell asleep. The behaviour of these honest sailors to their mess-mates, was

an uncommon instance of hearty kindness, and generous self-denial; the impatience of their curiosity must have been both increased and justified in proportion as they were interested in the account that was to gratify it; yet even this curiosity, in which life itself was concerned, they had the kindness and the fortitude to repress, rather than delay the refreshment of others for its gratification.

The account which was given by the two adventurers when they awoke, was to this effect:

About three o'clock on the day they set out, they got round a point, about six leagues east of the rock*; as they approached, it had the appearance of a double point, which encouraged them to hope, that between the two points they should find an harbour; but in this hope they were disappointed, for they found a large surf all along the coast. However, about five o'clock, having seen only one of the natives, they ventured to pull in for the shore, but the moment they got into the surf, the boat over-set. By this accident poor Bothwell was drowned, and the other two, who reached the shore in an exhausted and feeble condition, were left destitute of every kind of provision, except a small keg of brandy. As soon as they had a little recovered their strength, they crawled along the shore to seek for the boat, having no other hope of shelter from the wild beasts, which might be expected to come abroad in the night. After some search they found her, but they were

too weak to get her up, and darkness coming on, they were obliged to lie down upon the sand, with no other covering than the branches of a tree, and in this condition they passed the night. As soon as the morning dawned, they went again to look for the boat, which the surf had driven from where they left her. As they walked along the coast they saw a man, and advanced towards him, upon which he ran away into the woods, that lay near the beach, and were very thick. They went on, and soon after discovered the body of their companion Bothwell, which had been dragged up the sand a considerable distance from the water, and torn to pieces by some wild beast. This terrified them exceedingly, and having found the boat, the dread of passing another night on shore determined them immediately to return. They were, however, prevented in the attempt by a fresh gale at west, and before they could put back, the boat over-set with them a second time, and drove with them along the shore. After much struggling and swimming, they got once more safe on the land: but as they had now been fasting ever since three o'clock the day before, they were fainting with hunger and fatigue. It happened, however, that they met with a fruit resembling an apple, which they eagerly gathered and eat, without knowing either its name or its quality. By good fortune it did them no harm; and being somewhat refreshed by their antedilu-

* It does not appear by any map, that in lat. 33. 40. 250 leagues east of the Cape, the supposed situation of their rock, they could be within six leagues of any part of the main land; they must therefore be all mistaken in their reckoning.

vian repast, they made shift to haul the boat on shore, and turning it upside down, they crept under it to sleep, being thus very well sheltered from the sun, and secured against the wild beasts. Those who know the irresistible power of sleep, after long watching and excessive labour, will not conclude that their first slumber was short, because their situation was incommodious or insecure; they waked, however, before the next morning, and peeping under the edge of the boat, they could discern the feet of several creatures, which by their claws they supposed to be tygers, pass by them to and again. This was a sufficient motive to remain in their resting-place till the morning, when they looked out again, and saw the feet of a man. Upon this discovery they came from under the boat, to the great astonishment of the poor savage, and two other men and a boy, who were at some distance. When they had got all together, and were a little recovered from their surprise, they made signs to the sailors to go away, which they endeavoured to do, though they were able to move but very slowly. Before they had gone far from the boat, a considerable number of the natives ran down upon them with their lances. It happened that Rosenbury had picked up the mast of the boat and a pistol which had been washed on shore, as he went along; being thus armed, when the Indians came down upon him, and being besides unable to run, he imprudently turned about, and exerting all his strength, advanced towards them in a threatening manner, supposing they would have been seized with a panic and retreated

into the woods. It happened, however, that he was mistaken; for instead of running away they surrounded him, and began to whet their lances. Taylor thought it was now time to try what could be done by supplication; he therefore threw himself on his knees, and in a piteous tone cried out for mercy; but Rosenbury took refuge in the water. The savages immediately came up to Taylor, and began to strip him; he suffered them quietly to take his shoes and his shirt, but when they attacked his trowsers he made some resistance, and by his gestures, intreated they would not leave him quite naked, upon which they thought fit to desist. They then made signs for Rosenbury to come to them, who was all this while swimming about in the sea; but he refused, and made signs that they would kill him. They then pointed to Taylor, intimating that they had not killed him: upon this he came forward, and having first thrown them his pistol, and all his cloaths but his shirt, he ventured to put himself in their hands. When he came up they offered him no violence, only held the boat's mast and the pistol to him, by way of deriding the folly of his attempt to frighten them. They seemed to be very much pleased with the cloaths, which they divided among them as far as they would go. Then they began to rattle the boat, and having taken all the rope they could find, and the hook by which the rudder hung to the stern-post, they began to knock the stern to pieces, for the iron which they saw about it. Next to knocking the poor wretches on the head, this was the worst thing they could do, and, rough as they were, they burst into

tears at the injury that was offered to their boat, and intreated the savages to desist, with such agony of distress that they suffered the boat to remain as they found it. Encouraged by this appearance of placability and kindness, and urged by hunger, they asked by signs, for something to eat; this request was also granted, and having given them some roots, they again made signs for them to depart; upon which they once more launched their boat, and got into it, but the wind blowing strong from the west, they could not put off. The natives perceiving that they were willing to comply with their desires, but not able, covered them with the boat to sleep under, and left them as they had found them. The next morning, the weather being fine, and the wind easterly, they launched the boat a third time, and returned back to the rock.

From this time till Sunday the 29th of September, the carpenter and smith continued to work upon the boat, and the people were busy in getting in from time to time what was thrown up from the wreck, particularly cordage and canvas, to rig the boat, and some casks of fresh water, which they were very solicitous to keep for stores, as their escape in the boat scarce depended less upon fresh water than upon the sails themselves. On this day, after they had been at prayers, a duty which was regularly and publicly performed every Sunday, the officers discovered that the chest of treasure had been broke open, and the greater part of it taken away and concealed. It may perhaps be thought strange, that people, whom danger had made religious, should at the same time be guilty of theft; but, upon

this occasion, it should be remembered, that as soon as the ship is lost, the sailors lose their pay, and the captain his command; every distinction and subordination that subsisted on ship-board is at an end; and whatever is cast on shore from the wreck is, by the sailors, considered as common property. The men therefore, who thought fit secretly to take what they deemed their share of this treasure, were not, in their own opinion, guilty of dishonesty, but intended only to secure what they feared the officers would monopolize, and by this means prevent disputes, which, in their circumstances, might produce fatal effects. The officers, however, when they discovered what had been done, and found that nobody would own they knew any thing about it, proposed to write the form of an oath, and administer it separately to every individual, the officers to take it first. But to this the majority immediately objected; for though they might not suppose they had committed a crime by taking the treasure, they knew it would be not only immoral, but impious, to swear they had not taken it. As the minority were not in a condition to support their motion, the affair was suffered to rest, without further enquiry or remonstrance.

On the 6th of October they found a fowling-piece; this was a joyful acquisition, and though the barrel was much bent, it was soon made serviceable by the carpenter, and used with great success in shooting the birds, which before they had no way of taking but by knocking them down with a stick.

On Friday, October 11, they perceived the gannets, which had of late forsaken them, to hover again about the rock in great numbers, and were in hopes they would settle to lay their eggs, in which, to their great joy, they were not disappointed: for after this time they were constantly supplied with eggs in great plenty, till the beginning of January, when the season of laying was past.

On Sunday, October 20, Mr. Collet, Mr. Webb, and two others, ventured out once more on the float, but the wind springing up very fresh, the float broke loose, and drove them to the other side of the rocks. The wind still rising and the sea running very high, it was impossible for the boat to put out; they were therefore obliged to remain all night among the seals on the rocks, without any shelter or refreshment. But in this situation, however dreadful, they received great comfort, from reflecting how much more dreadful it would have been, if instead of being driven to the rocks, their float had been carried out to sea. It was noon the next day before the wind abated, and then the boat ventured off; but as the waves still ran high, it could bring in no more than two at a time, leaving the float behind them. They had now some rainy weather, which proved very acceptable, as they contrived to save some of the water for sea-stores; but they were still in great want of bread, having lived many days on short allowance. As a last resource, they thought of building an oven, for they had some barrels of flour, though they had no bread: in this attempt they succeeded, beyond their expect-

tations, and were able to convert their flour into a tolerable biscuit.

This biscuit, however, was at length so near exhausted, that they were obliged to live upon a few ounces a day, without brandy, of which only a small quantity remained, and this they preserved inviolable for the use of the carpenter. They were also so short of water, that of this they were allowed but half a pint a day.

In this condition, however, they happily in a great degree preserved their health and vigour, and on the 16th of February they launched their boat, and called her the *Happy Deliverance*. On the 17th they got their little pittance of stores on board, and on the 18th they set sail from the rock, on which they had lived just seven months, and to which at parting they gave the name of *Bird Island*.

A wonderful and affecting account of the preservation of three persons buried about five weeks in snow sixty feet deep; by Dr. Joseph Bruni, professor of philosophy at Turin. From the Philosophical Transactions.

A Small cluster of houses at a place called Bergemoletto near Demonte in the upper valley of Stura, was on the 19th of March 1755, entirely overwhelmed by two vast bodies of snow that tumbled down from a neighbouring mountain. All the inhabitants were then within doors, except one Joseph Rochia and his son, a lad of 15, who were on the roof of their house clearing away the snow which had fallen for three days incessantly. A priest going by

by to mafs, advised them to come down, having juft before observed a body of fnow tumbling from the mountain towards them. The man defcended with great precipitation, and fled with his fon, he knew not whither; but fcarce had he gone 30 or 40 fteps, before his fon, who followed him, fell down: on which looking back, he faw his own and his neighbours houfes, in which were 22 perfons in all, covered with a high mountain of fnow. He lifted up his fon, and reflecting that his wife, his fiftter, two children and all his effects were thus buried, he fainted away; but foon reviving got fafe to a friend's houfe at fome diftance.

Five days after, Jofeph being perfectly recovered, got upon the fnow, with his fon, and two of his wife's brothers, to try if he could find the exact place where his houfe flood; but after many openings made in the fnow they could not difcover it. The month of April proving hot, and the fnow beginning to foften, he again ufed his utmoft endeavours to recover his effects, and to bury, as he thought, the remains of his family. He made new openings and threw in earth, to melt the fnow, which on the 24th of April was greatly diminished. He broke through ice fix Englifh feet thick, with iron bars, thruft down a long pole, and touched the ground, but evening coming on, he defifted.

His wife's brother, who lived at Demonte, dreamed that night, that his fiftter was ftill alive, and begged him to help her; the man, affected by his dream, rofe early in the morning and went to Bergemoletto, where Jofeph was; and after refting himfelf a

little, went with him to work upon the fnow, where they made another opening, which led them to the houfe they fearchd for: but finding no dead bodies in its ruins, they fought for the ftable, which was about 240 Englifh feet diftant, which having found, they heard a cry of, *Help, my dear brother.* Being greatly furprifed as well as encouraged by thefe words, they laboured with ail diligence till they had made a large opening, through which the brother who had the dream immediately went down, where the fiftter with an agonizing and feeble voice told him, *I have always trusted in God and you, that you would not forfake me.* The other brother and the husband then went down, and found ftill alive the wife about 45, the fiftter about 35, and a daughter about thirteen years old. Thefe they raifed on their foulders to men above, who pulled them up as if from the grave, and carried them to a neighbouring houfe: they were unable to walk, and fo wafted, that they appeared like mere fkeletons. They were immediately put to bed, and gruel of rye-flour and a little butter was given to recover them. Some days after the intendant came to fee them, and found the wife ftill unable to rife from bed or ufe her feet, from the intenfè cold fhe had endured, and the uneafy pofture fhe had been in. The fiftter, whofe legs had been bathed with hot wine, could walk with fome difficulty; and the daughter needed no further remedies.

On the intendant's interrogating the women, they told him, that on the morning of the 19th of March they were in the ftable
with

with a boy of six years old, and a girl of about thirteen: in the same stable were six goats, one of which having brought forth two dead kids the night before, they went to carry her a small vessel of rye-flour gruel; there were also an afs and five or six fowls. They were sheltering themselves in a warm corner of the stable till the church bell should ring, intending to attend the service. The wife related, that wanting to go out of the stable to kindle a fire in the house for her husband, who was clearing away the snow from the top of it, she perceived a mass of snow breaking down towards the east, upon which she went back into the stable, shut the door, and told her sister of it. In less than three minutes they heard the roof break over their heads, and also part of the ceiling. The sister advised to get into the rack and manger, which they did. The afs was tied to the manger, but got loose by kicking and struggling, and threw down the little vessel, which they found, and afterwards used to hold the melted snow, which served them for drink.

Very fortunately the manger was under the main prop of the stable, and so resisted the weight of the snow. Their first care was to know what they had to eat. The sister said she had fifteen chestnuts in her pocket; the children said they had breakfasted, and should want no more that day. They remembered there were thirty-six or forty cakes in a place near the stable, and endeavoured to get at them, but were not able for the snow. They called often for help, but were heard by none. The sister gave two chestnuts to the wife, and eat two herself, and they drank some snow

water. The afs was restless, and the goats kept bleating for some days; after which they heard no more of them. Two of the goats, however, being left alive, and near the manger, they felt them, and found that one of them was big, and would kid, as they recollected, about the middle of April; the other gave milk, wherewith they preserved their lives. During all the time they saw not one ray of light, yet for about 20 days they had some notice of night and day from the crowing of the fowls, till they died.

The second day, being very hungry, they eat all the chestnuts, and drank what milk the goat yielded, being very near two pounds a day at first, but it soon decreased. The third day they attempted again, but in vain, to get at the cakes; so resolved to take all possible care to feed the goats; but just above the manger was a hay-loft, whence through a hole the sister pulled down hay into the rack, and gave it to the goats as long as she could reach it, and then, when it was beyond her reach the goats climbed upon her shoulders, and reached it themselves.

On the sixth day the boy sickened, and six days after desired his mother, who all this time had held him in her lap, to lay him at his length in the manger. She did so, and taking him by the hand, felt it was very cold; she then put her hand to his mouth, and finding that cold likewise, she gave him a little milk: the boy then cried, *O my father is in the snow! O father, father!* and then expired.

In the mean while the goats milk diminished daily, and the fowls

fowls soon after dying they could no longer distinguish night from day; but according to their reckoning the time was near when the other goat should kid, which at length they knew was come, by its cries: the sister held it, and they killed the kid, to save the milk for their own subsistence: so they found that the middle of April was come. Whenever they called this goat, it would come and lick their faces and hands, and gave them every day two pounds of milk, on which account they still bear the poor creature a great affection.

They said, that during all this time, hunger gave them but little uneasiness, except for the first five or six days; and their greatest pain was from the extreme coldness of the melted snow water, which fell on them, from the stench of the dead ass, goats, fowls, &c. and from lice; but more than all from the very uneasy posture they were confined to, the manger in which they sat squatting against the wall, being no more than three feet four inches broad.

After the first two or three days they had no evacuation by stool. The melted snow water and milk were discharged by urine. The mother said she had never slept, but the sister and daughter declared they had slept as usual.

*Attested before the intendant by the
said women the 16th of May,
1755.*

*Extract of a letter from Portsmouth,
Feb. 13, 1758.*

Yesterday arrived here, with a messenger bringing to the

admiralty, in the greatest haste, a person who was immediately introduced, by orders from above, to Admiral Boscawen. The following particulars concerning him have transpired. He was some time since master of an English vessel, trading from port to port in North America, particularly up the river St. Laurence; but being taken by the enemy, has been prisoner with General Montcalm and others near three years, who would not admit of any exchange for him, on account of his extensive knowledge of all the coast, more particularly the strength and foundings of Quebec and Louisbourg. They therefore came to a resolution to send him to Old France, in the next packet-boat, there to be confined till the end of the war. He was accordingly embarked, (the only Englishman) and the packet put on board. In their voyage he was admitted to the cabin, where he took notice one day, that they bundled up the packet, and put it into a canvas bag, having previously made it ready to be thrown over-board, upon any danger of being taken.

They were constrained to put into Vigo for some provisions, as also to gain some intelligence of the strength of the English in those seas; there they found one or more English men of war at anchor. The prisoner thought this a proper opportunity of putting the following scheme in execution. One night taking the opportunity of all but the watch being in a sound sleep, he took the packet out of the bag; and having fixed it in his mouth, he silently let himself down into the bay; and to prevent noise by swimming, floated upon his back into the wake

wake of the English man of war, where he secured himself by the hawser, and upon calling out for assistance, was immediately taken on board with the packet. The captain examined him, treated him with great humanity, gave him a suit of his own clothes, scarlet trimmed with black velvet, which he appeared in, transcribed the packet, which is said to be of the utmost importance in regard to our success in North America, and then sent him post over land with the copy of the packet to Lisbon, from whence he was brought to Falmouth in a sloop of war, and immediately set out post for London. Upon his arrival in town, he was examined by proper persons in the administration, and rewarded with a present supply; and by his own desire, was immediately sent to Portsmouth, to go out on board Admiral Boscawen's own ship, upon the present expedition to North America.

A faithful narrative of the dangers, sufferings, and deliverances of Robert Eastburn, and his captivity among the Indians in North America.

RObert Eastburn, with about thirty other traders, set out from Philadelphia for Oswego, early in the spring of the year 1756, and on the 28th of March, arrived at Captain Williams's fort, where they proposed to take up their lodging for that night; but Captain Williams informing them that there was not convenient room for them, they passed the night in a building called the Indian house, at a small distance from the fort.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the next day, Eastburn being still at the Indian house where he had lodged, was alarmed by a negro man, who came running down the road, crying out that several of the English had been taken by the enemy, who were coming forward. Eastburn not thinking himself safe at the Indian house, joined a small detachment, consisting of a serjeant and twelve men, whom Capt. Williams had dispatched to see if the report of the negro was true, and having marched with them about a quarter of a mile, he heard the report of a musquet, which was instantly followed by the cries of a dying man. As soon as his first surprise was over, he advanced to discover the enemy, and soon perceived they were too well prepared for the reception of his party. In these circumstances of imminent danger, he placed himself behind a large pine-tree, which he saw at a small distance, and while the enemy were viewing his party, he discharged his piece among them, by which he wounded one and killed another; at the same time his party fired, but finding it impossible to make a stand against such a superiority of numbers, they retreated as soon as they had made their fire, and Eastburn's situation behind the tree being such as made it impossible for him to join them, he was compelled to retreat a different way.

Some of the Indians seeing him go off, followed his track in a light snow, but it is probable he might yet have escaped, if he had not unfortunately fallen into a deep bog, where he was soon discovered and surrounded.

He

He was taken out and dragged back to the main body, where he was instantly stripped of all his clothes, except a flannel waistcoat without sleeves; a rope was then put round his neck, his arms were pinioned behind him, a band was fastened round his body, and a heavy load placed on his back; in this condition one of the savages struck him a severe blow on his head, and then drove him through the woods before them.

He was soon after joined by 18 unhappy wretches, who had likewise been made prisoners by this party, which consisted of about 100 men: they did not pursue their route towards Capt. Williams's fort, because Eastburn, being asked by them concerning its strength, gave them such an answer as discouraged them from attempting it. They determined, however, to destroy another fort called Bull's fort, situated at the head of Wood's creek, which they soon effected, and, except five persons, put every soul they found in it to the sword.

After this exploit they retired to the woods and joined their main body, which consisted of 400 French and 300 Indians, commanded by one of the principal gentlemen of Quebec; as soon as they got together they threw themselves on their knees, and returned thanks to God for their victory; an example, says Eastburn, well worthy of imitation.

They continued their march thro' the woods about four miles, and then it being dark, and several of the Indians being drunk, they encamped.

The Indians, according to their custom, soon made a fire, and strewed round it some branches of

green hemlock to sit upon; they then went up to Eastburn, and untied his arms, after which they tied the two ends of a string that was fastened to the band which went round his middle to two trees; two of them then sat down on the green boughs, one on each side of him, with the string that was fastened to his band under them, to prevent his escape, and having covered him with an old blanket they went to sleep.

They encamped, and rested much in the same manner the night following; and the next morning, Sunday the 28th, they rose very early and retreated hastily towards Canada, for fear of General Johnson, who, as they were informed, was on his march against them.

Eastburn having on this occasion been sent for by the commanding officer, and asked many questions, the officer at length discovered that he was a smith, a circumstance which probably induced his enemies to spare his life, in hopes that he might be useful to them, and he was advised to settle in Canada and send for his wife, with promises of great advantages; which however he refused. In his march he suffered incredible fatigue and hardship, travelling almost naked through deep snow, and being frequently obliged to wade through rivers, the water of which wanted but little of being as cold as ice. Under these severities he fell sick, and had the mortification to see one of his friends, who was in the same circumstances, killed and scalped by the Indians, because he was no longer able to keep pace with them: to him, however, they were more merciful, for perceiving that he could not swallow their coarse food,

food, they boiled him some chocolate, and seemed pleased when they perceived that he eat it.

But there were other circumstances, besides cold, and nakedness, and sickness, and fatigue, which made this march still more dreadful to poor Eastburn. He was appointed to march behind an Indian, who had a large bunch of green scalps hanging at his back, which was increased as often as some straggling wretch was overtaken, whose scalp was immediately added to the rest. This object being perpetually before his eyes, while his ears were frequently wounded with the infernal yell which they called the dead shout, and which they never fail to utter when a victim falls into their hands, filled him at once with grief and horror, and aggravated the sufferings of his body by such anguish of mind as those only can conceive who have felt.

After a march of seven days they arrived at Lake Ontario, where they were met by some French batteaus with a large supply of provisions, of which they had been in so much want that they had subsisted during some part of their march upon horse flesh, and had even devoured a porcupine without any other dressing than sufficed just to scorch off the hair and quills.

Eastburn, after a tedious voyage with part of this company, arrived at Oswegotchy, an Indian town, where he hoped to continue till warm weather, but to his inexpressible disappointment, he was ordered the next day to proceed 200 miles farther down the stream.

To aggravate this misfortune, he

was appointed to go in a batteau with eight Indians, one of whom was the very man he had wounded, when he fired from behind the pine the day he was taken. He contrived to escape the notice of this man by wrapping himself up in the old blanket that had been given him to sleep under while they were in the boat, but when they went on shore he was discovered. The Indian cast his eyes upon him with a kind of malignant joy, and immediately taking away his blanket ordered him to dance round the fire barefoot, and sing the prisoners song. With this order Eastburn absolutely refused to comply, because, as he says, he thought the compliance sinful; this so enraged the Indian, that he endeavoured many times to push him alive into the fire, which he avoided by jumping over it; and his enemy being weak with his wound, and not being seconded by his associates, at length desisted from his attempts; and after a painful journey, sometimes on the water, and sometimes on the snow, they came at length to the upper part of Canada. Here it was Eastburn's hard fortune to be quartered at a Frenchman's house, where his old enemy, the wounded Indian, again appeared, and related to the Frenchman the circumstance of his refusing to dance and sing. Upon this the good Frenchman assisted his friend the Indian to strip poor Eastburn of his flannel vest without sleeves, the only garment that was then left him. It was then insisted both by the Frenchman and Indian that he should absolutely dance and sing, and upon his refusal they used him with great cruelty, and would probably have murdered him, if he had not been rescued from his persecutors.

secutors by the compassion of some women, who had been witnesses of his ill treatment.

On the 11th of April they came within sight of the town of Conasadanga, where they were soon surrounded by a large company of Indians, who ordered all the prisoners to dance and sing; many complied, but Eastburn still refused; he could not however avoid a very disagreeable ceremony, which was performed immediately after the dance and song were ended.

The dancing and singing was as usual performed in the middle of a large circle of Indians, at a considerable distance from an Indian house, the door of which was set open; as soon as the song was ended, the circle opened, and the prisoners were to run the gauntlet to this house; while they were running, the Indians continued a most vociferous shout, and beat them so violently upon the head, that many dropped down, but when they had entered the house they were to be beaten no more. Eastburn received several blows in this diabolical race, which he felt long afterwards, but he was notwithstanding one of the first that entered the asylum; he was treated with great kindness by the women, who gave him and his companions boiled corn and beans, and warmed them at a good fire, though still he was without clothes.

After he had continued ten days at this place, he was sent by water with a small party of Indians to another town called Cohnewago, and obliged to leave all his companions behind him. When the party that escorted him came near the town, they shouted to give notice that they had a prisoner, upon which

the whole town came out to meet him; as the batteau in which he was sitting came near the shore, a young Indian rudely hauled him out of it into the water, which was knee deep, and very cold. As soon as he had got on shore he was surrounded by a ring of Indians to the number of 500, who ordered him again to perform the ceremony of the song and dance, which was to be followed by the same race which he had run at his former lodging; he did not, he says, indulge this party by dancing any more than the others, but he acknowledged that he *stamped*, which, as he says, was to prepare him for his race, and after some time the Indians, either mistaking this stamping for dancing, or dispensing with their command, made way for him to run. When he set off, about 150 boys, who had been prepared for that purpose, pelted him with stones and dirt; but he would not have received much damage from this volley, if an Indian, grudging him his good fortune, had not stopped him as he was running, and held him till the boys had armed themselves with more dirt and stones; by this second volley he was wounded in the right eye, and his head and face were so covered with dirt that he could not see his way; he was however again delivered by some women, who took pity on him, washed his wounds, and gave him food.

The next day he was brought to the center of the town, and there delivered to three young Indians to be adopted, and sent 200 miles farther up the stream, to a town called Oswegotchy.

These young men, as soon as they had received him, told him he

he was their brother, and set out with him for the place of their destination.

When he arrived at Oswegotchy he was adopted by an old Indian and his wife, who, because he refused to go to mass, employed him in hard labour, and treated him with great unkindness. As he considered himself to be suffering for conscience sake, he submitted without murmuring, and fulfilled his task, however severe, with such diligence and assiduity, that the resentment of his new parents subsided, and they treated him like their son.

After he had continued some time in this situation, he saw at Montreal some Indians who were in friendship with the English, and had come thither with some complaint to the governor, and he found means by some of these Indians to send a letter to his friends, informing them where he was, and in what situation.

It happened, however, that having been soon after detected in a project to escape, he was removed from this place to Cohnewago, under a strong guard; but at Cohnewago he was in a better situation than before, for he worked at his trade with a French smith, who paid him 6 livres 5 sous per week, and he also obtained leave of the captain of the guard to walk where he would.

After having worked some time at this place, he obtained leave to go to Montreal, where he hoped to get higher wages; and soon after his arrival there, he entered into partnership with an English smith, and continued to work with him till he heard that the French had made themselves masters of

Oswego, and soon after saw the British standards and prisoners brought into the town.

Eastburn looked upon these trophies of his enemies with a heavy heart, and as he was musing on the misfortunes of himself and his countrymen, he discovered among the prisoners his own son, a lad about 17 years of age; the son at the same time fixed his eyes on his father, and the emotions of both were such as can better be conceived than described, especially as it was impossible for them at that time to come near enough to speak to each other, and in some degree uncertain whether they should ever meet again.

Eastburn, however, soon after had the good fortune to obtain his son's liberty. The officers belonging to Oswego would fain have had them both with them, for they were to be sent to Philadelphia; but this was not permitted to the father, because he was an Indian prisoner, and the son refused to be released without him. From these gentlemen, however, he received many acts of kindness, some giving him money, and others clothes, which were yet more welcome.

Eastburn having continued with his son among the French, and the French Indians, till the 22d of July, 1757, was then released on a cartel, and arrived at Philadelphia after many hardships and delays for want of money, on the 26th of November following, where he was relieved with great liberality by those to whom his merit and his sufferings were known; for, though he was poor, he was a man of good repute, and much respected by his superiors, particularly the reverend Mr. Tennant, who has written a

recommendatory preface to the narrative of his sufferings, from which this account is extracted, and which was published at Philadelphia for the benefit of himself and his family, who were in his absence reduced to the most pitiable distress.

As the burning of the Prince George man of war, Admiral Broderick's own ship, the fate of some part of the crew, and the extraordinary escape of some particulars, are most affecting events; we have given them in what appears to us the most affecting manner; in the words of those who had themselves a part in that terrible calamity.

From the Reverend Mr. Sharp, Chaplain.

Glasgow, off Lisbon, April 20.

ON Thursday the 13th inst. at half an hour past one in the afternoon, word was passed into the ward room, by the centry, that the fore part of our ship, the Prince George, was on fire. The lieutenants ran immediately forward, and myself with many others, went directly on the quarter-deck, when we found the whole ship's crew was alarmed. The pumps were handed out, engines and buckets carried forward, and every immediate remedy applied. The admiral, with the lieutenants on watch, kept the quarter deck, from whence he sent such orders as he thought most expedient for the preservation of the ship, and the souls in her. Captain Payton, and the lieutenants, on search, found that the fire broke out first in the boatswain's store-room, to which place

large quantities of water were applied, but in vain; for the smoke was so very great and hot, that the poor creatures could not get near enough to the flames for their labour to have any effect. On which Captain Payton ordered scuttles to be made, that the water might be poured in by that means; but there he was defeated likewise, for only two carpenters could be found, and they had nothing to work with for a long time but a hammer and chissel each. The lower-gun deck ports were then opened, but the water that flowed in was not sufficient to stop the violence of the flames. He ordered likewise the powder room to be wetted, lest the ship should immediately be blown up, and every soul perish in an instant. This had the desired effect, and for some minutes we had glimmering hopes. I mention the above particulars, as I was below myself, worked with the men as long as I could stand it, went up for air, and returned again instantly, and consequently an eye witness, therefore declare them as facts. The fire soon increased, and raged violently aft on the larboard side; and as the destruction of the ship was now found inevitable, the preservation of the admiral was first consulted. Captain Payton came on the quarter deck, and ordered the barge to be manned, into which the admiral entered with near forty more; for now there was no distinction, every man's life was equally precious. The admiral, finding the barge would overfet, stripped himself naked, and committed himself to the mercy of the waves, and after toiling an hour he was at length taken up by a merchantman's boat. Captain Payton kept the quarter-deck

an hour after the admiral left it, when he happily got into a boat from the stern-ladder, and was put safe on board the Alderney sloop. I must be deficient even to attempt a description of the melancholy scene that was before me; shriekings, cries, lamentations, bemoanings, raving, despair, and even madnets itself presented themselves. It was now high time to think of taking care of myself. I looked from every part of the ship for my preservation, and soon saw three boats off the stern of the ship. I went immediately to my cabin, and offered up my prayers to God, particularly thanking him for giving me such resolution and composure of mind. I then jumped into the sea from one of the gun-room ports, and swam to a boat, which put me safe on board the Alderney sloop. There are near 300 people saved, and more might have been saved, had the merchantmen behaved like human creatures; but they kept a long way to windward the whole time; and if possible, to their greater shame be it spoken, instead of saving the men that swam to their boats, they were employed in taking up geese, fowls, tables, chairs, and whatever else of the kind came near them.

From Mr. Parry, an officer, dated as above.

ABOUT half past one at noon, being in the office adjoining to the cabin, I saw the admiral run out, with two or three officers; on enquiring the cause, I was alarmed with the ship's being on fire forwards, and it was believed in the boatswain's fore store-room; every method was taken to extin-

guish it, but the smoke was so violent, no person could get near enough to find where the fire was. About half past two we made the signal of distress; but to render our situation more wretched, the fog came on very thick, and the wind freshed, and it was near four before the Glasgow and Alderney got intelligence of our condition; when they repeated the signal, hoisted out their boats, and stood towards us; but they not knowing we had taken care to float our powder, were under sad apprehensions we might blow up, and therefore could not (consistent with their own safety) give us the assistance our deplorable condition rendered us so much in need of. We attempted to scuttle the decks to let the water on the fire, but the people could not stand a minute without being near suffocated. About half past four the smoke increased, and the flames began to break out; the admiral then ordered the boats to be hoisted out, got the barge out, and went off, promising to bring a ship along-side of us. I observed her so full, her gunwale was almost with the water, and, in a few minutes after, saw her sink at some distance a-stern, and not above three or four were saved out of near forty, among whom it pleased God to preserve the admiral. The weather was now become clear, but none of the merchantmen would come near us. Our officers behaved well, and endeavoured to keep the people to the pumps and drawing water, but they now were become quite ungovernable. About a quarter before five Captain Payton left the ship, and promised as the admiral; but was not able to accomplish it. About five the long-

boat was endeavoured to be got out, in which were near a hundred people; but as they were hoisting her out, one of the tackles gave way, by which she overset, and almost every soul perished. We were now reduced to the greatest distress. You may have some idea of our miserable condition, when I tell you the ship began to be in flames fore and aft, spreading like flax; people distracted, not knowing what they did, and jumping overboard from all parts. I was reduced to the melancholy choice of either burning with the ship, or going overboard. Very few that could swim were taken up, and I that could not swim must have little hopes indeed. About a quarter past five, I went into the admiral's stern-gallery, where two young gentlemen were lashing two tables together for a raft; I assisted them, and one of them proposed to make fast the lashing to the gallery, and lower ourselves down to the tables, then cut the lashing, and commit ourselves to the mercy of Providence; we hoisted over the tables, but being badly lashed, one of them we lost; as soon as the other was down, I proposed to venture first, which they readily consented to; there were now three boats a-stern, this was the time or never, down I went by the rope; but as there was a great swell of sea, it was impossible for any one to follow me, and I was turned adrift. By the cries of the people from the ship to the boats, in about

five minutes I was taken up, very near drowned*.

From a Midshipman, dated as above.

ON Thursday the 13th, about half an hour past one in the afternoon, we were alarmed with fire in the boatswain's fore store-room, which put us all into great disorder; and it being a very thick fog, we could not see one ship in the fleet. We kept firing guns of distress, and no ship appearing in sight for an hour, we were all in the greatest consternation; but the fog then dispelling, the Glasgow hailed us, to whom we told our condition, and earnestly begged of them to save our lives.

The fire still increasing, we were obliged to hoist out our boats, which from the confusion were near three hours fixing to the tackles, &c. every body being engaged in preparing to save himself. The poop, stern, and quarter galleries, were lined with men and boys, crying out in a most moving manner to be assisted. During this time, out of twenty-three sail of ships, we had but three boats to our assistance, and those would not come near the ship for fear of being sunk, the poor fellows continually jumping overboard; great numbers of whom were drowned in our sight.

We got our boats out, which never returned after going once. By this time the fire had communicated itself to the middle gun-deck, and

* 715 complement.
30 passengers to Gibraltar.

745

260 saved.
485 lost.

745

nobody

nobody could go down below, every one expecting his death every minute, either by fire or water, and were taking leave of each other. Soon after going out of the admiral's cabin, I saw the flames coming out of the hatchway of the upper gun-deck; I returned immediately, and took my leave of the petty officers that were there, and went over the starboard stern ladder, to save myself by swimming, and, thanks to the Almighty God! reached a boat, and was taken up.

I had just got clear of the ship, when the flames became general, and those poor unhappy wretches that could not swim, were obliged to remain upon the wreck, with the fire falling down upon them. Shortly after the masts went away, and killed numbers, and those that were not killed by the masts, thought themselves happy to get upon them. But the ship rolling by reason of the great sea, the fire had communicated itself to the guns, which swept them off the deck in great numbers, they being all loaded and shotted.

Such a terrible sight the oldest men in the fleet say they never saw. Thus ended our unhappy ship, after burning about six hours and a half, who had as complete a crew, and was as well manned as any ship that ever sailed from England.

Letter from the master of a merchant-man, under convey of Admiral Broderick.

THURSDAY, April 13th, Ushant bearing East, sixty leagues distance, at noon, I saw Admiral Broderick hoist a signal of distress;

upon which I made what sail I could, and went down on him. At one in the afternoon I could discern the Prince George on fire; at two drew pretty near her, but thought they might have quenched the fire. At three o'clock I saw plainly there was no quenching it. I was within a hundred yards of her stern, but durst not venture along-side, the sea being high; besides the going off of her guns, and danger of blowing up. At four in the afternoon the admiral was taken up swimming by a merchant-ship's boat, as then the ships that had boats were all out, and a good many of them lost. The weather proving bad, towards night I was within pistol-shot, and there remained some time; and picked up four of her crew: and had not two of my men run away with my boat the night before we failed from St. Helen's, I am confident I could have saved sixty or eighty of them at least, as I was all the time nearer to them than any ship in the fleet. What made me venture so near was, that I knew my ship went well, and was under good command. At six, what a dismal sight! the masts and sails all in a blaze; hundreds of souls hanging by the ropes along-side, I could count fifty of them hanging over in the stern-ladder, others in the sea on oars, and pieces of wood; a melancholy spectacle! besides the dismal cries from the ship, which still ring in my ears. Half an hour past six the flames broke out at her broad-side, and in less than five minutes every bit of her was in flames, and so continued till seven, when she overset, but did not sink. I then ran within twenty yards of her,

her, but my people compelled me to go further off, for fear of striking on the wreck. All I can farther say of it, there never was a more shocking sight; pray God that I may never see the like again! It was very grievous to me that I could not save more of her men, without running the risk of sharing her fate. The eighteenth of April the Glasgow, a

twenty gun ship, hoisted the signal for all masters of merchant-ships to come on board, where the admiral had his flag hoisted, to know how many people we had saved amongst us, and to deliver them up. By the then list it appeared, that the Admiral, Capt. Payton, and about two hundred and fifty-three men were saved.

Literary and Miscellaneous Essays.

THIS head of our collection is not of so uniform a nature as the foregoing divisions. But we have endeavoured at as much order in the disposition of the several pieces which compose it, as the diversity of the subjects would admit: The first piece we give is upon the subject of Taste. It is saying enough in its praise, to say it is written by Mons. de Montesquieu, who so happily employed philosophy to illustrate and improve the laws of all the nations of the world. So far as this piece goes, (for it is but a fragment) he employs philosophy with equal happiness to explain and improve the polite arts. As the piece is long, we have in some places abridged it. In some few places it may possibly seem a little obscure. If any blame should, on that account, be laid on the translator, we must not forget that the excellent author himself, through an extreme refinement, was not wholly free from obscurity.

AN ESSAY ON TASTE.

TASTE, in the most general definition of it, without considering whether good or bad, just or not just, is that which attaches us to a thing by sentiment; which does not hinder its being applied to intellectual things, the knowledge of which gives so much pleasure to the soul, that it was the only happiness that certain philosophers could conceive. The soul receives her knowledge through her ideas and through her sentiments; she receives certain pleasures thro' these ideas and these sentiments. For although we oppose idea to sentiment, yet when the soul sees a thing, she feels it; and there is nothing so intellectual, that she does not see, or thinks she sees, and consequently that she does not feel.

Of curiosity.

Our soul is made for thinking; that is to say, for making discoveries. Such a being ought then to have curiosity; for as all things are in a chain, where each idea precedes one, and follows another idea, you cannot leave the sight of one thing without having a desire to see another; and if we had not this desire of seeing more, we should not have had any pleasure in seeing what we do see. Thus when a part of a picture is shewn to us, our desire to see the part which is yet concealed, is in proportion to the pleasure we have had in what was shewn to us.

It is then the pleasure we have in one object that leads us towards another. Hence it is, that the soul always seeks novelty, and is never at rest. Thus will you be sure to delight the soul, when you

make it see many things, or more things than she expected.

From this appears the reason why we are pleased when we see a garden that is very regular; and why we are also pleased when we see a spot that is rough and wild. The same cause produces these effects.

As we love to see a great number of objects, we would enlarge our view, we would be in many places, we would run over more space. In fine, our soul hates to be bound, and she would as it were enlarge the sphere of her presence. Thus it is a great pleasure for her, to extend her view to a distance. But how should she do it? In towns our view is bounded by houses; it is so in the country, by a thousand obstacles: scarcely can we see three or four trees. Art comes to our aid, and discovers nature, who hides herself from us. We love art, and we love it better than nature, that is to say, better than nature when it is hid from our eyes. But when we find fine situations, when our sight at liberty can see at a distance rivers, hills, meadows, and their dispositions, which are, as one may say, erected for the purpose, she is enchanted in quite a different manner, than when she sees the gardens of Le Notre; because nature copies herself: whereas art has always a sameness. It is for this reason that in painting we are better pleased with a landscape, than with the plan of the finest garden in the world.

What commonly makes a great thought, is when a thing is said, that makes us see a great number of other things; and discovers to us all at once, what we could not

have expected to have attained but by long study.

Florus in a few words represents to us all the faults of Hannibal, "While," says he, "he might have made advantage of the victory, he chose rather to enjoy it." *Cum victoria possetati, frui maluit.*

He gives us an idea of the whole war of Macedon, in saying, "To enter it, was to conquer it." *Introisse victoria fuit.*

He gives us an entire view of the life of Scipio, when, speaking of his youth, he says, "This shall be Scipio, who is growing up for the destruction of Africa." *Hic erit Scipio, qui in exitium Africæ crescit.* You imagine before your eyes a child, who is rising up and growing like a giant. Finally he shews us the great character of Hannibal, the condition of the universe, and all the grandeur of the Roman people, when he says, "Hannibal, driven from his country, sought through the universe an enemy to the Roman people." *Qui profugus ex Africa hostem populo Romano toto orbe quærebat.*

Of the pleasure that order gives.

It is not sufficient to shew the soul many things; they must be shewn in order; for then we recollect what we have seen: and we begin to imagine what we shall see. Our soul congratulates herself on her extent, and on her penetration. But in a work where there is no order, the soul, at every turn, perceives that the order she would establish is disturbed. The arrangement that the author has made, and that which we make for ourselves, are confounded with one

one another; the soul retains nothing, foresees nothing; she is humbled by the confusion of her ideas, by the inanity that is left upon her; she is fatigued to no purpose, and can taste no pleasure. For this reason, except when the design is to express or shew confusion, they always put an order even in confusion itself. Thus the painters groupe their figures. Thus those who paint battles, place the thing which the eye is to distinguish, in the front, and throw the confusion in the bottom and deepening of their pictures.

Of the pleasures that variety gives.

But if order is necessary, so also is variety. Without this the soul languishes. For things that are alike, seem to her to be the same. And if one part of a picture was discovered to us, resembling another which we had seen, that object would be new without seeming so, and would give no pleasure: and as the beauties of the works of art, which resemble those of nature, consist only in the pleasures that they raise in us; they must be made, as much as possible, capable of varying these pleasures. The soul must be shewn things she has not seen; she must have sentiments impressed on her different from those she had before.

It is thus that history pleases us from the variety of its accounts; romance, from the variety of its prodigies; theatrical pieces, from the variety of passions that they cause; and 'tis from hence that those who know how to instruct us modify, as much as they can, the uniform tone of instruction.

A long uniformity makes every thing insupportable; the same

order of periods long continued, wearies in an harangue. The same number and the same cadences tires one in a long poem. If it is true, that a long alley is made from Moscow to Petersburg, the traveller must be tired to death, shut up between the two sides of that alley. And he who should live for any time in the Alps, would come down disgusted with the happiest situations, and the most charming prospects.

The soul loves variety; but we have said she loves it only as she is made for knowledge and discovery. She must then see; and variety must not prevent her seeing; that is, a thing must be simple enough to be seen, and have variety enough to be seen with pleasure.

Some things seem to have great variety, and have it not; and some seem uniform, and have great variety.

The Gothic architecture seems to have great variety; but the confusion of its ornaments fatigues by their littleness; which makes it impossible to distinguish any one from the rest; and their number is so great that it is impossible for the eye to rest on any of them. So that it displeases through the very means that were chosen to make it agreeable.

A Gothic building is a kind of ænigma to the eye; and the soul is embarrassed, as when she is presented with an obscure poem.

The Grecian architecture, on the contrary, seems uniform; but as it has the divisions that are necessary, and as many as are necessary to let the soul see clearly so much as she can without fatigue, and yet enough to employ her, she has that variety which makes her look on it with pleasure.

The

The Grecian architecture which has few and great divisions, imitates great things. The soul receives a certain dignity that reigns throughout.

Of the pleasures that symmetry gives.

I have said that the soul loves variety; yet in most things she likes to see a sort of symmetry; this seems a contradiction. I explain it thus.

One of the principal causes of the pleasures of the soul in seeing objects, is the ease with which she discovers them; and the reason why symmetry is so pleasing to the soul, is, that it saves her trouble, that it eases her, and, as one may say, cuts off half the work.

From whence we may draw a general rule.—Wherever symmetry is useful to the soul, and may assist her functions, it is agreeable to her; but wherever it is useless, it becomes distasteful, because it takes away variety. Therefore things that we see in succession ought to have variety; for our soul has no difficulty in seeing them; those on the contrary that we see at one glance, ought to have symmetry. Thus at one glance we see the front of a building, a parterre, a temple; in such things there is always a symmetry, which pleases the soul by the facility it gives her of taking the whole object at once.

As the object that is to be seen at one glance ought to be simple, so it ought to be one, and the parts should all refer to the main object; it is for this too that symmetry is agreeable, it unites all the parts into one whole.

It is in nature that every whole should be finished; and the soul that sees the whole, will not that

any part should be imperfect, and this again makes symmetry so lovely; there must be a sort of equal weight and balance; and a building with one wing, or with one wing shorter than the other, is as far from being finished, as a body with one arm, or with one arm too short.

Of contrasts.

The soul loves symmetry—she loves contrasts also; this requires explanation. For example.—If nature demands that painters and sculptors should preserve a symmetry in the parts of their figures, she requires too on the other hand, that they should make a contrast in their attitudes. One foot set like the other; one member placed just like the other, are insupportable; the reason of which is, that this symmetry makes the attitudes almost always alike, as we see in the Gothic figures, which are by that means all alike. Thus there remains no longer any varieties in the productions of art. Moreover nature has not so formed us; she has given us motion, she has not fixed us in our actions and our manners like Pagods; and if men thus bound up and constrained are insupportable, what must such productions of art be?

The attitudes then must be contrasted, especially in works of sculpture, which from its natural coldness admits of no fire by force of contrast and situation.

But as I have said, that the variety which they have endeavoured to put into the Gothic, has given it an uniformity, so it often happens that the variety which they have endeavoured at by means of the contrast, is become a symmetry and a vicious uniformity.

This

This is perceivable, not only in certain works of sculpture and painting; but also in the style of some writers, who in every phrase contrast the beginning with the end, by a continual antithesis, such as St. Augustine, and other of the later Roman writers; and some moderns, as St. Evremond.

The turn of phrase always the same, and always uniform, is extremely displeasing. This perpetual contrast becomes a symmetry, and that affected opposition becomes uniformity.

The mind finds so little variety there, that when you have seen one part of the phrase, you always guess the other: you see words that are opposed to one another, but opposed in the same manner; you see a turn in the phrase, but it is always the same.

Many painters have fallen into the fault of making contrasts every where, and without art, so that when you see one figure, you guess immediately at the disposition of the one that is near it. This continual diversity became something like it: whereas nature, who throws things into disorder, never shews any affectation of continued contrast; not to say that she does not put all bodies in motion, and in a forced motion too. She is more varied than that; she leaves some at rest, and gives others different sorts of motion.

Of the pleasures of surprise.

That disposition of the soul, which always inclines her to different objects, makes her taste all the pleasures that come from surprise; which is a sensation pleasing to the soul, both from the view itself, and from the quickness of the

action; for she sees or feels a thing that she did not expect, or in a manner she did not expect.

A thing may surprize us, not only as it is marvellous, but also as new, and even as unexpected. And in this last case, the principal sentiment is joined to an accessory sentiment, founded on the thing's being new, or unexpected.

It is from hence that the game of hazard affects us; it lets us see a continual succession of unexpected events.

It is from hence too, that theatrical pieces please us; they shew themselves by degrees, they conceal the events till they happen; always preparing for us new cause of surprize, and often strike us in letting us see them such as we might have foreseen them.

Surprize may be produced by the thing, or by the manner of perceiving it; for we see a thing as greater or smaller than it really is, or different from what it is, or we see the thing itself, but with an accessory idea that surprizes us, such as the difficulty of making it; or the person who made it; or the time when it was made; or the manner in which it was made; or some other circumstance that is joined to it.

Suetonius describes the crimes of Nero with a coldness that surprizes us, in making us almost believe that he does not feel the horror of what he is relating: all at once he changes his style, and says, "The universe having suffered this monster for 14 years, at last gave him up." *Tale monstrum per quatuordecim annos perpassus terra:um orbis, tandem destituit.* This produces in the mind different sorts of surprize; we are surprized at the change of the author's style; at the discovery of his

his different way of thinking ; at his manner of telling in so few words, the event of so great a revolution, so that the mind finds a great number of different sentiments that concur to shake her, and to compose a pleasure for her.

Of the different causes which may produce a sentiment.

It must be remarked, that a sentiment is not commonly produced in our soul by one single cause. It is, if I may venture upon the term, a certain dose, which at once produces strength and variety. Genius consists in striking many organs at once ; and if the several writers are examined, perhaps it will be seen, that the best, and those who have pleased most, are those who have excited in the soul the greatest number of sensations, at one and the same time.

We love play because it satisfies our avarice ; that is to say, our desire of having more : it flatters our vanity by the idea of preference that fortune gives us, and of the attention that others pay to our successes. It satisfies our curiosity, in giving us a spectacle. In short, it gives us the different pleasures of surprize.

Of delicacy.

Delicate people are those who, to every idea, or to every taste, join many accessory ideas, or many accessory tastes. Gross people have but one sensation ; their soul can neither compound nor dissolve ; they neither add any thing to, nor take any thing away from what nature gives ; whereas delicate people, who are in love, by composition form almost all the pleasures that are to be found in love. Polix-

ene and Apicius carry to their tables, tastes that are unknown to us vulgar eaters : and those who judge the works of wit with taste, have and make to themselves an infinity of sensations that other men are strangers to.

The *Je ne scai quoi*, in persons and in things, is often an invincible charm, a natural grace, that cannot be defined, and which we have been forced to call the *Je ne scai quoi*. I take it to be an effect principally founded on surprize ; we are touched by being more pleased with a person than we at first expected to be ; and we are agreeably surprized to find those faults overcome, which our eyes pointed out to us, but which our hearts no longer acknowledge. This is the reason why ugly women are very often possessed of the graces, and that it is but seldom that beautiful women have them. Graces are oftener found in the wit than in the face ; for a fine face is seen at once, and scarce any of it is concealed ; but wit shews itself by little and little, just when it chuses, and just as much as it chuses ; it can conceal itself, and make its appearance give that sort of surprize which constitutes the graces.

The graces are not so much in the features of the face, as in the manners ; for the manners are every instant new, and may every moment create surprize.

Progress of surprize.

What makes the greatest beauty, is when a thing surprizes but moderately at first, but keeps up that surprize, increases it, and at last leads to admiration. The works of Raphael strike but little at first sight ; but an extraordinary expression,

sion, a strong colouring, an uncommon attitude of a worse painter, seizes us at the first glance, because it is what we have not been used to see. Raphael may be compared to Virgil, and the painters of Venice with their forced attitudes to Lucan: Virgil, more natural, strikes less at first, to strike the more forcibly afterwards; Lucan strikes more at first, and affects us less afterwards.

The exact proportion of the famous church of St. Peter, makes it not appear at first so great as it really is; for we do not see immediately where to fix ourselves to judge of its greatness. If it was less in breadth, we should be struck with the length; if it was shorter, we should be struck with its breadth; but as we continue our examination it grows upon the eye, and the astonishment increases. It may be compared to the Pyrenees, where the eye that thinks it sees all at first, discovers mountain behind mountain, and loses itself more and more.

It often happens that our soul feels a pleasure when she has a sentiment that she cannot herself unfold, and that a thing seems to her absolutely different from what it is, which gives her a sentiment of surprise, which she cannot get out of. This is an example of it. It is known that Michael Angelo, seeing the Pantheon, which was the greatest temple at Rome, said he would make one like it, but that he would place it in the air. Upon this model then he made the dome of St. Peter; but he made the pillars so massive, that that dome, which is like a mountain over one's head, appears light to the eye that considers it. The mind at the time remains uncertain, between what she sees, and what she knows, and

remains surprized to see a mass at once so vast, and so light.

Of the beauties which result from a certain embarrassment of the soul.

The soul is often surprized from not being able to reconcile what she now sees, with what she has seen. There is a great lake in Italy called Lago Maggiore. It is a little sea, whose shores shew nothing but what is entirely savage. Fifteen miles within the lake are two isles of a quarter of a mile round, called the Barromes, which, in my opinion, is of all the world the spot the most delightful; the soul is astonished in the romantic contrast, from a pleasing recollection of the wonders of Romana, where having passed by rocks and a dry country, you find yourself in a fairy land. Contrasts always strike us, because the two things always heighten one another.

These sorts of surprizes make the pleasure that is found in all oppositions, in all antitheses, and such like figures. When Florus says, "*Sora & Algidum!*" who would believe it had been formidable to us! Saticula and Corniculum were once provinces. We blush for the Boriliani and Virulani, but we triumphed over them. In short, Tibur our suburb, Preneste where our houses of pleasure are, were once the objects of the vows we made at the Capitol." This author, I say, shews us at once the grandeur of the Romans, and the littleness of their beginnings, and these two things here raise our wonder.

It may be here remarked, how wide the difference is between the antithesis of ideas, and the antithesis of expression. The antithesis of expression is never concealed; that
of

of ideas is. One has always the same dress, the other changes when you please. The one is varied, the other is not.

The same Florus, in speaking of the Samnites, says, "Their towns were destroyed, that it is at this day difficult to find the subject of 'four-and-twenty triumphs.'" *Ut non facile appareat materia quatuor et viginti triumphorum.* And by the same words that mark the destruction of that people, he lets us see the greatness of their courage and their firmness.

One of the things which pleases us most, is the simple, but it is also the most difficult style, because it is precisely between the noble and the mean; and is so near the mean, that it is very difficult to keep always on the brink of it without sometimes falling into it.

The musicians have owned, that the music which is easiest sung is most difficult to compose: a sure proof that our pleasures, and the art which gives them, lie between certain boundaries.

When a thing is shewn us with certain circumstances or accessories which aggrandize it, it appears noble to us. This is more particularly observable in comparisons, where the mind should always gain and never lose; for the comparison should always add something, to shew it in more grandeur; or, if it is not grandeur that is required, more fine or more delicate.

When a thing is to be shewn fine, the soul would rather see a manner compared with a manner; an action with an action; than a thing with a thing; as an hero to a lion, a woman to a star, a nimble man to a stag.

Michael Angelo is the master who has thrown something noble into

all his subjects. In his famous Bacchus, he has not, like the Flemish painters, shewn a tottering figure, and which is as it were in the air; that would be unworthy the majesty of a god: he paints him firm on his legs: but he so happily gives him the gaiety of drunkenness, and such a joy in seeing the liquor run that he pours into his cup, that there is nothing so admirable.

In the Passion, that is in the gallery at Florence, he has painted the Virgin standing, who looks upon her crucified Son, without grief, without pity, without regret, without tears. He supposes her instructed in the great mystery, and thereby makes her support with grandeur the sight of that death.

Julio Romano, in his chamber of giants at Mantua, where he represents Jupiter throwing down his thunder on them, lets us see all the gods affrighted; but Juno is near Jupiter; with an assured air she points out to him a giant, against whom he ought to launch his thunder; by this he gives her an air of grandeur, that the other gods have not. The nearer they are to Jupiter, the more assured they are; and that is very natural, for in a battle, the fear ceases near him who has the advantage.

After this general theory of Taste, an application of some of the most striking rules, in the practice of one of the most agreeable of all arts, that of laying out gardens, will not prove disagreeable to the reader. It will not be the less agreeable, that the observations are drawn from a country, which while it is so remote from us in situation, manners, and customs, preserves so strong a conformity

in this article, with the best ideas, which the improvement of taste has introduced amongst us in England. This piece, we may venture to say, is much the best which has ever been written on this subject.

Of the art of laying out gardens among the Chinese, by Mr. Chambers.

THE gardens, says he, which I saw in China, were very small; nevertheless from them, and what could be gathered from Lepqua, a celebrated Chinese painter, with whom I had several conversations on the subject of gardening, I think I have acquired sufficient knowledge of their notions on this head.

Nature is their pattern, and their aim is to imitate her in all her beautiful irregularities. The first consideration is the form of the ground, whether it be flat, sloping, hilly, or mountainous, extensive, or of small compass, of a dry or marshy nature, abounding with rivers and springs, or liable to a scarcity of water; to all which circumstances they attend with great care, choosing such dispositions as humour the ground, can be executed with the least expence, hide its defects, and set its advantages in the most conspicuous light.

As the Chinese are not fond of walking, we seldom meet with avenues or spacious walks, as in our European plantations. The whole ground is laid out in a variety of scenes, and you are led, by winding passages cut in the groves, to the different points of view, each of which is marked by a feat, a building, or some other object.

The perfection of their gardens consists in the number, beauty, and diversity of these scenes. The Chinese gardeners, like the European painters, collect from nature the most pleasing objects, which they endeavour to combine in such a manner, as not only to appear to the best advantage separately, but likewise to unite in forming an elegant and striking whole.

Their artists distinguish three different species of scenes, to which they give the appellations of pleasing, horrid, and enchanted. Their enchanted scenes answer, in a great measure, to what we call romantic, and in these they make use of several artifices to excite surprize. Sometimes they make a rapid stream, or torrent, pass under ground, the turbulent noise of which strikes the ear of the new comer, who is at a loss to know from whence it proceeds. At other times they dispose the rocks, buildings, and other objects that form the composition, in such a manner, as that the wind passing through the different interstices and cavities, made in them for that purpose, causes strange and uncommon sounds. They introduce into these scenes all kinds of extraordinary trees, plants, and flowers, form artificial and complicated echoes, and let loose different sorts of monstrous birds and animals.

In their scenes of horror, they introduce impending rocks, dark caverns, and impetuous cataracts rushing down the mountains from all sides; the trees are ill formed, and seemingly torn to pieces by the violence of tempests; some are thrown down, and intercept the course of the torrents, appearing

as if they had been brought down by the fury of the waters; others look as if shattered and blasted by the force of lightning: the buildings are some in ruins, others half-consumed by fire, and some miserable huts dispersed in the mountains serve at once to indicate the existence and wretchedness of the inhabitants. These scenes are generally succeeded by pleasing ones. The Chinese artists, knowing how powerfully contrast operates on the mind, constantly practise sudden transitions, and a striking opposition of forms, colours, and shades. Thus they conduct you from limited prospects to extensive views; from objects of horror to scenes of delight; from lakes and rivers, to plains, hills, and woods; to dark and gloomy colours they oppose such as are brilliant, and to complicated forms simple ones; distributing, by a judicious arrangement, the different masses of light and shade, in such a manner as to render the composition at once distinct in its parts, and striking in the whole.

Where the ground is extensive, and a multiplicity of scenes are to be introduced, they generally adapt each to one single point of view: but where it is limited, and affords no room for variety, they endeavour to remedy this defect, by disposing the objects so, that being viewed from different points they produce different representations; and sometimes by an artful disposition, such as have no resemblance to each other.

In their large gardens they contrive different scenes for morning, noon, and evening; erecting at the proper points of view, buildings adapted to the recreations of

each particular time of the day: and in their small ones (where, as has been observed, one arrangement produces many representations) they dispose in the same manner, at the several points of view, buildings which, from their use, point out the time of day for enjoying the scene in its perfection.

As the climate of China is exceeding hot, they employ a great deal of water in their gardens. In the small ones, if the situation admits, they frequently lay almost the whole ground under water; leaving only some islands and rocks: and in their large ones they introduce extensive lakes, rivers, and canals. The banks of their lakes and rivers are variegated in imitation of nature; being sometimes bare and gravelly, sometimes covered with woods quite to the water's edge. In some places flat, and adorned with flowers and shrubs; in others steep, rocky, and forming caverns, into which part of the waters discharge themselves with noise and violence. Sometimes you see meadows covered with cattle, or rice grounds that run out into the lakes, leaving between them passages for vessels; and sometimes groves, into which enter, in different parts, creeks, and rivulets, sufficiently deep to admit boats; their banks being planted with trees, whose spreading branches, in some places, form arbours, under which the boats pass. These generally conduct to some very interesting object; such as a magnificent building; places on the top of a mountain cut into terraces: a casine situated in the midst of a lake; a cascade; a grotto cut into a variety of apartments;

ments; an artificial rock; and many other such inventions.

Their rivers are seldom straight, but serpentine, and broken into many irregular points; sometimes they are narrow, noisy, and rapid; at other times deep, broad, and slow. Both in their rivers and lakes are seen reeds, with other aquatic plants and flowers; particularly the *lyen hoa*, of which they are very fond. They frequently erect mills, and other hydraulic machines, the motions of which enliven the scene. They have also a great number of vessels of different forms and sizes. In their lakes they intersperse islands; some of them barren, and surrounded with rocks and shoals; others enriched with every thing that art and nature can furnish most perfect. They likewise form artificial rocks; and in compositions of this kind the Chinese surpass all other nations. The making them is a distinct profession: and there are at Canton, and probably in most other cities of China, numbers of artificers constantly employed in this business. The stone they are made of comes from the southern coasts of China: it is of a bluish cast, and worn into irregular forms by the action of the waves. The Chinese are exceedingly nice in the choice of this stone, inasmuch that I have seen several tael given for a bit no bigger than a man's fist, when it happened to be of a beautiful form, and lively colour. But these select pieces they use in landscapes for their apartments; in gardens they employ a coarser sort, which they join with a bluish cement, and form rocks of a considerable size. I have seen some of these exquisitely fine, and such as discovered

an uncommon elegance of taste in the contriver. When they are large they make in them caves and grottos, with openings, through which you discover distant prospects. They cover them in different places with trees, shrubs, briars, and moss; placing on their tops little temples, or other buildings, to which you ascend by rugged and irregular steps cut in the rock.

When there is a sufficient supply of water, and proper ground, the Chinese never fail to form cascades in their gardens. They avoid all regularity in these works, observing nature according to her operations in that mountainous country. The waters burst out from among the caverns and windings of the rocks. In some places a large and impetuous cataract appears; in others are seen many lesser falls. Sometimes the view of the cascade is intercepted by trees, whose leaves and branches only leave room to discover the waters, in some places, as they fall down the sides of the mountain. They frequently throw rough wooden bridges from one rock to another, over the steepest part of the cataract; and often intercept its passage by trees and heaps of stones, that seem to have been brought down by the violence of the torrent.

In their plantations they vary the forms and colours of their trees, mixing such as have large and spreading branches with those of pyramidal figures, and dark greens with brighter, interspersing among them such as produce flowers, of which they have some that flourish a great part of the year. The weeping willow is one of their favourite trees, and always

among those that border their lakes and rivers, being so planted as to have its branches hanging over the water. They likewise introduce trunks of decayed trees, sometimes erect, and at other times lying on the ground, being very nice about their forms, and the colour of the bark and moss on them.

Various are the artifices they employ to surprize. Sometimes they lead you through dark caverns and gloomy passages, at the issue of which you are, on a sudden, struck with the view of a delicious landscape, enriched with every thing that luxuriant nature affords most beautiful. At other times you are conducted through avenues and walks, that gradually diminish and grow rugged, till the passage is at length intirely intercepted and rendered impracticable, by bushes, briars, and stones; when unexpectedly a rich and extensive prospect opens to view, so much the more pleasing, as it was less looked for.

Another of their artifices is to hide some part of a composition by trees or other intermediate objects. This naturally excites the curiosity of the spectator to take a nearer view; when he is surpris'd by some unexpected scene, or some representation totally opposite to the thing he looked for. The termination of their lakes they always hide, leaving room for the imagination to work; and the same rule they observe in other compositions wherever it can be put in practice.

Though the Chinese are not well vers'd in optics, yet experience has taught them that objects appear less in size, and grow dim in colour, in proportion as they

are more removed from the eye of the spectator. These discoveries have given rise to an artifice, which they sometimes put in practice. It is the forming prospects in perspective, by introducing buildings, vessels, and other objects, lessened according as they are more distant from the point of view; and that the deception may be still more striking, they give a greyish tinge to the distant parts of the composition, and plant in the remoter parts of these scenes trees of a fainter colour, and smaller growth, than those that appear in the front, or fore-ground, by these means rendering what in reality is trifling and limited, great and considerable in appearance.

The Chinese generally avoid straight lines; yet they do not absolutely reject them. They sometimes make avenues, when they have any interesting object to expose to view. Roads they always make straight, unless the unevenness of the ground, or other impediments, afford at least a pretext for doing otherwise. Where the ground is entirely level, they look upon it as an absurdity to make a serpentine road: for they say, that it must either be made by art, or worn by the constant passage of travellers; in either of which cases it is not natural to suppose men would chuse a crooked line, when they might go by a straight one.

What we call clumps, the Chinese gardeners are not unacquainted with; but they use them somewhat more sparingly than we do. They never fill a whole piece of ground with clumps; they consider a plantation as painters do a picture, and groupe their trees in the same manner as these do their figures, having

having their principal and subser-
vient masses.

This is the substance of what I learnt during my stay in China, partly from my own observation, but chiefly from the lessons of Lepqua. And from what has been said it may be inferred, that the art of laying out grounds after the Chinese manner is exceedingly difficult, and not to be attained by persons of narrow intellects: for though the precepts are simple and obvious, yet the putting them in execution requires genius, judgment, and experience, strong imagination, and a thorough knowledge of the human mind; this method being fixed to no certain rule, but liable to as many variations as there are different arrangements in the works of the creation.

Description of Lough-lane, or the lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunib, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland. From Mr. Smith's ingenious account of that county, lately printed at Dublin.

THE mountain of Mangerton, which stands south-east of Lough-lane, is esteemed one of the highest in this kingdom: by the experiment of the barometer, its altitude was found to be one thousand and twenty yards, perpendicular, above the lake of Killarney, which is considerably higher than the sea; for that lake in discharging itself, runs a course of some miles, and forms what is called the river Lane, before it joins the ocean. The mountains called the Reeks, which lie to the westward of Mangerton, seem, by the eye, to be rather higher than

that mountain; but hills which are conical, and terminated in points, appear higher at a distance, than those mountains which have a large surface on their tops: as steeples, which are terminated by spires, seem to be higher than those covered with domes, the points of the former being, as it were, more hid, and lost in the atmosphere, than the other. They are steeper than Mangerton, and have more terrible precipices, and declivities; so that it was in a manner impossible to determine the height by the barometer. On the west side of that mountain, is a large and deep hole, filled with water, which they call the Devil's punch bowl: it overflows, and makes an agreeable cascade, down the side of the mountain, in view of Mucruis-house, the seat of Edward Herbert, Esq; by opening a large cut on the side of this basin, there would be a broader, more constant and nobler supply of water, which might afford a beautiful cataract for the greatest part of the year. This water supplies the mills for the iron works, and then falls into Lough-lane, which beautiful lake I am now about to describe. One of the best prospects which it affords, is on a rising ground near the ruined cathedral of Aghadoe: not but there are many other fine views of it from every other side, but few of them take in so many particulars as may be observed from that station. For from hence is to be seen, one of the most delicious landscapes in Ireland: and perhaps, few countries in Europe afford better. But this is such a masterpiece, that even the Poussins, Salvator Rosa, or the most eminent painter in that way, might here furnish himself with sufficient matter,

not only to form one, but several entertaining prospects. From this eminence a survey may be taken of the greatest part of this beautiful lake; and likewise of that stupendous amphitheatre of mountains which are ranged along the opposite shore. Towards the south-east, stands the above mentioned mountain, called Mangerton, whose feet the lake washes, and whose summit is generally lost in the clouds, it being, from the above recited experiment, justly esteemed one of the highest mountains in Ireland. More towards the center lake, is an high mole, called Turk, whose sides, down to the verge of the water, are beautifully clothed with groves, of various kinds of trees. One part of this hill slopes away like a promontory, terminating in the lake, forming one side of a canal, which is a passage into the upper lake; as doth the point of another mountain called Glenna, the other side of this strait, which is adorned also with forest trees. As a fine contrast to this verdure, at the back of these mountains stand others, shaped into pyramids, being only naked rocks of a vast height. The grandeur and magnificence of these mountains, not only entertain and surprize the spectator, but he must be also agreeably amused in contemplating the infinite variety of beautiful colouring they afford. For, in one part may be seen the gayest verdure, blended with scarlet fruit and snowy blossoms, well known properties of the arbutus; and in other places, the most elegant variety of brown and yellow tints, caused by other kinds of trees and shrubs, appears: all these are intermixed with rock work; and to

soften the whole, a deep, smooth, and noble basin of water, extends itself beneath this scenery. But to give the reader an adequate idea of this place, would require the pencil of some excellent painter, rather than the pen of any prose writer. To the west of Glenna, stands the lofty pike called Tomish, variegated half way to its top, with a waving forest; and down whose sides, especially after rains, run very considerable cataracts into the great lake. There are many other hills still running more west, as far as the eye can trace for many miles; the nearest and most surprising for their loftiness, are the Reeks already mentioned, whose tops resemble so many pinnacles or rather spires lost in the clouds. The water is light and pure, and notwithstanding the great variety of minerals which surround this lake, it doth not seem to be impregnated with any of them. The ancient verses of Ninus, who wrote in the ninth century, and which Mr. O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, also cites, make mention of them.

*Mamonia stagnum, Lochlenius undique
Zonis*

*Quatuor ambitur: prior est ex arc,
secunda*

*Plumbea, de rigido conflatur tertia
ferro:*

*Quarta ridentem pallidat linea stan-
no.*

As for copper, few mines in Europe have produced such quantity of ore, as that work lately discovered, near Mucrufs; having afforded, in the space of a year after its working, three hundred seventy five tons of ore, which produces from an ounce of the general sample, five penny weight, eight

eight grains of copper, being considerably more than a fourth part of pure metal of a very fine quality; and the Bristol company, to whom the proprietors of this work sold it, must have extracted a greater proportion of copper, as it is well known from the laws of attraction, that a large portion of ore will yield more on the assay, than a small quantity. Lead ore hath been also discovered near this lake; and the adjacent mountains all abound with iron. As to tin ore, there hath been no discovery made yet to any purpose; although I do not question, but it will be also found, for I have picked up small specimens of ore which contain some tin, at no great distance from this lake, and thus far are the above ancient verses verified. O-Flaherty also takes notice, that pearls have been found in this lake, "*Et in eo stagno margaritæ muliæ reperiuntur, quas ponunt reges in auribus suis.*" But because of the great depth of the lough, they are not so frequently found in it, as in the river Lane which runs out of it. As one side of this lake consists of the above-mentioned range of formidable hills, so the opposite side is adorned with a level and beautiful country, with the town of Killarney, and the habitations and improvements of several gentlemen, at different distances. But before I describe these, it will be necessary to mention somewhat of the several islands, which lie beautifully scattered over the lake; as also of the surprising echoes that it affords. The most noted of these islands is that of Ross, which is rather a peninsula, being only separated by a small cut through a morass, from the main land, over which is a bridge. On it stands an

ancient castle, formerly the seat of O-Donaghoe Ross, which hath a new barrack adjoining to it. This place hath been, for some years past, a military garrison, having a governor appointed for it, upon the establishment. Before the castle, are a few old dismounted iron guns, which give it something of the air of a fortification. The castle had been flanked with round turrets, which, together with its situation, rendered it a place of some strength. In the wars of 1641, it surrendered to Ludlow, who was attended in the expedition by Lord Broghill and Sir Hardress Waller; and was the last place that held out in Munster against the English parliament. The greatest part of this island is covered with wood; and it is no disagreeable spot, for such gentlemen of the army quartered here, who are fond of fishing, hunting, or fowling. The island of Innis-fallen, is next to Ross in quantity of land; in it are the ruins of a very ancient religious house, founded by St. Finian, surnamed the Leper, who flourished towards the middle of the sixth century. He is the patron saint of these parts, and to him the cathedral of Aghadoe is also dedicated. The remains of this abbey are very extensive, although the walls in many places are levelled to the ground; its situation was extremely romantic and retired. Upon the dissolution of religious houses, the possessions of this abbey were granted to Captain Robert Collam. This island contains about twelve acres, and hath several very pleasant coves, agreeably wooded, for landing upon it. It yields so great a profusion of sweet herbage, that the kine which are put into it to fatten, thrive so prodigiously, that their

their fat becomes a kind of rich marrow, in a very short time. The more fleshy parts are in a manner marbled with fat, but their tallow is too soft to make candles, tho' it is proper enough for soap. On the east side of the island, the walls of an old chapel have been lately repaired by some gentlemen, who frequently use it as a banqueting-house. There are besides timber trees, the remains of several fruit trees, as plumbs, pears, &c. which have outlived the desolation that hath seized on the cells of those recluses who first planted them. Many of these trees had fruit ripe on them when I was in the island; the plumbs in particular, being of a large red kind, were very fine. Here are also the fruit of the forbus or service tree, likewise the arbutus, and other shrubs, which were all planted by the monks, tho' the neighbouring inhabitants will have them to be the spontaneous production of the soil. In short, it is a beautiful, romantic wilderness, decorated, at present, with these plantations, and its venerable ruins, which are no small addition to the beauties of Lough-lane. Rabbit-Island stands to the west of Innis-fallen, and is chiefly remarkable for its quarries of good lime-stone. An infinite number of islands of a smaller size, spangle and adorn this lake, most of which are covered with the arbutus, and several other beautiful shrubs. One of them, from a fancied representation, resembles, at some distance, the figure of an horse, in a drinking posture; another is called O-Doraghee's prison; and a third his garden. Most of them are of

marble, clothed with ever-green shrubs, growing out of the crevices of the rocks. Some of the islands in the upper lake are of such a stupendous height, that they resemble, at a distance, so many lofty towers standing in the water, and being many of them crowned with wreaths of arbutus, represent the ruins of stately palaces. Their edges are so much worn by the dashing of the water against their sides, and by frequent rains washing away the earth, and time hath so disjointed many of the marble rocks, that several of them hang in a most surprising and tottering manner, and represent a rude kind of confused architecture, almost without foundations. In others of them, the waters have worn passages sufficiently large for boats to go through these tottering arches, which in some places (though they are of an immense weight) are only upheld by very slender pillars.

The arbutus which cloaths these islands, gives even the haggard winter the beautiful appearance of spring, for in that melancholy season, this tree puts on its highest bloom: which rarely growing in other places, is more likely to be admired by strangers in this. The preparation of charcoal, for the iron works, hath been the occasion of a great destruction of this beautiful tree in other parts of the country: and it is said, that even here, it suffered much by an accidental fire that laid waste a great part of a forest. Its growth, upon rocks of marble, where no earth appears, and so high above the surface of the water, renders it a matter of both surprize and pleasure*.

This

* The arbutus, saith Sir Thomas Molineux, (in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 227) is not to be found any where, of spontaneous growth, nearer
to

This tree is extremely agreeable in every different circumstance of vegetation, for it hath, at one and the same time, ripe and green fruit upon its branches, which, as they approach to ripeness, from green become yellow, and at length terminate in a fine scarlet colour, resembling in form a field strawberry, though in size that of the best garden kind.

The blossoms grow in clusters of small white bells, not unlike those of the lily of the valley; and in such great abundance, as, in that respect alone, to be equal in beauty to the laurustinus, and in other respects, much superior to it; for the agreeable verdure of the leaves, not much unlike the bay, the scarlet hue of the tender part of the stalk, and all the different stages of vegetation, at one and the same time, from the knitting fruit to perfect ripeness, cannot but be exceeding agreeable to the curious observer.

Upwards of forty islands in this lake are covered with an intermixture of these trees and other shrubs; besides, at least a fourth part of the ascent of the mountains, the verges of whose bases, like that of Mangerton, and others abovementioned, are washed by the water of this lake.

Thus having mentioned what

was remarkable of the mountains which surround it, and of the lake itself, and its islands, I shall beg leave to apply the following lines of the poet, whose description of the lake Pergus is no ill picture of Lough-lane.

— Non illa plura cajistros
Carmina Cignorū labentibus audii
in undis.

Silva coronat aquas, cingens latus
omne; suisque

Frendibus, ut velo, Phæbæos submovet
ignes.

Frigora dant rami, Tyrios humus
humida flores,

Perpetuum ver est.

Ovid. Metam. Lib. V.

The principal inhabitants of these lofty mountains, except a few woodmen, kept in these forests by the lord of the soil, are great herds of red deer; the chase of which affords a much higher gratification to the sportsmen than in most other places. And when a stag is hunted near this lake, nothing is more agreeably surprising, than the repeated echoes: it being scarce possible to distinguish the real clangor of the French horns, or the true cry of the dogs, from the numberless reverberations of them among the rocks and mountains.

The echoes which are caused by this sport, reverberate the sound

to Ireland than the most southern parts of France, Italy, and Sicily; and there too, it is never known but as a frutex or shrub; whereas in the rocky parts of the county of Kerry, about Lough-lane, and in some of the rocky mountains adjacent, where the people of the country call it the cane apple, it flourishes naturally to that degree as to become a large tall tree. Petrus Bellonius observes, that it doth so in mount Athos in Macedonia; and Juba is quoted by Pliny, as mentioning it as a thing extraordinary, that the arbutus grows to an high tree in Arabia. Dr. Molineux adds, that the trunks of the trees of Ireland have been frequently four feet and an half in circumference or 18 inches diameter; and that the trees grow to about nine or ten yards in height, and in such plenty, that many of them have been cut down to melt and refine the ore of silver and lead mines discovered near Ross castle.

in a manner not to be described, nor believed by any but by those who have heard them; the whole duration of a single sound being near a minute; and yet the repercussions are innumerable, and the variety inconceivable. But the reader may from this imagine, that a most surprising musical effect must arise from the variety of notes issuing from the throats of a large pack of buck-hounds, enlivened by the cheering shouts of the sportsmen, and the noise of the horns.

From the mountains the stag often flies to the foil for refreshment, where he is sometimes taken by persons who attend in boats to cast a rope over the horns; or the poor animal is pursued to some island, where he is killed; or being refreshed by swimming, is hunted again to the mountains; in all, and every of which places, particularly towards the upper lake, the echoes are prodigious grand.

But the most astonishing sounds are those made by the discharge of cannon placed in a proper situation, upon the points of some particular islands, which may best answer to the concave sides of the mountains. When the piece is first exploded, there is no return of any particular sound for near a minute; but then a loud clap of thunder, which lasts for several seconds, ensues; and after a short pause, a second, and so on, for several repetitions; like volleys of small arms, which are alternately answered from the neighbouring mountains and valleys, and at length die away, with a noise resembling that of the waves of the ocean beating against a concave shore. Nothing would be more pleasant than the ringing of a peal of bells, placed in a small island in this

lake, which would seem to be more numerous than all those of a great city, by being answered by numberless imaginary bells from the neighbouring rocks. But this, with several other methods of improving the natural beauties of the lake, particularly the placing tame swans on it, and other embellishments, is submitted to its owner: who by adding, if possible, to its native elegance, might render it more pleasing to travellers, who may be induced, out of curiosity, to visit it, and which would be of great advantage to the adjacent town of Killarney.

There have been but few countries in Europe that have not contrived means to draw a concourse of people to visit them, whose very travelling and intercourse increase wealth and trade; and are a secret motive to induce inhabitants to come and settle in them.

A river falls from the upper into the lower lake, discharging itself between the mountains of Glenna and Turk, between which hills is one of the most romantic glens that can be conceived. The trees on both sides seem to overshadow this passage, which is a kind of watry defile for some miles in length, and admits of a considerable variety, being deep and smooth in some places, and in others rocky and shallow; at which last the passengers disembark, and the boat is forced by strength of men's arms, under a kind of arch. The using of sails is here dangerous, on account of the mountain squalls, their sides hanging directly over the river, which, in this place, is almost too narrow even for oars. The stupendous rock, called the Eagle's Nest, noted also for a fine echo, is commonly a place of refreshment to passengers,

passengers, who here enjoy the grateful shade of the arbutus, yews, hollies, and many other trees, that cover the rocks in this canal, several of which hang dreadfully over its sides, and no doubt, had a person sufficient leisure thoroughly to search up the sides of this glin, and the adjacent places, which would require vastly more time, labour, and expence, than the encouragement given to works of this nature will afford, abundance of curious discoveries might certainly be made here in the botanical way, especially in the adjacent forests.

The boatmen have given imaginary names to these rocks, as to one, the Man of War; a rock, which in some sort represents the hull of a large vessel, the mast and rigging of which is no other than a large branching vew at the top. Having, at length, passed this long and narrow strait, the upper lake is discovered, which is surrounded on all sides with mountains of an amazing height, beautified also with woods. For here according to Milton,

— Over head up grow,
Insufferable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and
branching palm,
A sylvan scene; and as the ranks
ascend
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view—
Luxuriant: Mean while murmuring
waters fall
Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or
in a lake,
— Unite their streams:
Paradise Lost, Book IV.

This upper lake is an oblong square, extending north and south, but is not a third of the area of the lower lake. The rocks and islands

are here inhabited by eagles, ospreys, hawks, and other birds of prey; as are the forests on the adjacent mountains with red deer.

In certain seasons very considerable water-falls and cascades tumble from the mountains into this upper lake, which with the echoes, and delightful scenery of the prospect, are also the chief entertainment of this place, as in the lower lake. In one of these islands travellers generally take a repast, for few people go so far into these wilds without laying in provisions before-hand. The manner of returning is, either back through the same scene, or on horseback over the mountain, on a new road, which was made by subscription of the principal gentlemen of the county.

Towards the southern part of the lake, situated on a kind of peninsula, stands Mucrus, the seat of Edward Herbert, Esq. a situation where nature, in her native attire, very little assisted by art, outdoes every thing that human fancy, supported with the highest expence, hath yet performed; for whether we first reflect on the delightful prospects that this seat affords, as the lofty mountains hanging over the lake, wooded almost to their summits; cascades pouring down from several of them, particularly that already noticed from Manger-ton, which sends down a roaring torrent not far distant; the beautiful expanse of water which washes the verge of this gentleman's gardens and improvements, scattered over with islands, so wooded as to represent several well-cultivated spots; also a particular lake called Mucrus lake, divided by a peninsula from the great lake, and on the opposite shore, a lake well improved

improved country; I say, whether we take in at one view all this enchanting scenery, or stop to admire the particular beauties of the seat itself, we shall find sufficient matter for pleasure and admiration. The natural appearance of this place, before it was adorned by any improvement, was that of a luxuriant garden, where a great variety of trees and shrubs, the produce only of a more favourable climate, flourished spontaneously, as the arbutus, juniper, yew, buckthorn, service, and others, found growing among the crevices of marble rocks; the seeds, and original plantation of which I suspect to have been laid here, many centuries ago, by the monks of the adjacent abbey; where, meeting with a soil and climate favourable to their preservation and propagation, they have wonderfully flourished ever since, without any assistance from art.

These natural gardens, therefore, wanted little assistance to beautify them, except an enclosure towards the land, and the lopping away part of their luxuriance, to form avenues and walks through them, besides the addition of such exotics as have been but of late years introduced into Ireland; among which there have been planted a considerable number of vines, which are now spreading their branches, and crawling up several flogging rocks of variegated marble.

It was, indeed, an handsome compliment which was paid to this place, by a late Right Rev. Prelate*, whose high taste, in the beauties of art and nature, as well as goodness of heart, and solid learning, all the world equally ad-

mired and acknowledged; who being asked what he thought of this seat, immediately answered, that the French monarch might possibly be able to erect another Versailles, but could not with all his revenues lay out another Mucrus.

The gardens of this seat extend to the ruins of an ancient friery called Irrelagh, *i. e.* on the lough, founded by Donald, son of Thady Mac Carty, in the year 1440, for Minorites, or conventual Franciscans, and repaired by him in 1468, the year of his death. It was again re-edified in the year 1602, but soon after suffered to go to ruin. The walls are surrounded by a venerable grove of ash-trees, which are very tall, and in some places grow spontaneously, from the ruins of the abbey. The choir, nave, and steeple, still remain entire, in which are several decayed tombs. The cloysters are likewise entire, in which are several Gothic arches of solid marble, which inclose a small square, in the center of which stands one of the tallest yew-trees I have ever seen; its spreading branches, like a great umbrella, overshadow the niches of the whole cloyster, forming a more solemn and awful kind of covering to it, than originally belonged to the place. The steeple was small, and capable of containing only a single bell; and it is supported by a Gothic arch or vault. The bell was, not many years ago, found in the adjacent lough, and by the inscription, was known to have belonged to this priory, which from the time of its foundation, hath been the cemetery of the Mac Carty-Mores,

* Dr. Berkley, the late Bishop of Cloyne.

and other families. Upon the dissolution of religious houses, the revenues and site of this abbey were granted to Captain Robert Collam, who assigned them to Bishop Crosbie.

The town of Killarney is a small thriving place, being considerably improved since the minority of its present owner, the Lord Viscount Kenmare, who hath encouraged several inhabitants to settle in it, and hath erected some houses for linen manufacturers, about a mile from the town. There are already four new roads finished to this town, one from the county of Cork, which leads to that city; a second from Castle Island, which proceeds towards Limerick; the third is that to the river of Kenmare before-mentioned; and a fourth is lately made to Castlemain; from which last place new roads have been carried to Tralee and Dingle. The neighbourhood of the mines affords employment for several people, and will consequently cause a considerable sum of money to be spent in it. A new-street, with a large commodious inn, are designed to be built here; for the curiosities of the neighbouring lake have of late drawn great numbers of curious travellers to visit it, and, no doubt, many more will go thither to partake of the diversions and amusements of that place, when they can be assured of being commodiously and cheaply entertained.

The principal ornament of Killarney is the seat and gardens of Lord Kenmare, planted with large nurseries of fruit and timber trees. His lordship proposes to enlarge a canal, which runs through his gardens, and to make it communicate with the lake, which will not only render them more beautiful, but

will also add to the convenience of water-carriage to and from the lake. Not far from the house is a large and pleasant park, well wooded, and stocked with deer, which he hath also in plenty in the forests of the adjacent mountains.

The natural history of Hartz Forest, in his Majesty's German dominions. Written in German by H. Ebreus, M. D.

Of the cavern at Scharzfeld.

THE cavern at Scharzfeld is well worth seeing, being caves remarkable for several rarities; the country people call it the Dwarf-holes. It is situated in the Lower Hartz, in the county of Hohnstein, in a wood not far from the castle of Scharzfeld. Whoever wants to see this cavern goes to the village of Scharzfeld to look out for a guide. Then you proceed through a wood and a thicket, and coming near the cavern, you must get down by the knots and branches of a large tree with some trouble and danger, to come to the mouth of it. When you are on the ground, there appears to your view a large cleft in a rock, about fourteen feet high: the inside of it is lined all about with a thick and shining *Drop-stone*. Now you advance a pretty way forwards, and must creep a considerable length, till you come into the second cave, which for height and bigness is not inferior to the first. From hence you creep again with some trouble into the third, and from thence to the fourth cave, and so on; and in this manner, some guides say, one may go five or six English miles under ground, without coming to the end.

The

The cold is very intense in this cavern, and rather greater than in the Baumanns cave. To let in some light, there are several round and square holes in the roof, some of which are stopped up with stones and other rubbish. The common people imagine the dwarfs went in and out of these openings, but it is more probable they were made for air-holes. There are such numbers of passages and turnings, that it is almost impossible to count them: some running forwards, some sideways, and others across, all communicating with one another in the manner of a labyrinth, for which reason it is very difficult to find one's way out of it again without a guide. Most of these passages are as clean as if they were swept with a broom, and some are filled up with rubbish by those that dug there, either for ore, or the fossile unicorn.

The *Drop-stone* is found in several of these caves, although the top of the mountain where the cavern is, be a dry lime-stone. The water drops continually from the roof, so thick that it seems as if it rained; and when these drops fall on your cloaths, and grow dry upon them, they turn to white spots, and a white powder like chalk comes from it.

It is reported, that once, on the eve of St. Peter and Paul, twenty-five persons bound themselves by oath to each other to go into this cavern, and not to come out of it again till they had viewed all the curiosities therein, and found out the end; therefore they provided themselves with a number of candles, a ladder, and strings, and provision for several days.

When they were advanced about nine hundred fathoms, they found many curiosities, large places like palaces, all sorts of figures formed by the *Drop stone*; also some springs, running waters, quantities of human bones, some of a gigantic size. Then creeping again through other narrow passages, they came into spacious places, where twenty-five could walk a-breast. Thus they went on till they could go no farther; by following the thread which they had tied to the entry of the cavern, they found their way back again without difficulty; but by the coldness of the place, and many frights, they were become so pale, and their countenances so altered, that their friends hardly knew them again.

Here is also found the fossile unicorn, but not near in such quantity as formerly, because the peasants, who used to dig for it, and to sell it to the apothecaries and druggists, have almost exhausted the place. This fossile is of different shapes; sometimes 'tis formed like a straight-horn, a scull, a jaw-bone, a shoulder-blade, and a back-bone, a rib, a tooth, a thigh-bone, and all other sorts of bones both of men and beasts; and there is some found like an unshapen lump or mass of stone, having no resemblance to any bone at all.

There have been great disputes among the learned about this fossile: some, considering that there are pieces so exactly like true bones, affirm they must really have been part of some animal; and, that those of an anomalous form are of the mineral kind. But others reply, that upon examination they cannot find that great likeness to bones as their adversaries are pleased

to fancy: in particular they say, that those bones of the fossile unicorn, which are called the jaw-bone, have such apophyses as are never to be met with in the natural way; and that some being like no bone at all, they scruple not to conclude the whole to be a *lusus naturæ*, or an accidental produce of nature. Moreover, they add, that granting some to be like true bones, it cannot be inferred from thence that they were really so; because else it would follow, that the figures represented in some pieces of slate, and the *Cornua Ammonis*, were once real; which are now allowed on all hands to be stones of a particular kind.

Conringius, in his dissertation *De antiquo Helmiadist statu*, thinks the fossile unicorn were petrified bones. And Otto de Querick, in his *Experimenta Magdeburgica*, maintains the same opinion. That there had been such animals as unicorns, he pretends to corroborate by the following fact: he says, that anno 1663, in a lime-pit near Quedlinburg, there was found an entire skeleton of an unicorn, which had fixed to its forehead a long bone, or horn, as thick as a man's thigh-bone, and was presented to the Abbess of Quedlinburgh; and, that these bones had been conveyed to this place in the general flood, is proved sufficiently by the various bones dug up in most parts of the world. The *Theatrum Europæum*, part V. mentions, that anno 1645 the Swedes dug up, near Crems in Austria, a giant's skeleton, whose head was as big as a middle-sized table, and one tooth weighed five pounds and a half, and the bone of his arm as big as a man's middle. Eckstormius also confirms it, with the author of the *Topographia*

of *Brunsvick*, that one time there was found in the Baumans cave an human skull of a gigantic size.

But the bigness of some of these bones seems to argue that they could not be human, and therefore, 'tis probable they either have increased under ground, or else are a *lusus naturæ*: for the tallest man we know of was Og of Basan, whose bed is said, in Deuteronomy, chap. iii. to have been eighteen feet long: now, allowing the bed to be but one foot longer than the man, he was seventeen feet high. But if the head and tooth found by the Swedes had belonged to a regularly-proportioned man, he must have exceeded Og by a vast deal; for the tooth is said to have weighed five pounds and a half, and supposing that of a common man to weigh half an ounce, which is too much, then the giant must have had a height answerable to 176 times the bulk of a middle-sized man.

Others cannot comprehend how these supposed bones should have been brought together in such quantities into these caverns; nor will they be satisfied with the reasons some naturalists give for their manner of petrification; wherefore Sennertus, in his *Epitome Scientiæ naturalis*, lib. v. cap. 4. Schræder, in his *Pharmacopœia medica*, and Laurentius Bauschius, in his *Schediasma Curiosum de Unicornu fossili*, and others, count it among the minerals.

Kircher, in his *Mundus subterraneus*, lib. viii. c. 8. makes this distinction betwixt bones of a mineral produce, and petrified ones; he says, the first are solid throughout, but the latter hollow. Which observation I have found not to be infa-

infallible, having seen some bones of the mineral kind that were concave, as if they had formerly contained marrow.

Thus has this controversy been canvassed pro and con; but as I have had the opportunity of examining great quantities of this fossil, particularly in my father's cabinet, who had various pieces of it, I have found most of that dug about the Hartz to be of a mineral kind.

This being taken for granted, we are next to consider the matter it is composed of. Some think with Libavius, Part 3. Singular. l. 13. c. 17. that it is a bituminous earth; and others say it is a kind of agate petrified: but to me it seems most probable that it is made of a clay, or fattish earth, called in Latin *Merga*, or *Marl*, which is very plentiful in this country, and serves to manure the ground, instead of dung. According to the figure this earth lies in underground, when the petrifying water comes to it, and causes it to grow hard, so it remains, and thus becomes sometimes a well-shapen bone, and often a lump of matter of no distinct form at all. This formation is not perfected at once: for it is observed, that some pieces lying in a place where there is room for increase, will grow to a monstrous size.

This fossil hath several names, viz. *Unicornu minerale*, *Ebur fossile*, *Osteites*, *Monoceros vulgi*, *Lithomarga alba*, &c. The most common term it is known by, is *Unicornu fossile*; but I can see no reason why it should rather be called *Unicorn* than any other animal, since it is formed of all sorts of forms, and

It is most commonly of a light grey, black, or yellowish colour, and very seldom perfectly white: sometimes it is as hard as a stone, and other times soft like clay, and grows harder the longer it is exposed to the air. It has commonly neither smell or taste, yet sometimes I have found it with a scent like that of quinces; which probably might proceed from a bituminous substance mixed with the petrifying water. It is introduced in the *Materia Medica*, and the whitest and mellowest is reckoned the best for that purpose. The common people try it by putting it into cold water; and that which causes most bubbles to rise, they count for the best sort. The reason of the rising of these bubbles is, because as this fossil is full of pores, wherein air is contained, the water getting into them, drives out the air, which being specifically lighter than the water rises in the form of those bubbles to the surface.

The common people looked formerly upon it as a medicine of extraordinary efficacy, thinking it to be the true unicorn; but since it is come to be common, it hath lost much of its reputation. It operates very like the *Terra sigillata*, absorbs, astringes, and promotes perspiration, (Vide Francisc. Joel. Pract. tom. 5.) and is one of the ingredients of the Bezoardic powder described by D. Ludovici in *Pharmacopæia moderno sæculo applicanda*, and produces a very good effect, unless a symptomatic costiveness forbids its use. Externally it serves in pustular eruptions and erosions about the pudendum and fundament in children, and in eye-waters. Lastly, D. Hoffman, in his *Clavis Schræderiana*, admonishes

nishes people to try the fofile unicorn firft upon a dog, before it is made ufe of in medicine, becaufe he thinks it is fometimes of a poisonous nature; which however is never obferved in any found in or near Hartz foreft.

From Mr. Grofs's voyage to the Eaft Indies.

Account of a very remarkable Ifland near Bombay in the Eaft Indies.

OVER-againft the caftle of Bombay, about the diftance of five miles, lies the very fmall, but famous, ifland of Elephanta. It can at moft be but about three miles in compafs, and confifts of almoft all hill: at the foot of which, as you land, you fee, juft above the fhore, on your right, an elephant, coarfe-ly cut out in ftone, of the natural bignefs, and at fome little diftance not impoffible to be taken for a real elephant, from the ftone being naturally of the colour of that beaft. It ftands on a platform of ftones of the fame colour. On the back of this elephant was placed ftanding, another young one, appearing to have been all of the fame ftone, but has been long broken down. Of the meaning, or hiftory of this image, there is no tradition old enough to give any account.

Returning then to the foot of the hill, you afcend an eafy flant, which about half way up the hill brings you to the opening or portal of a large cavern hewn out of a folid rock, into a magnificent temple: for fuch furely it may be termed, confidering the immense workmanfhip of fuch an excavation; and feems to me a far more

bold attempt, than that of the pyramids of Egypt. There is a fair entrance into this fubterraneous temple, which is an oblong fquare, in length about 80 or 90 feet, by 40 broad. The roof is nothing but the rock cut flat at top, and in which I could not difcern any thing that did not fhew it to be all of one piece. It is about ten feet high, and fupported towards the middle, at equi-diftance from the fides, and from one another, with two regular rows of pillars of a fingular order. They are very mafive, fhort in proportion to their thicknefs, and their capital bears fome refemblance to a round cuftion, preffed by the fuper-incumbent mountain with which they are alfo of one piece. At the further end of this temple are three gigantic figures, the face of one of them is at leaft five feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth. But thefe representations have no reference or connection, either to any known hiftory, or the mythology of the Gentooes. They had continued in a tolerable ftate of prefervation and wholenefs, confidering the remotenefs of their antiquity, until the arrival of the Portuguefe, who made themfelves mafters of the place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry, not fuffering any idols but their own, they muft have been at even fome pains to maim and deface them, as they now remain, confidering the hardnefs of the ftone. It is faid they even brought field-pieces to the demolition of images, which fo greatly deferved to be fpared for the unequalled curiofity of them. Of this Queen Catherine of Portugal was, it feems, fo fenfible, that fhe could not conceive that any traveller would return from that fide of India, with-
out

out visiting the wonders of this cavern; of which too the sight appeared to me to exceed all the descriptions I had heard of them. About two-thirds of the way up this temple on each side, and fronting each other, are two doors or outlets, into smaller grotts or excavations, and freely open to the air. Near and about the door-way, on the right hand, are also several mutilated images, single and in groupes. In one of the last, I remarked a kind of resemblance to the story of Solomon dividing the child, there standing a figure with a drawn sword, holding in one hand an infant with the head downwards, which it appears in act to cleave through the middle. The outlet of the other on the left hand, is into an area of about 20 feet in length, and 12 in breadth, at the upper end of which, as you turn to the right, presents itself a colonnade covered at top, of 10 or 12 feet deep, and in length answering to the breadth of the area; this joins to an apartment of the most regular architecture, an oblong square, with a door in perfect symmetry; and the whole executed in quite a contrary taste and manner from any of the oldest or best Gentoo buildings any where extant. I took particular notice of some paintings round the cornices, not for any thing curious in the design, but for the beauty and freshness of the colouring, which must have lasted some thousands of years, on supposing it, as there is all reason to suppose it, cotemporary with the building itself. The floor of the apartment is generally full of water, its pavement or ground-work not permitting it to be drawn off, or to be soaked up. For it is to be observed, that even the cavern it-

self is not visitable after the rains, until the ground of it has had time to dry into a competent hardness.

The reader too will please to observe, that in the dimensions I have ventured to give, I am far from warranting the exactness, any further than to the best of my gross guesses by the eye; and if any one shall hereafter, on a personal survey, or on a competent draught of it, think I have exaggerated its importance, I hope he will only pity my misapprehension, and acquit me of any design of imposing on him, by dealing in the marvelous, nothing being more certain, than that I have said no more of it, than as it struck me at the sight of it, and still remains on my memory.

This place too being so near Bombay, affords the English inhabitants, not only an easy opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, in visiting so remarkable a spot, but occasionally a very agreeable party of pleasure. Sometimes, in their way thither, they dine at Butcher's Island, which is two miles nearer to Bombay, on account of the conveniency of the officer's house to receive them, an ensign's guard being kept there. Others again prefer carrying their provisions with them, and dine in the cave itself, than which, in the very sultriest days of the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler pleasanter retreat. For though the air be almost on fire round you, you are no sooner entered the cave, than you are refreshed with a sensible coolness; the three openings above mentioned not only furnishing sufficient light, but a thorough draft of air, that does not so much convey freshness into the cave, as it receives it from constant temperature, preserved

served to it by its impenetrability to the sun, from the thickness of the mountainous mass above it. And even the light that comes into it through the portals has lost, by the way, all the force of those fiery particles to which it gives so great an activity. For, it is observed in India, as well as in all hot countries, that the exclusion of light is in some measure an exclusion of heat, and that but darkening an apartment only, sensibly cools. This rule too admits of no exception, except in places where the soil and situation are of such a nature, as to continue the heat even after the actual presence of the sun is withdrawn; as in Gambreon on the coast of Persia, for example, where a high massive hill behind it, to which it is a kind of focal point, and the bituminous quality of the earth, are circumstances that do not

allow of the air's cooling between the sun-set and sun-rise.

But, asking pardon for this digression, and resuming my present subject, I am to observe that, for the rest, this island contains nothing more that is worthy of notice. There are not above two or three huts upon it; which is not surprising, considering the little land there is to cultivate, and that there is no water on it, but what is saved from the rains. The growth of the hill itself is only underwood, and grass, which in the dry season is often set on fire, and will continue burning for three or four days; which has this benefit, of fertilizing any cultivable spots on it, and of the salts being washed down by the rains into the lower grounds, a practice that is much followed in all those countries; which they call burning the land.

An Essay on the Quantity or Measure of English Verse. The Examples from Milton.

- I. *The measure of English Heroics, and of the Iambic.*
- II. *The syllaba hypercatalectica, or redundant syllable.*
- III. *Of the Trochee.*
- IV. *Of the Spondee.*
- V. *Of the Pyrrhic.*
- VI. *Of very short Syllables.*
- VII. *Of the Anapaest.*
- VIII. *Of the Dactyle.*
- IX. *Of Apparels.*
- X. *Many like feet in the same verse.*
- XI. *Many different feet in the same verse.*

I. *The measure of English Heroics, and of the Iambic.*

THE English Heroic verse is an Iambic of five feet, sometimes pure, as,

His only Son, on earth he first beheld
about him all the sanctities of heav'n,

in heav'n or eāth, or ūnder eārth in hēll
Thīs ōne, thīs eāy chārgē ōf āll thē treēs, &c.

Sometimes nearly so, as

Tō thēir dēfēncē whō hōld it, hēre pērhaps
Prēscrīb'd, nō bārs ōf hēll, nōr āll thē chāins
āmong thē grōves, thē fōuntains ānd thē flōwers
Mý ōnlý Sōn, and ōn mý hōlý hīll
Rē-ēntēr heav'n, or ēlfē in somē mīld zōne
Hīs āngēr, and pērhaps thus fār rēmōv'd
Thē dārk, unbōttom'd īnfīnīte ābýss.
Outhōne thē wēalth ōf ōrmās, ānd ōf īnd.

From the last instances, where the syllables not marked are by derivation, nature, or position, long, yet in the sound and measure of the verse are short, I observe, that the quantity of English syllables is not measured by the rules of Latin and Greek Prosody, but by the tone of the voice, or accent, which generally rises at every second syllable, and therefore I call *long*; the intermediate syllables, over which we hasten to come at it, I call *short*, whatever their quantity may be with respect to consonants, vowels, or diphthongs; thus,

While smōōth ādōnis frōm his nātive rōck,
is a very musical English Iambic, though four out of the five short syllables are naturally long; *while* and *time* by the final *e*, and *nis* and *his* long by position: Indeed an English Iambic may be just measure, and yet have never a syllable in it short, according to the rules of Prosody, as,

With floods ānd whīrlwīnds ōf tēmpēstūōus firē.

And the prosodeal short syllables may become long in the English measure, as,

Quīēt thō fād	B. 11.
Bý prāy'r th' ōffēndēd dē'tý t'āppeāse	11.
Lāmēt nōt ēve, bāt pātīēntly 'rēsīgn	11.
Ōūr sēcōnd ādām īn thē wīldērnēss	11.

II. Of the syllable *hypercatalectica*, or *redundant syllable*.

A redundant syllable is often added at the end of an Iambic with grace in blank verse, as,

ōf heav'n r'ceiv'd ūs fāllīng, ānd thē thūnder.

In rhyme it grows offensive, or burlesque, as it creates a double jingle.

Perhaps many Alexandrines may be best accounted for from such redundant syllables. [See § VI. of very short syllables.]

III. Of the *Trochee*.

The most common and musical variation of this measure is by substituting a Trochee instead of an Iambic.

amo loco Mýstīcāl dānce, whīch yōndēr stārrý sphēre	5.
Cēase ī tō wāndēr whēre thē mūsēs hāunt	3.

Nor

Nor is this always accidental, but often by choice, as,
 ————— that God's own ear

Līstēns dēlightēd _____ 5.

Wherever a foot ends at the pause, a Trochee will follow gracefully,

25.

2do loco Thūs sãid, Nãtivě ōf heãv'n, fŏr ōthēr plãce 5.
ũndẽck'd, sãve wĩth hĩrsẽlf, mŏre lŏvelŷ fãir 5.

Hīs feēd, whēn īs nōt sēt, fhāll brūife mȳ heād 10.

3tio	in myſtic dance, nōt without ſong, rēfōund	5.
------	--	----

Fairest 6f stars, laſt in the train 6f night 5.

With the fixt stārs, fixt in their orb thāt flies 5.

4to Thēse āre thȳ glōriōus wōrks, pārent ōf goōd 5.

Eaċ in theiŕ cŕyŕtāl fluice; hē ěre theŕy fēll 5.

and chōrāl symphōniēs, dāy withōut ēnd 5.

Nōw ōn thē pōlar wīnds, nōw wīth quīck fān 5.

5to Spoil'd principalities and pow'rs, triumph'd io.

A Trochee is not common in this place; in most cases where a word, which in ordinary pronunciation is a Trochee, ends the verse, Milton throws the accent on the last syllable, which makes it an Iambic; and indeed I believe it is so in this very verse, for I remember elsewhere he accents triumph after the Latin.

A Trochee is not so harmonious if no comma or ' pause precedes, as,

in their triplē dēgrēēs, rēgiōns tō whīch

Lāw ānđ ēđīcť ōn ūs, whŏ wīthōůť lāw

ānḁ thōu Moōn īn thē vāle of ājālōn 2.

Thất nhĩn fair mōrning first smīles ǒn thẻ world 5.

Drēw āfter hīm thē thīrd pārt ǫf heāv'n's hōft.

I meet with a line of Mr. Pope's in the eighth *Odyſſey*, where perhaps it may be allowable, as exemplifying the ſpring he mentions,

None in the leap spring with so strong a bound, v. 103.

but then we are forced to stop at *leat*, where there is no comma.

IV. Of the Spondee.

This foot is admitted into every one of the five places; as,

imo Thūs theȳ in heāv'n ; ābōve thē flārry sphēre 3.

Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to hell 10.

2do ācōunt mē mān, ī fōr hīs sāke wīll leāve

āt sūch bōld wōrds, vouch'd with ā dēed sō bōld 5.

Tātes nōt wēll join'd īnēlēgānt, bāt brīng

ānḍ yē fīve ōthēr wānḍrīng fīrēs thāt mōve 5.

3tio ā clōudŷ spōt, dōwn thīthēr prōne īn flīght 3.

and faithful nōw prōv'd fālse : bŭt thīnk nōt hēre 6.

Rēsērv'd him tō mōre wrāth : fōr nōw thē thought 6.

4to and rest can never dwell, hope never comes

While dāy āriēs, thāt sweēt hoūr ōf prime 5.

in cūrls ǒn ēithēr chēek plāy'd, wīngs hě wōre 3.

īfsūing frōm mē : ōn your joint: vīgōr nōw 10.

- 5to Silence, yē trōubled wāves; ānd thou, deēp peāce 7.
 Nōr lāwfūl tō rēvēal; yēt fōr thū gōōd 5.
 Sō scēntēd thē grīm feātūre ānd ūp tūrn'd 10.

The Spondee is often produced by the emphasis falling on a syllable that should regularly be short, as,

āccōunt mē mān, ī fōr hīs sāke wīll leāve
 Tāstēs nōt wēll joīn'd īnēlēgānt ———

Often, when the emphasis placed on a short syllable lengthens that foot into a Spondee, it shortens the preceding foot into a Pyrrhic, as

Fīnds rō āccēptānce nōr cān fīnd; fōr hōw 5.
 ī offēr, cō mē lēt thīne āngēr fāl 3.
 Hīs othēr hālf īn thē grēat zōne ōf heāvn 5.

V. Of the Pyrrhic.

This foot also is found in every of the five places :

- 1mo īn hīs ōwn strēngth, thīs plāce māy lie expōs'd 2.
 ōn thē prōūd crēit ōf Sātān, thāt nō sīght 6.
 Unmusical when not balanced by a Spondee, as,
 Bū thē wātērs ōf life, whēre-e'er thēy sāte 10.
 2do Dīspēse īt, ās nōw līght dīspēls thē dārk 5.
 Hāppīnēss īn hīs pōw'r, lēft frēe tō wīll 5.
 Sprīngs līghtēr thē grēen stālk, frōm thēnce thē leāves
 Evē easīly māy fāith ādmīt, thāt āll 11.
 3tio Cōnvēse wīth ādām īn whāt bōw'r ōr shāde 5.
 Fīnds nō āccēptānce nōr cān fīnd; fōr hōw 5.
 ōf eāsī thōrōwfīre. Thērefōre, whīle ī 10.
 4to Fōrthwīth bēhōld thē excēllēnce, thē pōw'r 6.
 Bū prāy'r th' offēndēd dēntī t' āppeāse 11.
 5to Hīs dāngēr, ānd frōm whōm, whāt ēncōmī 5.
 Hād tō hēr cēntēr shōok. Whāt wōndēr, whēn
 Millīons ———
 Bū Evē, thō āll ūnwēterīng, sēcōndēd 10.

The Pyrrhic is generally ballanced by a Spondee, unless in the fifth place, or at the pause, where a Trochee follows: otherwise unmusical, perhaps it is false quantity, as in *Paradise Regained*,

With them from blifs to the bottōmlēss deēp.

Or perhaps, if any quick motion, or remarkable shortness was to be described, it might be introduced; but I can recollect no instances.

(Mr. Pope, when very young, wrote such a verse,

“So imperceptible was the motion.”)

VI. Of very short Syllables.

The Spondee increased, and the Pyrrhic lessened, the quantity of the measure in the verse; but when mixt and ballanced in the same verse, it was reduced to true time. The Anapest and Dactyle have each of them

an

an excess of a short syllable, unless we measure them by musical times, thus.

Iambic. Trochee. Spondee. Pyrrhic. Anapaest. Dactyle.



Quintilian mentions syllables that are *brevibus breviores*, and this I think is the case in the English Anapaest and Dactyle, in which we are apt to crush the two short syllables into one, which has produced the Syncope, so commonly marked in our verse, for which, I think, just occasion is not so frequent; the syllables might generally be pronounced distinct, though quick, and wrote full.

and flow'ring ödörs, cäsä, nārd, and bālm, 5.

Why is flow'ring syncopated? if to avoid the redundant syllable that would make an Anapaest, why is not cassia syncopated into cal's'a? if the reason is, that *sa* is pronounced as two *very short* syllables, which will not hurt the quantity; for the same reason we may, and, I think, ought to read,

and flow'ring ödörs, cäsä, nārd and bālm.

How would the following verses look or sound, if we were to crowd the two short syllables into one?

Nō ingratefūl foöd, and foöd ālike thōse pūrē

N' ingratefūl foöd, &c.

Twō onlŷ whō yēt bŷ tōv'reign gīft pōssēs

Twō onlŷ, whō yēt, &c.

If in these and many other cases we must write and pronounce the syllables distinctly, why not in many others where we generally use the Syncope? thus,

and dīclatēs tō mē slūmb'ring, or īnspīres 9.

Hērōic dēd, chīef māst'ry tō dīscēt 9.

īn bīllōws, leāve īth'mīdīt ā hōrrīd vāle 1.

Why is not the Anapaest admitted here as well as in the foregoing instances?

And dīclatēs tō mē slūmb'ring, or īnspīres

Hērōic dēd, chīef māst'ry tō dīscēt

īn bīllōws, leāve īn thē mīdīt ā hōrrīd vāle.

e in *ed* the participle, and the præter tense, may still suffer Syncope, as we frequently leave it out in prose and discourse: but heaven, and spirits, and powers, &c. which are generally wrote in verse, heav'n, and sp'rits, and pow'rs, &c. are often two syllables, as,

ās māy cōmpōrt wīth hēav'n; and tō tāste 5.

Spīrits ödörouš brēathes, &c.

and may generally be considered as such, and wrote full in most instances, thus,

Bāne, and īn hēav'n mūch wōrse wōuld bē mŷ flate 9.

Sīng, hēav'nly mūse, thāt on thē sēcret tōp 1.

ō mŷriads of īmmōrtāl spīrits, ō pōwērs!

To my ear this verse would have been truer had it been y^e p^ow^{er}s; otherwise we must say that a redundant syllable must be left at the end of a pause, as well as of a verse: or else in this, as well as perhaps in the following and some like instances, spirit makes but one syllable.

Tō spritūāl nātūres; ōnly thīs ī knōw 5.

Mŷ likening spritūāl tō corpōrēāl fōrms 5.

unless we admit feet of four syllables, which I think we must in the two following verses,

Cōmes thūndērīng bāck with drēadfūl rēvōlūtiōn 10.

Fōr Sōlitude sōmetīmes īs bēst Sōciēty.

Perhaps the two last syllables in these verses are *very short* ones, and amount to no more than the hypercatalectica or redundant one at the end of a verse, and must not be considered as Alexandrines.

VII. Of the Anapaest.

This foot is admitted into every one of the five places; and is the most musical after the Iambic and Trochee, but is least so in the first seat, as,

1mo	ōphŷūsā, bŷt ſtīll grēatēſt, hē thē mīdſt	10.
	īſ hīs wrāth, ālſō? Bē īt, mān īs nōt ſō	10.
	Tō ēvāngēlize thē nātiōns thēn ōn āll	12.

The rest are more harmonious, as,

2do	ōf mānŷ ā cōlōur'd plūme, ſprīnkled with gōld	3.
	Sō ſāying ā nōblē ſtrōke hē līrēd hīgh	6.
	ōf mērcy ānd jūſtīcē īn thŷ fācē dīſcērn'd	3.
	Alrēādŷ īn pārt, thō hīd īn glōōmſt ſhāde	10.
	Stōdd tō ēntērtāīn hīs guēſt frōm hēāvēn, nō vēil	5.
3tio	īn ēmulātiōn ōppōſīte tō hēāvēn,	2.
	ōf bīrds ōn evēry bōugh; ſō mūch thē mēre	5.
	Nēār thāt bītūmīnōūs lāke whēre Sōdōm flām'd	10.
	ānd ſcōurg'd with mānŷ ā ſtrōke thē īndīgnānt wāves	10.
	ōf unōrīgīnāl nīght, ānd chāōs wīld	10.
4to	Lāmēt nōt ēve, bŷt pātīēntly rēsīgn	10.
	Thrōws hīs ſteēp flīght īn mānŷ ān āērŷ wHEEL	3.
	Thē ēārth tō yīeld ūnsāvōrŷ fōōd pērhaps	5.
5to	Hŷpōcrīſŷ, thē ōnly ēvīl thā: wālkſ	3.
	Bŷ dāy ā clōūd, bŷ nīght ā pillār ōf fīre	12.
	Thē bīrd ōf Jōve ſtoōp'd frōm hīs āērŷ cōūr	11.
	Hūrl'd hēādlōng flāmīng frōm thē ēthērēāl ſkŷ.	1.

VIII. Of the Dactyle.

This is used, I think, only in the first four places.

1mo	Mŷrāds thē brīght: īf hē whōm mŷtūāl lēāgue	1.
	Mānŷ ā dārk lēāgue rēduc'd īn c.rēfūl wārch	10.
	Shādōwŷ ſēts ōff thē fācē ōf thīngs īn vāīn	5.
	Fōllōwīng ābōvē thē ōlŷmṑiān hīll ī ſōār	7.
	Tīmēly īntērṑōſēs, ānd hēr mōnthly rōund	3.

With

2do	With impetuous recoil, and jarring sound	2.
	and Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old	3.
	and corporeal to incorporeal turn	5.
3tio	More justly, seat worthier of gods is built	
4to	In sight of God's high throne gloriously bright	3.
	Before thy fellows, ambitious to win	6.
	ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen	9.
	over the vast abyss, following the tract	10.
	For that celestial light. Be it so, since He	1.

In the fifth place I recollect no instance, but can conceive it in two cases;

1. After three Iambics and a pause, then a Trochee and a Dactyle;
2. After four Iambics and a pause, then a Dactyle.

IX. *Aphæresis.*

A word, which is an Iambic in sound, must suffer Aphæresis, rather than be shortened to make the two first syllables of an Anapaest.

Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl 10.

X. *Many like feet in the same verse.*

A verse will admit not only one, but sometimes two, and sometimes three Trochees; thus,

2. Troch. Ministring spirits, train'd up in feast and song 6.
3. Troch. Shoots invisible virtue, e'en to the deep 3.
- And likewise two or three Spondees;
2. Spond. and the dire kifs renew'd, and the dire form 10.
3. Spond. Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death
- So also two or three Anapaests;
2. Anap. Celestial, whether among the thrones or named 11.
3. Anap. O'er many a frozen many an airy alp 2.

I believe never more than two Pyrrhics, because they generally require to be mixt with spondees, and would therefore leave no Iambic in the verse.

Nor do I recollect more than two Dactyles,
Little inferior by my adventure hard. 10.

XI. *Many different feet in the same verse.*

This has already appeared in several of the foregoing instances, and sometimes leave only two, sometimes only one Iambic in a verse: thus under observation X. we had a Dactyle, and two Trochees; a Trochee, and two Spondees; and in the following, a Pyrrhic, a Spondee, a Trochee.

and country wherof here needs no account 4.

Sometimes only one Iambic is left; thus we had observation X. three Trochees and a Dactyle; and in the following, one Trochee, one Spondee, two Anapaests.


Throws his steep flight in many an airy wheel	3.
Two Spondees, one Pyrrhic, one Trochee,	
Draw after him the third part of heav'n's host	5.
Two Trochees, one Pyrrhic, one Spondee,	
Prosperous or adverse, so shalt thou lead	11.
And many other varieties needless to note.	

From the Gentleman's Magazine.


Staffordshire, Sept. 24. 1757.

THE Roman numerals, though found to be greatly inferior in point of utility to the Arabic characters, by which all operations in arithmetic are now usually performed, are yet retained in use in some cases; but I much question, whether it be generally known, or at least agreed upon, how they originally received their value.—The reason why M and C should signify the one a hundred, and the other a thousand, is very obvious, they being the initial letters of *Mille* and *Centum*. But why does D stand for five hundred, L for fifty, X for ten, and V. for five? the solution of this difficulty, to me appears to be this; the old antique way of writing the letter M was thus,



or rather thus, 

which being cut in two in the middle, by a perpendicular line, leaves two D's, each of which expresses just half the value of M. The like reasoning will hold good in regard

to the letter L, for if the  be

horizontally dissected, the lower part makes an L, two of which are equal to C. As to the letter V, I think it may be accounted for thus; the words *quinque*, *qui quis*, *quoniam*, and many others, begin-

ning with q, were anciently written with C, as may be seen in the old copies of Plautus, and other authors; now as they had already made use of C to represent a hundred, it could not again be used here, therefore it is probable they took the next letter, which happens to be U, or V, as it was formerly written. This being admitted, the X may be easily made out, by joining the V's together, the position of the lower being only inverted. These, Mr. Urban, are my conjectures upon this subject; if you think they have any degree of probability in them, or may excite others to give us a better rationale, you are at liberty to make use of them as you think proper.

PHILARITHMUS.

Mr. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent, Philarithmus, has endeavoured to shew how the Roman numeral letters received their value; and tho' his hypothesis is ingenious, yet I think I can shew that he is radically mistaken, by proving, that there is great reason to believe the Romans never expressed any numbers by letters, except as the characters which they used to express numbers, became letters by accident.

In the first place, however, I am ready to acknowledge, that the Greeks, and other eastern nations, did

did use their letters for numerical characters; but from the manner in which they used them, I draw my first argument, to prove that letters were not thus used by the Romans. Every letter in the alphabet was used to denote some number by the Greeks and Orientals, and each letter denoted a less or greater number, as it was nearer or more remote from the first letter in their alphabetical order, and no letter, which in the order of the alphabet stands after another, ever denoted a number less than the letter that stands before it. Now, if the Romans, who derived their letters originally from the Greeks, had derived also their numeration by letters, it is in the highest degree probable, that these particulars would have been the same in both: but as not one third of the Roman letters are numerals, so neither is the numeral value of those that are so, more or less, according to their place in alphabetic order; for D and C, which are among the first letters of the alphabet, and M and L, which are in the middle, are of much greater numeral value than X and V, which are near the end.

But it has been supposed that the Romans used M to denote 1000, because it is the first letter of *Mille*, which is Latin for 1000; and C to denote 100, because it is the first letter of *Centum*, which is Latin for 100. Your correspondent also supposes, that D being formed by dividing the old M in the middle, was therefore appointed to stand for 500, that is, half as much as the M stood for when it was whole; and that L being half a C, was, for the same reason, used to denominate 50. But what reason is there to suppose, that 1000 and 100 were

the numbers which letters were first used to express? And what reason can be assigned why D, the first letter in the Latin word *decem*, ten, should not rather have been chosen to stand for that number than for 500, because it had a rude resemblance to half an M? But if these questions could be satisfactorily answered, there are other numeral letters, which have never yet been accounted for at all. I think these considerations render it probable, that the Romans did not, in their original intention, use letters to express numbers at all; the most natural account of the matter seems to be this:

The Romans probably put down a single stroke I for one, as is still the practice of those who score on a slate, or with chalk; this stroke I they doubled, trebled, and quadrupled, to express 2, 3, and 4: thus, II. III. IV. So far they could easily number the minims, or strokes, with a glance of the eye, but they presently found, that if more were added, it would soon be necessary to tell the strokes one by one: for this reason, when they came to 5, they expressed it by joining two strokes together in an acute angle, thus V, which will appear the more probable, if it be considered, that the progression of the Roman numbers is from 5 to 5, *i. e.* from the fingers on one hand to the fingers on the other.

Ovid has touched upon the original of this in his *Fastorum*, lib. iii. and Vitruv. lib. c. i. has made the same remark.

After they had made this acute angle V. for five, they added single strokes to it to the number of 4, thus, VI. VII. VIII. VIII. and then as the minims could not be further multiplied without confusion,

sion, they doubled their acute angle, by prolonging the two lines beyond their intersection; thus X, to denote two fives, or ten. After they had doubled, trebled, and quadrupled this double acute angle thus, XX. XXX. XXXX. they then, for the same reason which induced them first to make a single angle, and then to double it, joined two single strokes in another form, and, instead of an acute angle, made a right angle L, to denote fifty. When this 50 was doubled, they then doubled the right angle thus LL, to denote 100; and having numbered this double right angle four times, thus, LL. LLL. LLLL. when they came to the fifth number, as before, they reverted it, and put a single stroke before it, thus LI, to denote 500, and when this 500 was doubled, then they also doubled their double right angle, setting two double right angles opposite to each other, with a single stroke between them, thus LII to denote one thousand; when this note for 1000 had been four times repeated, then they put down LIII for 5,000, LLIII for 10,000, and LIIII for 50,000, LLLIIII for 100,000, LIIIIII for 500,000, and LLLLLIIII for one million.

That the Romans did not originally write M for 1000, and C for 100, but square characters, as they are written above, we are expressly informed by Paulus Manutius; but the corners of the angles being cut off by transcribers for dispatch, these figures were gradually brought into what are now numeral letters. When the corners of LII were made round, it stood thus c10. which is so near the Gothic M, that it soon deviated into that letter; so LI having the

corner made round stood thus 10. and then easily deviated into D. E also became a plain C by the same means; the single rectangle which denoted 50, was, without alteration, a capital L; the double acute angle was an X; the single acute angle a V consonant; and a plain single stroke, the letter I. and thus these seven letters, M, D, C, L, X, V, I, became numerals.

And as a further proof of this hypothesis, let it be considered, that c10 and 10 are still used for 1000 and 500, instead of M and D; and this mark M, or this 50, denote 1000, which may be easily derived from this figure LII, but cannot be deviations from, or corruptions of the Roman letter M.

I am, Mr. Urban, yours,
and Philarithmus's
very humble Servant,

A. B.

An account of several wonderful particularities discovered on opening a hive that had a few days before received a young swarm.

From Dr. Swammerdam's Book of Nature, or History of Insects.

HAppening to be in the country on the 25th of July, I observed a great swarm of bees, which, on its hanging to an elm, I ordered to be received into a hive; but in a little time they all left this new habitation, and fled back to the elm, where they hung entangled by each others legs. The female bee had not dropt from the hive with the others: I was therefore obliged to have recourse to another shaking; when having brought the female into the hive, all the rest followed.

On

On the 26th of July the weather was tolerably good, with a bright sunshine; the 27th cloudy; the 28th and 29th rainy: on the 30th, on examining the hive, I found, where it stood, a piece of a honey-comb, which had fallen thither, either because it had not been strongly enough fastened to the top of the hive, or because too many bees had lighted upon it at one time. This piece of a comb contained 418 cells of the working bees; some were building, and others were finished, and there were also ten eggs sticking to the wax by one of their ends. All the forenoon of the 31st it was rainy, and about mid-day very cloudy and windy, with some rain. In the evening I ordered the hive to be taken into my chamber, in order to examine what the bees had done in the space of these six days.

But as I was afraid of being stung in this enterprize, I resolved to have all the bees killed before I went to handle or inspect them; for this reason I fumigated them with a bundle of lighted matches rolled up in linen rags, to such a thickness, that it would just fit in the upper opening of the hive. All my endeavours to kill these bees this way were however to no purpose; for after plying them with this fume, from eight o'clock to eleven, lighting the matches from time to time, as they went out, the bees continued alive; but they seemed grievously complaining of, and resented the injury offered them, with the most horrid noise and loudest buzzings.

The next morning all was quiet again, so I removed the hive, at the bottom of which I found some hundreds of bees lying dead upon the ground; but the greatest part

of them were still alive, and some of them were beginning to fly away. I therefore resolved to fumigate the hive a second time, and I gave its inhabitants liberty to escape while it was doing. For fear of being stung on this occasion, I took a half pint bottle, and having rolled some soft paper about the neck of it, thrust it into the opening of the hive, taking care afterwards to stop all gaps between the door and opening of the hive, and the neck of the bottle, with more paper of the same kind. As soon as the sulphureous vapour began to fill the hive, the bees in the greatest hurry and confusion, and with the most dreadful buzzing, rushed, to the number of 1898, in a manner all at once into the bottle, which I then removed to substitute another in its place; and by repeating the operation in this manner, I at last so thoroughly accomplished my purpose, that not the least noise could be heard in the hive.

Having then turned the hive upside down, I found the queen lying dead, in appearance, upon the ground, and some of the others which had fallen upon the ground, killed downright, and wet all over: whilst some other bees that had remained in the upper part of the hive were quite dry, and when put into the bottles flew about as briskly as if they had not received the least harm.

I next poured some water upon the prisoners I had in the bottle; by this means they were all drowned in a very short time. I then made my examination, and found the swarm consisted of 5669 bees, and was therefore a very good one; according to the judgment I had formed of it on its first appearance.

ance. Nevertheless, as the season was very far advanced, and the spot the bees lighted upon very ill furnished with materials for making honey, I thought it worth while to sacrifice them to the curiosity I had of knowing what work such a number could perform in so short a time, and withal in so unfavourable weather.

Among this great multitude, there was but one female bee. The greatest number of them were working bees, which are neither males nor females; and there were besides these and the female bee already mentioned, only 33 male bees, preposterously called by the vulgar hatching bees; for the young bees are hatched by the mere heat of the summer, and that which is caused by the perpetual hurry and motion of the old bees flying about, or working in the hive. It is very remarkable, that the bottle into which the first 1893 bees, driven out of the hive, had been received, was thoroughly heated by the perpetual motion of these imprisoned creatures, and the warm vapours, which exhaled from their bodies.

The number of waxen cells begun and finished, including those of the comb I had found on the ground on my first examining the hive, amounted to 3392: they were all of the same size and form, and were intended only for nests to hatch the working bees. In 236 of the cells some honey had been stored up, but it had been afterwards made use of, as very little could be then gathered abroad. It was no difficult matter to distinguish the cells thus made use of from the others, for they had received a yellow tincture from the honey deposited in them; whereas those which

had not as yet been employed this way were of a shining white.

There were also 62 of these cells, in which the bees had already begun to lay up their ordinary food or bread called erithace. This substance was of a changeable colour, between a yellow and a purplish red; but perhaps this tinge might be owing to the fumigation; the whiteness of the unemployed wax was in some parts also impaired by the same means; coloured and covered besides with black spots.

In 35 cells I found as many eggs fixed in them at one end; so that including the eggs found in the comb, which had fallen to the ground as already mentioned, there were 45 eggs in all. There were besides in 150 of the cells so many new-hatched worms, but these lay almost insensible and motionless. They were of different sizes. All these worms were surrounded with that kind of food which the most expert observers of bees think is honey thrown up by the old ones, out of their stomachs. This kind of honey is white, like a solution of gum tragacanth, or starch dissolved in water, and is almost insipid; it shews nothing remarkable on being viewed by the microscope. In the worms themselves I could perceive pulmonary tubes of a silver whiteness, running most beautifully on each side through their little transparent bodies.

I examined attentively the wax cemented by way of foundation to the top of the hive, but I could find no difference between that and the other wax of which the cells consist. They appear both to have the same nature and properties. I could not, however, but admire this

this strong union or fastening; this substance being just spread upon the hive like a crust, and consequently fastened to it by a very small portion of its surface; whereas the rest of the wax hung perpendicularly from this foundation, without any lateral or other support whatsoever, as if a wooden bowl were fixed to a plain ceiling by a small part of its circumference.

This hive contained the rudiments of a great many more such combs of wax, of an oval form, and full of cells on each side; the empty spaces left between the combs, for the bees to pass and repass, did not exceed half an inch in breadth; so that it is plain the comb I found open upon the ground, and in which I reckoned 418 cells, had been torn from its foundation by its own weight, and that of the bees walking upon it. Hence it appears with what good reason those who keep bees, place sticks cross ways in their hives, that the combs may have the more support: and accordingly we observe that in these hives, the bees themselves on each side suspend their combs to these sticks.

Considering the great multitude of bees employed in building the waxen cells, which I have been just examining, there is no great reason to be surprised at their having done so much work that way, though the time they had to do it in was so short, and the weather so unfavourable. But it is really more astonishing to think how a single female could lay so many eggs in the same small interval, and withal deposit every egg in a separate cell, and there firmly fasten it. We must also allow

some time for laying the perpendicular foundations. It is, moreover, very surprising how these eggs should so speedily turn to worms, and how those worms should grow so very suddenly to their state of change. But I must now conclude, and I shall do it with the following account of what the hive I have been describing contained.

- 33 males.
- 1 female.
- 5637 working bees.
- 3392 wax cells, for the use of the working bees.
- 45 eggs.
- 150 worms.
- 62 cells containing bees bread.
- 236 cells in which honey had been laid up.

An account of an extraordinary shower of black dust, that fell in the island of Zetland, Oct. 20. 1755. Being the extract of a letter from Sir Andrew Mitchell, of Westshire, Bart. to John Pringle, M. D. F. R. S.

IN compliance with your desire, I made particular enquiry, whether at or about the time the earthquake happened at Lisbon, Nov. 1, 1755, any uncommon phenomena were observed to appear in the islands of Orkney or Zetland, as such had happened about that time in other parts of Scotland. From Orkney I was informed, that nothing particular had happened, only, that about the time mentioned, the tides were observed to be much higher than ordinary. I received from Zetland a letter, dated May 22, 1756, from

Mr.

Mr. William Brown, master of the grammar-school at Scarroway in that country, a sensible and observing man; wherein he writes verbatim as follows: "Blessed be God, notwithstanding the great devastations that have been made in other parts of the world by earthquakes, we have been entirely free from any disaster of that nature: Nor has any thing extraordinary happened in this country since you left it, only on Monday, October 20th last, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, the sky being very hazy, as it uses to be before a storm of thunder and lightning, there fell a black dust over all the country, though in greater quantities in some places than in others. It was very much like lamp-black, but smelled strongly of sulphur. People in the fields had their faces, hands, and linen blackened by it. It was followed by rain.—Some people assign the cause of it to some extraordinary eruption of Hecla. But I shall trouble you no more about it, as no doubt some of your friends have written to you of it some time ago."

In June, 1756, I returned to Zetland; and upon further enquiry, found what Mr. Brown had written to me was attested by Mr. Mitchell, parson of the parish of Tengwall, and by several gentlemen of credit and reputation, who had seen and observed the same phenomenon in different parts of the country at the time above-mentioned.

Mr. Brown having omitted to mention how the wind did blow at the time the black dust was observed, I made particular en-

quiry about that circumstance, and found it was from the S. W. which does not seem to favour the opinion, that the dust proceeded from an eruption of mount Hecla, which lies about N. W. from Zetland, unless it may be supposed that a north wind happening just before, had carried this dust to the southward, and the south-west wind immediately following had brought it back to the northward. But in this case, would not this black dust have been observed in Zetland at its first travelling to the southward? Upon enquiry, I did not hear it was.

The method of cultivating madder in England, from many experiments, made in the course of thirty years, on the culture of that useful plant. Extracted from a treatise lately published on that subject, by Philip Miller, F. R. S.

THIS piece is dedicated to Lord Folkestone, president of the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. The author, in his preface, imputes the total neglect of cultivating madder in England, for a great number of years, to the many disputes occasioned about ascertaining the tithes upon it; a neglect the Dutch availed themselves of, by whom it is cultivated with the utmost diligence, and almost monopolized. This ingredient is so very essential in dying of cloth and staining of linen, that neither can be carried on without it; and the Dutch have received from us, for many years

years past, upon an average, more than 180,000*l.* per ann. for that commodity. In England there is ground better adapted to the growth of madder, than the best land they have in Holland, and it may be raised at less expence. The legislature have been so well convinced, therefore, of the national utility of raising madder, as to pass two laws, in the last session, to ascertain the tithes for 14 years; and the society for the encouragement of arts. &c. have offered a handsome premium to promote the planting thereof.

The root of the cultivated madder (our author says) is composed of many long fibres larger than a goose quill; they are taper and much branched, of a brown colour on the outside, but clear, transparent, and of an orange colour within, having a tough slender pith in the middle, of a bright yellow colour, of a sweetish taste, mixed with a little bitter; from these arise many four-cornered stalks, which grow from four to six or seven feet high, according to the goodness of the land; they are armed with short herbaceous spines, and at each joint are garnished with five or six spear-shaped leaves, about three inches long, and almost one broad in the middle, drawing to a point at each end; their upper surfaces are smooth, but their mid-rib on the under side is armed with short, crooked, herbaceous spines, which fasten to the clothes of those who rub against them. The leaves are placed in whorls round the stalks, spreading out every way like the points of a star. From the side of the stalk, at each joint, come out the footstalks which support the flowers;

they are opposite on each side the stalk, and branch into several divisions, having a few small leaves at bottom, in shape like the other; there are sometimes three of these at the same joint, and at others but two. The flowers are small, of a bright yellow colour, and have but one petal or leaf, which is cut into four parts, which spread open. These appear in July, and are sometimes succeeded by small, rough, burry seeds, growing by pairs, which never ripen in this country. The stalk or haulm of this plant decays in autumn, and new shoots arise in the spring; the roots send out many side fibres to a good distance, and these also put out shoots, whereby the plants propagate greatly.

The country where this plant grows naturally, is supposed to be the Levant. I was informed by a gentleman, who brought over several specimens of the plant to the late Sir Hans Sloane, that he gathered them between Scanderoon and Aleppo, where he saw the plants growing wild without culture.

Mr. Miller next gives a curious account of the culture, &c. of this plant, as practised by the Dutch, with drawings, viz. plan of the cold stove, section of the kiln-room and kiln, plan and section of the drying tower, and plan and section of the pounding-house. His method of cultivating it in England, take in his own words, as follows.

“ The land upon which I have found madder thrive best, is a soft sandy loam; and if it has been in tillage some years, it will be better than that which is fresh broken
up.

up. This should have at least a depth of two feet and a half, or three feet of good earth, that the roots may run down without obstruction, and must be quite clear from couch, or the roots of any bad weeds; for as the roots of madder should remain three years in the ground, so where there are any of those weeds which spread and multiply at their roots, they will intermix with the madder roots, and in three years will have taken such possession of the ground as to greatly weaken the madder, and render it very troublesome to separate when the madder is taken up.

The ground should be ploughed deep before winter, and laid in very high rough ridges to mellow; and if it is not too strong, there will be no necessity for ploughing again, till just before the time of planting the madder, when the land should be ploughed as deep as the beam of the plough will admit; and there should be men following the plough in the furrows, who should dig a full spit below the bottom of the furrow, and turn it up on the top. By preparing the ground of this depth, the roots of the madder will strike down and be of greater length, in which the goodness of the crop chiefly consists. The land being thus prepared and made level, will be fit to receive the plants. The best time for planting the madder, is about the middle or latter end of April, according as the season is more or less forward, which must be determined by the young shoots; for when these are about an inch and a half, or two inches above ground, they are in the best state for planting. When the shoots are

longer, they are very apt to droop upon being moved, especially if the season should prove warm and dry; and if their tops wither and decay, the roots will be greatly weakened.

In the taking up of these shoots for planting, the ground should be opened with a spade, that they may be separated from the mother plants with as much root as possible; for if the roots are broken off, they will not succeed. These plants should be drawn up no faster than they are planted, for if they lie long above ground, they will shrink, and their tops wither, and then they often miscarry; therefore if they are brought from a distant place, the slips should be taken off as soon as they begin to shoot, for the less top they have, the better they will bear carriage; there should be great care taken in the packing of them up for carriage; especial regard should be had not to pack them so close, or in so great quantity, as to cause them to heat, for that will soon spoil them; but if they are a little withered by lying out of the ground, their roots should be set upright in water for a few hours before they are planted, which will stiffen and recover them again.

In the planting of madder, there are some who make the rows but one foot asunder, others one foot and a half, some two feet, and others who allow them three feet distance; I have made trial of the three last distances, and have found when the roots have been left three years in the ground, that three feet distance row from row is the best; but if they are taken up in two years, two feet asunder may

may do very well; and the distance in the rows, plant from plant, should be one foot, if to stand two years, or a foot and a half, if to stand three.

If there is no danger of the ground being too wet in winter, the plants may be planted on the level ground; but if, on the contrary, the ground should be raised in ridges where each row of plants is to be set, that their roots may not reach the water in winter, for if they do it will stop their downright growth; and this is the reason why the Dutch who plant madder in the low Countries, between Helvoetsluys and the Brill, raise their ridges so high as two or three feet, but in Zealand, where the ground is drier, they do not raise the beds more than four or five inches above the intervals, that the wet may drain off from the beds where the madder is planted.

The method of planting the madder on level ground is as follows, viz. The ground being made smooth, a line is drawn cross it to mark out the rows, that they may be straight for the more convenient cleaning, and for the better digging or ploughing the ground between the rows; then with an iron-shod dibble, holes are made at the distance which the plants are to stand from each other. The depth of the holes must be in proportion to the length of the roots of the plants, which must be planted the same depth in the ground which they had been while they were upon the mother plants, for if any part of the root is left above ground, the sun and wind will dry it, which will retard the growth of the plants; and, should any part of the

green be buried in the ground it will not be so well, tho' of the two, the latter will be less prejudicial, especially if there be not too much of the green buried. When the plants are put into the holes, the earth should be pressed close to them to secure them from being drawn out of the ground. For crows and rooks frequently draw the young plants out of the ground, before they get new roots, where there is not this care taken: so that in two or three days, I have known half the plants, on a large piece of land, destroyed by these birds.

If there happens to be some showers of rain fall in a day or two after the plants are planted, it will be of great service to them, for they will presently put out new roots, and become strong, so that, if dry weather should afterwards happen, they will not be in so much danger of suffering thereby, as those that are later planted. There are some who, from a covetous temper of making most use of the ground, plant a row of dwarf peas, or kidney-beans, between each row of madder, and pretend that hereby the land is kept cleaner from weeds; but I am very certain the crop of madder is injured thereby much more than the value of those things which grow between the rows, as I have experienced; therefore I advise those persons who plant madder, never to sow or plant any thing between the rows, but to keep the madder quite clean from weeds, or any other kind of vegetable.

In order to keep the ground thus clean, it should be scuffled over with a Dutch hoe, as soon as the young weeds appear in the spring,

spring, when a man can perform a great deal of this work in a day, and if it is done in dry weather, the weeds will die as fast as they are cut down; whereas, when the weeds are left to grow so long as to get strength, they are not so soon destroyed, and the expence of hoeing the ground then will be more than treble what it might be performed for early in the season; besides, there will be danger of cutting down some of the weaker plants with the weeds, if the persons employed to perform this work are not very careful, therefore it is much cheaper, as also better for the madder, to begin this work early in the spring, and to repeat it as often as the weeds render it necessary; for by keeping the ground thus constantly clean, the madder will thrive the better, and the expence in the whole year will be less; for when weeds are suffered to grow large, they are not easily subdued.

During the first summer, the only culture which the madder requires, is that of keeping it clean in the manner before directed, and, when the shoots or haulm of the plants decay in autumn, they should be raked off the ground; then the intervals between the rows should either be dug with a spade, or ploughed with a hoeing plough, laying up the earth over the heads of the plants in a roundish ridge, which will be of great service to the roots. The Dutch cover the haulm of their madder with earth, leaving it to rot upon the ground; this perhaps may be necessary in their country, to keep the frost out of the ground; but, as I have never found that the severest winters have ever injured the madder roots in England,

so there is not the same necessity for that practice here.

The following spring, before the madder begins to shoot, the ground should be raked over smooth, that the young shoots may have no obstruction, and, if there should be any young weeds appearing on the ground, it should be first scuffled over to destroy the weeds, and then raked over smooth; after this the same care must be taken in the following summer, as in the former, to keep the ground clean from weeds, and, if it is performed by the hoe-plough, the earth of the intervals should be thrown up against one side of the ridges, which will earth up the roots, and greatly increase their strength; but, before the ground of one interval is so hoed, the haulm of the plants should be turned over to the next adjoining interval, and, if they are permitted so to lie for a fortnight or three weeks, and then turned back again on those intervals which were hoed, observing first to scuffle the ground to destroy any young weeds, which may have appeared since the stirring of the ground, then the alternate intervals should be ploughed in like manner, turning the earth up against the opposite sides of the roots; by this method the intervals will be alternately ploughed, and the plants earthed up, whereby the ground will be kept clean and stirred, which will greatly promote the growth of the roots, and by this method the superficial shoots will be subdued, and the principal roots greatly strengthened. The following autumn the ground should be cleared of the haulm and weeds, and the earth raised in ridges over the roots, as in the foregoing year.

The

The third spring the roots will furnish a great supply of young plants, but, before these appear, the ground should be cleaned and raked smooth, that the shoots may have no obstruction to their coming up: and, when the young plants are fit to take off, it should be performed with great care, always taking off those which are produced at the greatest distance from the crown of the mother-plants, first, because those are what rob them most of their nourishment, and the wounds made by separating them from the old roots are not near so hurtful as those near the crown, for the stripping off too many of the shoots there will retard the growth of the plant.

The culture of the madder in the third summer must be the same as the second, but, as the roots will then be much stronger, the earth should be laid up a little higher to them at the times when the ground is cleaned and ploughed; and, if all the distant superficial shoots, which come up in the intervals, are hoed or ploughed off, it will be of service to strengthen the larger downright roots, and, as the haulm will now be very strong and thick, the frequent turning it over, from one interval to another, will prevent its rotting, for if it lies long in the same position, the shoots, which are near the ground, where there will be always more or less damp, and being covered with the upper shoots, the air will be excluded from them, which will cause them to rot, for the shoots of madder are naturally disposed to climb upon any neighbouring support, and in places where they have been supported, I have seen them

more than ten feet high; but the expence of staking the plants to support their shoots would be much too great to be practised in general, therefore the other method of turning the haulm over, from one interval to the other, will be found of great use, for hereby it is kept from decaying, and by so doing the sun is alternately admitted to each side of the roots, which is of more consequence to the growth of the madder than most people conceive; and from many repeated trials I have found, that where the haulm has decayed or rotted in summer, it has greatly retarded the growth of the roots. There have been some ignorant pretenders who have advised the cutting of the haulm in summer, in order to strengthen the roots, but whoever practises this, will find, to their cost, the absurdity of this method, for I have fully tried this many years ago, and have always found that every other root, upon which this was practised, was at least a third part smaller than the intermediate roots, whose haulm was left entire. The occasion of first making this experiment was, because the plants had been set too near each other, and the season proving moist had increased the number and strength of the shoots, so that they became so thick, as that many of them began to rot: to prevent which, I cut off the shoots of every other plant, to give room for spreading the others thinner, but soon after this was done the plants produced a greater number of shoots than before, but they were weaker, and the effect it had upon the roots was as before related, and since then I have frequently repeated the experiment on a few roots, and

have always found the effect the same.

As soon as the haulm of the madder begins to decay in autumn, the roots may be taken up for use, because then the roots have done growing for that season, and will then be plumper, and less liable to shrink, than if they are dug up when the plants are growing; for I have always found that the roots of every kind of plant, which are taken out of the ground during the time of their growth, are very apt to shrink, and lose much of their weight in a short time.

When the season for digging up the madder roots is come, it should be done in the following manner, viz. A deep trench should be dug on one side of the ground next to the first row of madder, to make a sufficient opening to receive the earth, which must be laid therein in digging up the row of roots, so that it should be at least two feet broad, and two spits, and two shovelings deep, and should be as close as possible to the roots, without breaking or cutting them in doing it; then the row of roots must be carefully dug up, turning the earth into the trench before mentioned. In the doing of this there should be to every person who digs, two or three persons to take out the roots, that none may be lost, and as much of the earth should be shaken out of the roots as possible; and after the principal roots are taken up, there will be many of the long fibres remaining below; therefore, in order to get the roots as clean as possible, the whole spot of ground should be dug of the same depth as the first trench, and the pickers must follow the diggers

to get them all out to the bottom. As the digging of the land to this depth is necessary, in order to take up the roots with as little loss as possible, it is a fine preparation for any succeeding crop; and I have always found that the ground, where madder has grown, produced better crops of all kinds than land of equal goodness, which had not the like culture.

After the roots are taken up, the sooner they are carried to the place of drying, the finer will be their colour; for if they lie in heaps, they are apt to heat, which will discolour them, or if rain should happen to wet them much, it will have the same effect, therefore no more roots should be taken up than can be carried under shelter the same day.

The first place, in which the roots should be laid to dry, must be open to admit the air, but covered on the top to keep out the wet. If a building is to be erected new, such as the tanners have for drying their skins will be as proper as any, for these have weather-boards from top to bottom, at equal distances, to keep out the driving rain, but the spaces between being open, admit the air freely: and if instead of plank floors, or stages above each other, they are laid with hurdles or basket-work, upon which the roots are laid to dry, the air will have freer passage to the under-side of the roots, which will dry them more equally.

In this place they may remain three or four days, but the roots should be turned over once or twice, that every part may dry equally, by which time the earth, which adhered to the roots, will be so dry as easily to rub off, which should

should be done before the roots are removed to the cold stove; for the slower the roots are dried, the less they will shrink, and the better will be the colour of the madder; and the cleaner the roots are from earth, the better the commodity will be for the use when prepared.

Wherever there are any large barns or other buildings, whose sides are open to admit the air, there will be no occasion for erecting buildings for this purpose; because these will answer full as well; but if there are different stages of hurdles erected in these buildings, at three or four feet above each other, to lay the roots upon them, the hurdles being open, will admit the air to the under side of the roots, whereby they will dry more equally than when they are spread on a close floor, and hereby a much greater quantity of roots may be dried under the same roof. During the time they remain here, the doors and all other apertures of the building should be kept constantly open, for the greater quantity of free air is admitted to the roots, the better they will dry; and the slower they dry at first, the less of their weight will be diminished, and the colour will be the better; but they must be guarded from wet, which will be very prejudicial to the colour. When the roots have lain in this place so long as to dry their outsides sufficiently to rub off the dirt which adhered to them, then they should be carried to the kiln to be farther dried; and as there are in most parts of England kilns already built for drying of malt and hops, they may be used for drying of madder; but if there were ventilators fixed to these kilns, for blowing a suffi-

cient quantity of air through the rooms where the madder roots are drying, in the manner directed by the Reverend Dr. Hales for drying of malt and hops, it will be found a much better method than that which is practised by the Dutch, and will save a great expence of fuel.

When the outside of the roots have been sufficiently dried in this cold stove or kiln, they should be removed to the threshing-floor, which may be the same as in a common barn where corn is threshed. The floor of this should be swept, and made as clean as possible; then the roots should be threshed to beat off their skins or outside coverings; this is the part which is prepared separately from the inner part of the root, and is called mull, which is sold at a very low price, being the worst sort of madder, so cannot be used where the permanency or beauty of the colours are regarded; these husks are separated from the roots, pounded by themselves, and are afterwards packed up in separate casks, and sold by the title of mull. If this is well prepared, and not mixed with dirt, it may be sold for about fifteen shillings per hundred weight, at the price which madder now bears, and this, as is supposed, will defray the whole expence of drying the crop.

After the mull is separated from the roots, they must then be removed to the kiln again, which must now have a greater heat than before, where they must be dried with care, for if the heat is too great, the roots will dry too fast, whereby they will lose much in weight, and the colour of the madder will not be near so bright: to avoid which, the roots should be

frequently turned, while they remain in this stove, and the fires must be properly regulated, and a sufficient quantity of fresh air blown through the kiln, which will drive out the foul air, occasioned by the perspiration of the roots, which will be found very useful in preserving their colour. If some trials are made by fixing a good thermometer in the room, the necessary heat may be better ascertained than can be done any other way, but this will require to be greater at some times than at others, according as the roots are more or less succulent, or the weather more or less cold or damp, but it will always be better to have the heat rather less than over hot, for though the roots may require a longer time to dry with a slow heat, yet the colour will be better.

When the roots are properly dried in this stove, they must be carried to the pounding-house, where they must be reduced to powder; but whether it is necessary to separate the krap from the gemeens, as is now practised by the Dutch, the consumers of madder will be better judges than myself.

The expence in erecting of the pounding-houses in Holland is very great, so need not be built here, for any common building will serve for this purpose, where there is room to fix up the apparatus for pounding the roots: the blocks for this purpose should be like those used in Holland, as should also be the stampers, which are bound round at bottom with thick iron bands, framed like the points of a star; for if the surface of the stampers are smooth and even, the madder will adhere to them so closely, as to render it impossible to

pulverise the roots properly. The stampers may be so contrived as to be worked by water where there is conveniency, or perhaps by wind; but if it is done by horses, as in Holland, there need not be so great an apparatus, for no doubt many of our mechanics, when they see the Dutch plans, can make great improvements to them."

Mr. Millar, at the close of his performance, answers such objections as have been made against retrieving the cultivation of madder in England, and gives a short abstract of the two acts mentioned above; and we hope, for the honour and interest of this country, a spirit of emulation will be exerted to recover so valuable a branch of agriculture.

The strange effects of some effervescent mixtures. In a letter from Dr. James Mounsey, Physician of the Prussian army, and F. R. S. to Mr. Henry Baker, F. R. S. Communicated by Mr. Baker.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

Moscow, Sept. 20, 1756.

MR. Butler, a paper-stainer, trying to make some discoveries for the better fixing of colours, was put in great danger of his life by the following experiments.

Having put into one gallipot a quarter of an ounce of verdegriis, and into another pot two leaves of false gold-leaf, to each he poured about a spoonful of aqua-fortis. They began immediately to ferment, especially the gold-leaf. He was very assiduous in stirring them, to make the solution perfect. Having nothing else at hand, he did
this

this with a pair of small scissars, at arms length, carefully turning away his face, to prevent the fumes from entering his lungs. He was called away, about other business, before he had quite ended his process, and soon after washed and shifted himself; but he had scarce finished, before he felt a burning pain in the ring finger of his right hand, which he imputed to his having inadvertently touched the aqua-fortis. This increased every moment, and affected the whole hand with burning pain and swelling, which very soon subsided: but then it flew into the left hand, and a few minutes afterwards, into the insides of his legs, as if scalding water had been thrown on them. His stockings being immediately pulled off, there appeared a great many red spots, as large as sixpences, something raised above the skin, and all covered with very small blisters.

In about two hours after the accident, I first saw him: he was very uneasy, complaining of pain, and great anxiety, at the pit of the stomach, as if a burning hot iron was laid on it; so he expressed himself. His pulse was regular, but slower and weaker than natural: he had a nausea, and complained of a very coppery smell and taste. I ordered him some alkaline volatile medicines, and to drink small sack-whey. He vomited once, and had four or five stools, and then his stomach grew easy. But the scene soon began again with lancing pains in the left eye. He continued the same medicines, drank plentifully of the whey, and was kept in a breathing sweat, by which he found some ease at night: but whenever the sweating lessened, the burning pains returned in broad flakes, changing

from one part of the body to the other; sometimes with shootings in his eye, and sometimes along the penis, but he had no heat of urine. His pulse continued regular, but weak; and in several places of his body such kind of spots struck out as those in his legs.

Monday, the third day in the morning, after sleeping well, his pulse was somewhat raised, and he continued easy till about eleven o'clock, when the burning pains returned, shooting from place to place; but always so superficial, that he could not distinguish whether it was in or under the skin. Rubbing the part affected with one's hand gave ease; but when the sweating went off, and the burnings and shooting became insufferable, I always put him into a bath of hot water, with some wood ashes, kept ready in the room, which gave him great relief. This afternoon he felt violent burning pain in his great toes, and sometimes in his left hand, with shootings up to the shoulder. Once he cried out, in great pain, that his shoulder was burnt; for he felt something fly out with a sort of explosion; but, examining the part, I found nothing particular. He observed, when the flaky burnings began, they were as if they kindled from a point, and flashed like lightning, as he termed it. He was very often tormented with such pains on the pit of the stomach; and this evening had shootings thro' the back, with a pain in the belly. He complained of a strong sulphureous smell, which he said was like to suffocate him; though his breathing seemed easy, and his lungs no way affected. In the night he was seized with great pain about the heart, and cried out violently, that his heart

was on fire ; but after taking a dose of nervous medicines, and being put into the bath, he was soon freed from this, and passed the rest of the night tolerably well. At the time of such violent attacks the pulse continued regular, but still slower and softer than usual.

Tuesday. He complained most of his toes, and now and then burning pains in the forehead.

Wednesday. This whole day it continued most in the toes of the left foot ; but in the evening the pain on the stomach returned, which lanced to the left side, with dartings inwardly. He became so uneasy and restless, that I was obliged to add some opium to the other medicines ; which answered very well.

Thursday. The pains kept most in the toes of the left foot.

Friday. Nothing particular, except his feeling, with sharp pain, a spark (as he called it) fly out of his right cheek, in the same way, he said, as that, which burnt on his shoulder, but much less. He perceived no pain in that part before this ; nor any thing after, besides a soreness, which lasted for some days. Hitherto he had been kept in a continual sweat : his appetite was greater than his allowance ; his digestion good ; and his rest indifferent. From this time he was not attacked with any violent symptoms, and could be quiet though he did not sweat.

On Sunday he began to get out of bed, but was often seized with glowing pains, suddenly affecting different parts of the body, which seldom continued an hour in one part, but shifted from place to place : these he was troubled with in a less degree even long after he went abroad.

By care and watchfulness the violence of the symptoms were kept under ; and by the use of antidotes for poisons of the nature of what he received this from, the disease was overcome, and the patient recovered his perfect health and strength.

A remarkable case of the efficacy of the bark in a mortification. In a letter to William Watson, M. D. F. R. S. from Mr. Richard Grindall, Surgeon to the London Hospital. Read before the Royal Society, Dec. 8, 1757.

Austin Friars, Dec. 7, 1757.

S I R,

THE following case, being very singular, has induced me to lay it before the Royal Society. Although numerous instances are related in the records of medicine, of the great danger in interrupting nature in her operations, there is not one (so far as I know) in which more violent and extraordinary effects have been produced than in the following.

It may happen also, that this instance may be of service in ascertaining the virtue of the medicine in intermittents, when in the hands of men of judgment.

On the 28th of June, 1757, Mary Alexander, of the parish of Whitechapel, aged 31 years, was brought into the London hospital, having a mortification in both hands, which reached about an inch and a half above the wrists. All her toes, and about an inch of one foot beyond the last joint, were mortified ; her nose was also intirely destroyed by a mortification ; and all these happened at the same time. Upon inquiry into the cause

of this misfortune, I found that on Monday the 30th of May she was seized with a quotidian ague, which usually began about three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted near two hours, which was succeeded by a hot fit, and then a violent sweat. And in this manner she was afflicted for seven days, without any material alteration; when, being informed by a neighbour of a person who had an infallible remedy for the cure of an ague, she applied to him. He brought her two phials, containing about an ounce and half each, of a pale yellowish liquor; one of which he directed her to take directly, promising, that she should have no return of the fit of consequence; and that if she had any small return, the second bottle should cure her effectually. In consequence of which she took one dose, which was at the time the cold fit had been on about a quarter of an hour: she had no sooner swallowed it, but as she says, her stomach was on fire, and felt as if she had swallowed the strongest dram possible. The cold fit left her instantly; but she was immediately seized with so violent a fever, as to make her burn and be extremely thirsty all the following night; much more than ever she had been before, till the next morning, when a sweat a little relieved her from the violent heat. When she rose in the morning she was much troubled with a great itching in the hand, feet, and nose; and soon after all those parts began to feel numbed, or, as she describes it, as if her hands and feet were asleep; which she took but little notice of till the evening of that day, when she found the nails of both hands and feet were turning black, and, at the

same time, feeling great pain in both, as also in her nose, and that they appeared of a darkish red colour, like the skin in cold weather. Upon which, at nine o'clock that night, she sent for an apothecary, from whom, I have since been informed, the person before mentioned had bought the medicine, which he gave her. The apothecary was not at home; his journeyman went, and finding the woman had a difficulty of breathing, ordered her a mixture with *sperma ceti* and *ammoniacum*, to be taken occasionally. The apothecary did not see her himself till the 16th of June, when, finding her in a very bad condition, that her hands and feet, and nose, were entirely black, and had many vesicles or small bladders upon them, filled with a blackish bloody water, he opened them, and let out the fluid, and dressed them with yellow basilicon: and in this manner continued treating her till the 20th of the same month, when finding no material alteration for the better, he ordered her a brownish mixture, of which she was to take four spoonfuls every four hours, which, he informed me, was a decoction of the bark; and says, on taking this, she was better, as the mortification seemed inclined to stop. But as it was a bad case, he advised the woman to be carried to an hospital; and in this condition she was brought in, when she was immediately put into a course of the bark, taking a drachm of the powder every four hours; and in forty-eight hours taking it there was a perfect separation of all the mortified parts. She was then ordered to take it only three times in twenty-four hours; and, pursuing this method for eight days, there

there was a very good digestion from the parts above the mortification.

The mortified parts became now so offensive, that the poor woman pressed me much to take off her hands, assuring me she would go through the operations with good courage, being very desirous to live, though in this miserable condition.

On the 12th of July I took off both her hands; I had very little more to do than saw the bones, nature having stopped the bleeding when she stopped the mortification. In a day or two after, I took off all the toes from both feet, and now discontinued the bark, the parts appearing in a healthy and healing condition; which went on so for five weeks, when on a sudden, the parts began to look livid, her stomach failed her, and she was feverish; but upon taking an ounce of the bark, in thirty-six hours her sores began again to look well. She was not suffered to leave off the bark so soon this time, but continued taking it twice a day for a month. She is now almost well: that part of her face, from whence the nose mortified, was healed in seven weeks, the stumps of both arms are entirely healed, and both feet are well, only waiting for one piece of bone scaling off, which I believe will be in a very short time, and she is now in good health.

The person who gave her this medicine is a barber and peruke-maker at Bow. I applied to him several times, to inform me what it was he had given her. The affair was talked of so much in his neighbourhood, and the man threatened by the woman's husband, that for a long time I could not get him to

tell me, till I told him I had been informed where he bought the medicines; and the time of the day that he had them corresponding with the time of his giving them to the woman, and that I knew it was tincture of myrrh, he at last told me, that he had frequently given the above quantity of an ounce and half of it in an ague, that it had never done any harm, and hardly ever failed to cure. Upon which information I carried some tincture of myrrh to the woman, who tasted it, and is well assured it is the same liquor the barber gave her in her ague-fit. I am, with respect,

Your obliged,
and obedient servant,
R. Grindall.

An account of the political establishment of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

From the Spanish of Don Jorge Juan, &c.

THE territories of the missions of Paraguay comprehended not only the province of that name, but also a great part of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierrro, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres. The temperature of the air is good, though somewhat moist, and in some parts rather cold: the soil in many places is fertile, and produces in great abundance not only the fruits and vegetables peculiar to America, but also those of Europe, which have been introduced there. The chief articles of their commerce are, cotton, tobacco, some sugar, and the herb called Paraguay. Every town gathers annually more than 200 arrobas

of

of cotton, of a quarter of a hundred weight each, which the Indians manufacture into stuffs. There are also great quantities of tobacco produced: but the chief article is the herb Paraguay, for it grows only in the districts of the missions, and there is a vast consumption of this herb in all the provinces of Chili and Peru, especially of that called Camini, which is the pure leaf, the infusion of which is called mate, and is drank by the inhabitants of Lima twice a day in lieu of tea or chocolate: the mate, which is made by the infusion of the stalk, is not so much esteemed.

'Tis now about a century and a half since these missions were first set on foot by the Jesuits: the bad management of the Portuguese greatly favoured the views of these fathers. There was a nation of Indians called Guaranies, some whereof were settled upon the banks of the rivers Uruguay and Parana, and others an hundred leagues higher up in the country to the north west of Guayra: the Portuguese frequently came upon them, and by force carried away as many as they thought proper to their plantations, and made slaves of them: offended by such treatment, the Guaranies resolved to quit their settlements in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese, and to remove into the province of Paraguay. Accordingly a migration of 12000 persons great and small ensued. These the Jesuits soon converted, and, having had the like success in converting about an equal number of the natives of Tape, a district in Paraguay, they united the two nations, and laid the foundation of their future dominion. These fathers seem to have trod in the steps

of the first Incas, and to have civilized nations, and converted souls, in order to acquire subjects.

According to a very exact account, taken in the year 1734, there were then 32 towns of the Guaranies, which were reckoned to contain about 30,000 families; and as the new converts were continually increasing, they were then about laying the foundations of three new towns. There were also then seven very populous towns inhabited by the converted Chiquito Indians, and they were preparing to build others for the reception of the new converts of that nation which were daily made.

The missions of Paraguay are surrounded on all sides with wild or unconverted Indians, some of whom live in friendship with the towns, but others harass them by frequent incursions. The father missionaries frequently visit these Indians, and preach to them, and from these expeditions they seldom return without bringing along with them some new converts to incorporate with their civilized subjects. In the performance of this duty they sometimes penetrate an hundred leagues into the wild uncultivated tracts, where wild Indians range, and it is observed that they meet with the least success amongst those nations with whom any fugitive Mestizos, or Spanish criminals, have taken refuge. The diligence of these fathers is certainly worthy the imitation of the Protestant clergy.

Every town has its curate, who is assisted by one, and very often by two priests of the same order, according to the largeness and extent of the town and its district. These two or three priests, together

ther with six boys, who assist them in the service of the church, form a small college in every town, wherein the hours and other exercises are regulated with the same formality and exactness as in the large colleges in the cities of Peru and Chili. The most troublesome part of the duty of the assistant priests are the personal visitations, which they are obliged to make to the Indians to prevent their giving themselves up to idleness: for such is the slothfulness of the Guaranies, that if they are not very carefully looked after, the society would receive no benefit or advantage from them—They also attend the public shambles, where the cattle necessary for the sustenance of the Indians are daily slaughtered, and distribute the flesh amongst all the families in the town, in proportion to the number of persons whereof each family consists; so that all may have what is necessary, none what is superfluous. They also visit the sick, and see that they are properly taken care of. They are generally employed the whole day in these affairs, so that they have seldom time to assist the curate in his spiritual functions. All the boys and girls in the parish go to church every day in the week (except on festivals and Sundays), where they are instructed by the curate: on Sundays the whole parish goes to the church to be instructed. The curate is besides obliged to go to confess the sick, and to administer the viaticum to those who desire it, and also to perform all the other functions peculiar to his office.

In strictness the curates should be appointed in this manner. The society should nominate three per-

sons to the governor of Buenos Ayres (in whose government the missions of Paraguay are included) as being vice-patron of the missions, that he may chuse one of them for curate; and the curates should be instructed in the duties of their office by the bishop; but as the provincials of the order can best judge who are properly qualified for the office, the governor and bishop have ceded their rights to them, and by them the curates are always appointed.

The missions of the Guaranies, and the missions of the Chiquitos, into which the missions of Paraguay are divided, have each their distinct father-superior, by whom the co-adjutors or assistant-curates of the several towns in their respective divisions are appointed. These superiors are continually visiting the towns to see that they be well governed, and to endeavour to improve and augment them: they likewise from time to time take care to send out some fathers of the order into the countries of the wild Indians to make new converts. The better to enable him to discharge these duties, the superior of the Guaranies is assisted by two vice-superiors, one of whom resides in Parana, the other upon the banks of the river Uruguay, and the superior himself resides in the town of Candelaria. The post of superior of the Chiquitos is not near so troublesome as that of the superior of the Guaranies, for the Chiquitos are not less numerous, but much more docile and industrious than the Guaranies, so that they need not be continually watched and attended in order to prevent their idleness.

The king allows an annual stipend

pend of 300 pezos to each curate of the Guaranies, for the maintenance of himself and his assistants: the money is paid to the superior, who issues out monthly to each curate as much as is necessary for his subsistence, and when they want anything extraordinary, their wants are supplied upon application to him. But the Chiquitos maintain their own curates. In every town there is a plantation set apart for the maintenance of the curate, which is cultivated by the joint labour of all the inhabitants. The produce of these plantations is generally more than sufficient for the subsistence of the curates, and the surplus is sold to buy ornaments for the churches.

Nor are the curates spiritual rectors of the towns only, they are also in effect the civil governors. It is true, there are in every town of the missions a governor, regidores, and alcades, as there are in the other towns and cities under the Spanish government. But though the governor is elected by the Indians, he must be approved by the curate before he enters upon his office, nor can he chastise or punish delinquents without the curate's permission. The curate examines those who are accused of offences, and if he finds them guilty delivers them to the governor to be punished, according to the nature and quality of the offence committed. He sometimes orders them to be imprisoned for a few days, sometimes to fast, and when the fault is considerable to be whipped, which is the severest punishment that is ever inflicted; for the regulations and instructions of the curates have been so efficacious, that murder and such like

heinous crimes are never here committed; and even before they undergo these gentle corrections, the curate discourses the offenders in a mild friendly manner, and endeavours to excite in them a due sense of their crime, and of the ill consequences that might flow from it, and to convince them that they merit a much greater punishment than is inflicted. This mild treatment prevents tumults and insurrections, and acquires the curates universal veneration and esteem. The alcades are chosen annually by the regidores. The governor, regidores, and alcades, are all Indians of the best capacities, and are, in effect, so many overseers appointed by the curate, and dignified with these empty titles.

Every town has its armoury, or magazine, in which are lodged the fire-arms and other weapons, wherewith the militia are armed when they take the field, to repel the irruptions of the Portuguese and wild Indians. The militia are very dextrous and expert in the management of their arms, and are exercised on the eves of festivals, in the squares or public places of the towns. The militia is composed of all those who are able to bear arms; they are formed into companies, which have each a proper number of officers chosen from amongst those who are most distinguished for judgment and conduct. The dress of the officers is rich, adorned with gold and silver, and the device of the town to which they belong; they always appear in their uniforms on festivals, and on the days of military exercises. The governor, alcades, and regidores, have also proper robes

robes and dresses suitable to their respective offices, in which they appear on public occasions.

There are schools in every town in which the common people are taught reading and writing, and also music and dancing, in which arts they become very skilful. The Jesuits are very careful in consulting the natural bent and genius of their scholars, and in directing their studies and application accordingly. The lads of the most promising genius are taught the Latin tongue with great success. In one of the court yards of every curate's house are the various shops or workhouses of painters, or carvers, gilders, silversmiths, carpenters, weavers, and clockmakers, and of several other mechanics and artizans, who daily work for the public under the direction of the coadjutors, and at the same time teach the youth their respective arts, and occupations.

The churches are large, well built, finely decorated and enlightened, and not inferior to the richest in Peru. Each church has a choir of music, composed of instruments of all sorts, and very good voices, so that divine service is celebrated here with as much pomp and solemnity as in cathedrals: nor are the public processions less splendid, especially that of the host, which whenever it is carried abroad, is attended by the governor, alcades, and regidores, in their robes, and also by the militia in a body.

The houses of the Indians are as well built and as well furnished as most of the Spanish houses in Peru. The greatest part indeed have mud walls, others are built

with brick, and some with stone, but are all covered with tiles. In every town there is a house where gun-powder is made, that they may never want it when they are obliged to take arms, and always have it ready to make artificial fireworks on rejoicing days; for all festivals are here observed with as great ceremony and exactness as in the greatest cities. Upon the proclamation of a new king in Spain, the governors, alcades, regidores, and officers of the militia, appear dressed in new robes and uniforms of a different fashion from those they wore before.

There is a sort of convent in every town, in one part whereof are confined women of an ill life, and the other part is destined for the reception of married women who have no family, and who retire thither when their husbands are absent; for the maintenance of this house, and for the support of orphans, and of old and infirm people, all the inhabitants of the town work two days in every week, and the profits of their labour, which is called the labour of the community, are set apart for this purpose. If the produce of this labour be more than is necessary for their subsistence, the surplus is laid out to buy ornaments for the churches, and cloaths for the orphans and aged, and infirm people: so that here are no beggars, nor any who want the necessaries of life. In short, by the wise policy and prudent regulations of the Jesuits, the whole community enjoys peace and happiness.

The Guaranies are so profuse and negligent, that the curates are obliged to take into their hands all their goods and stuffs,

as soon as they are manufactured and made ready for sale, otherwise they would waste and destroy them, and not be able to maintain themselves. The Chiquitos, on the contrary, are diligent and frugal, so that the curates have no other trouble with them than the assisting them in the disposal of their goods, and procuring returns for them. For this purpose, the society keeps a factor or procurator at Santa Fe, and Buenos Ayres, to whom the merchandise of the missions is sent to be disposed of, and these factors return the value to the fathers, in such sorts of European commodities as are wanted. The goods of every town are kept separate, and the royal taxes are taken out of them without any other discounts, or allowances, save the stipends of the curates of the Guaranies, and the pensions of the caciques. The fathers choose to manage the commerce of their subjects themselves, lest they should contract vices by their communication with other people. In this respect the fathers are so careful that they will not suffer any of the people of Peru, whether they be Spaniards, Mestizos, or Indians, to enter into the territories of the missions. They say that the Indians are but just recovered from a barbarous and dissolute way of life, and that their manners are now pure and innocent; but that if strangers are suffered to come among them, the Indians would soon become acquainted with people of loose lives; and as the Guaranies especially are very prone to vice and wickedness, disorder and rebellion would soon be introduced, the society would lose all the souls they have converted, and their little re-

public would be utterly subverted. However there are some who suspect that these are all specious pretences, and that the society's real motive for prohibiting all intercourse with strangers, is the fear of rivals in the beneficial commerce of Paraguay, which is now entirely in their hands.

From the Universal Weekly Chronicle.

—*In vitium libertas excidit & vim
Dignum lege regi.* HOR.

S I R,

I AM engaged in a visit at a friend's house in the country, where I promised myself much satisfaction. I have however been greatly disappointed in my expectations; for on my arrival here, I found a house full of children, who are *humoured* beyond measure, and, indeed, absolutely spoiled by the ridiculous indulgence of a fond mother. This unlucky circumstance has subjected me to many inconveniences; and as I am a man of a grave reserved disposition, has been a perpetual source of embarrassment and perplexity. The second day of my visit, in the midst of dinner, the eldest boy, who is eight years old, whipped off my perriwig with great dexterity, and received the applause of the table for his humour and spirit. This lad, when he has reached his fourteenth year, and is big enough to lie without the maid, is to be sent to a school in the neighbourhood, which has no other merit than that of being but seven miles off. Six of the children are permitted to sit at table, who entirely monopolize the wings of fowls, and the most delicate morsels of every dish; because
the

the mother has discovered, that her children have not *strong* stomachs. In the morning before my friend is up, I generally take a turn upon the gravel walk, where I could wish to enjoy my own thoughts without interruption; but I am here instantly attended by my little tormentors, who follow me backwards and forwards, and play at what they call *Running after the Gentleman*. My whip, which was a present from an old friend, has been lashed to pieces by one of the boys who is fond of horses, and the handle is turned into a hobby-horse. The main-spring of my repeating watch has been broke in the nursery, which, at the mother's request, I had lent to the youngest boy, who was just breeched, and who cried to wear it. The mother's attention to the children entirely destroys all conversation: and once, as an amusement for the evenings, we attempted to begin reading *Tom Jones*, but were interrupted, in the second page, by little *Sammy*, who is suffered to whip his top in the parlour. I am known to be troubled with violent head-achs; notwithstanding which, another of the boys, without notice given, or any regard paid to the company, is permitted to break out into the braying of an ass, for which the strength of his lungs is commended; and a little miss, at breakfast, is allowed to drink up all the cream, and put her fingers into the sugar-dish, because she was once *sickly*. I am teased with familiarities, which I can only repay with a frown; and pestered with the pertinence of ludicrous prattle, in which I am unqualified to join. It is whispered in the family, that I am a mighty good sort of man, but that I cannot *talk to children*.

Nor am I the only person who suffers from this folly; a neighbouring clergyman, of great merit and modesty, and much acquainted in the family, has received hints to forbear coming to the house, because little *Sukey* always cries when she sees him, and has told her mama, she can't bear that *ugly parson*.

Mrs. Qualm, my friend's wife, the mother of this hopeful offspring, is perpetually breeding; or rather her whole existence is spent in a series of great bellies, lyings-in, visitings, churchings, and christenings. Every transaction of her life is dated from her several pregnancies. The grandmother, and the man-midwife, a serious sensible man, constantly reside in the house, to be always ready on these solemn occasions. She boasts, that no family has ever sent out more numerous advertisements for nurses *with a fine breast of milk*. As her longings have of late been in the vegetable way, the garden is cultivated for this purpose alone, and totally filled with forward pease, and melon-glasses, in hopes that she may luckily long for what is at hand. She preserves, to the utmost, the prerogative of frequent pregnancy, and conscious of the dignity and importance of being often *big*, exerts an absolute authority over her husband. He was once a keen fox-hunter, but has long ago dropped his hounds; his wife having remonstrated, that his early rising disturbed the family unseasonably, and having dreamed that he broke his leg in leaping a ditch.

I revere Mrs. Qualm as a mother, and only wish I could recommend her as the manager of children. I hope this letter may fall into her hands, to convince her how

how absurd it is to suppose, that others can be as much interested in her own children as herself. I would teach her, that, what I complain of as matter of inconvenience may, one day, prove to her a severe trial; and that, early licentiousness will, at last, mock that parental affection, from whose mistaken indulgence it arose.

I am yours, &c.

X. Y. Z.

The IDLER.

Credulity, or confidence of opinion too great for the evidence from which opinion is derived, we find to be a general weakness imputed by every sect and party to all others, and, indeed, by every man to every other man.

Of all kinds of credulity the most obstinate and wonderful is that of political zealots; of men, who, being numbered, they know not how nor why, in any of the parties that divide a state, resign the use of their own eyes and ears, and resolve to believe nothing that does not favour those whom they profess to follow.

The bigot of philosophy is seduced by authorities which he has not always opportunities to examine, is intangled in systems by which truth and falsehood are inextricably complicated, or undertakes to talk on subjects, which nature did not form him able to comprehend.

The Cartesian, who denies that his horse feels the spur, or that the hare is afraid when the hounds approach her; the disciple of Malebranche, who maintains that the man was not hurt by the bullet,

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which, according to vulgar apprehensions, swept away his head; the follower of Berkley, who, while he sits writing at his table, declares that he has neither table, paper, nor fingers; have all the honour at least of being deceived by fallacies not easily detected, and may plead that they did not forsake truth, but for appearances which they were not able to distinguish from it.

But the man who engages in a party has seldom to do with any thing remote or abstruse. The present state of things is before his eyes; and if he cannot be satisfied without retrospection, yet he seldom extends his views beyond the historical events of the last century. All the knowledge that he can want is within his attainment, and most of the arguments which he can hear are within his capacity.

Yet so it is, that an *Idler* meets, every hour of his life, with men who have different opinions upon every thing past, present, and future; who deny the most notorious facts, contradict the most cogent truths, and persist in asserting to-day what they asserted yesterday, in defiance of evidence, and contempt of confutation.

Two of my companions, who are grown old in idleness, are *Tom Tempest* and *Jack Sneaker*. Both of them men who consider themselves as neglected by their parties, and therefore intitled to credit, as having no motive to favour ingratitude. They are both men of integrity where no factious interest is to be promoted, and both lovers of truth, when they are not heated with political debate.

B b

Tom

Tom Tempest is a steady friend to the house of *Stuart*. He can recount the prodigies that have appeared in the sky, and the calamities that have afflicted the nation every year from the revolution, and is of opinion, that if the exiled family had continued to reign, there would have neither been worms in our ships nor caterpillars in our trees. He wonders that the nation was not awaked by the hard frost to a revocation of the true king, and is hourly afraid that the whole island will be lost in the sea. He believes that king William burned Whitehall that he might steal the furniture, and that Tillotson died an atheist. Of queen Anne he speaks with more tenderness, owns that she meant well, and can tell by whom and why she was poisoned. In the succeeding reigns all has been corruption, malice, and design. He believes that nothing ill has ever happened for these forty years by chance or error. He holds that the battle of Dettingen was won by mistake, and that of Fontenoy lost by contrast; that the *Victory* was sunk by a private order; that *Cornhill* was burnt by emissaries from the council; and the arch of Westminster-bridge was so contrived as to sink on purpose that the nation might be put to charge. He considers the new road to Islington as an encroachment on liberty, and often asserts that *broad wheels* will be the ruin of England.

Tom is generally vehement and noisy, but nevertheless has some secrets which he always communicates in a whisper. Many and many a time has *Tom* told me, in a corner, that our miseries were almost at an end, and that we should see,

in a month, another monarch on the throne: the time elapses without a revolution; *Tom* meets me again with new intelligence; the whole scheme is now settled, and we shall see great events in another month.

Jack Sneaker is a hearty adherent to the present establishment; he has known those who saw the bed into which the pretender was conveyed in a warming pan. He often rejoices that the nation was not enslaved by the Irish. He believes that king William never lost a battle, and that if he had lived one year longer he would have conquered France. He holds that Charles the First was a papist. He allows there were some good men in the reign of queen Anne, but the peace of Utrecht brought a blast upon the nation, and has been the cause of all the evil that we have suffered to the present hour. He believes that the scheme of the South Sea was well intended, but that it miscarried by the influence of France. He considers a standing army as the bulwark of liberty, thinks us secured from corruption by septennial parliaments, relates how we are enriched and strengthened by the electoral dominions, and declares that the public debt is a blessing to the nation.

Yet amidst all this prosperity, poor *Jack* is hourly disturbed by the dread of popery. He wonders that some stricter laws are not made against papists, and is sometimes afraid that they are busy with French gold among the bishops and judges.

He cannot believe that the non-jurors are so quiet for nothing, they must certainly be forming some plot
for

for the establishment of popery ; he does not think the present oaths sufficiently binding, and wishes that some better security could be found for the succession of the house of Hanover. He is zealous for the naturalization of foreign protestants, and rejoiced at the admission of the Jews to the English privileges, because he thought a Jew would never be a papist.

The IDLER.

MANY naturalists are of opinion, that the animals which we commonly consider as mute, have the power of imparting their thoughts to one another. That they can express general sensations is very certain ; every being that can utter sounds has a different voice for pleasure and for pain. The hound informs his fellows when he scents his game ; the hen calls her chickens to their food by her cluck, and drives them from danger by her scream.

Birds have the greatest variety of notes ; they have indeed a variety, which seems almost sufficient to make a speech adequate to the purposes of a life, which is regulated by instinct, and can admit little change or improvement. To the cries of birds, curiosity or superstition has been always attentive, many have studied the language of the feathered tribes, and some have boasted that they understood it.

The most skilful or most confident interpreters of the sylvan dialogues have been commonly found among the philosophers of the east, in a country where the calmness of the air, and the mildness of the seasons,

allow the student to pass a great part of the year in groves and bowers. But what may be done in one place by particular opportunities, may be performed in another by peculiar diligence. A shepherd of Bohemia has, by long abode in the forests, enabled himself to understand the voice of birds, at least he relates with great confidence a story of which the credibility may be considered by the learned.

As I was sitting (said he) within a hollow rock, and watching my sheep that fed in the valley ; I heard two vultures interchangeably crying on the summit of the cliff. Both voices were earnest and deliberate. My curiosity prevailed over my care of the flock ; I climbed slowly and silently from crag to crag, concealed among the shrubs, till I found a cavity, where I might sit and listen without suffering, or giving disturbance.

I soon perceived, that my labour would be well repaid ; for an old vulture was sitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom she was instructing in the arts of a vulture's life, and preparing, by the last lecture, for their final dismission to the mountains and the skies.

My children, said the old vulture, you will less want my instructions, because you have had my practice before your eyes ; you have seen me snatch from the farm the household fowl ; you have seen me seize the leveret in the bush, and the kid in the pasture ; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight when you are laden with your prey. But you remember the taste of more delicious food ; I have often regaled you with the

flesh of man. Tell us, said the young vultures, where man may be found, and how he may be known; his flesh is surely the natural food of a vulture. Why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest? He is too bulky, said the mother; when we find a man, we can only tear away his flesh, and leave the bones upon the ground. Since man is so big, said the young ones, how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and of the bear; by what power are vultures superior to man? Is a man more defenceless than a sheep? We have not the strength of man, returned the mother, and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtilty; and the vultures would seldom feast upon his flesh, had not nature, that devoted him to our uses, infused into him a strange ferocity, which I have never observed in any other being that feeds upon the earth. Two herds of men will often meet and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise and see fire with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing; for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoking with blood and covered with carcases, of which many are dismembered and mangled for the convenience of the vulture. But when men have killed their prey, says the pupil, why do they not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the vulture to touch it till he has satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf? Man, said the mother, is the only beast who kills that which he does not de-

vour, and this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species. If men kill our prey and lay it in our way, said the young one, what need shall we have of labouring for ourselves? Because man will sometimes, replied the mother, remain for a long time quiet in his den. The old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. When you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flight of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood. But still, said the young one, I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter; I could never kill what I could not eat. My child, said the mother, this is a question which I cannot answer, tho' I am reckoned the most subtle bird of the mountain. When I was young I used frequently to visit the airy of an old vulture, who dwelt upon the Carpathian rocks; he had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey round his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the summer sun; he had fed year after year on the entrails of men. His opinion was, that men had only the appearance of animal life, being really vegetables with a power of motion; and that as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the stormy that swine may fatten upon the falling acorns, so men are by some unaccountable power driven one against another, till they lose their motion, that vultures may be fed. Others think they have observed something of contrivance and policy

licy among those mischievous beings; and those that hover more closely round them, pretend, that there is in every herd, one that gives directions to the rest, and seems to be more eminently delighted with a wide carnage. What it is that entitles him to such pre-eminence we know not; he is seldom the biggest or the swiftest; but he shows by his eagerness and diligence that he is, more than any of the others, a friend to vultures.

The humble remonstrance of the mob of Great Britain, against the importation of French words, &c.

IT is with infinite concern that we behold an inundation of French words pouring in upon us, and this at a time too when there is some sort of merit in detesting every thing that is French. In regard to ourselves, we are daily insulted, by some of the finest lips in the world, with the opprobrious term of *Canaille*: we cannot resent the insult from them, as they are too sacred for our unhallowed hands; besides, they are sufficiently punished, by the mirth they afford to the *Mademoiselles*, when they attempt to pronounce the uncouth word; for *Canaille*, from English lips, sounds *Canal*. But as most things are pardonable to the pride of the creation, we should readily excuse *them*, if the infection had not spread among the officers of our army; and as we chiefly compose the numerous squadrons that are to guard the liberties of Britain, we cannot conceive that we ought

to have any more to do with their language, than we have with their religion. All our business is to beat them, and that we can do in plain English: if our officers order us to form a line, we can do it; but if they call that line a *Cordon*, we must be obliged to apply to the chaplain for a *Denouement* of the mysterious word. — *Coup de main*, and *Manœuvre*, might be excusable in Marshal Saxe, as he was in the service of France, and perfectly acquainted with both; but we cannot see what apology can be made for our officers lugging them in by head and shoulders, without the least necessity, as a sudden stroke might have done for one, and a proper motion, for the other. — *Reconnoître* is another favourite word in the military way; and as we cannot find out that it is much more significant than *take a view*, we beg leave it may be sent home again. We should not have troubled the public with this address, if we had not received a fresh insult by the papers of Saturday last, in a supposed letter from Germany, where the ingenious author tells us, speaking of the intended operations of war, that the general's intention remains *perdu*; which, we are informed, signifies *lost*. In what sense we are to understand this gentleman, we cannot say; his meaning indeed seems *perdu*; he may perhaps give us to understand, by printing the word in Italics, that the army and treasure sent to Germany, is all *perdu*: the word then wants a little *epaulement*, to support it, or rather a little *eclaircissement*; for, in the present application of it, it is dark and mysterious.

We must beg the gentlemen of the army pardon, if next to them we should take the liberty of mentioning the barbers; a set of gentlemen very useful in their station, but under no absolute necessity of hanging out false French upon their signs; it may indeed become a French *friseur*, to acquaint the public that he makes a *tete de mouton*, or simply a *tete*; but we are a little offended when an English tonsor, under the sign of a thing, which in some countries might be called a periwig, shall write ladies *taites*, or *tates*, or *tacts*, or *taites*, or *taites*' made here; it looks as if they meant a reflection upon the ladies of Great-Britain, by acquainting the public, that their heads were made in barbers shops, and to be had either in Middle-row or Rag-fair. Now their intended purpose of serving the community would certainly be better answered if they would suffer their signs to speak plain English, and inform the world that *sheeps heads* (which we are told is the meaning of the three French words above) were sold there, as by that means they would bid fair to serve gentlemen as well as ladies, who were not already provided.

Je-ne-scai-quoy, though of French extraction, we shall not presume to find fault with, because it has been naturalized, and productive of infinite good in England; it has helped many an unfortunate girl to an husband; it has indeed sometimes parted man and wife, but has soon brought them together again; seldom fails of heating up the branches it had made between friends; has fitted out

fleets and armies, and brought them home again; has been a theme for orators in velvet and crape, and has furnished matter for many volumes.

Chicane, we dare not meddle with, as we are told the lawyers have taken it under their immediate protection; but as quirks and tricks are as foreign to their profession, as ambition and avarice to that of a more venerable order, we suppose the charge is without foundation.

Bagatelle, or *trifle*, we shall leave to the smarts, as it would be a pity to rob them of the chief object of their study.

Pet-en-l'air, may suit very well with French *effronterie*; for if the ladies of that country make no scruple of watering their *ruelles* before the gentlemen who attend their *levees*, I see no reason why they should be ashamed of a *f—t*; but as no such offensive wind is ever supposed to blow from fair English *b—ms*, we could wish they had found a name of a little more delicacy for this garment.

We therefore humbly pray, that French words, as well as French dress and French manners, may be laid aside, at least during the continuance of the present war; for we are apprehensive, should their language and customs descend to us, we should be taught by their example, on the day of battle to *f——te le camp*.

For these reasons we pray as above: and shall, as in duty bound, hold them in everlasting abhorrence.

LEGION.

To

To the K—'s most excellent M—y.

The humble petition of P*** E.
of C***, Knight of the most
noble order of the Garter.

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner being rendered by deafness, as useless and inefficient, as most of his cotemporaries are by nature, hopes, in common with them, to share your majesty's royal favour and bounty, whereby he may be enabled to save or spend, as he may think proper, a great deal more than he possibly can at present.

That your petitioner having had the honour to serve your majesty in several very lucrative employments, seems thereby entitled to a lucrative retreat from business, and to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*, that is, leisure and a large pension.

Your petitioner humbly apprehends that he has a justifiable claim to a considerable pension, as he neither wants, nor deserves, but only desires, and (pardon, dread Sir, an expression you are pretty much used to) insists upon it.

Your petitioner is little apt, and always unwilling, to speak advantageously of himself; but as some degree of justice is due to one's self as well as to others, he begs leave to represent, that his loyalty to your majesty has always been unshaken, even in the worst of times: That particularly, in the late unnatural rebellion, when the young pretender had advanced as far as Derby, at the head of an army of at least three thousand men, composed of the flower of the Scotch nobility and gentry, who had virtue enough to avow, and courage enough to venture their lives in support of their real

principles, your petitioner did not join him, as unquestionably he might have done, had he been so inclined; but, on the contrary, raised, at the public expence, sixteen companies, of one hundred men each, in defence of your majesty's undoubted right to the imperial crown of these realms; which service remains to this hour unrewarded.

Your petitioner is well aware, that your majesty's civil list must necessarily be in a very weak and languid condition, after the various and profuse evacuations it has undergone; but, at the same time, he humbly hopes, that an argument which does not seem to have been urged against any other person whatsoever, will not, in a singular manner, be urged against him, especially as he has some reasons to believe, that the deficiencies of the pension fund will by no means be the last to be made good by parliament.

Your petitioner begs leave to observe, that a small pension is disgraceful, as it intimates opprobrious indigence on the part of the receiver, and a degrading sort of dole or charity on the part of the giver; but that a great one implies dignity and affluence on the one side, on the other esteem and consideration; which doubtless your majesty must entertain in the highest degree for those great personages, whose reputable names glare in capitals upon your eleemosynary list.

Your petitioner humbly flatters himself, that upon this principle, less than three thousand pounds a year will not be proposed to him, and if made gold the more agreeable.

Your petitioner persuades himself, that your majesty will not im-

pute this his humble application to any mean interested motive, of which he has always had the utmost abhorrence.

No, Sir! he confesses his weakness—*Honour* alone is his object, *honour* is his passion—that *honour*, which is sacred to him as a peer, and tender to him as a gentleman; that *honour*, in short, to which he has sacrificed all other considerations. It is upon this single principle, that your petitioner solicits an *honour*, which at present in so extraordinary a manner adorns the British peerage, and which, in the most shining periods of ancient Greece, distinguished the greatest men, who were fed in the Prytæneum at the expence of the public.

Upon this *honour*, far dearer to your petitioner than his life, he begs leave in the most solemn manner, to assure your majesty, that in case you shall be pleased to grant this his most modest request, he will honourably support and promote, to the utmost of his abilities, the very worst measures, that the very worst ministers can suggest; but at the same time should he unfortunately, and, in a singular manner, be branded by a refusal, he thinks himself obliged in *honour* to declare, that he will, with the utmost acrimony, oppose the very best measures which your majesty yourself shall ever propose or promote.

*To the R—t R——d the D—n
and C——r of W* * * *, the
humble petition of P O S T E—
R I T T,*

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners humbly apprehend your reverences are no other than trustees for us your

petitioners, in the same manner as your predecessors were trustees for the times succeeding them.

That your petitioners observe with great concern the late immoderate increase of funeral monuments within your abbey and the precincts thereof, to the great encouragement of family vanity, historical falsehood, jobbing articles, and ignorant statuary; as well as to the disgrace of national taste, and the destruction of various kinds of marble, which ought to have remained in the bowels of the earth for the use of your petitioners, who hope to employ the art of sculpture with more credit to their country.

That your petitioners observe, with concern, the vast profusion of money which the present war requires, and apprehend that when it shall be their turn to serve their country, nothing will remain for their rewards but honorary monuments; and it is with the greatest regret they see the pavement and walls of your abbey already possessed by names of Generals, never known but by their preferments; Poets never mentioned, but for their dulness; Patriots never heard of, but by their posts; and Orators never known to pronounce a significant word but the monosyllables, Aye and No. Your petitioners, therefore, apprehensive that the revenue of fame may be as much anticipated within your abbey, as that of money is, in an adjoining chapel; and that therefore they may be reduced to the melancholy condition of neither being rewarded while living, nor remembered when dead; most humbly beg leave to represent to your reverences this their uncomfortable prospect.

Your

Your petitioners are the more emboldened to make this application, as they are fully sensible and ashamed of the cowardice and mismanagement of their present predecessors, and are resolved to do all they can to efface the memory of their misdeeds, by a sincere attachment to the service of their country; and therefore your petitioners must be the more sensible of the mortification and disgrace to which they must be reduced, by their being obliged to mingle their dust, or their names, or both, with such company as are already in possession of your walls and pavements; tho' your petitioners acknowledge, that many of them are such as your petitioners propose as models for their own conduct.

That your petitioners observe, with great concern, many heathen deities have been introduced within your walls, to adorn the tombs of those who were strangers to all heathen virtues; and as your petitioners are not ashamed of their resolution to live and die Christians, they hope your reverences will have some regard to the tenderness of their consciences in this respect, especially as there is a sufficiency of Christian attributes to serve, if ingeniously and properly applied, all the purposes of sculpture, in embellishing the monuments of the Christian dead.

Your petitioners beg leave farther to represent to your reverences, that the wisest nations of antiquity looked upon the conferring monumental honours as a public concern, and the noblest incitement to virtuous deeds; and that as soon as they ceased to be frugal of those honours, when they prostituted them to flattery, or sold them for lucre, their public spirit fled; and

tho' your petitioners have the highest opinion of the disinterestedness and judgment of your reverences, yet they think they cannot be too watchful in a matter that so highly concerns them, especially (according to what your petitioners have hinted above) as this will probably be the only return our country will be able to give them for their services.

And your petitioners shall ever,
pray, &c.

A remarkable dying speech of Mr. Cusse, Secretary to the Earl of Essex, who was executed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for the same offence which brought his master to the block.

I Am here adjudged to die for adding an act never plotted, for plotting a plot never acted. Justice will have her course; accusers must be heard; greatness will have the victory; scholars and martialists (though learning and valour should have the pre-eminence) in England must die like dogs, and be hanged. To dislike this, were but folly; to dispute it, but time lost; to alter it, impossible: but to endure it, is manly: and to scorn it, magnanimity. The Queen is displeased, the lawyers injurious, and death terrible; but I crave pardon of the Queen; forgive the lawyers, and the world; desire to be forgiven: and welcome death.

The following most excellent letter was wrote, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the gallant and renowned Earl of Essex, to his beloved friend the Earl of Southampton.

My

My Lord,

AS neither nature nor custom ever made me a man of compliment, so now I shall have less will than ever for to use such ceremonies, when I have left with Mar-*tha* to be *Sollicitus circa multa*, and believe with Mary *Unum sufficit*. But it is no compliment or ceremony, but a real and necessary duty that one friend oweth to another in absence, and especially at their leave-taking, when in man's reason many accidents may keep them long divided, or perhaps bar them ever meeting till they meet in another world: for then shall I think that my friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune is dear unto me, shall prosper and be happy, where-ever he goes, and whatever he takes in hand, when he is in the favour of that *God*, under whose protection there is *only* safety, and in whose service there is *only true* happiness to be found. What I think of your natural gifts or ability in this age, or in this state, to give glory to *God*, and to win honour to yourself, if you employ the talents you have received to their best use, I will now tell you; it sufficeth, that when I was farthest of all times from dissembling, I spake truly, and have witness enough: but these things only I will put your Lordship in mind of.

First, That you have *nothing* that you have not received.

Secondly, That you possess them not as *Lord* over them, but as an *Accountant* for them.

Thirdly, If you employ them to serve this world, or your own worldly delights (which the prince of this world will seek to entertain you with) it is ingratitude, it is injustice, yea, it is pernicious trea-

chery; for what would you think of such a servant of yours, that should convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or service of your greatest enemy; and what do you less than this with *God*, since you have *all* from him, and know that the world, and princes thereof, are at a continual enmity with him? And therefore, if ever the admonition of your truest friend shall be heard by you, or if your country, which you may serve in so great and many things, be dear unto you; if your *God*, whom you must (if you deal *truly* with yourself) acknowledge to be powerful over all, and just in all, be feared by you; yea, if you be dear unto yourself, and prefer an everlasting happiness before a pleasant dream, which you must *shortly* awake out of, and then repent in the bitterness of your soul; if any of these things be regarded by you, then I say, call yourself to account for what is past, cancel all the leagues you have made without the warrant of a religious conscience, make a resolute covenant with your *God*, to serve him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward gifts and abilities, and then, he that is faithful (and cannot lie) hath promised to honour them that honour him; he will give you that inward peace of soul, and true joy of heart, which till you have, you shall never rest, and which, when you have, you shall never be shaken, and which you can never attain to *any other* way than this that I have shewed you.

I know your Lordship may say to yourself, and object to me, this is but a vapour of melancholy, and the stile of a prisoner, and that I was far enough from it, when I lived

lived in the world as you do now, and may be so again, when my fetters be taken from me. I answer, though your Lordship should think so, yet cannot I distrust the goodness of my *God*, that his mercy will fail me, or his grace forsake me; I have so deeply engaged myself, that I should be one of the most miserable apostates that ever was: I have so avowed my profession, and called so many from time to time, to witness it, and to be watchmen over me, that I should be the hollowest hypocrite that ever was born: but though I should perish in my own sin, and draw upon myself my own damnation, should not you take hold of the grace and mercy in *God*, which is offered unto you, and make your profit of my fearful and wretched example? I was longer a slave and servant to the world, and the corruptions of it, than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many calls, and answered some of them slowly, thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been, by *God's* providence, violently pulled, hauled, and dragged to the marriage feast, as the world hath seen. It was just with *God* to afflict me in this world that he might give me joy in another. I had too much knowledge when I performed too little obedience, and was therefore to be beaten with double stripes: *God* grant your Lordship may feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned conversion but that you may never feel the torments I have suffered for my too long delaying it. I had none but divines to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambi-

tion could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble; or if my delights had been tasted by them, they could not have been so precise: but your Lordship hath one to call upon you, that knows what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of *all* the contentments that this world can afford. Think therefore, dear Earl, that I have staked and buoyed all the ways of pleasure to you, and left them as sea marks for you to keep the channel of religious virtue; for shut your eyes never so long, they *must* be open at *last* and then you must say with me, *there is no peace to the wicked.*

I will make a covenant with my soul, not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the night, nor my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed to my *God*, that your Lordship may believe and make profit of this plain but faithful admonition; and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in you, and yourself successful in all you take in hand; which shall be an unspeakable comfort to

Your Lordship's cousin,

and true friend,

whom no worldly cause

can divide from you,

ESSEX.

An extraordinary sermon having appeared, intitled, Conjugal Love and Duty: A Discourse upon Heb. xiii. 4. Preached at St. Ann's in Dublin, Sept. 11, 1757. By Dr. Brett. With a dedication to the Right Honorable Lady Caroline Russell, asserting the prerogative of beauty and vindicating the privileges of a fair sex; an
extra.

extract or two from the dedication, and the sermon itself, we presume will not be disagreeable to our readers.

MADAM, there is an Italian proverb, which says, that *bandsome girls are born married*: The meaning whereof is not what hath been vulgarly supposed, that *marriages are made in heaven*: But, that such is the power of beauty over the human heart, that when they *will*, they *may*. This being so, the intimation to your Ladyship, is to look out, and provide for a change of condition. To remain single, will not be long in your power, for beauty that strikes every eye, will necessarily charm many hearts: Nature ordained it universal sway, and the corruptions of nature, multiplied as they have been through a series of 5000 years, have even yet been able to give it but one rival. In the human heart (I speak it to their shame) temples have been erected to the god of wealth: Many fair victims have we seen bleeding at his altars; and, what is worse, the very hand now writing to your Ladyship, hath sometimes been the sacrificer. What therefore you have to learn, is only to chuse with discretion; to maintain with dignity the professed sovereignty which contending suppliants will intreat you to accept.

All the great heroes, the most renowned in their generations, the scripture worthies in particular, have had their Dalilahs, to whose bewitching charms they one and all yielded; reluctantly some, and fondly others: *These* proving their wisdom, and *those* their folly, since *there is no incantment against*

beauty, nor any thing which it cannot inchant. He must be something more, or something worse, than a man—*i. e.* a god or a devil, who hath escaped, or who can resist its power: The gods of the heathens could not: Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, their amours are as famous as their names: So that that sturdiness in human nature, wherever it is found, which can resist, argues plainly how much of the devil is wrought up in the composition: If the native power were not so great as it is, so many arts, so many opportunities to sooth and to persuade, would make it impossible.

This prating old man! will he never have done? Not yet; for to you, madam, and of you I could prate for ever. Garrulity is indeed the vice of old age: The highest honorary tribute that youth pays to it, is patient attention: We grow fond of prating when we are good for nothing else. Besides, madam, it is, though I am sorry to remind you of it, a vice common to both sexes; old women can prate as well as old men; and the same allowance on your part, if ever you come to it, will be demanded: and, alas! young, gay, and blooming as you are, to this you will come at last: lovely as that form is, it will wrinkle and wither, that vermilion will be turned into paleness, those brilliant eyes grow dim and faint: in the gazing crowd, that now surrounds you, notwithstanding the blaze you make, the lustre with which you enamel and gild the spot you stand upon; though you reanimate, give life, sensation, appetite, a kind of rejuvenescence, a desire at least, a wish to live and be young again, to every thing you touch or look upon, the meanest of your

your admirers, even I, wizened and worn out by labour, age, nay worse by disappointments, in the course of a few suns and moons, will be as much respected, heeded, listened to. Pity indeed it is! but it must be so. What are you then to do? why briefly this, look as well into yourself as at yourself, and thence learn how to preserve and improve the authority which beauty gives, to make it indefectible, and, as I maintain it may, interminable.

[*From the Sermon itself.*]

The humour of ridiculing this rite [of marriage] was introduced, and became fashionable, under the example of a dissolute prince; which encouraged such licentiousness in the stage, as soon corrupted the general taste, to the degree, that hardly any thing entertained, or was received there with applause, that was not salted with some obscene raillery. In consequence of which, not only the thing, but even the persons who made it their choice were laughed at. They were objects of pity, the butts of sneer, whom necessity had forced into it. A humour so inconsistent with common sense, and every social dear regard, could not hold long. The pulpit, which in that universal degeneracy of men and manners, was not silent, got, in this instance, the better of the stage, and, at last, happily reformed it. To the honour of the present age, the few patrons it hath are as despicable, as they are dissolute: but it may be observed, that the pains taken to correct it, had possibly met with quicker success, had not the fair sex, by a lewd and wanton behaviour, contributed to keep it up: without encouragement from them it could never have run to the ex-

travagance it did; for how little soever some of them may suspect or believe it, they are the only sure guardians of men's virtue, and have more power to reform than either priest or magistrate can pretend to. If therefore the manners of the age should ever take the same disagreeable turn, though they may be the principal sufferers, they must bear the blame of it, and the infamy too; for this reason, that it was always in their power to support the honour and dignity due to the married state, from the influence, which, few of them want to be told, they have over the affections and inclinations of mankind. I will offer no apology therefore for telling them, that if their discretion was equal to their charms; if they were at equal pains to embellish their minds, as they are to adorn their bodies, they might go near to reverse the customs of the world, and the maxims of nature; might sway the scepters of kingdoms, and be the law-givers and governors both of states and families, without either wearing of arms, or changing apparel.—If modesty, good sense, and the general practice of virtue, met with proper distinction in female regard, men would certainly take more pains, than they usually do, to cultivate those graces; for where we court, we wish to be approved, and naturally pursue such courses, as we judge will best recommend us: But whilst women are so insensible, and blind to their own interest and happiness, as to encourage those most, who use this holy institute to base and dishonourable purposes; whilst they prefer empty and profligate rakes, to virtuous and honourable lovers, they may thank themselves for a great share of that misery to which they
are

are tied, and we shall in vain hope to see the evil of this case ever corrected.

The copy of the will of a citizen in Bern, in Switzerland.

AT the city of Bern in Switzerland, a man of business, by success in his way of trade, had acquired a considerable real and personal estate; being grown in years, and having no family, he made a will to the following effect, viz.

“Being anxious for my fellow-citizens of Bern, (who have often suffered by dearth of corn and wine) my will is, that, by the permission of Providence, they shall never for the future suffer again under the like calamity; to which end and purpose I give my estate, real and personal, to the senate of Bern, in trust for the people; that is to say, that they receive the produce of my estate, till it shall come to the sum of [suppose two thousand pounds;] that then they shall lay out this two thousand pounds in building a town-house, according to the plan by me left: the lower story whereof to consist of large vaults or repositories for wine; the story above I direct to be formed into a piazza, for such persons as shall come to market at Bern, for disposing of their goods, free from the injuries of the weather; above that I direct a council chamber to be erected, for the committee of the Senate to meet in from time to time, to adjust my accounts, and to direct such things as may be necessary for the charity; and above the council chamber as many floors or granaries as can be conveniently raised, to deposit a

quantity of corn for the use of the people, whenever they shall have occasion for it. And when this building shall be erected, and the expence of it discharged, I direct the senate of Bern to receive the produce of my estate, till the same shall amount to the sum [suppose two thousand pounds;] and when the price of corn shall be under the mean rate of the last ten years, one fourth part, they shall then lay out one thousand pounds in corn, and stow it in my granaries; and the same in wine, when under one fourth of the mean rate of the last ten years; and my will is, that none of the said corn or wine shall be sold until the price of corn or wine shall exceed, at the common market, one fourth of the mean rate for the last ten years; and then every citizen of Bern shall demand daily (or proportionably weekly) as many pounds weight of wheat, and as many pints of wine, as he hath mouths in his family to consume, and no more; and that for the same he pay ready money, after the mean rate that it has been at for the last ten years past, a due proportion being allowed for waste, and that to be settled by the Senate; and that each householder shall be so supplied, as long as the price of corn or wine shall continue above the rate of one fourth more than the mean rate; and whatsoever increase shall be made of the capital, it shall be laid out under the same restrictions, in adding to the stock of corn and wine; which, under the blessing of God, will, I hope, in a certain time, reduce these two necessary articles of life to very near a fixed price, to the glory of God, and for the benefit of the poor.”

This

This legacy has subsisted near two hundred years, and has had the desired effect at Bern.

An English merchant returning from Aleppo, by Bern, took this hint, and settled a sum of money, for the use of the poor at Kingston-on-Thames, for the purchase of coals in the same manner. The Right Honourable Arthur Onflow, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, and Nicholas Hardinge, Esq; (lately deceased) were two of the trustees, under whose auspices the poor were abundantly supplied, and the fund greatly augmented.

About five years ago the hint was given, and some gentlemen in Northampton collected a sum of money, for purchasing fuel at prime cost, and selling to the poor at the same rate; which answered perfectly well.

Method of taking off paintings in oil, from the cloths or wood on which they were originally done; and transferring them entire, and without damage, to new pieces.

THE art of removing paintings in oil, from the cloth or wood on which they are originally done, and transferring them to new grounds of either kind of substance, is of very great use; as not only pictures may be preserved, where the canvas is so decayed and damaged, that they would otherwise fall to pieces, but paintings on ceiling or wainscot, which, when taken away from the places where they were originally placed, would have little value, may be conveyed to cloths; and by being thus brought to the state of pictures, become of equal worth with those

painted originally on canvas. The manner in which this is done is by cementing the face of the picture to a new cloth, by means of such a substance as can afterwards be dissolved and consequently taken off by water; destroying the texture of the old cloth, by means of a proper corroding fluid; and then separating the corroded parts of it entirely from the painting: after which a new cloth being cemented to the reverse of the painting in its place, the cloth cemented to the front is in like manner to be corroded and separated; and the cemented matter cleansed away by dissolving it in water, and rubbing it off from the face of the picture. The particular method of doing this, with most convenience, is as follows:

Let the decayed picture be cleansed from all grease that may be on its surface, which may be done by rubbing it very gently with crumb of stale bread, and then wiping it with a very fine soft linen cloth. It must then be laid, with the face downwards, on a smooth table covered with fan paper, or the India paper; and the cloth on the reverse must be well soaked with boiling water, spread upon it by means of a sponge, till it appear perfectly soft and pliable. The picture is then to be turned, with the face upwards; and, being stretched in the most even and flat manner on the table, must be pinned down to it in that state, by nails driven in through the edge, at proper distances from each other. A quantity of glue should then be melted, and strained through a flannel cloth, to prevent any gravel, or other impurities, from lurking in it; and when it is a little stiffened,

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a part of it should be spread on a linen cloth, of the size of the painting, where it should be suffered to set and dry; and then another coat put over it: when this is become stiff also, the glue should be again heated; and while it remains of such heat as to be easily spread, it should be laid over the face of the picture, and a linen cloth immediately put over it in the most even manner, and nailed down to the picture and table at the edge likewise. The glue should not be used boiling hot, as that would hazard some of the delicate colours of the painting; and the linen cloth should be fine and half worn, that it may be the softer, and lie the flatter on the surface of the picture; in order to which it is proper to heat it till the glue be soft and pliable before it be laid on, and to compress each part gently with a ball formed of a linen rag tied round with thread. The table, with the picture, cloth, &c. nailed down to it in this state, should be then exposed to the heat of the sun, in a place where it may be secured from rain; and there continued till the glue be perfectly dry and hard; at which time the nails should be drawn, and the picture and linen cloth taken off from the table. The picture must now be again turned with the face downwards, and stretched and nailed to the table as before; and a border of wax must be raised round the edge, in the same manner as is directed for the copper-plates, forming as it were a shallow trough with the surface of the picture; into which trough should be poured a proper corroding fluid, to eat and destroy the thread of the original canvas or cloth of the pic-

ture. The corroding fluid used for this purpose, may be either oil of vitriol, aqua fortis, or spirit of salt; but the last is preferable, as it will more effectually destroy the thread, when it is so weakened by the admixture of water as not to have any effect on the oil of the painting; which ever is used, it is necessary they should be properly diluted with water; to find the due proportion of which, it is expedient to make some previous trials; and when they are found to be of such strength, as to destroy the texture of thread, without discolouring it, they are in the due state. When the corroding fluid has done its office, a passage must be made through the border of wax at one end of it; and the fluid must be poured off, by inclining the table in the requisite manner: and the remaining part must be washed away, by putting repeated quantities of fresh water upon the cloth. The threads of the cloth must then be carefully picked out till the whole be taken away: but if any part be found to adhere, all kind of violence, even in the least degree, must be avoided in removing them: instead of which, they should be again touched, by means of a pencil, with the corrosive fluid less diluted than before, till they will readily come off from the paint. The reverse surface of the painting, being thus wholly freed from the old cloth, must be then washed with water, by means of a sponge, till the corroding fluid employed be thoroughly cleansed away; when being wiped with a soft sponge till all the moisture that may be collected by that means be taken off, it must be left till it be perfectly dry. In the mean time a
new

new piece of canvas must be cut of the size of the painting, which now remains cemented to the linen cloth put on the face of it; and the reverse of the painting being dry, and spread over by some hot glew, purified as before, and melted with a little brandy, or spirit of wine, the new canvas must be laid on it, in the most even manner, while the glew yet remains hot, and settled to it by compression: which may be performed by thick plates of lead, or flat pieces of polished marble. Great care should however be taken in the laying them on to prevent the edge from cutting or bruising the paint; as also during the setting of the glew to take them off; and wipe them at proper intervals, to prevent their adhering to the cloth by means of the glew, which may be pressed through it. The lead or marble, by which the compression is made, being removed when the glew is set, the cloth must be kept in the same state, till the glew be perfectly dry and hard. Then the whole must be again turned with the other side upwards, and the border of wax being replaced, the linen cloth on the face of the painting must be destroyed by means of the corroding fluid, in the same manner as the canvas was before: but greater care must be taken with respect to the strength of the corroding matter, and in the picking out the threads of the cloth; because the face of the painting is defended only by the coat of glew which cemented the linen cloth to it. The painting must then be free from the glew, by washing it with hot water,

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spread and rubbed on the surface by a sponge; which should be cleansed frequently during the operation, by dipping and squeezing it in clean water. The painting may afterwards be varnished as a new picture: and if the operation is well conducted, it will be transferred to the new cloth in a perfect state.

When the painting is originally on wood, it must be first detached from the ceiling or wainscot where it was fixed; and the surface of it covered with a linen cloth, cemented to it by means of glew, in the manner before directed for the paintings on canvas. A proper table being then provided, and overspread with a blanket, or thinner woollen cloth, if laid several doubles, the painting must be laid upon it with the face downwards, and fixed steady; and the boards or wood on which it was done must be planed away, till the shell remain as thin as it can be made, without damaging the paint under it. The proceedings must afterwards be the same as was before practised in the case of the paintings on canvas, till that on the wood be in like manner transferred to a cloth or canvas.

The whole of the above operation must be managed with the greatest care, otherwise the painting will receive some damage; and so much nicety is required in the corrosion, and taking off the threads of the cloth, that it can scarcely be performed rightly, but by such as have had some experience in the matter. It is proper, therefore, for any person who would practise it in the case

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of valuable paintings, to try it first with some old pictures of little value, till they find they have the right method of proceeding: and even then, in some instances, where the coats of paint lie very thin on the cloth, it is scarcely practicable without miscarriage. But as in the case of pictures greatly decayed, or paintings on wood taken from

buildings that do not admit of being commodiously replaced elsewhere, there can be no great loss if a failure should happen: and a considerable advantage may accrue, if the experiment succeeds; for which there is good chance if the operation be properly conducted, and the subject favourable; and it is very well worth while to make the trial.

P O E T R Y.

WE have the advantage of beginning our collection in a year which has produced so many elegant pieces of poetry, that we are not under a necessity, in order to make this article full, of inserting any mean performance.

MELPOMENE: *or the Regions of Terror and Pity. An Ode.*

By R. DODSLEY.

I.

QUEEN of the human heart ! at whose command
The swelling tides of mighty passion rise ;

MELPOMENE, support my vent'rous hand,
And aid thy suppliant in his bold emprise.
From the gay scenes of pride
Do thou his footsteps guide

To Nature's awful courts, where nurs'd of yore,
Young SHAKESPEAR, Fancy's child, was taught his various lore.

II.

So may his favour'd eye explore the source,
To few reveal'd, whence human sorrows charm :

So may his numbers with pathetic force,
Bid *Terror* shake us, or *Compassion* warm,
As different strains controul
The movements of the soul,

Adjust its passions, harmonize its tone,
To feel for others' woe, or nobly bear its own.

III.

Deep in the covert of a shadowy grove,
Mid broken rocks where dashing currents play :
Dear to the pensive pleasures, dear to Love,
And *Damon's* Muse, that breathes her melting lay,
This ardent prayer was made.

When lo ! the secret shade,
As conscious of some heavenly presence, shook——
Strength, firmness, reason, all——my attention'd soul forsook.

C c 2

IV. Ah!

IV.

Ah! whither, Goddess! whither am I borne?
 To what wild region's necromantic shore?
 These panics whence? and why my bosom torn
 With sudden terrors never felt before?
 Darkness inwraps me round,
 While from the vault profound
 Emerging spectre-dreadful shapes assume,
 And, gleaming on my sight, add horror to the gloom.

V.

Hail! what is He whose fierce indignant eye,
 Denouncing vengeance, kindles into flame?
 Whose boisterous fury blows a storm to high,
 As with its thunder shakes his labouring frame.
 What can such Rage provoke?
 His words their passage choak:
 His eager steps nor time nor truce allow,
 And dreadful dangers wait the menace of his brow.

VI.

Protect me, Goddess! whence that fearful shriek
 Of consternation? as grim death had laid
 His icy fingers on some guilty cheek,
 And all the powers of manhood shrunk dismay'd;
 Ah see! besmear'd with gore,
 Revenge stands threatening o'er
 A pale delinquent, whose retorted eyes
 In vain for pity call——the wretched victim dies.

VII.

Nor long the space——abandon'd to despair,
 With eyes aglaze, or hopeless fixt on earth,
 This slave of passion rends his scatter'd hair,
 Beats his sad breast, and execrates his birth:
 While torn within, he feels
 The pangs of whips and wheels;
 And fees, or fancies, all the fiends below,
 Beckoning his frightful soul to realms of endless woe.

VIII.

Before my wondering sense new phantoms dance,
 And stamp their horrid shapes upon my brain——
 A wretch with jealous brow, and eyes askance,
 Feeds all in secret on his bosom pain.
 Fond love, fierce hate, assail;
 Alternate they prevail:
 While conscious pride and shame with rage conspire,
 And urge the latent spark to flames of torturing fire.

IX. The

IX.

The storm proceeds——his changeful visage trace ;
 From rage to madness every feature breaks.
 A growing phrenzy grins upon his face,
 And in his frightful stare Distraction speaks :
 His straw-invested head
 Proclaims all reason fled ;
 And not a tear bedews those vacant eyes——
 But songs and shouts succeed, and laughter-mingled sighs.

X.

Yet, yet again !——a Murderer's hand appears
 Grasping a pointed dagger stain'd with blood !
 His look malignant chills with boding fears,
 That check the current of life's ebbing flood.
 In midnight's darkest clouds
 The dreary miscreant throws
 His felon step——as 'twere to darkness given
 To dim the watchful eye of all-pervading Heaven.

XI.

And hark ! ah Mercy ! whence that hollow sound ?
 Why with strange horror starts my bristling hair ;
 Earth opens wide, and from unhallow'd ground
 A pallid Ghost slow-rising steals on air.
 To where a mangled corpse
 Expos'd without remorse
 Lies shroudless, unentomb'd, he points the way——
 Points to the prowling wolf exultant o'er his prey.

XII.

“ Was it for this, he cries, with kindly shower
 “ Of daily gifts the traitor I carest'd ?
 “ For this, array'd him in the robe of power,
 “ And lodg'd my royal secrets in his breast ;
 “ O kindness ill repay'd !
 “ To bare the murdering blade
 “ Against my life !——may Heav'n his guilt explore,
 “ And to my suffering race their splendid rights restore.”

XIII.

He said, and stalk'd away.——Ah ! Goddess, cease,
 Thus with terrific forms to rack my brain ;
 These horrid phantoms shake the throne of Peace,
 And Reason calls her boasted powers in vain :
 Then change thy magic wand,
 Thy dreadful troops disband,
 And gentler shapes, and softer scenes disclose,
 To melt the feeling heart, yet sooth its tenderest woes.

XIV.

The fervent prayer was heard——With hideous sound
 Her ebon gates of darkness open flew ;
 A dawning twilight cheers the dread profound,
 The train of 'Terror vanishes from view.
 More mild enchantments rise ;
 New scenes salute my eyes,
 Groves, fountains, bowers, and temples grace the plain,
 And turtles coo around, and nightingales complain.

XV.

And every myrtle bower and cypress grove,
 And every solemn temple teems with life ;
 Here glows the scene with fond but hapless love,
 There with the deeper woes of human strife.
 In groups around the lawn,
 By fresh disasters drawn,
 The sad spectators seem transfix'd in woe,
 And pitying sighs are heard, and heart-felt sorrows flow.

XVI.

Behold that beauteous maid ! her languid head
 Bends like a drooping lily charg'd with rain ;
 With floods of tears she bathes a Lover dead,
 In brave assertion of her honour slain.
 Her bosom heaves with sighs,
 To Heaven she lifts her eyes,
 With grief beyond the power of words oppress'd,
 Sinks on the lifeless corse, and dies upon his breast.

XVII.

How strong the bands of Friendship ! yet, alas !
 Behind yon mouldering tower with ivy crown'd,
 Of two, the foremost in her sacred class,
 One from his friend receives the fatal wound !
 What could such fury move ?
 Ah, what but ill star'd love !
 The same fair object each fond heart enthalls,
 And he, the favour'd youth, her hapless victim falls.

XVIII.

Can aught so deeply sway the generous mind
 To mutual truth, as female truth in love ?
 Then what relief shall you fair mourner find,
 Scorn'd by the man who should her plaints remove ?
 By fair but false pretence,
 She lost her innocence ;
 And that sweet babe, the fruit of treacherous art,
 Clasp'd in her arms expires, and breaks the parent's heart.

XIX.

Ah ! who to pomp or grandeur would aspire ?
 Kings are not rais'd above Misfortune's frown.
 That form so graceful even in mean attire,
 Sway'd once a scepter, once sustain'd a crown.
 From filial rage and strife,
 To screen his closing life,
 He quits his throne, a father's sorrow feels,
 And in the lap of want his patient head conceals.

XX.

More yet remained——but lo ! the PENSIVE QUEEN
 Appears confest before my dazzled sight ;
 Grace in her steps, and softness in her mien,
 The face of sorrow mingled with delight.
 Not such her noble frame,
 When kindling into flame,
 And bold in Virtue's cause, her zeal aspires
 To waken guilty pangs, or breathe heroic fires.

XXI.

Aw'd into silence, my rapt soul attends——
 The POWER, with eyes complacent saw my fear ;
 And, as with grace ineffable she bends,
 These accents vibrate on my listening ear.
 “ Aspiring son of art
 “ Know, though thy feeling heart
 “ Glow with these wonders to thy fancy shewn,
 “ Still may the Delian God thy powerless toils disown.

XXII.

“ A thousand tender scenes of soft distress
 “ May swell thy breast with sympathetic woes,
 “ A thousand such dread forms on fancy press,
 “ As from my dreary realms of darkness rose,
 “ Whence SHAKESPEAR's chilling fears,
 “ Whence OTWAY's melting tears——
 “ That awful gloom, this melancholy plain,
 “ The *types* of every *theme* that suits the TRAGIC STRAIN.

XXIII.

“ But dost thou worship Nature night and morn,
 “ And all due honour to her precepts pay ?
 “ Canst thou the lure of Affectation scorn,
 “ Pleas'd in the simpler paths of Truth to stray ?
 “ Hast thou the Graces fair
 “ Invok'd with ardent prayer ?
 “ 'Tis they attire, as Nature must impart,
 “ The sentiment sublime, the language of the heart.

XXIV.

- " Then if creative Genius pour his ray,
 " Warm with inspiring influence on thy breast;
 " Taste, judgment, fancy, if thou can'st display,
 " And the deep source of passion stand confest;
 " Then may the listening train,
 " Affected, feel thy strain;
 " Feel Grief, or Terror, Rage, or Pity move:
 " Change with thy varying scenes, and every scene approve."

XXV.

Humbled before her sight, and bending low,
 I kiss'd the borders of her crimson vest;
 Eager to speak, I felt my bosom glow,
 But fear upon my lip her seal impress'd.
 While awe-struck thus I stood,
 The bowers, the lawn, the wood,
 The FORM CELESTIAL, fading on my sight,
 Dissolv'd in liquid air, and fleeting gleams of light.

Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day, Nov. 10, 1758.

Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; Poet-Laureat, and set to music by Dr. Boyce, Master of the King's Band. The vocal parts by Mess. Beard, Savage, Wals, Cowper, Barrow, and the rest of the gentlemen and children of the chapel royal; the instrumental by his Majesty's band, &c.

A R G U M E N T.

About the year 963, Ottoberto, of the family of Este, passed from Italy into Germany, with the Emperor Otho the Great. Azo, his descendant, in the next century, by a marriage with the daughter of Welfus Count Alidorf, inherited the dominions of that family in Suabia. Welfus, a son of that marriage, in the year 1061, received the Dukedom of Bavaria from the Emperor Henry the IVth. The descendants of Welfus became afterwards possessed of those Duchies which lie between the Elbe and the Weser (Brunswick, Wolfenbuttle, Lunenburgh, Zell, Hanover, &c.) and in the year 1714 George the first, Duke and Elector of Hanover, succeeded to the throne of Great Britain.

I.

WHEN Othbert left th' Italian plain,
 And soft Atefle's green domain
 Attendant on Imperial sway
 Where Fame and Otho led the way,

x

The

The Genius of the Julian hills
 (Whose piny summits nod with snow,
 Whose Naiads pour their thousands rills
 To swell th' exulting Po)
 An eager look prophetic cast,
 And hail'd the Hero as he pass'd.
 Hail, all hail, the woods reply'd,
 And Echo on her airy tide
 Roll'd the long murmurs down the mountain's side.

II.

The voice resum'd again. Proceed,
 Nor cast one ling'ring look behind ;
 By those who toil for virtue's meed
 Be every softer thought resign'd ;
 Nor social home, nor genial air,
 Nor glowing suns are worth thy care ;
 New realms await thee in a harsher sky,
 Thee, and thy chosen race from Azo's nuptial tie.

III.

'Tis Glory wakes ; her active flame
 Nor time shall quench, nor danger tame,
 Nor * Boia's amplest range confine,
 Tho' Guelpho reigns, the Guelphic line.
 Yon Northern Star, which dimly gleams
 Athwart the twilight veil of eve,
 Must point their path to distant streams,
 And many a wreath shall Vict'ry weave,
 And many a palm shall Fame display
 To grace the warriors on their way,
 Till regions bow to their commands
 Where Albis widens thro' the lands,
 And vast Visurgis spreads his golden sands.

IV.

Nor rest they there. Yon guiding fire
 Still shines aloft, and gilds the main !
 Not Lion † Henry's soft desire
 To grasp th' Italian realms again,

* Bavaria.

† Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria, Saxony, &c. was one of the greatest heroes of the XIIth century. He united in his own person the hereditary dominions of five families. His claims upon Italy hindered him from joining with the Emperor Frederick I. in this third attack upon the Pope ; tho' he had assisted him in the two former. For which he was stripped of his dominions by that Emperor, and died in 1195, possessed only of those duchies which lie between the Elbe and the Weser.

From this Henry, and a sister or daughter of Henry II. of England, his present Majesty is lineally descended.

Nor

Nor warring winds, nor wintry seas
 Shall stop the progress Fate decrees :
 For lo ! Britannia calls, to happier coasts,
 And vales more verdant far than soft Aetëa boasts !

V.

Behold, with euphrasy I clear,
 Thy visual nerve, and fix it there,
 Where, crown'd with rocks grotesque and steep,
 The White Isle rises o'er the deep !
 There Glory rests. For there arrive
 Thy chosen sons ; and there attain
 To the first title Fate can give,
 The father Kings of free-born men !
 Proceed. Rejoice. Descend the vale,
 And bid the future monarchs hail !
 Hail, all hail, the Hero cry'd,
 And Echo on her airy tide
 Pursu'd him murmuring down the mountain's side.

VI.

'Twas thus, O King, to Heroes old
 The mountains breath'd the strain divine,
 'Ere yet her volumes Fame unroll'd
 To trace the wonders of thy line ;
 'Ere Freedom yet on Ocean's breast
 Had northward fix'd the halcyon nest ;
 Or Albion's oaks descending to the main,
 Had roll'd her thunders wide, and claim'd the watry reign.

VII.

But now each Briton's glowing tongue,
 Proclaims the truths the Genius sung ;
 On Brunswick's name with rapture dwells,
 And hark, the gen'rous Chorus swells !
 " May years and happy years roll o'er,
 'Till glory close the shining page,
 And our ill-fated sons deplore
 The shortness of a Neitor's age !
 Hail, all hail, on Albion's plains
 The friend of man and freedom reigns !
 Echo waft the triumph round,
 'Till Gallia's utmost shores rebound,
 And all her bulwarks tremble at the sound."

Ode for the New Year 1759.

Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; Poet Laureat, and set by Dr. Boyce, Master of his Majesty's band of music.

The vocal parts by Mess. Beard, Savage, Baildon, Wals, Barrow, Ladl. Denham, Cowper, and the other gentlemen and children of the chapel royal. The instrumental by Dr. Nares, the King's band, &c.

Strophe.

YE guardian Powers, to whose command
At Nature's birth, th' Almighty Mind
The delegated task assign'd
To watch o'er Albion's favour'd land,
What time your hosts with choral lay,
Emerging from its kindred deep,
Applausive hail'd each verdant sleep,
And white rock, glitt'ring to the new-born day!
Angelic bands, where'er ye rove,
Whilst lock'd in sleep creation lies,
Whether to genial dews above
You melt the congregated skies,
Or teach the torrent streams below
To wake the verdure of the vale,
Or guide the varying winds that blow
To speed the coming or the parting sail,
Where'er ye bend your roving flight,
Whilst now the radiant Lord of light
Winds to the North his sliding sphere,
Avert each ill, each bliss improve,
And teach the minutes as they move
To bless the opening year.

Antistrophe.

Already Albion's lifted spear
And rolling thunders of the main,
Which Justice' sacred laws maintain,
Have taught the haughty Gaul to fear.
On other earths, in other skies,
Beyond old Ocean's western bound,
Tho' bleeds afresh th' eternal wound,
Again Britannia's cross triumphant flies.
To British George, the King of Isles,
The tribes that rove th' Acadian snows,
Redeem'd from Gallia's polish'd wiles,
Shall breathe their voluntary vows:

Where

Where Nature guards her last retreat,
 And pleas'd Astræa lingers still,
 While Faith yet triumphs o'er Deceit,
 And Virtue reigns, from ignorance of ill.
 Yet Angel-pow'rs, tho' Gallia bend,
 Tho' Fame, with all her wreaths, attend
 On bleeding War's tremendous sway,
 The sons of Leisure still complain,
 And musing Science sighs in vain,
 For Peace is still away.

Epode.

Go, then, ye faithful guides
 Of her returning steps, angelic band,
 Explore the sacred seats where Peace resides,
 And waves her olive wand.
 Bid her the wastes of War repair.
 — O southward seek the flying Fair,
 For not on poor Germania's harrafs'd plain,
 Nor where the Vistula's proud current swells,
 Nor on the borders of the frighted Seine,
 Nor in the depths of Russia's snows she dwells;
 Yet O, where'er, deserting Freedom's isle,
 She gilds the slave's delusive toil,
 Whether on Ebro's banks she strays,
 Or sighing traces Taio's winding ways,
 Or soft Ausonia's shores her feet detain,
 O bring the wand'rer back, with Glory in her train.

Verse to the People of England, 1758. By WM. WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet Laureat.

----- *Mures animos in martia bella*
Verfibus exacuit. ----- HOR.

BRITONS, rouse to deeds of death!
 Waste not zeal in idle breath,
 Nor lose the harvest of your swords
 In a civil-war of words!

Wherefore teems the shameless press
 With labour'd births of emptiness?
Reas'nings which no facts produce;
Eloquence, that murders use;
Ill-tim'd Humour, that beguiles
 Weeping ideots of their smiles;
Wit, that knows but to defame;
 And *Satire*, that profanes the name.

Let th' undaunted *Grecian* teach
 The use and dignity of speech,
 At whose thunders nobly thrown
 Shrunk the Man of MACEDON.

If the form of words *must* rise,
 Let it blast our enemies.
 Sure and nervous be it hurl'd
 On the PHILIPS of the world.
 Learn not vainly to despise
 (Proud of EDWARD's victories!)
 Warriors wedg'd in firm array,
 And navies powerful to display
 Their woven wings to every wind,
 And leave the panting foe behind.
 Give to *France* the honours due,
France has chiefs and statesmen too;
 Breasts which patriot-passions feel,
 Lovers of the common-weal.
 And when such the foes we brave,
 Whether on the land or way,
 Greater is the pride of war,
 And the conquest nobler far.

Agincourt and *Cressy* long
 Have flourish'd in immortal song;
 And lisping babes aspire to praise
 The wonders of ELIZA's days.
 And what else of late renown
 Has added wreaths to *Britain's* crown;
 Whether on th' impetuous *Rhine*
 She bade her harness'd warriors shine,
 Or snatch'd the dangerous palm of praise
 Where the *Sambre* meets the *Maese*;
 Or *Danube* rolls his wat'ry train;
 Or the yellow-tressed *Mayne*
 Thro' *Dettingen's* immortal vale.—
 Even *Fontenoy* could tell a tale,
 Might modest Worth ingenuous speak,
 To raise a blush on Victory's cheek;
 And bid the vanquish'd wreaths display
 Great as on *Culloden's* day.

But glory, which aspires to last,
 Leans not meanly on the past.
 'Tis the present Now demands
British hearts, and *British* hands.
 Curst be he, the willing slave,
 Who doubts, who lingers to be brave.
 Curst be the coward tongue that dare
 Breathe one accent of despair,
 Cold as Winter's icy hand
 To chill the Genius of the land.

Chiefly

Chiefly you, who ride the deep,
 And bid our thunders wake or sleep,
 As Pity pleads, or Glory calls——
 Monarchs of our wooden-walls!
 'Midst your mingling seas and skies!
 Rise ye BLAKES, ye RALEIGHS rise!
 Let the fordid lust of gain
 Be banish'd from the liberal main.
 He who strikes the generous blow,
 Aims it at the public foe.
 Let Glory be the guiding star,
 Wealth and honours follow her.

See! she spreads her lustre wide
 O'er the vast *Atlantic* tide!
 Constant as the solar ray
 Points the path, and leads the way!
 Other worlds demand your care,
 Other worlds to *Britain* dear;
 Where the foe insidious roves
 O'er headlong streams, and pathless groves;
 And Justice simple laws confounds
 With imaginary bounds.

If protected Commerce keep
 Her tenor o'er yon heaving deep,
 What have we from War to fear?
 Commerce steels the nerves of War;
 Heals the havoc Rapine makes,
 And new strength from conquest takes.

Nor less at home O deign to smile,
 Goddess of *Britannia's* isle!
 Thou, that from her rocks survey'st
 Her boundless realms the wat'ry waste;
 Thou, that roav'st the hill and mead
 Where her flocks and heifers feed:
 Thou, that cheer'st the industrious swain
 While he sows the pregnant grain;
 Thou, that hear'st his caroll'd vows
 When th' expanded barn o'erflows;
 Thou, the bulwark of our cause,
 Thou, the guardian of our laws,
 Sweet Liberty!——O deign to smile,
 Goddess of *Britannia's* isle!

If to us indulgent Heaven
 Nobler seeds of strength has given,
 Nobler should the produce be;
 Brave, yet gen'rous, are the free.
 Come then, all thy powers diffuse,
 Goddess of extended views!

Ev'ry breast which feels *thy* flame
 Shall kindle into martial fame,
 'Till shame shall make the coward bold,
 And *Indolence* her arms unfold:
 Ev'n *Avarice* shall protect his hoard,
 And the plough-share gleam a sword.
 Goddess, all thy powers diffuse!
 And thou, genuine BRITISH MUSE,
 Nurs'd amidst the *Druids* old
 Where *Deva's* wizard waters roll'd,
 Thou, that bear'st the golden key
 To unlock Eternity,
 Summon thy poetic guard ——
 Britain still has many a bard
 Whom, when Time and Death shall join
 T' expand the ore, and stamp the coin,
 Late posterity shall own
 Lineal to the Muse's throne——
 Bid them leave th' inglorious theme
 Of fabled shade, or haunted stream.
 In the daisy-painted mead
 'Tis to *Peace* we tune the reed;
 But when *War's* tremendous roar
 Shakes the isle from shore to shore,
 Every bard of purer fire
Tyrtæus-like should grasp the lyre;
 Wake with verse the hardy deed,
 Or in the generous strife like † SIDNEY bleed.

† Sir Philip Sidney, mortally wounded in an action near Zutphen, in Gelderland.

*Ode à S. M. le Roi de PRUSSE.
Par M. DE VOLTAIRE.*

PRINCE vaillant and magnanime,
Affais d'ennemis cruels
Et tu fais arracher l'estime,
L'as digne de leurs autels :
Je sens une fureur divine
Qui me pousse, qui me domine,
Je cede à sa brûlante ardeur.
Reçois mon hommage sincère :
Grand *Frederic* ! il doit te plaire,
C'est le pur hommage du cœur.

Déjà la politique affreuse,
Monstre assis de grands forfaits,
Dans sa caverne ténébreuse
A conçu le plus noir projet.
L'Ambition à l'œil perfide,
La Jalousie au teint livide,
Ont preside dans son conseil.
Belone, sombre & menaçante,
D'une guerre injuste & sanglante
Prepare l'horrible appareil.

De trois puissances redoutable
Je vois s'unir les étendards :
Du soldat les cris effroyables
Retentissent de toute part :
Plein d'une courage mercenaire,
Il arme son bras sanguinaire.
Ah ! mon cœur est saisi d'effroi—
Prince ! l'ennemi t'environne—
Il va t'enlever la couronne.
Qui la mérite mieux que toi ?

Dans une tranquille retraite
Coutant les douceurs de la paix,
Sa grande anxiété ne s'inquiète
Que du bonheur de ses sujets.
La foudre gronde sur sa tête,
La plus effrayante tempeste
Soulève contre lui les flots :
Il perce enfin l'épais nuage,
Son œil étouffe voit l'orage,
Mais il le contemple en héros.

O vous dont l'ardeur téméraire
Va semer le trouble & l'horreur,
Un roi que son peuple revere,
Un roi qu'il porte dans son cœur,
Tombera-t-il votre victime ?
Et sera-t-il dit que le crime
S'immole toutes les vertus ?

Non :

*Ode to the King of PRUSSIA.
By M. DE VOLTAIRE.*

O Thou ! whose mighty mind disdains
Of life the frauds, and fears, and
pains :

Thou, whom thy foes, in spite of hate,
Revere at heart, and call The Great,
I feel the sacred phrenzy strong,
Which rules me and compels the song ;
Accept the strains that flow sincere,
Such strains thy virtues ought to hear.

Deep in her gloomy cell retir'd,
With lust of dreadful mischief fir'd,
Fell Cunning plots to curse mankind,
With half the powers of hell combin'd :
Ambition with her double view,
And Jealousy of pallid hue ;
The project found, *Bellona* rears
Her horrid front, diffusing fears,
For War prepares, injurious War,
And frowning mounts her iron car.

Three mighty pow'rs their standards
bring,
The soldiers shout, the valleys ring ;
The ruthless hand which fights for hire,
Is stretch'd to set the world on fire :
Fear chills my heart and dims my eyes ;
O Prince, thy foes surround thee ! rise !
They come to snatch thy crown ! beware !
For who *thy* crown deserves to wear ?

Reclin'd in soft serene repose,
And blest with all that Peace bestows ;
The Prince no anxious cares distress,
By blessing wishful to be blest,
When o'er his head the thunder roars,
The sounding billows lash the shores,
The clouds dispart, the storm appears,
He sees surpriz'd, surpriz'd he hears :
Yet with calm wonder weighs the scene,
As heroes use, sedate ! serene !

Ye hostile hands, who rashly dare
To scatter wide the plagues of war,
Can *Frederic* fall by your decrees,
Who lives in ev'ry heart he sees ?
For Vice shall every virtue die,
To pile her impious altars high ?

No.

Non : *Frederic* a vu les trames
Ouidies au fond de vos ames :
Tous vos projets sont confondus.

Soldats, un ennemi parjure,
Dont l'ambition est la loi,
Vous fait la plus sanglante injure,
Il ose attaquer votre Roi.
Il vient se montrer a vos portes :
Deja ses nombreuses cohortes
Repandent partout la terreur ;
Soutenez la plus juste cause,
Sur vous *Frederic* le repose ;
Si vous l'aimez il est vainqueur.

Il dit. Son courage intrepide
Passe dans l'ame des soldats :
Et chacun d'eux, nouvel Alcide,
Brule de voler aux combats.
Autrichien vain & farouche,
Oui, l'insolence est dans ta bouche,
Mais l'epouvante est dans ton cœur :
Francois, ta valeur si vantee
Devant le Prussien est glacee :
Tout dispartoit jusqu'a l'honneur.

Jadis les enfans de la terre,
Les tyrans fiers audacieux,
Oferent declarer la guerre
Au souverain maitre des dieux :
Deja leur fureur arrogante
Levoit une main triomphante.
Jupiter tonne, ils sont vaincus.
Toi, *Frederic*, en ta colere
Tu jettes un regard severe,
Tes ennemis sont eperdus.

Aux plaintes de la Germanie
L'orgueil Francois est ecrase ;
Frederic vole en Silesie,
L'Autrichien est terrasse ;
Ses soldats lancent ils la foudre ?
Ils paroissent, tout est en poudre.
La victoire est devant leur pas,
Non, il n'est rien la qui m'etonne.
Il faut que les succès couronne
Des heros que soutient son bras.

Et toi, feroce Moscovite,
Tu crains d'affronter sa valeur :
Une prompte et heureuse fuite
Te soustrait a son bras vengeur.
Va raconter dans les provinces
Que le plus auguste de princes
A pour soldats des demi dieux :

Vol. I.

No, *Frederic* sees the latent snare,
And all your projects mix with air.

Soldiers, said he, a lawless pow'r
With war profanes the peaceful hour ;
Your King assails, invades his gates,
And shakes with terror all his states.
Support my cause, my cause is just ;
In you your *Frederic* puts his trust ;
Of all his wish, your love, possess,
Of conquest sure, your King is blest.

He said, and soon the sacred fire
That warm'd his breast, his troops acquire.
A new Alcides now in might,
Each burns impatient for the fight.
Proud *Austria* still in threats is brave,
But sinks at heart ; to fear a slave ;
O! *France* the boasted valour's fled [dread :
The *Prussian* comes, she's chill'd with
Even honour frighted, quits her breast,
Her lov'd, her long familiar guest.

When erst the sons of Earth arose,
Of mighty *Jove* th' audacious foes,
The God serene, in awful state,
Launch'd the red bolt, their instant fate ;
So when with headlong fury fir'd,
To *Frederic's* crown his foes aspir'd,
The hero frown'd with martial grace,
And swift they vanish'd from the place.

Germania sighs, her voice is heard,
And *France* chaffis'd, no more is fear'd ;
To aid *Silesia*, *Frederic* flies,
And low on earth proud *Austria* lies.
Does *Jove* his troops with thunder trust ?
They march—and foes and towers are dust.
Before them Vict'ry wings her way,
And stays where'er the heroes stay.
What secret cause these wonders breeds ?
No wonders these—For *Frederic* leads.

Fierce *Russia* fear'd his piercing sight,
And sav'd her troops by timely flight.
Ye fugitives, proclaim around
What demi-gods combin'd ye found ;

Que

D d

That

Que son nom seul en son absence,
Produit l'effet de sa presence,
Et que son ame vit en eux.

Ces evenemens memorables
Que celebra l'antiquite
Ne seront plus d'illustres fables
Aux yeux de la posterite.
Hommes courages invincibles,
Tous vos faits incomprehensibles
Etonneront ils nos esprits
Quand nous voyons de votre gloire
Les rayons, epars dans l'histoire,
En *Frederic* seul reunis.

Mets fin a tes travaux sans nombre,
Termine tes exploits guerriers,
Et viens te reposer a l'ombre,
Frederic, de tant de lauriers,
Donne a l'Europe desolee
Une paix que soit assuree,
Qu'elle la tienne du vainqueur.
Le triumphe le plus illustre
N'aquiert-il pas son dernier lustre
Quand il ramene le bonheur ?

De tout un peuple qui t'adore
Lorsque les vœux sont exautes,
Voudrois tu qu'il fremit encore
En voyant tes jours exposes ?
Acheve la plus belle vie,
En eclairant par ton genie
Des sujets sauves par ton bras.
Remonte la lyre d'Horace,
Sois Apollon sur le Parnasse
Comme tu fus Mars aux combats.

That *Frederic's* name his place supplies
And withers nations as they rise ;
That all his soul diffus'd inspires
Each breast with more than mortal fires.

What raptur'd bards, in times of old,
Of demi-gods and heroes told,
No more shall pass for splendid dreams,
Inspir'd by rich *Pierson* streams
Ye mighty dead, we doubt no more
The feats your arms achiev'd of yore ;
Your envy'd glory's scatter'd rays,
Combin'd in *Prussia's* monarch, blaze.

O *Frederic*, speed the blissful hour,
When all thy foes shall own thy pow'r ;
When yet once more at ease reclin'd,
Thy tranquil smiles shall bless mankind.
Her peace from thee let *Europe* claim,
Peace gives the victor's utmost fame :
That fame which conquests ne'er bestow,
Won but to waste the world below.

O ! why, belov'd, admir'd, ador'd,
Thy life with endless pray'rs implor'd ?
Why should whole realms with panting
 breath,
Still watch thee thro' the fields of death ?
O let thy days in peace decline,
Thy life and death alike divine ;
Whom valour fav'd, let genius cheer,
Resume the lyre we joy to hear ;
And beam around thy lov'd domain
The rays of mental light again,
Thy world's great *Phabus*, known
 from far,
Its *Mars* before supreme in war.

The following Copy of Verses of the King of Prussia, were presented by him to Mr. Professor Gottsched at Leipzig, the 18th day of October, 1757.

L E Ciel, en dispensant ses dons
 Ne les prodigue point d'une main liberale,
 Il nous refuse plus que nous ne recevons :
 Pour tout peuple à peu près sa faveur est égale.
 Les Francois sont legeres, les Anglois sont profonds ;
 Et s'il denie à l'un ce qu'il accorde à l'autre ;
 L'amour propre, en changeant, en roses ses chardons,
 Au talent du voisin fait preferer le nôtre.
 Sparte possédoit la valeur,
 Mars se plut d'y former de fameux Capitaines,
 Tandis que la molle douceur
 Des arts & des talens respiroit dans Athenes.
 De Sparte nos vaillans Germains
 Ont recueilli l'antique gloire :
 Combien des grands exploits ont place en leur histoire.
 Mais s'ils ont trouvé les chemins,
 A travers les perils, au temple de Mémoire,
 Les fleurs se tânent dans leurs mains
 Dont ils couronnent la victoire.
 C'est à toi, le Cygne Saxon
 D'arracher ce talent à la nature avare,
 D'adoucir, par tes soins, d'une langue barbare
 La dure âpreté de ses tons ;
 Ajoute par les chants que ta muse prepare,
 Aux lauriers des vainqueurs, dont le Germain se pare
 Les plus beaux lueriers d'Apollon.

Parodie sur les Vers precedens.

LE Ciel en dispensant ses dons,
 Fut prodigue pour vous, Monarque incomparable !
 Par les talens de Mars, & par ceux d'Apollon,
 Aux siecles à venir il vous rend respectable.
 Si d'un François leger, d'un Anglois très profond,
 Le caractère outré leur attire du blâme ;
 Le vôtre en équilibre, et toujours sans passion,
 Ne nous trace partout que sens & grandeur d'âme.

C'est sous vos étendarts, Monarque valeureux,
 Que Mars forme à present de fameux Capitaines :
 Vos Germains, animés par vos faits glorieux,
 Ternissent tout l'éclat de la grandeur Romaine.
 Les arts & le savoir dans Athènes nourris,
 Vont chercher au milieu de vos braves cohortes
 Un aile assuré, et fiers de cette escorte
 Suivent tranquillement leur protecteur cheri.
 C'est ainsi, Prince unique en vos travaux guerriers,
 Qu'avec un livre en main vous cueillez des lauriers,
 Laisant à ces temoins d'une immortelle gloire,
 Le soin de mediter la plus parfait histoire.
 Usez de ces talens ! mais que bientôt vos faits
 Ceignent le front sacré de l'olive de paix !
 Donnez nous la, Grand Roi ; surmontes tout obstacle,
 Et laissez nous le soin de crier au miracle.

Translation of the King of Prussia's Verses to Professor Gottsched.

WITH bounteous yet with frugal hand,
 Its mental gifts judicious Heav'n,
 Deals near alike to every land,
 Tho' different kinds to each are giv'n.

The French of airy genius prove,
 Britannia's sons profound are known :
 Charm'd by the magic of self-love,
 Each prizes, each prefers his own.

In *Sparta*, once for arms renown'd,
Mars train'd his noblest sons of fame;
 Politeſt arts and manners crown'd,
 With *Attic* ſweets, the *Athenian* name.

From *Lacedæmon*'s hardy race
 Our *Germans*, fir'd with martial rage,
 Dauntleſs to fame, thro' danger, preſs,
 Ennobled in th' historic page.

But ſoon their flow'ry garlands fade,
 And wither from the public view;
 No tuneful bard's reforming aid
 Their harſh neglected language knew.

This taſk, *Saxonian Swan*! be thine;
 Thy native tongue, with powerful art,
 In niggard nature's ſpight, refine,
 And ſweetly-melting ſounds impart.

In *Heliconian* ſtrains aſſume,
 And ſwell our *German* Heroes praiſe:
 Immortal ſhall their laurels bloom,
 Entwin'd with thy *Parnaffian* bays.

The Profeſſor's Answer.

HEaven that diſtinguiſhes but few,
 Was lavish, matchleſs Prince! to you;
 It graced you with the mingled charms,
 Of wiſdom, poetry, and arms,
 And bade you, thus adorn'd, engage
 The wonder of each future age:
 It form'd you in that happy mean,
 Thoſe blameable extremes between,
 Of *Britiſh* genius too profound,
 And *French*, for levity renown'd.
 Hence, nicely poiz'd, and well refin'd,
 True grandeur dignifies your mind;
 No clouds of paſſion ever roll,
 T' obſcure the brightneſs of your ſoul.

Mars now, where-e'er your ſtandards fly,
 Submits to your corrective eye,
 And forms, as in his nobleſt ſchools,
 His heroes by your better rules;

And hence your *Germans* rise in fame
 Superior to the *Roman* name.
 Long exil'd from their native home
 Th' *Athenian Muses* forc'd to roam
 In search of some belov'd retreat,
 Amidst your cohorts fix their seat,
 Transported, your benefits obey,
 And follow where you lead the way.
Fame's greenest laureat-wreath you seize,
 And pluck, serene in learned ease,
 Leaving th' historians of your age,
 T' inscribe you on th' immortal page.
 These godlike talents use—and soon
 May smiling *Peace*, (celestial boon!)
 Her blooming olives all divine
 Around your sacred temples twine.
 This blessing, mighty Prince! bestow,
 And every obstacle o'erthrow,
 While, with poetic raptures warm'd,
 I sing the wonders you've perform'd.

Rotterdam, Jan. 24, 1758.

B. S ——— n.

Ode in the Second Act of Agis, a Tragedy, as it was performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane.

Mrs. Pritchard.

WOES approach, till now unknown,
 Discord shakes the Spartan throne,
 Heav'n avert the ills we fear!
 Jove, from high Olympus, hear!

CHORUS.

Ever may his mighty arm
 Save the Spartan state from harm!
 Ne'er may proud invaders boast
 Glory from our glory lost.
 Light, O Jove, that sacred fire
 Which did Sparta's sons inspire,
 When the Prince and People strove,
 Burning with their country's love.
 Xerxes, lord of great alarms,
 Xerxes rous'd the world to arms.

Priest of Jupiter, *Mr. Champness.*

The earth was troubled at his host,
 The springs were dry'd, the rivers lost:

But

But Spartan valour check'd his pride,
A slender band his host defy'd;
Thermopylæ, (immortal name!)
Beheld the Persian tyrant's shame.

Chorus of all.

There the brave three hundred dy'd,
Faithful by their Prince's side,
There they conquer'd tho' they dy'd.

Priest of Hercules, Mr. Beard.

On earth below, in heav'n above,
Rever'd, victorious, son of Jove!
Hear, Alcides hear our pray'r,
Thy godlike offspring claims thy care.

CHORUS.

Agis of thy race divine,
Try'd in labours like to thine.

Undaunted, like thee, with monsters he strives;
The fiercest of Hydras in faction revives.

If he falls a sacrifice,
Never more shall Sparta rise!

Ode in the Fifth Act.

Mr. Garrik.

MOURN, ye sons of Sparta, mourn,
Pour the sad lamenting strain,
Wretched people! land forlorn!
Mourn the bell of Princes slain.

Priest of Jupiter, Mr. Champness.

He fell not as the warrior falls,
Whose breast defends the native walls;
To treason Agis bow'd his head,
And by his guilty subjects bled:
Betray'd by those his mercy spar'd;
Ingratitude was his reward.

Priest of Hercules, Mr. Beard.

Yet Agis triumph'd in his fall;
For Virtue triumphs over all;
Great, superior to his fate,
He only griev'd for Sparta's state:
When Jove decrees a nation's doom,
He calls their heroes to the tomb.
Fearless they fall, immortal rise,
And claim the freedom of the skies.

CHORUS.

Agis triumph'd in his fall,
Virtue triumphs over all!
Such a King shall ne'er return,
Our country and ourselves we mourn.

Chorus of all.

Now in peace our hero lies,
 Ceas'd his toil, his race is run;
 Freedom is the glorious prize
 Agis for his people won.

An Epitaph upon JOHNNY ARMSTRONG.

HERE lies the mortal part of poor Johnny Armstrong,
 Who from his setting out in life
 Gave an early promise of what he afterwards performed.
 He enter'd upon the service of the field
 With incredible intrepidity,
 And run for a few years
 Almost an uninterrupted course of victories.
 He got the start of every thing that oppos'd him,
 Was more expeditious than Cæsar,
 And was never known to insult those he had conquer'd;
 Or detract from those, who were superior to himself.
 His temper was always equal,
 Never too much elated with success,
 Or dejected in distress:
 His numerous conquests testify the former,
 And the scarcity of his defeats is sufficient to certify the latter.
 He wanted no other spur,
 Than his own ambition and thirst of glory:
 If they at any time hurried him on too rashly,
 He could patiently bear the curb of him,
 Who was set over him.
 To sum up his public character in a few words:
 If any body ever was,
 He certainly was cut out by Nature for the field,
 In which service he persevered to his dying day,
 A credit to his master, and an honour to his country.

Reader, however you may admire his public character, his private life will much more charm you. All his good qualities were entirely the gift of Nature; and like a true *Heuybnbn*, he never spoke the thing which was not. Want of humanity was never objected to him by such as properly considered the rank of life he filled. He was moderate; neither costly nor mean in his diet; sober even to abstinence, for he was never known to drink a glass of wine in his life; or eat of more than one, or two things at most at a meal; so virtuous that he never knew woman. He was rather tall in his person, of excellent parts, well proportioned, and of a beautiful complexion. If he had any religion, it was the religion of nature; but the whole tenor of his life shews he was no atheist. And if he did not live in the observance of all the commandments, it is but justice to his ashes to say, he never broke one of them to his dying day.

*Windscr.**Translation*

Translation of a French Ode in Lloyd's Evening-Post.

S OUBISE and Lorrain in dispute
 Concerning their hapless mischance :
 To the gen'ral of Austria thus said
 The doughty commander of France.

' That you always are vanquish'd, dear Charles,
 ' Surprises me not, by my troth :
 ' For Frederic, you know, *entre nous*,
 ' Is more than a match for us both.

' But at Breslau how came you to leave
 ' So many brave men in disgrace ?
 ' *Mai foi !* I'd have led them all off,
 ' If I had been there in your place.'

" True, answer'd Lorrain, I agree,
 " This you, with your Frenchmen, had done :
 " And mine too had got clear away,
 " If they, like the French, could have *run*."

Ode on Death. Translated from the French of the King of Prussia, by
 Dr. HAWKESWORTH.

YET a few years, or days perhaps,
 Or moments pass in silent lapse,
 And time to me shall be no more ;
 No more the sun these eyes shall view ;
 Earth o'er these limbs her dust shall strew,
 And life's fantastic dream be o'er.

Alas ! I touch the dreadful brink,
 From Nature's verge impell'd I sink,
 And endless darkness wraps me round !
 Yes, death is ever at my hand,
 Fast by my bed he takes his stand,
 And constant at my board is found.

Earth, air, and fire, and water join
 Against this fleeting life of mine,
 And where for succour can I fly ?
 If Art with flatt'ring wiles pretend
 To shield me like a guardian friend,
 By Art, ere Nature bids, I die.

I see this tyrant of the mind,
 This idol flesh, to dust consign'd,
 Once call'd from dust by Pow'r divine ;
 Its features change, 'tis pale, 'tis cold—
 Hence, dreadful spectre ! to behold
 Thy aspect, is to make it mine.

And

And can I then with guilty pride,
Which fear nor shame can quell nor hide,
This flesh still pamper and adorn!
'Thus viewing what I soon *shall be*,
Can what I *am* demand the knee,
Or look on aught around with scorn?

But then this spark that warms, that guides,
That lives, that thinks, what fate betides?
Can this be dust—a kneaded clod!
'This yield to death! the soul, the mind,
'That measures heav'n, and mounts the wind,
'That knows at once itself and God!

Great Cause of all, above, below,
Who knows Thee, must for ever know,
Immortal and divine!
Thy image on my soul impress,
Of endless being is the test,
And bids Eternity be mine!

Transporting thought!—but am I sure
That endless life will joy secure?
Joys only to the just decreed!
The guilty wretch, expiring, goes
Where vengeance endless life bestows,
That endless misery may succeed,

Great God! how awful is the scene!
A breath, a transient breath between;
And can I jest, and laugh, and play?
To earth—alas! too firmly bound,
Trees deeply rooted in the ground,
Are shiver'd when they're torn away.

Vain joys, which envy'd greatness gains,
How do you bind with silken chains,
Which ask Herculean strength to break!
How with new terrors have ye arm'd
The pow'r whose slightest glance alarm'd!
How many deaths of one ye make.

Yet, dumb with wonder I behold
Man's thoughtless race, in error bold,
Forget or scorn the *laws* of Death:
With *these* no projects coincide,
Nor vows, nor toils, nor hopes, *they* guide,
Each thinks he draws immortal breath.

Each, blind to fate's approaching hour,
Intrigues, or fights, for wealth or pow'r,

And slumbering dangers dare provoke ;
 And he, who tott'ring scarce sustains
 A cent'ry's age, plans future gains,
 And feels an unexpected stroke.

Go on, unbridled desp'rate band,
 Scorn rocks, gulphs, winds, search sea and land,
 And spoil new worlds wherever found.
 Seize, haste to seize, the glitt'ring prize,
 And sighs, and tears, and pray'rs despise,
 Nor spare the temple's holy ground.

They go, succeed ; but look again,
 The desp'rate band you seek in vain,
 Now trod in dust the peasant's scorn.
 But who that saw their treasures swell,
 That heard the insatiate vow rebel,
 Wou'd e'er have thought them mortal born ?

See the world's Victor mounts his car,
 Blood marks his progress wide and far,
 Sure he shall reign while ages fly ;
 No, vanish'd like a morning cloud,
 The Hero was but just allow'd
 To fight, to conquer, and to die.

And is it true, I ask with dread,
 That nations heap'd on nations bled,
 Beneath his chariot's fervid wheel,
 With trophies to adorn the spot
 Where his pale corse was left to rot,
 And doom'd the hungry reptile's meal ?

Yes, Fortune, weary'd with her play,
 Her toy, this Hero, casts away,
 And scarce the form of Man is seen ;
 Awe chills my breast, my eyes o'erflow,
 Around my brows no roses glow,
 The cypress mine, funereal green !

Yet in this hour of grief and fears,
 When awful Truth unvel'd appears,
 Some pow'r unknown usurps my breast ;
 Back to the world my thoughts are led !
 My feet in Folly's labyrinth tread,
 And Fancy dreams that life is blest.

How weak an Empress is the Mind,
 Whom Pleasure's flow'ry wreaths can bind,
 And captive to her altars lead !
 Weak Reason yields to Phrenzy's rage,
 And all the world is Folly's stage,
 And all that act are fools indeed,

And

And yet this strange, this sudden flight,
 From gloomy cares to gay delight,
 This fickleness, so light and vain,
 In life's delusive transient dream,
 When men nor things are what they seem,
 Is all the real good we gain.

*Epistle from the King of PRUSSIA, to Monsieur VOLTAIRE.
 Translated by J. G. COOPER, Esq.*

VOLTAIRE, believe me, were I now
 In private life's calm station plac'd,
 Let heav'n for nature's wants allow,
 With cold indiff'rence would I view
 Departing Fortune's winged haste,
 And at the Goddess laugh like you.
 Th' insipid farce of tedious state,
 Imperial duty's real weight,
 The faithless courtier's supple bow,
 The fickle multitude's cares,
 And flatterers wordy emptiness,
 By long experience well I know;
 And, tho' a Prince and Poet born,
 Vain blandishments of glory scorn.
 For when the ruthless sheers of fate
 Have cut my life's precarious thread,
 And rank me with th' unconscious dead,
 What will't avail that I was great,
 Or that th' uncertain tongue of Fame
 In Mem'ry's temple chants my name?
 One blissful moment whilst we live
 Weighs more than ages of renown;
 What then do Potentates receive
 Of good peculiarly their own?
 Sweet ease, and unaffected joy,
 Domestic peace and sportive pleasure,
 The regal throne and palace fly,
 And, born for liberty, prefer
 Soft silent scenes of lovely leisure
 To, what we Monarchs buy so dear,
 The thorny pomp of scepter'd care.
 My pain or bliss shall ne'er depend
 On fickle Fortune's casual flight,
 For, whether she's my foe or friend,
 In calm repose I'll pass the night:
 And ne'er by watchful homage own
 I court her smile, or fear her frown.
 But from our stations we derive
 Unerring precepts how to live;

And

And certain deeds each rank calls forth,
 By which is measur'd human worth.
 Voltaire, within his private cell,
 In realms where antient honesty
 Is patrimonial property,
 And sacred Freedom loves to dwell,
 May give up all his peaceful mind,
 Guided by Plato's deathless page,
 In silent solitude resign'd
 To the mild virtues of a sage:
 But I, 'gainst whom wild whirlwinds wage
 Fierce war with wreck-denouncing wing,
 Must be, to face the tempest's rage,
 In thought, in life, and death a King.

WINTER, a Poem, being a Translation of Mr. WILLIAM THOMSON'S
 ODE BRUMALIS.

By the Reverend Mr. TATTERSAL, late Fellow of Trinity College,
 Cambridge.

ALAS! no longer now appear
 The softer seasons of the year.
 Of sports and loves what Muse now sings?
 Away my lyre;—boy, break the strings.

Old joyless Winter, who disdains
 Your sprightly, flow'ry, Attic strains,
 Wrapt into fable, calls for airs,
 Rough, gloomy, as the rug he wears.

Pleasure, for ever on the wing,
 Wild, wanton, restless, flutt'ring thing,
 Airy springs by with sudden speed,
 Swifter than Maro's flying steed.

Ah! Where is hid the sylvan scene,
 The leafy shade, the vernal green?
 In Flora's meads the sweets that grew,
 Colours which Nature's pencil drew,
 Chaplets, the bust of Pope might wear,
 Worthy to bloom around Janthe's hair?

Gay-mantled Spring away is flown,
 The silver tressed Summer's gone,
 And golden Autumn; naught remains
 But Winter with his iron chains.

The feather-footed hours that fly,
 Say, "Human life thus passes by."

What

What shall the wise, the prudent? they
Will seize the bounty of to-day,
And prostrate to the Gods their grateful homage pay.

The man whom Isis' stream inspires,
Whom Pallas owns, and Pæceus fires,
Whom Suada, smiling goddess, deigns
To guide in sweet Hibernian plains.
He Winter's storm, undaunted still, sustains.

Black lowering skies ne'er hurt the breast
By white-rou'd Innocence possess'd.
Roar as ye list, ye winds,——begin,——
Virtue proclaims fair Peace within;
Ethereal power! 'tis you that bring
The balmy Zephyrs, and restore the Spring.

The Pleasures of the Mind.

KIND Nature with a mother's joys
Her every art to charm employs,
For man the golden King of day
Pours light, health, beauty, in his ray.
The morn in silver tresses bright,
With milder charms salutes his sight,
And Night her shadowy curtain draws,
Indulging sleep's refreshing pause:
For man the purple-finger'd Hours
Dress beauteous Spring in new born flowers;
Teach her to breathe a rich perfume,
A smile with eye-enchancing bloom.
Then ripe in beauty's glowing pride,
Blithe Summer, *Sol's* refulgent bride,
Bids Plenty revel o'er the plains,
And carol heart-enlivening strains.
Next Autumn calls the sylvan powers,
To lay him soft in shady bow'rs,
Where grape and nectarine, plumb and peach,
May tempting hang within his reach!
Last, Winter comes to rule the year,
In sweet vicissitude severe;
See him on *Zembla's* mountains stand,
He stretches out his palsied hand,
And all his magazines unfold
Their copious hoards of ice and cold
The hail in volleys rattles round,
The snow descending, shrouds the ground:
Deep-bellowing bursts of thunder roll,
And pleasing horror swells the soul.

With

With still improv'd delight, the Mind
 Beholds her powers unconfin'd.
 She roves with Nature, and explains
 What virtues live in secret veins
 Of herbs; bids *Flora's* children rise
 In naked beauty to her eyes.
 To the soft serenade of gales
 Thro' Ocean's liquid realms she sails,
 Thro' pearly worlds, thro' coral groves,
 Where every scaly wonder roves:
 With *Phæbus*, in his chariot driv'n,
 She journeys thro' th' expanse of heav'n;
 Now rolling round on *Saturn's* ring,
 Now roving on the comet's wing,
 And urging still her airy flight,
 She gains those smiling realms of light,
 Where sons of bliss, immortals dwell,
 In golden groves of *Asphodel*.
 Now conscious of celestial skill,
 Her forming pow'r she tries at will,
 Her pencil weds assenting dies,
 And see a new-born world arise.
 Here charms the eye the blossom'd grove,
 Where, looking bliss, young lovers rove;
 There serpentine the river glides,
 And nibbling flocks adorn its sides.
 Soft'ning to flesh the marble lives,
 And takes each attitude she gives:
 Here nerv'd to strength the hero stands,
 There orators extend their hands;
 The patriot here, by Freedom's side,
 Smiling pours out the vital tide;
 Here Beauty charms the gazing eye,
 The Loves and Graces waiting by:
 Is it the breeze that wakes the spring?
 Or say, does *Philomela* sing,
 And bid the list'ning ear rejoice?
 'Tis Music tunes her heav'nly voice,
 Her voice of sweetest skill to raise
 The drooping heart ten thousand ways.
 Now heav'n-caught fury fires the soul,
 And spurning oft earth's dull controul,
 Vent'rous she wings her full-plum'd flight,
 Descends new regions of delight;
 Led by enchantress Fancy roves
 The Muses gay ideal groves,
 Where countless beings strike her eye,
 Confus'd in glittering novelty;

But what the varied year's delight,
 Or what the mental ken so bright,
 Or what the kind inspiring Muses,
 To blifs that genuine love transfuses !
 The parent's fond impaffion'd flow,
 The filial, duteous, grateful glow,
 Congenial friendship, heav'nly true,
 And pity preffing balmy dew ;
 The feaft of Converfe, that difpenfes
 Blifs to the heart, and all the fenfes,
 Where Reafon, Mirth, Good-humour fit,
 And beauty sparkles into wit.
 Here too, as in the natural fcene,
 Triumphs the Mind, creative queen ;
 Here Fancy, with illufion kind,
 Indulges every longing mind,
 Brings to the lover in defpair
 His mutually-impaffion'd fair,
 Adorns the meaneft female face
 With beauties cull'd from ev'ry grace ;
 Instructs Ambition's flave to nod,
 And bids the reptile foar a God,
 Applauds the bard's profaic fongs
 Gives eloquence to flamm'ring tongues,
 Lets Ocean's fons their haven gain,
 Unbinds the captive's galling chain ;
 On Poverty each joy beftows,
 From rich humanity that flows,
 Gives her at once herfelf to blefs,
 And charm the virtues in diftrefs,
 Yet ftill referves the fapient mind,
 Her darling free-born joy behind,
 When with fond eyes ſhe loves to trace
 The beauties of her moral race,
 And with blithe confidence can fay
 She liv'd with Virtue ev'ry day,
 That ftill ſhe urg'd life's great defign,
 To fit herfelf for blifs divine.
 Then Conſcience lends the plaufive note
 Thro' ev'ry ſenſe of joy to float,
 Strikes muſic from each vital ſtring,
 That envies not when angels ſing,
 Diffolv'd in ecſtacy ſhe lies,
 And ſweetly pre-enjoys the ſkies.

To P E A C E.

COME lovely gentle Peace of mind
 With all thy ſmiling nymphs around,
 Content and Innocence combin'd,
 With wreaths of ſacred olive crown'd.

Come

Come thou, that lov'st to walk at eve,
 The banks of murm'ring streams along,
 That lov'st the crowded court to leave,
 And hear the milk-maid's simple song ;

That lov'st with Contemplation's eye
 The headlong cataract to view ;
 That foams and thunders from on high,
 While echoes oft the sound renew ;

That lov'st the dark sequester'd wood,
 Where Silence spreads her brooding wings,
 Nor less the lake's translucent flood,
 The mossy grotts and bubbling springs.

With thee the lamp of Wisdom burns,
 The guiding light to realms above ;
 With thee, the raptur'd mortal learns
 The wonders of celestial love.

With thee, the poor have endless wealth,
 And sacred freedom glads the slave,
 With thee, the sick rejoice in health,
 The weak are strong, the fearful brave.

O lovely gentle peace of mind !
 Be thou on earth my constant guest,
 With thee, whate'er on earth I find,
 The pledge of heaven, shall make me blest.

To a Kinsman, on his intended Marriage.

I.
SEE ! the wild herds of nymphs and swains ;
 A despicable throng :
 See ! how they strive in Hymen's chains,
 And drag their plagues along.

2.
 Keen Anguish, Hate, or wasting Care
 On every footstep treads,
 While pining Want, and black Despair,
 Hang hov'ring o'er their heads.

3.
 Yet fools in crowds are following still
 Through the same thoughtless road,
 Which leads far wide from Wisdom's hill,
 To Sorrow's dark abode.

4.
 See ! how they rush before the priest ;
 And bid his altars smoke :
 He deems them just above the beast,
 The fitter for the yoke.

5.
Fondly they view the golden gate,
And haste to enter in,
Where Mirth displays its guileful bait,
And veils the snare within.

6.
Blind Cupid helps the dire deceit,
As Folly guides his hand,
And laughing Momus hides the cheat,
Till Fancy ties the band.

7.
Then for a while in giddy noise
The revels shake the plain :
One hour is spent in empty joys,
And all beyond is pain.

8.
The dawn appears ! the shades retire !
And the gay vision flies ;
Lost are the dreams of fond desire :
But solid woes arise.

9.
In strong tumultuous passions tost,
Their comforts soon are dead :
Fair Peace and Happiness are lost,
And Hope for ever fled.

10.
Just is their doom. 'Tis lust ; 'tis gold ;
'Tis Sex alone can please ;
While mercenary Love is sold,
And pairs such minds as these.

11.
The village swain thus views his flock,
And governs absolute :
Whilst he attentive rears his flock,
And couples every brute.

12.
Such common things may well be bound
With any of their kind :
But who, young kinsman, shall be found
To match thy nobler mind ?

13.
The brightest nymphs who crowd our scenes,
And bid the world admire,
Are but some finer clay machines,
Void of celestial fire.

14.
Thus China's vases give delight ;
Trim, gaudy, smooth, and gay ;
Whilst gazing females bless the sight,
And with their hearts away.

15.

So shine themselves in Beauty's dress;
 As clear their polish'd skin;
 But else 'tis all vast emptiness,
 Or dust and filth within.

16.

Useless alike the painted jar,
 And showy tinsel maid:
 Both charm the senses, view'd afar,
 And pall when near display'd.

17.

Blushes and Virtue hence are fled,
 In these degen'rate days:
 This huge rotundity we tread,
 And lost mankind decays.

18.

Few heavenly forms adorn the stage,
 Since Nature waxes old:
 One is the labour of an age
 Wrought in a perfect mould.

19.

Could I but find that single She,
 Incomparable Boy!
 Stamp'd with the hand which fashion'd Thee,
 And pure without alloy.

20.

Then should my Muse to Hymen bend,
 And shout his wheels along,
 With eager joy his steps attend,
 And tune the grateful song.

21.

And lo! propitious to my vows,
 Behold! the God appears,
 Smiling he leads thy destin'd spouse,
 And chafes all my fears.

22.

Fair Virgin, hail! hail, blooming Fair!
 Thrice hail! exalted Maid!
 High as my warmest wishes were,
 They nobly here are paid.

23.

Blest are mine eyes which view the sight:
 But doubly blest is He
 Who gives thy gentle thoughts delight,
 And rests his soul on Thee.

24.

With conscious Innocence she moves
 Where Honour points the way;
 Sage Pallas all her steps approves,
 And glads the nuptial day.

E c 2

25. Here

25.

Here praise is weak; here words are vain;
 Let Fancy reign supreme:
 Since Pope, in his sublimest strain,
 Must sink beneath the theme.

The latter part of Chap. VI. of St. Matthew, Paraphrased.

By the late celebrated Mr. THOMSON, Author of the SEASONS.

WHEN my breast labours with oppressive care,
 And o'er my cheek descends the falling tear,
 While all my warring passions are at strife,
 Oh, let me listen to the word of life!
 Raptures deep-felt his doctrines did impart,
 And thus he rais'd from earth the drooping heart.
 Think not, when all your scanty stores afford
 Is spread at once upon the sparing board;
 Think not, when worn the homely robe appears,
 While on the roof the howling tempest bears;
 What farther shall this feeble life sustain,
 And what shall cloath these shivering limbs again.
 Say, does not life its nourishment exceed?
 And the fair body its investing weed?
 Behold! and look away your low despair——
 See the light tenants of the barren air:
 To them, nor stores, nor granaries belong.
 Nought but the woodland, and the pleasing song;
 Yet, your kind heavenly Father bends his eye
 On the least wing that flits along the sky.
 To him they sing, when Spring renews the plain,
 To him they cry in Winter's pinching reign;
 Nor is their music, nor their plaint in vain:
 He hears the gay, and the distressful call,
 And with unsparing bounty fills them all.
 Observe the rising lily's snowy grace,
 Observe the various vegetable race;
 They see neither toil nor ipin, but careless grow,
 Yet see how warm they blush! how bright they glow!
 What regal vestments can with them compare?
 What King so shining! or what Queen so fair!
 If, ceaseless thus the fowls of heav'n he feeds,
 If, o'er the fields such lucid robes he spreads;
 Will he not care for you, ye faithless, say!
 Is he unwise, or are you less than they?

On reading HUTCHINSON on the Passions.

THOU who thro' Nature's various faults canst rove,
 And shew what springs our eager passions move,
 Teach us to combat anger, grief, and fear,
 Recall the sigh, and drop the falling tear.
 Oh! be thy soft philosophy addrest
 To the untroubled ear and tranquil breast!
 To these be all thy peaceful maxims taught,
 Who idly roam amidst a calm of thought;
 Whose souls were ne'er by love or hate possess'd,
 Who ne'er were wretched, and who ne'er were blest;
 Whose fainter wishes, pleasures, fears, remain,
 Dreams but of bliss, and shadows but of pain.
 Serenely stupid—"So some shallow stream
 "Flows gently thro' the valley, still the same;
 "Whom no rude winds can ever discompose,
 "Who fears no winter rains, nor falling snows,
 "But slowly down its flow'ry border creeps,
 "While the soft zephyr on its bosom sleeps."
 Oh! could'st thou teach the tortur'd soul to know,
 With patience, each extreme of human woe;
 To bear with ills, and unrepining prove
 The frowns of fortune, and the racks of love;
 Still should my breast some pious moment share,
 Still rise superior to each threatening care,
 Nor fear approaching ills, or distant woes,
 But in Philemon's absence find repose.

EPHELINDA.

To F E A R.

O Thou, dread foe to honour, wealth and fame,
 Whose tongue can quell the strong, the fierce can tame,
 Relentless Fear! ah! why did fate ordain
 My trembling heart to own thy iron reign?
 There are, thrice happy! who disdain thy sway,
 The merchant wand'ring o'er the wat'ry way;
 The chief serene before th' assaulted wall;
 The climbing statesman, thoughtless of his fall;
 All whom the love of wealth or pow'r inspires,
 And all who burn with proud Ambition's fires:
 But peaceful bards thy constant presence know,
 O thou of ev'ry glorious deed the foe!
 Of thee the silent studious race complains,
 And Learning groans a captive in thy chains.
 The secret with when some fair object moves,
 And cautious Reason what we wish approves.

E e 3

Thy

Thy gorgon front forbids to grasp the prize,
 And seas are spread betwixt, and mountains rise.
 Thy magic arts a thousand phantoms raise,
 And fancy'd deaths and dangers fill our ways;
 With smiling Hope you wage eternal strife,
 And envious snatch the cup of joy from life.
 O leave, tremendous pow'r! the blameless breast,
 Of guilt alone the tyrant, and the guest;
 Go, and thy train of sable horrors spread
 Where Murder meditates the future deed,
 Where Rapine watches for the gloom of night,
 And lawless Passion pants for others right;
 Go to the bad, but from the good recede,
 No more the foe of ev'ry glorious deed.

The LOVER CURED.

Imitated from the Italian of METASTASIO.

THE indulgent gods unveiling thy deceit,
 Nicè, at length have pity'd the distressed:
 The wretch so late a captive in thy net,
 Is now with freedom, real freedom, blest.
 No more, to hide my love, despair and shame,
 My brow dissembled airs of scorn displays;
 No more my colour changes at thy name,
 Nor beats my heart tumultuous when I gaze.
 Dream I? no more in dreams thy form I see:
 No more thy charms my earliest thought employ;
 Thou'rt absent, I perceive no wish for thee;
 Thou'rt present, and I feel nor pain, nor joy.
 Calm I can meet, and calm can pass thee by;
 Unhumbled can reflect I fail'd to please;
 Can talk about thy lip or radiant eye;
 Nay, talk with rivals, and yet talk with ease.
 Frown'st thou disdainful? know thy frowns are vain!
 Smil'st thou? thy smiles no ecstasies impart:
 Those lips no more their wonted pow'r retain;
 Nor find those eyes a passage to my heart.
 If now of gay or gloomy mood I be:
 Nor thou the bliss creat'it, nor thou the care:
 Hills, woods, and meads can please tho' far from thee;
 Nor lowers the desert less when thou art there.
 Still, when I view thee, I confess thee fair;
 Yet equal charms in other nymphs allow:
 And (may thy ear the rude expression bear!)
 That face, once faultless, is not faultless now.

When

When from my tortur'd heart the shaft I drew,
 Sighs, struggling after sighs, convulsive stole;
 For oh! 'twas hard thy empire to subdue;
 'Twas hard th' impetuous passion to controul.
 The linnet, fluttering on the bird-lime sprays,
 Thus leaves his captiv'd feathers, and is free:
 But soon his little wings new plum'd displays,
 And flies with caution by the fatal tree.
 So much of freedom and of ease I boast;
 Mistaken Nicè thinks I still adore:
 But do not those declaim on hardships most,
 Who most have felt them, and who feel no more?
 The warrior thus describes th' embattled plain;
 Thus bares his scars, thus fights his perils o'er:
 Thus the freed slave o'erjoy'd points out the chain,
 Which late he dragg'd on Afric's hostile shore.
 I speak of freedom, 'tis the theme I love,
 Nor care if Nicè credit what I say;
 I speak, nor curious ask, if she approve,
 Or, when she names me, if she's grave or gay.
 Thus part a fickle fair, and lover true;
 Let those, who lose the most, the most regret!
 A heart so faithful thou can'st ne'er subdue;
 It is not hard to find a new coquet.

The INDIAN PHILOSOPHER.

1.

WHY should our joys transform to pain?
 Why gentle Hymen's silken chain
 A plague of iron prove?
 Good Gods! 'tis strange the chain that binds
 Millions of hands, should leave their minds
 At such a loose from love!

2.

In vain I sought the wond'rous cause,
 Search'd the wide fields of nature's laws,
 And urg'd the schools in vain;
 Till deep in thought, within my breast
 My soul retir'd, and Slumber drest
 A bright instructive scene.

3.

O'er the wide land, and cross the tide,
 On Fancy's airy wing I ride;
 Sweet rapture of the mind!
 Till on the banks of Ganges' flood,
 In a tall antient grove I stood,
 For sacred use design'd.

E e 4

4. Hard

4.

Hard by a venerable priest,
 Ris'n with his God, the Sun, from rest,
 Began his morning song;
 Thrice he conjur'd the murmur'ing stream,
 The birth of souls was all his theme,
 And half divine his tongue.

5.

He sang th' eternal rolling flame,
 That vital mass that's still the same,
 Does all our minds compose;
 Whence shap'd in twice ten thousand frames,
 Whence differing souls of different names
 And different passions role.

6.

The mighty Pow'r that form'd the mind,
 One mould for ev'ry two design'd;
 Then blest the new-born pair:
 This be a match for this, he said:
 Then down he sent the souls he made,
 To seek them bodies here.

7.

But parting from their warm abodes,
 They lost their fellows on the roads,
 And never join'd their hands;
 O cruel chance, and crossing Fates!
 Our Eastern souls have lost their mates
 On Europe's barbarous lands.

8.

Thus sung the wond'rous Indian bard;
 My list'ning ear attentive heard;
 Whilst Ganges ceas'd to flow;
 Sure then, said I, could I but see
 The gentle Nymph that twin'd with me,
 I might be happy too.

9.

Some courteous angel tell me where,
 What distant lands the unknown fair,
 Or distant seas detain:
 Swift as the wheel of nature rolls,
 I'd fly to meet and mingle souls,
 And wear the joyful chain.

*To the NYMPH of P*** WATERS.*

———καλίστην ἰδὼς ἐπὶ γαίαν ἵκται. Hom.

I.

O Green-stol'd Nymph, whose fount restor'd my fair,
 When sickness crop'd the beauties of her face :
 Ne'er may the rainy South thy pow'rs impair,
 Nay never reptile foul thy stream disgrace.

II.

While on the T—— deep harrowing Winter reigns,
 Not the least wrinkle may thy surface know ;
 And while the north binds E— in icy chains,
 In lapse unfetter'd may thy waters flow.

III.

May Spring's first cowslips on thy borders bloom ;
 Thy banks first echo to the cuckoo's lay ;
 First round thee, Fragrance fling each rich perfume ;
 Thy thickets first exclude the noon-tide ray.

IV.

What time blythe August on thy margin plays,
 To thee, sweet featured Nymph (so Jove ordains)
 Each year bland Health a solemn visit pays,
 And, while thy groves are green, with thee remains.

V.

O may no wayward hags, of aspect foul,
 Brew their dire potions near thy willowed spring ;
 Nor melt the waxen semblance, as they howl
 Dread orgies to their grimly-smiling king.

VI.

But oft when Night has hung with black the sky,
 And only Hesper sheds his silent ray,
 May dapper Fays around their revels fly,
 Till Chanticleer awake the dawn of day.

VII.

Oft may their music lonely trav'lers cheer,
 And swains belated oft their lights perceive ;
 Thy rills shall stop their dimply course to hear,
 And love-lorn Philomel forget to grieve.

VIII.

May gay-drest Pleasure wanton on thy plains,
 May vast increase thy ploughman's toil repay ;
 May never clarion fright thy peaceful swains,
 Nor battle tear them from their wives away.

IX. Thy

IX.

Thy healing powers the Youth shall yearly sing,
 And age, recruited, wreaths on thee bestow:
 For, trust the prescient Muse, O virtuous Spring!
 While murmurs Helicon, thy fount shall flow.

X.

Not mine, be told the truth, nor mine the lays;
 Unheard, the favour of the Nine I sue;
 Love cull'd this chaplet of immortal praise,
 And grateful sprinkled with Castalian dew.

An Episcde. From AVON; a Poem, in three parts.

IN ages past, as hoïy bards record,
 Loecrine of fair Loegria's fields was lord;
 From Brutus he; who spread at Heaven's command
 His fated sails for Albion's happy land:
 His sails the valiant Corinæus bore
 His bold associate to the chalky shore.
 Tho' much the chief for arduous deeds might claim,
 His daughter's beauty match'd his arms in fame.
 Yet lovely as she shone, she shone in vain
 To Loecrine's eyes, and met with cold disdain:
 Tho' to give firmness to the tott'ring throne,
 And make her father's dreaded pow'r his own,
 The Prince with pray'rs and policy comply'd,
 And made the slighted Gueldolen his bride.
 Peace took her flight, for Love had never spread
 His joyous pinions o'er the nuptial bed.
 But soon th' ill-fated chief was doom'd to prove
 The power of charms and tyranny of love.
 When fled the Hun before his conqu'ring host,
 And left his name to boist'rous Humber's coast,
 A *Nymph* as Summer warm, and sweet as Spring,
 Enrich'd the spoils of fair Loegria's King.
 The victor's eye the lovely captive seiz'd,
 At once she pain'd him, and at once she pleas'd.
 Distress had soften'd ev'ry tender grace,
 And pour'd resistless languor o'er her face.
 Love made th' assault, and soon at large possess'd,
 With all a conqueror's pomp, his yielding breast;
 While her great father's awful power alone
 Secur'd the slighted Gueldolen the throne;
 With her awhile the glitt'ring pride remain'd,
 But bright Etruis only charm'd and reign'd.
 The fair, not conscious of the sacred claim,
 Approv'd his passion, as she shar'd his flame.
 But Loecrine sought the sylvan shade among,
 Studious of peace, and mindful of the wrong,

Some still retreat ; remov'd from curious eyes
 Of the fierce rival, or assiduous spies.
 As flies the parent bird on wings of fear,
 And anguish'd sees the watchful shepherd near,
 Now stops, and looks, and heaves the downy breast,
 Then trembling hurries to the secret nest :
 So the fond *Prince* his cautious visits paid :
 So fear'd observance, and so watch'd the shade.
 Their passion here the lovely *Sabra* crown'd,
 In life as blameless, as in death renown'd.
 Behold the sweet but unexpanded rose,
 Behold in bright effulgence when it glows :
 The *Virgin* thus gave hints of ev'ry grace
 That time had open'd in her parent's face.
 Harmonious health of mind and body blest'd
 Her days with pleasure, and her nights with rest ;
 No care had love for her, no torments hate,
 No charms ambition, or allurements state.
 Sweet were thy days ere *Lochrine's* restless mind
 Disdain'd the grant of even a bliss confin'd.
 But tho' *life's* giddy cup we wisely blend,
 Folly's light froth will yet at last ascend.
 Thus when the *Queen*, enough distress'd to prove
 The sharp reflection of rejected love,
 Wept her great *fire*, who full of years and praise
 Had seal'd the glorious records of his days ;
 He gave the scepter to the fav'rite *fair*,
 That one the kingdom, and the King might share,
 The sacred vows of holy love abus'd,
 Her glory darken'd, and her crown refus'd,
 Her charms detested, and a rival blest'd,
 Were wrongs the *Queen* in tented fields redress'd ;
 There stern *Revenge* dug *Lochrine's* early grave,
 And sunk the *fair* beneath th' avenging wave.
 Enough is given to love, enough to pride,
Estrildis wrong'd thee, and *Estrildis* died.
 Infatiate *fury*. what has *Sabra* done ?
 Or wherefore expiates errors not her own ?
 See Death's dread agents hide their reeking hands,
 And start with horror at the dire commands.
 O feel her tears ! O read her suasive eyes !
 But what can ruthless jealousy suffice ?
 For, trembling as it flow'd, the sedgy stream
 Receiv'd the virgin, and retain'd her name.

Verses written at the Gardens of WILLIAM SHENSTONE, Esq; near Birmingham, 1756.

*Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet.*

HOR.

WOULD you these lov'd recesses trace,
And view fair Nature's modest face?
See her in ev'ry field-flow'r bloom?
O'er ev'ry thicket shed perfume?
By verdant groves, and vocal hills,
By mossy grotts near purling rills,
Where'er you turn your wondering eyes,
Behold her win without disguise!

What tho' no pageant trifles *here*,
As in the glare of courts, appear;
Tho' rarely *here* be heard the name
Of rank, of title, pow'r, or fame;
Yet, if ingenuous be your mind,
A bliss more pure and unconfin'd
Your steps attend—Draw freely nigh,
And meet the bard's benignant eye:
On *him* no pendant forms await:
No proud reserve shuts up his gate:
No spleen, no party-views controul
That warm benevolence of soul,
Which prompts the candid friendly part;
Regardless of each gainful art;
Regardless of the world's acclaim;
And courteous with no selfish aim.
Draw freely nigh, and welcome find,
If not the costly, yet the kind:
O! he will lead you to the cells
Where every *Muse* and *Virtue* dwells;
Where the green *Dryads* guard his woods;
Where the blue *Naiads* guide his floods;
Where all the sister *Graces*, gay,
That shap'd his walk's meand'ring way,
Stark naked, or but wreath'd with flow'rs,
Lie slumbering soft beneath his bow'rs.

Wak'd by the stock-dove's melting strain
Behold *them* rise! and, with the train
Of nymphs that haunt the stream or grove,
Or o'er the flow'ry champain rove,
Join hand in hand, attentive gaze—
And mark the *Dance's* mystic maze.

"Such is the *swaying line*, they cry,
"For ever dear to Fancy's eye;

" Yon stream that wanders down the dale,
 " The spiral wood, the winding vale,
 " The path which, wrought with hidden skill,
 " Slow twining scales yon distant hill
 " With fir invested—all combine
 " To recommend the *waving line*.
 " The wreathing rod of Bacchus fair,
 " The ringlets of Apollo's hair,
 " The wand by Maia's offspring borne,
 " The smooth volutes of Ammon's horn,
 " The structure of the Cyprian dame,
 " And *each* fair female's beauteous frame,
 " Shew, to the pupils of design,
 " The triumphs of the *waving line*."

Then gaze, and mark that union sweet,
 Where fair Convex and Concave meet :
 And while, quick-shifting as you stray,
 The vivid scenes on fancy play,
 The lawn of aspect smooth and mild ;
 The forest ground grotesque and wild ;
 The shrub that scents the mountain-gale ;
 The stream rough-dashing down the dale,
 From rock to rock, in eddies rost ;
 The distant lake, in which 'tis lost ;
 Blue hills, gay beaming thro' the glade ;
 Lone urns that solemnize the shade ;
 Sweet interchange of all that charms
 In groves, meads, dingles, riv'lets, farms !
 If aught the fair confusion *please*,
 With lasting *health*, and lasting *ease*,
 To *him* who form'd the blissful bow'r,
 And gave thy life one tranquil hour ;
 With *peace* and *freedom*—these possess,
 His temperate mind secures the rest.

But if the soul such *bliss* despise,
 Avert thy dull incurious eyes ;
 Go fix them *there*, where gems and gold,
 Improv'd by art, their pow'r unfold ;
 Go try in courtly scenes to trace
 A fairer form of Nature's face ;
 Go scorn *Simplicity* ! but know,
 That all our heart felt joys below,
 That all our virtue loves to name,
 Which Art consigns to *lasting* fame,
 Which *fixes* Wit, or Beauty's throne,
 Derives its source from *her alone*.

ARCADIO.

*To the Rev. Dr. Warburton, Dean of Bristol, on reading his Dissertation
on the Sixth Book of Virgil.*

By Richard B—r—ng—r, Esq.

IN Learning's maze low critics stray,
And blindly bold mistake their way:
Supplying want of taste and sense
With confidence and false pretence;
Still darker each dark passage make,
Then consecrate their own mistake;
Till by their notes with learning fraught
O'erlaid expires the hapless thought.

Thus med'cine quacks presume to give,
And murder those they mean to live.

Such, Virgil, such, for many an age
Have mangled thy celestial page;
Thy nobler meaning left unknown,
And, harder still, impos'd their own:
Sure in that * hell, which you design'd
For miscreants vile of ev'ry kind,
Bad critics well deserve a place,
Nor mercy e'er should find, nor grace:
Translators too those realms should hold,
Who put off dross instead of gold:
Chief those who thy bright Muse disgrace,
And hide with stains her beauteous face.
There creeping † Lauderdale should be,
Cold † Trapp, and murd'ring † Ogilby.

But see! again the heav'n-born maid
With joy triumphant lifts her head!
For to confute, expose, chastise,
Behold! her great avenger rise!
Behold! great bard, thy fame to clear,
Behold! thy Warburton appear!

And worthy he in those blest plains §
To share the bliss which Virtue gains.
With those who toil'd to bless mankind,
And form to Wisdom's lore the mind,
Where Tully, Plato, range the glade
With Thine and † Pitt's attendant shade.

As the fam'd || chief could ne'er have seen
The regions sway'd by Pluto's Queen,
Without that wond'rous †† branch whose rind
Radiant with gold immortal shin'd:

* Vide Sixth Book. † Translators of Virgil. § Vide Sixth Book. † A most
excellent Translator of Virgil's *Æneid*. || *Æneas*. †† Vide Sixth Book.

A bough of power not less divine,
 O much-learn'd Warburton! is thine :
 Which thou from that fair † tree didst pull,
 Whose heav'nly fruit thou lov'st to cull :
 Hence hell's thick gloom thou couldst pervade,
 Without the Sybil's potent aid,
 Each mystic scene there comprehend,
 And trace their latent cause and end !
 And hence, while wanting this sure guide,
 Others in darkness wander'd wide,
 And truth from error could not see,
 But all was doubt and mystery,
 To thy enlighten'd mind alone
 The mysteries themselves || were none.

The following Verses, dropt in Mr. GARRICK's Temple of Shakespear, at Hampton, are said to have been written by a Gentleman, whose poetical productions have been very deservedly admired.

W HILE here to SHAKESPEAR Garrick pays
 His tributary thanks and praise,

Invokes the animated stone,
 To make the poet's mind his own ;
 That he each character may trace
 With humour, dignity, and grace,
 And mark, unerring mark, to men,
 The rich creation of his pen :

Prefer'd the pray'r—the marble god,
 Methinks I see assenting nod ;
 And pointing to his laurel'd brow,
 Cry—" Half this wreath to you I owe.
 Lost to the stage, and lost to fame,
 Murder'd my scenes, scarce known my name.

Sunk in oblivion and disgrace
 Among the common scribbling race,
 Unnotic'd long thy Shakespear lay,
 To Dulness and to Time a prey ;
 But lo ! I rise, I breathe, I live
 In you, my representative !
 Again the hero's breast I fire,
 Again the tender sigh inspire,
 Each side, again, with laughter shake,
 And teach the villain's heart to quake ;
 All this, my son, again I do,
 I,—no, my son—'tis I and You."

Whilst thus the grateful statue speaks,
 A blush o'erspreads the suppliant's cheeks :

† Of Knowledge, alluded to above.

|| Vide Dissertation.

" What !

“ What ! half thy wreath ? Wit’s mighty chief ?
O grant ! (he cries) one single leaf !
That far o’er pays his humble merit,
Who’s but the organ of thy spirit.”

Phœbus the gen’rous contest heard,
When thus the God address’d the bard,
“ Here ! take this laurel from my brow ;
On him your mortal wreath bestow ;
Each matchless, each the palm shall bear ;
In heav’n, the bard ; on earth, the play’r.”

*Prologue to the Tragedy of AGIS. Written by a Friend. Spoken by
Mr. GARRICK.*

IF in these days of luxury and ease,
A tale from Sparta’s rigid state can please ;
If patriot plans a British breast can warm ;
If Kings asserting liberty can charm ;
If virtue still a graceful aspect wear ;
Check not at Agis’ fall the gen’rous tear.

He view’d his subjects with a parent’s love ;
With zeal to save a sinking people strove ;
Strove their chang’d hearts with glory to inflame ;
To mend their morals ; and restore their name ;
Till Faction rose with Murder at her side ;
Then mourn’d his country ; persever’d ; and died.

That country once for virtue was rever’d ;
Admir’d by Greece ; by haughty Asia fear’d.
Then citizens and soldiers were the same ;
And soldiers heroes ; for their wealth was fame.
Then for the brave the fair reserv’d her charms ;
And scorn’d to clasp a coward in her arms.
The trumpet call’d ; she seized the sword and shield ;
Array’d in haste her husband for the field ;
And sighing, whisper’d in a fond embrace,
“ Remember ! death is better than disgrace.”
The widow’d mother shew’d her parting son
The race of glory which his fire had run ;
“ My son, thy flight alone I shall deplore,
“ Return victorious ! or return no more !”

While Beauty thus with patriot zeal combin’d,
And round the laurel’d head her myrtle twin’d ;
While all confess the Virtuous were the Great ;
Fame, valour, conquest, grac’d the Spartan state.
Her pow’r congenial with her virtue grew,
And Freedom’s banner o’er her phalanx flew ;
But soon as Virtue dropt her sick’ning head,
Fame, valour, conquest, pow’r and freedom fled.

May

May this sad scene improve each Briton's heart !
 Rouse him with warmth to act a Briton's part !
 Prompt him with Sparta's noblest sons to vie ;
 To live in glory, and in freedom die !

Epilogue to AGIS. Spoken by Mrs. PRITCHARD.

A King in bloom of youth for freedom die !——
 Our bard, tho' bold, durst not have soar'd so high,
 This is no credulous admiring age ;
 But sacred sure the faith of Plutarch's page.
 In simple style that ancient sage relates
 The tale of Sparta, chief of Grecian states :
 Eight hundred years it flourish'd, great in arms,
 On dangers rose, and grew amidst alarms.
 Of Sparta's triumph you have heard the cause,
 More strong, more noble, than Lycurgus' laws :
 How Spartan dames, by Glory's charms inspir'd,
 The son, the lover, and the husband fir'd.
 Ye fair of Britain's isle, which justly claims
 The Grecian title, land of lovely dames,
 In Britain's cause exert your matchless charms,
 And rouse your lovers to a love of arms.
 Hid, not extinct, the spark of valour lies ;
 Your breath shall raise it flaming to the skies.
 Now Mars his bloody bannner hangs in air,
 And bids Britannia's sons for war prepare ;
 Let each lov'd maid, each mother bring the shield,
 And arm their country's champions for the field.
 Arm'd and inflam'd each British breast shall burn,
 No youth unlaurel'd shall to you return.
 Then shall we cease t'exult at trophies won,
 In Glory's field, by heroes——not our own.
 France then shall tremble at the British sword,
 And dread the vengeance of her ancient Lord.

Prologue to the Tragedy of CLEONE, by WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq;

Spoken by Mr. ROSS.

'TWAS once the mode inglorious war to wage
 With each bold bard that durst attempt the stage,
 And prologues were but preludes to engage.
 Then mourn'd the Muse, not story'd woes alone,
 Condemn'd, with tears unfeign'd, to weep her own.
 Past are those hostile days : and wits no more
 One undistinguish'd fate with fools deplore.
 No more the Muse laments her long-felt wrongs,
 From the rude licence of tumultuous tongues ;

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In peace each bard prefers his doubtful claim,
 And as he merits, meets, or misses, fame.
 'Twas thus in Greece (when Greece fair Science blest,
 And heav'n-born Arts their chosen land possess'd)
 'Th' assembled People sat with decent pride,
 Patient to hear, and skilful to decide;
 Less forward far to censure than to praise,
 Unwillingly refus'd the rival bays.
 Yes; they whom candor and true taste inspire
 Blame not with half the passion they admire;
 Each little blemish with regret descry,
 But mark the beauties with a raptur'd eye.
 Yet modest fears invade our Author's breast,
 With Attic lore, or Latian, all unblest;
 Deny'd by fate thro' classic fields to stray,
 Where bloom those wreaths which never know decay;
 Where arts from kindred arts new force acquire,
 And Poets catch from Poets genial fire:
 Not thus he boasts the breast humane to prove:
 And touch those springs which generous passions move,
 To melt the soul by scenes of fabled woe,
 And bid the tear for fancy'd sorrows flow;
 Far humbler paths he treads in quest of fame,
 And trusts to Nature what from Nature came.

*Epilogue to CLEONE. As originally written by WILLIAM SHENSTONE,
 Esq; spoken by Mrs. BELLAMY.*

WELL, ladies—so much for the tragic stile—
 And now, the custom is—to make you smile.
 “To make us smile, I hear *Flippanta* say,
 “Yes—we have *smil'd* indeed—thro' half the play;
 “We *always* laugh; when bards, demure and sly,
 “Bestow such mighty pains—to make us cry.
 “And truly to bring sorrow to a crisis,
 “Mad-folks, and murder'd babes are *spread* devices.
 “‘The Captain gone three years—and *then* to blame
 “The vestal conduct of his virtuous dame!—
 “What *French*, what *English* bride would think it treason,
 “When thus accus'd—to give the brute some reason?
 “Out of my house—this night, forsooth—depart!
 “A *modern* wife had said—With all my heart:
 “But think not, haughty Sir, I'll go *alone*!
 “Order your coach—conduct me safe to town—
 “Give me my jewels—wardrobe—and my maid—
 “And pray take care, my pin-money be paid.
 “Else know, I wield a pen—and, for its glory,
 “My dear's domestic feats—may shine in story!

“Then

“ Then for the Child—the tale was truly sad——
 “ But who for such a bantling would run mad ?
 “ What wife, at midnight hour inclin’d to roam,
 “ Would fondly drag her little chit from *home* ?
 “ What has the mother with her child to do ?
 “ Dear brats—the *Nursery*’s the place for you !”

Such are the strains of many a modish Fair !
 Yet memoirs—not of *modern* growth—declare
 The time *has been*, when modesty and truth
 Were deem’d additions to the charms of youth ;
 Ere, in the dice-box ladies found delight ;
 Or swoon’d for lack of cards, on Sunday night ;
 When women hid their necks, and veil’d their faces,
 Nor romp’d, nor rak’d, nor star’d, at public places :
 Nor took the airs of Amazons—for *graces* !
 When plain domestic virtues were the *mode* ;
 And wives ne’er dreamt of happiness abroad,
 But cheer’d their offspring, shun’d fantastic ays ;
 And with the *joys* of wedlock, mixt the *cares*.
 Such modes are past——yet sure they merit praise ;
 For marriage *triumph’d* in those wassel days :
 No virgin sigh’d in vain ; no fears arose,
 Left hostile wars should cause a dearth of beaux ;
 By chaste decorum, Each, affection gain’d :
 By faith and fondness, what she won, maintain’d.
 ’Tis yours, ye Fair ! to mend a thoughtless age,
 That scorns the press, the pulpit, and the stage !
 To yield frail Husbands no *pretence* to stray :
 (Men will be rakes, if women lead the way)
 To sooth——But truce with these preceptive lays ;
 The Muse, who, dazzled with your ancient praise,
 On present Worth and modern Beauty tramples,
 Must own, she ne’er could boast more bright *examples*.*

* Addressing the boxes.

A FAMILIAR EPISTLE, from a Clergyman to a young Gentleman of the
Law.

I N great Augustus’ golden days,
 When Horace held the seal of bays,
 And sagely made reports of cases,
 To serve all future times and places ;
 ’Twas found that † not a human wight,
 (If I conceive his meaning right)
 Liv’d easy in his own estate,
 But always prais’d his neighbour’s fate.

† Vide Sat. I. Lib. 1.

F f 2

Succeeding

Succeeding times with sacred awe
 Have the prescription held as law;
 And to this day you cannot find
 One creature that with patient mind,
 Endures for better and for worse,
 His proper life's determin'd course.

Thus the fond country damsel prays
 For balls, and masquerades, and plays;
 Whilst your town ladies wish to rove
 Thro' the green glade and shady grove;
 Thus dams the Captain, blood and fire,
 And longs to rest an easy 'Squire;
 Whilst the fierce 'Squire impatient glows
 To meet in arms his country's foes:
 And thus to cut the matter short,
 (For why in long exempling sport
 When one home case the truth will shew?)
 You like the church, and I the law.

But since no pow'r propitious hears
 The pœvish tenor of our pray'rs,
 And, spite of all our noise and din,
 You must read briefs, I rail at sin;
 Let us, my friend, with nicer eye,
 The nature of our stations try;
 See if the mass we so deplore
 Contain not some intrinsic ore:
 Some latent principle of good,
 Sure to be prized when understood.

And first, t'observe an order due,
 'Tis proper my own case to view;
 As children of distinguish'd taste,
 Still eat the daintiest bits the last.
 'Tis true, from crape some torment springs;
 Lean curacies are hateful things;
 Distressing cramps to gen'rous spirit;
 You scarce can treat a friend of merit;
 And then your rusty wig and gown
 Excite the laugh of ev'ry clown.
 But when some years have roll'd away,
 Some patron of benignant clay
 (Time move thy lazy pinions quicker;)
 May set me down a thankful vicar.
 Now see the prospect brighten round,
 Unnumber'd comforts strait abound;
 A fair three hundred pounds a year,
 Good books, neat house, and dainty cheer,
 A mettled nag, perhaps a chair,
 To ride abroad and take the air;

“ In summer, shade ; in winter, fire.”
 And Sunday, dinners with th’ Squire.
 Mean while, my ev’ry blifs t’ improve,
 With life’s best cordial, gen’rous love,
 Some fair Selinda, lovely name,
 May gradual catch the tender flame,
 And yield the treasure of her charms
 With sweet reluctance to my arms.
 If then my friend should steal from town,
 And all the anger of the gown,
 And see his parson in good case,
 Blest with th’ esteem of all the place ;
 See the dear partner of my heart,
 All softness, act the kindest part ;
 See young Selindas, good and fair,
 Climb up my knee the kifs to share ;
 Pray how could Fortune more present ?
 What room for pining discontent ?

Proceed we now to place the next
 (Like good dividers of a text)
 In which the Muse shall make appear
 You’ve much to hope and naught to fear :
 Where Garrick holds his mimic reign
 (Mere mortals call it *Drury-lane*)
 You’ve seen, the first or second night,
 A new-born piece produc’d to light.
 Scene first, a friend o’ th’ hero says
 Something that puts you in amaze,
 Of great events impending near,
 And dangers threaten’d to his dear :
 But for your life you can’t divine,
 Where tends this strange involv’d design !
 The plot succeeds ; you’ve got a clue
 That guides the whole performance thro’ ;
 And plain as nose upon your face
 You ev’ry turn and winding trace.
 Hear, gentle friend, th’ instructive lay ;
 Your law resembles just the play.
 At *writ. ejectment, certiorari,*
Trover, and *scirefacias* stare ye ?
 Have patience ; mark with eye profound ;
 And soon you’ll tread on clearer ground.
 What vision’s that ? In court you stand,
 With nervous tongue and waving hand,
 Pleading the injur’d orphan’s cause,
 Whilst still Attention speaks applause,
 And now Britannia’s patriots join
 To bid you in the senate shine ;

With all a Pitt's undaunted force,
 You stem Corruption's headlong course;
 Break the vile chain by Slav'ry worn,
 And bless the ages yet unborn.
 O may I live to see the day,
 When crowds shall hail you on your way,
 For selfish schemes of feigning good,
 Of frontless Rapine just subdu'd;
 The Muse shall pour her strongest lays,
 And grow immortal by your praise,
 Thus ev'ry state, at distance due,
 If we the piece attentive view,
 Shews tints in sweet assemblage laid,
 Nor all is light, nor all is shade.
 Then let us, to our lot resign'd,
 All-patient ply with steady mind
 The present oar, howe'er it teize us;—
 The rest when heav'n-born Fortune pleases.

The following Fable was written by the ingenious Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMART, late of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, when his Grace the Duke of Devonshire (then Lord Hartington) was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ire and.

The English Bull Dog, Dutch Mastiff, and Quail. A FABLE.

ARE we not all of race divine,
 Alike of an immortal line?
 Shall man to man afford derision,
 But for some casual division,
 To malice and to mischief prone,
 From climate, canton, or from zone?
 Are all to idle discord bent,
 These Kentish men, those men of Kent,
 And parties and distinction make
 For parties and distinction sake?
 Souls sprung from an æthereal flame,
 However clad, are still the same;
 Nor should we judge the heart or head,
 By air we breathe, or earth we tread.
 Dame Nature, who, all meritorious,
 In a true Englishman is glorious,
 Is lively, honest, brave, and bonny,
 In Monsieur, Taffy, Teague, and Sawny.
 Give prejudices to the wind,
 And let's be patriots to mankind.
 Bigots, avaunt! Sense can't endure ye,
 But Fabulists should try to cure ye.

A snub-

A snub-nos'd dog to fat inclin'd,
 Of the true hogan-mogan kind,
 The fav'rite of an English dame,
 Mynheer Van Trumpo was his name.
 One morning as he chanc'd to range,
 Met honest Towzer on the change,
 And who have we got here, I beg?
 Quoth he,—and lifted up his leg;
 An English dog can't take an airing
 But foreign scoundrels must be staring.
 I'd have your French, and all your Spanish,
 And all the Dutch, and all the Danish,
 By which our species is confounded,
 Be hang'd, be poison'd, or be drowned.
 Well, of all dogs it is confess'd,
 Your English bull-dogs are the best.
 I say it, and will set my hand to't,
 Camden records it, and I'll stand to't.
 'Tis true, we have too much urbanity,
 Are overcharg'd with soft humanity.
 The best things must find food for railing,
 And ev'ry creature has its failing.

And who are you, reply'd Van Trump,
 (Curling his tail upon his rump)
 Vaunting the regions of distraction,
 The land of party and of faction?
 In all fair Europe who but we
 For national œconomy,
 For wealth and peace, that have more charms
 Than learned arts, or noisy arms?
 You envy us our dancing bogs,
 With all the music of the frogs,
 Join'd to the Tretchscutz, bonny loon,
 Who on the cymbal grinds the tune;
 For poets, and the muses nine,
 Beyond comparison we shine;
 Oh! how we warble in our gizzards,
 With XX's, HH's, and with ZZ's.
 For fighting—now you think I'm joking,
 We love it better far than smoaking;
 Ask but our troops from man to boy,
 Who all surviv'd at Fontenoy;
 'Tis true as friends, and as allies,
 We're ever ready to devise
 Our love, or any kind assistance
 That may be granted at a distance;
 And if you go to brag, good bye to'ye,
 Nor dare to brave the high and mighty.

Wrong are you both, rejoins a Quail,
 Confin'd within its wirey jail;
 Frequent from realm to realm I've rang'd,
 And with the seasons, climates chang'd.
 Mankind is not so void of grace,
 But good I've found in ev'ry place.
 I've seen sincerity in France,
 Among the Germans complaisance;
 In foggy Holland wit may reign,
 I've known humility in Spain:
 Freed was I by a turban'd Turk,
 Whose life was one entire good work;
 And in this land, fair Freedom's boast,
 Behold my liberty is lost.
 Despis'd Hibernia have I seen,
 Dejected like a widow'd queen,
 Her robe, with dignity long worn,
 And cap of liberty were torn,
 Her broken lute and harp unstrung,
 On the uncultur'd ground were flung,
 Down lay her spear, defil'd with rust,
 And book of learning in the dust.
 Her loyalty still blameless found,
 And hospitality renown'd,
 No more the voice of fame engross'd,
 In discontent and clamour lost.
 Ah! dire Corruption, art thou spread
 Where never viper rear'd its head?
 And did'st thy baleful influence sow
 Where hemlock nor the night-shade grow?
 Hapless, disconsolate, and brave,
 Hibernia, who'll Hibernia save?
 Who shall assist thee in thy woe?
 Who ward from thee the fatal blow?
 'Tis done, the glorious work is done,
 All thanks to Heav'n and HARTINGTON.

On the first FIT of the GOUT.

O Thou! to man the earnest of fourscore,
 Guest of the rich, unenvied by the poor,
 Thou that great Esculapius dost deride,
 And o'er his galley-pots in triumph ride;
 Thou that was wont to hover near the throne,
 And underprop the head that wears the crown;
 Thou that dost oft' in privy councils wait,
 And guard from sleep the drowsy eyes of state;
 Thou that upon the bench art mounted high,
 And warn'st the judges when they tread awry;

Thou

Thou that dost oft' from pamper'd *prelates* toe,
 Emphatically urge the pains below ;
Thou that art always half the *city's* grace,
 And add'st to solemn *noddle* solemn pace ;
Thou that art us'd to sit on *lady's* knee,
 To feed on jellies, and to drink cold *tea* ;
Thou whose luxurious sense can scarcely bear
 The velvet slipper and the feather'd chair ;
 Whence does thy mighty condescension flow,
 To visit my poor tabernacle ?—Oh !
 Her knee indulgent here no lady lends,
 To watch thy looks no liv'ry'd train attends,
 No costly jellies, and no chairs of down,
 Invite soft slumbers, or the banquet crown.
 Yet what I have for solace or for state,
 I give, and envy for thy sake the great.
 Jove, who vouchsaf'd in ancient times, 'tis said,
 At poor Philemon's cot to take a bed ;
 Pleas'd with the mean, but hospitable feast,
 First bid him ask, and granted his request—
 O ! then (for thou art of the race divine,
 Begot on Venus by the God of wine)
 Since, not incognito thy visit paid,
 I meet thee conscious of my wants dismay'd,
 Do thou to entertain thee give me *store*,
 Or with thy presence honour me no more.

*A Sea Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the Ward-room, for the Use
 of the Quarter Gallery.*

In the Manner of SWIFT.

Y O U that can grant or can refuse the pow'r,
 Low from the stern to drop the golden show'r.
 When Nature prompts,—O patient deign to hear,
 If not a parson's—yet a poet's pray'r !
 Ere taught the deference, to commissions due,
 Presumptuous I aspir'd to mess with you ;
 But since the difference known 'twixt sea and shore,
 That mighty happiness I urge no more,
 An humble boon, and of a different kind,
 (Grant, heav'n, a different answer it may find)
 Attends you now——excuse the rhyme I write,
 And tho' I mess not with you, let me sh—te.
 When in old bards, Arion tunes his song,
 The ravish'd dolphins round the vessel throng,
 Verse sooth'd of old the monsters of the sea,
 Let then what sav'd Arion, plead for me :

And,

And, if my Muse can aught of truth divine,
 The boon the Muse petitions shall be mine :
 For sure this answer would be monit'rous odd,
 Sh—te with the common tars, thou man of God!

(Of those more vulgar tubes that downward preep,
 Near where the lion awes the raging deep,
 The waggish youths, I tell what I am told,
 Oft linear the sides with excremental gold ;
 Say then, when peace within the belly pent,
 Roar at the port, and struggle for a vent,
 Say—shall I plunge on dung remissly down,
 And with unseemly ordure stain the gown?
 Or shall I (terrible to think) displode,
 Against th' unbutton'd plush the smoaky load?
 The laugh of swabbers—heav'n avert the jest!
 And from th' impending storm preserve your priest!
 But grant that Cloacina, gracious queen!
 Should keep her od'rous thrine for ever clean,
 Yet frequent must I feel the offensive spray,
 When the tofs'd vessel ploughs the swelling sea ;
 And, as I sit, incessant must I hear
 The language of the nauseous galley * near,
 Where blockheads by the list'ning priest unaw'd,
 Tho' uncommission'd dare blaspheme their God!

Happy the man † admitted oft to ride
 Within the ward room, where his tools abide,
 The man of leather——he, when Nature calls,
 Can for the needful space repose his awls,
 And, while I squeeze o'er some ignoble seat,
 Can disembody his vile burgoo in state ;
 While peeping Nereids smoke the Christian jest,
 The honour'd cobbler and neglected priest,
 And swear by Styx, and all the pow'rs below,
 In good old heathen days 'twas never so.

Ah! what avails it, that in days of yore,
 Th' instructive lashes of the birch I bore!
 For four long years with logic stuff'd my head,
 And feeding thought went supperless to bed,
 Since you with whom my lot afloat is thrown,
 (O! elegance of taste to land unknown)
 Superior reverence to the man refuse,
 Who mends your morals, than who mends your shoes.—

But Crispin saves your purse, you answer—True,
 Nor does your priest without his offerings sue :
 Whene'er compell'd to use the fragrant hole,
 In some bye nook I'll leave a moral scroll :

* A place near the cook room always throng'd with the ship's people.

† A cobbler who used to mend the lieutenants' shoes in the quarter gallery.

The moral scroll who next succeeds may reach,
 And to his brains apply it, or his br——h ;
 Thus shall your fingers find a just excuse,
 And one sea chaplain boast his works of use.

And as yourselves from time to time repair,
 To drop the reliques of digestion there,
 Still may your pork an easy exit gain,
 Nor make you form one ugly face in vain.
 Still may your flip, refin'd to amber flow,
 In streams salubrious to the brine below ;
 Nor ever in too hot a current hiss,
 But may all holes prove innocent like this :
 Thus grant my suit, (as grant unhurt you may)
 Your chaplain then without your groats will pray. *

*An Epitaph out of a Church yard in Dorsetshire, answered by a Gentleman
 on the Widower's marrying again in a fortnight.*

Epitaph.

For me deceas'd weep not, my dear,
 I am not dead, but sleepeth here :
 Your time will come, prepare to die ;
 Wait but awhile, you'll follow I.

Answer.

I am not griev'd, my dearest life ;
 Sleep on—I've got another wife :
 And therefore cannot come to thee,
 For I must go to bed to thee.

*A Gentleman has caused a marble to be erected in St. Anne's church-yard,
 Westminster, for the late King Theodore, Baron Neuboff, with the following
 inscription.*

Near this place is interred
 THEODORE, King of Corsica,
 Who died in this parish Dec. 11, 1756,
 Immediately after leaving
 The King's Bench prison,
 By the benefit of the late act of Insolvency :
 In consequence of which
 He registered his kingdom of Corsica
 For the use of his creditors.

The grave, great teacher, to a level brings
 Heroes and beggars, galley-slaves and kings ;
 That Theodore this moral learn'd, ere dead,
 Fate pour'd its lessons on his living head,
 Bestow'd a kingdom, and deny'd him bread.

}

* Every common seaman pays a groat a month out of his pay to the chaplain,
 but the lieutenants pay nothing.

An Account of Books published in 1758.

An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, by the Author of Essays on the Characteristics. Davis and Reymers.

FEW books have met with a warmer reception or severer censure than the work before us. Its great success arose partly from the circumstances of the time when it appeared, partly from its own merit. It appeared at a time when our ill success in the war had infused so general a discontent into the minds of all people, that even a severe national satire was not then disagreeable to the public disposition. And as to the work itself, though the observations it contains were many of them not absolutely new; yet they were so methodized, the connection and relation of the several reigning vices and follies were so well marked, and their necessary influence on the prosperity of the state were so well displayed, that it had an appearance of being both new and useful.

The disadvantageous picture given of modern times in this work, revived a topic which has often been discussed with far more zeal and curiosity than real advantage; the dispute concerning the preference of ancient and modern times. *Vetera admirari, presentia sequi*, has ever been the disposition of mankind. Always discontented with the present state of things, to which however we always conform ourselves, we naturally lament those periods of our lives which we have passed, and the ages that have passed before us. We are apt to take our examples

of what we ought to shun from present, and therefore more odious vice; and our examples of what we ought to follow from departed, and therefore less envied and more venerable virtue. These dispositions have led several to throw virtue as far backward as possible, and very extravagantly to maintain that the world is continually degenerating.

Another sort of philosophers have however lately appeared, who take a very different course; they assert that they can discover no superiorities that any former age has over the present. That the degeneracy of the times has been the complaint even of the times which we admire. *Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit*, &c. is one of the oldest complaints in the world. That if we were to suppose mankind proceeded in an uniform progress in degeneracy and corruption, it is inconceivable how human society could have subsisted to this time. On the whole, they conclude that the race of men has been much the same in all ages.

This opinion, full as extravagant as the former, is much more pernicious; it has been found one of the most useful topics for spreading vice and corruption, and in its best consequence can only induce a dull acquiescence in our present condition. An uniform progression in vice is an opinion supported by no reason: and can only be considered as a poetical exaggeration: but, on the other hand, a man must shut his eyes in good earnest, not to perceive that nations

at

at one period strongly marked with all the characters of vice and barbarism, by some happy conjuncture emerge to light at another; and distinguish themselves by virtue, by patriotism, by those arts that improve and adorn life; these nations fall again into corruption, vice, and ignorance. Shall it be said that the Romans were the same kind of people in the flourishing times of their commonwealth that they were under Nero, or even under Trajan or Antoninus? or the same that we find them at this day? However, this degeneracy is by no means in an even course, some commonwealths having been most glorious in their beginnings; others after they had long continued.

The work before us no otherwise inclines to the former party, than by a tendency to shew the picture of the present times in the most disadvantageous point of light. It is indeed throughout a most severe invective against the manners and principles of the times in our country. The work discovers reading and reflection; the characters are strongly marked, the style is elegant, pointed, and lively. But the author seems sometimes too minute in his paintings, sometimes overcharges them; and several have observed that a certain air of arrogance and superiority prevails through the whole work. These were the blemishes which took something from the reputation which this piece had at first generally and justly acquired, on account of those beauties which we have mentioned.

The first volume of this work was printed the year before our design; but as the second cannot be well un-

derstood without some knowledge of that to which it chiefly refers, we thought it not amiss to give some account of it.

Our author lays it down as the corner stone of his structure, that a vain, luxurious, and selfish effeminacy is the character of the present times; and the design is to shew how far the present ruling manners and principles of the nation may tend to its continuance or destruction.

The more fully to delineate the reigning manners, he takes the modern man even in his cradle, where he finds the first seeds of his effeminacy sown, and follows him through his education, his travels, and his appearance in town, and finds every thing in all calculated to form him to folly, effeminacy, and dissipation. Here he considers the frivolous vein of common conversation, the trifling amusements in fashion, and the predominant lust of gaming. From the amusements he passes to the learning of the times.

“A knowledge of books, says he, a taste in arts, a proficiency in science, was formerly regarded as a proper qualification in a man of fashion. The annals of our country have transmitted to us the name and memory of men, as eminent in learning and taste, as in rank and fortune. It will not, I presume, be regarded as any kind of satire on the present age, to say, that, among the higher ranks, this literary spirit is generally vanished. *Reading* is now sunk at best into a morning’s *amusement*; till the important hour of dress comes on. Books are no longer regarded as the repositories of taste and knowledge; but are rather

rather laid hold of as a gentle relaxation from the tedious round of pleasure."

He then proceeds to examine the prevailing taste in music, painting, and theatrical entertainments.

"No wonder, if these leading characters of false delicacy influence our other entertainments, and be attended with a low and unmanly taste in *music*. That divine art, capable of inspiring every thing that is great or excellent, of rousing every nobler passion of the soul, is at length dwindled into a woman's or an eunuch's effeminate trill. The chaste and solemn airs of Corelli, of Geminiani, and their best disciples; the divine and lofty flights of Caldara and Marcello; the elegant simplicity of Bononcini; the manly, the pathetic, the astonishing strains of Handel, are neglected and despised: while instead of these, our concerts and operas are disgraced with the lowest insipidity of composition, and unmeaning *fing-fong*. The question now concerns not the expression, the grace, the energy, or dignity of the music; we go not to admire the *composition*, but the *tricks* of the performer, who is then surest of our ignorant applause, when he runs thro' the compass of the *throat*, or traverses the *finger board* with the *swiftest dexterity*.

While *music* is thus debased into effeminacy, her sister art of *painting* cannot hope a better fate: for the same dignity of manners must *support* them; the same indignity *depress* them. Connoisseurs there are, indeed, who have either *taste* or *vanity*: yet even by these, the art is considered as a matter of *curiosity*, not of *influence*; a circumstance

which proves their taste to be *spurious*, undirected, or *superficial*. But with regard to the public eye; this is generally depraved. Neither the comic pencil, nor the serious pen of our ingenious countryman*, have been able to keep alive the taste of nature, or of beauty. The fantastic and grotesque have banished *both*. Every house of fashion is now crowded with porcelain trees and birds, porcelain men and beasts, cross-legged Mandarins and Bramins, perpendicular lines and stiff right angles: every gaudy Chinese crudity, either in colour, form, attitude, or grouping, is adopted into fashionable use, and become the standard of taste and elegance.

Let us then search the theatre for the remains of manly taste: and *here*, apparently at least, it must be acknowledged we shall find it. A great genius hath arisen to dignify the stage; who, when it was sinking into the lowest insipidity, restored it to the fulness of its ancient splendor, and, with a variety of powers beyond example, established *Nature*, *Shakespeare*, and *himself*.

But as the attractions of the theatre arise from a complication of causes, beyond those of any other entertainment; so while the judicious critic admires his original excellencies, it may be well questioned whether the crowd be not drawn by certain secondary circumstances, rather than by a discernment of his real powers. Need we any other proofs of this than the conduct of his fashionable hearers? who sit with the same face of admiration at *Lear*, an *Opera*, or a *l'au-tou-tou*.

* Mr. Hogarth's treatise on the principles of beauty.

These seem to be the main and leading articles of our unmanly winter-delicacies. And as to our summer-amusements, they are much of the same *make*, only *lighter*, and, if possible, more *trifling*. As soon as the season is grown so mild, as that the man of fashion can stir abroad, he is seen lolling in his *post-chariot*, about the purlieus of the town. The manly exercise of *riding* is generally disused, as too coarse and indelicate for the fine gentleman. The metropolis growing thin as the spring advances, the same rage of pleasure, dress, equipage, and dissipation, which in winter had chained him to the town, now drives him to the country. For as a vain and empty mind can never give entertainment to itself; so to avoid the tedium of solitude and self-converse, *parties* of pleasure are again formed; the same effeminacies, under new appearances, are acted over again, and become the *business* of the season. There is hardly a corner of the kingdom, where a *summer scene* of public dissipation is not now established: Here the parties meet till the winter sets in, and the separate societies are once more met in London.

Thus we have attempted a simple delineation of the ruling manners of the times: if any thing like ridicule appears to mix itself with this review, it ariseth not from the *aggravation*, but the natural *display* of folly.

It may probably be asked, why the ruling manners of our women have not been particularly delineated? The reason is, because they are essentially the same with those of the men, and are therefore included in this Estimate. The sexes have

now little other apparent distinction, beyond that of person and dress: their peculiar and characteristic manners are confounded and lost; the one sex having at once advanced into *boldness*, as the other sunk into *effeminacy*."

After the manners, he examines the principles of the times, which he shews must be greatly influenced by them. The principles he considers, are those which tend to counterwork the selfish passions; the principles of religion, honour, and public spirit. As in his first part our author endeavours to establish the general predominance of selfish manners, it follows that the principles which are to counter-work them must be weak. He finds little religion or honour in the nation, and no public spirit.

In his second part he discourses on the public effect of these manners and principles, as they operate on the national capacity; the national spirit of defence; and the national spirit of union; all which he endeavours to shew, they have weakened and destroyed. On the spirit of union his remarks are just and fine.

"When the spirit of union is checked, and divisions arise, from the variety and freedom of opinion only; or from the contended rights and privileges of the different ranks or orders of a state, not from the detached and selfish views of individuals; a republic is then in its strength, and gathers warmth and fire from these collisions. Such was the state of ancient Rome, in the simpler and more disinterested periods of that republic.

But when principle is weakened and manners lost, and factions run high from selfish ambition, revenge, or avarice, a republic is then on the
very

very eve of its destruction : and such was the state of Rome, in the time of Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Cæsar, Anthony and Augustus.

Therefore, before we can determine whether the factions that divide a free country be salutary or dangerous, it is necessary to know what is their foundation and their object. If they arise from freedom of opinion, and aim at the public welfare, they are salutary : if their source be selfish interest, of what kind soever, they are then dangerous and destructive."

He concludes with the following very just remark.

"That when factions arise from the excess of military spirit and ambition of dominion, they increase the national capacity and spirit of defence : on the contrary, where factions arise from selfish effeminacy, the national capacity and spirit of defence will certainly be weakened or destroyed."

In his fourth part are considered the sources of these manners and principles, which he chiefly derives from exorbitant trade and wealth ; which naturally, in a country constituted like ours, produces luxury, avarice and effeminacy in manners ; and a deficiency if not a profligacy in principles. He sums up the whole in the conclusion.

"From these accumulated proofs, says the author, then, it seems evident, that our present effeminate manners and defect of principle have arisen from our exorbitant trade and wealth, left without check, to their natural operations and uncontrouled influence. And that these manners, and this defect of principle, by weakening or destroying the national

capacity, spirit of defence, and union, have produced such a general debility as naturally leads to destruction.

We might now proceed to confirm these reasonings, by examples drawn from history. For there is hardly an ancient or modern state of any note recorded in story, which would not, in one respect or other, confirm the leading principles on which this argument is built.

In these, throughout their several periods, we should see trade and wealth, or (which is in this respect equivalent) conquest and opulence, taking their progress : at one period polishing and strengthening ; at another, refining, corrupting, weakening, destroying, the state that gave them entrance : working indeed in different ways, and under a variety of appearances ; by avarice, by faction, by effeminacy, by profligacy ; by mixture and combination of all these evils ; sometimes dividing a nation against itself ; at others, quelling its spirit, and leaving it an easy prey to the first invader : sometimes checked by a rising patriot, or counterworked by national misfortunes ; in one country corrupting manners ; in another, principles ; in a third, both manners and principles : rendering one people blind, another cowardly, another treacherous to itself : stealing secretly and insensibly on one nation ; overwhelming another in certain destruction.

But to enlarge on these subjects in that vague and undistinguishing manner, which most writers have pursued in treating them, though it might carry the appearance of reasoning, would in truth be no more than *Declamation* in disguise. And
to

to develope and unravel the particularity of causes and effects, thro' all their variety of combination and mutual influence, as it would extend this Estimate beyond its designed limits, must be left to make a part of some future enquiry."

Notwithstanding this striking picture of a degenerate age, the author allows us some virtues; and admits that we still possess the spirit of liberty, the spirit of humanity, and public justice in an high degree.

The second volume of this work contains retractions of such mistakes as the author thinks he has committed in his first volume; proofs of his assertions; illustrations of what had not been fully explained; replies to objections; and such further consequences as may be deduced from his principles. He concludes this volume with two pictures; one of a great minister, the other of a true political writer, for the originals of either the reader cannot possibly be at a loss: of the minister he says:

"He will not only have honest intentions of mind, but wisdom to plan, and courage to execute.

He will regard the interests of the prince and people, as inseparably and invariably united.

He will, to the utmost of his power, abolish ministerial influence on parliament, and discourage parliamentary influence among the great.

He will endeavour to destroy party distinctions; and to unite all men, in the support of the common and national welfare.

In consequence of this, he will be hated by the corrupt part of the kingdom, high and low, because *their* expectations of advantage can only arise from those distinctions

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and that influence which he labours to abolish.

The honest and unprejudiced part of the nation will adore him for the contrary reason.

He will be remarkable rather for his knowledge in the great principles of wisdom and virtue, than in the oblique ways and mysteries of selfish cunning.

He may be displaced once, or more than once, by the power of faction; but the united voice of an uncorrupt people will restore him to the favour of the Sovereign; especially in a time of danger. And the oftener he is cut down by corrupt power, the deeper root he will take in the affections of the prince and people, and rise and flourish with renewed vigour.

His private life will be consistent with his public conduct: he will not adopt, but scorn the degenerate manners of the times. Above luxury and parade, he will be modest and temperate; and his contempt of wealth will be as signal as his contempt of luxury.

He will be distinguished by his regard to religion, honour, and his country.

He will not despise, but honour the people, and listen to their united voice.

If his measures are not always clear to the people in their *Means*, they will always be so in their *Ends*. In this he will imitate a great Queen, or her great minister, 'whose policy was deep, and the means she employed were often very secret; but the ends to which this policy and these means were directed, *were never equivalent.*'

As a natural and happy consequence of this conduct, should he happen either to *err* in a *de-*

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figr,

sign, or fail in its *execution*, an uncorrupt people will still *confide* in him. They will continue to repose on his general wisdom and integrity; will regard him as a kind and watchful father; yet, tho' *wise*, not *infallible*.

He will look *forward* rather than to what is *past*; and be more zealous to select and reward those who may do well, than to prosecute those whom, in his own opinion, he may think delinquents.

His principles and conduct, as they will be *hated* by *vile*, so they will be *derided* by *narrow* minds, which cannot enlarge their conceptions beyond the beaten track of present practice. Prince Maurice was *ridiculed* in his *first attempts*, for those very expedients by which he drove the Spaniards out of his country.

If his little or no influence in parliament be objected to him, he will answer as Henry the Great did with regard to Rochelle, 'I do all I desire to do there, in doing nothing but what I ought.'

He will practise, 'that double œconomy, which is so rarely found, or even understood. I mean not only that inferior œconomy, which consists in the management of the receipts and issues of the public revenue; but that superior œconomy, which consists in contriving the great schemes of negotiation and action.'

The laws he frames will be generous and comprehensive; that is, in Lord Verulam's nervous expression, 'deep, not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future; to

' make the estate of the people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.'

Above all, he will study to restore and secure upright *manners* and *principles*; knowing *these* to be the very *strength* and *vitals* of every *state*.

As by all these means he will put the natural and internal springs of government into action; so he will keep up that action in its full vigour, by employing ability and merit: and hence, men of genius, capacity, and virtue, will of course fill the most important and public stations, in every department.

To fulfil this great purpose, he will search for men, capable of serving the public, without regard to wealth, family, parliamentary interest, or connection.

He will despise those idle claims, of *priority* of rank, or *seniority* in station, when they are *unsupported* by *services* performed in that rank and station: he will search for those, wherever they are to be found, whose active spirits and superior capacity promise advantage to the public.

He will not abuse this power indulged to him, of superseding superior rank, by preferring his own favourites. If he finds the appearance of ability and worth among the friends or dependents of his enemies, he will trust them with the execution of his most important designs, on the success of which, even his own character may depend.

Having no motive, but the welfare of his country; if he cannot accomplish *that*, by such measures as his heart approves, he will

will not struggle for a continuance in power, but bravely and peaceably *resign*.

Whether such a character as is here delineated, may ever arise, is a question which it were superfluous for the writer to determine: if ever such a minister appears, he will best be seen by his own lustre.

There is another character, belonging indeed to a much lower walk in life, which might be no less strange than that which is here delineated. I mean the character of a political writer, not only *intentionally*, but in *fact* impartial.

This is a character which hath never yet existed; nor probably, will ever appear, in our own country. However, let us attempt a sketch of this ideal portrait, for the use of those who may aspire to impartiality; and consider by 'what characteristics he would be distinguished.'

He would chuse an untrodden path of politics, where no party-man ever dared to enter.

He would be disliked by party-bigots of every denomination: who, while they applauded one page of his work, would execrate the next.

The undisguised freedom and boldness of his manner, would please the brave, astonish the weak, disgust and confound the guilty,

Every rank, party, and profession, would acknowledge he had done tolerable justice to every rank, party, and profession, their own only excepted.

He would be called *arrogant* by those who call every thing *arrogance* that is not *servility*.

If he writ in a period, when

his country was declining; while he pointed out the means from whence alone honest *hope* could arise, he would be charged by scribbling sycophants with plunging a nation in *despair*.

While he pointed out the abuses of freedom, and their fatal effects, he would be blackened by designing whispers, as the enemy of freedom itself.

The worthless of every profession would be his sworn enemies; but most of all, the worthless of his own profession.

As he would be reviled and defamed by the *dissolute* great, without cause, so he would be applauded by an *honest* people, beyond his deservings.

Though his abilities were small, yet the integrity of his intention would make amends for the mediocrity of his talents.

As such a writer could have little pretensions to literary fame, so he would not be intoxicated with the fumes of literary vanity; but would think with Sheffield, that

One moral, or a mere well-natured
deed,
Does all desert in sciences exceed:

Yet though he scorned the gildings of false ambition, and riches acquired by adulation; he might not, possibly, be unconscious of that unfought dignity, that envied superiority to wealth and titles which even the love of wisdom and virtue give.

Should any of the great, therefore, affect to disdain him, on account of his private station, he might perhaps reply with Perdicca,

G g 2

I was

I was not much afraid; for once or
twice
I was about to speak, and tell him
plainly,
The self-same sun that shines upon his
palace,
Hides not his heavenly visage from my
cottage,
But looks on both alike.

His free and unconquered spirit
would look down with contempt
on views of interest, when they
came in competition with views of
duty.

Nay, were he called to so severe a
trial, he would even dare to make
the greatest and the rarest of all ho-
nest sacrifices, that of friendship it-
self, to truth and virtue.

Should the sense of his duty to
his country determine him to a far-
ther prosecution of his labours, he
would say,

If such his fate, do thou, fair Truth,
descend,
And watchful guard him in an honest
end;

Kindly severe, instruct his equal line,
To court no friend, nor own a foe, but
thine.

But if his giddy eye should vainly quit
Thy sacred paths, to run the maze of
wit;

If his apostate heart should e'er incline
To offer incense at corruption's shrine,
Urge, urge thy power; the black at-
tempt confound;

Oh, dash the smothering censor to the
ground;

Thus aw'd to fear, instructed man may
see

That guilt is doom'd to sink in infamy.

*A discourse on the Study of the Law,
read in the public schools at Oxford,
Oct. 24, 1758. Odeavo.*

WE cannot help congratu-
lating the public on the fair

prospect we now have, that one
learned foundation at least will fully
answer the intention of the founder.
The discourse before us is a solid,
judicious, and elegant oration, con-
taining at once, an history of our
law, a just panegyric on it, argu-
ments for putting the study of it
under proper regulations, and a
spirited persuasive to make that
study so regulated, a considerable
part of academical education, espe-
cially for persons of rank. After
strongly urging this to gentlemen
in general, he particularly applies
to the nobility.

“What is said of our gentlemen
in general, and the propriety of
their application to the study of the
laws of their country, will hold
equally strong or still stronger with
regard to the nobility of this realm,
except only in the article of serving
upon juries. But instead of this,
they have several peculiar provinces,
of far greater consequence and
concern; being not only by birth
hereditary counsellors of the crown,
and judges upon their honour of
the lives of their brother peers,
but also arbiters of the property of
all their fellow-subjects, and that
in the last resort. In this their ju-
dicial capacity they are bound to
decide the nicest and most critical
points of law; to examine and cor-
rect such errors as have escaped the
most experienced sages of the pro-
fession, the lord-keeper, and the
judges of the courts at Westminster.
Their sentence is final, decisive,
irrevocable: no appeal, no correc-
tion, not even a review can be had:
and to their determination, what-
ever it be, the inferior courts of
justice must conform; otherwise the
rule of property would no longer
be uniform and steady.

Should

Should a judge in the most subordinate jurisdiction be deficient in the knowledge of the law, it would reflect infinite contempt upon himself, and disgrace upon those who employ him. And yet the consequence of his ignorance is comparatively very trifling and small: his judgment may be examined, and his errors rectified by other courts. But how much more serious and affecting is the case of a superior judge, if without any skill in the laws, he will boldly venture to decide a question, upon which the welfare and subsistence of whole families may depend! where the chance of his judging right, or wrong, is barely equal; and where, if he chances to judge wrong, he does an injury of the most alarming nature, an injury without possibility of redress!

Yet, vast as this trust is, it can no where be so properly reposed as in the noble hands where our excellent constitution has placed it; and therefore placed it, because, from the independence of their fortune, and the dignity of their station, they are presumed to employ that leisure which is the consequence of both, in attaining a more extensive knowledge of the laws than persons of an inferior rank: and because the founders of our policy relied upon that delicacy of sentiment, so peculiar to noble birth; which, as on the one hand it will prevent either interest or affection from interfering in questions of right, so on the other it will bind a peer in honour, an obligation which the law esteems equal to another's oath, to be master of those points upon which it is his birth-right to decide.

The Roman pandects will furnish

us with a piece of history not unapplicable to our present purpose. Servius Sulpicius, a gentleman of the patrician order, and a celebrated orator, had occasion to take the opinion of Quintus Mutius Scaevola, the oracle of the Roman law; but for want of being conversant in that science, could not so much as understand even the technical terms, which his counsel was obliged to make use of. Upon which Mutius Scaevola could not forbear to upbraid him with this memorable reproof, 'that it was a shame for a patrician, a nobleman, and an orator, to be ignorant of the law under which he lived.' Which reproof made so deep an impression on Sulpicius, that he immediately applied himself to the study of the law; wherein he arrived to that proficiency, that he left behind him about a hundred and fourscore volumes of his own compiling upon the subject; and became, in the opinion of Cicero, a much more compleat lawyer than even Mutius Scaevola himself."

The cause of the neglect of the study of the common law in our universities, he delivers thus:

"That ancient collection of unwritten maxims and customs, which is called the common law, however compounded, or from whatever fountains derived, had subsisted immemorially in this kingdom; and, though somewhat altered and impaired by the violence of the times, had in great measure weathered the rude shock of the Norman conquest. This had endeared it to the people in general, as well because its decisions were universally known, as because it was found to be ex-

cellently adapted to the genius of the English nation. In the knowledge of this law consisted great part of the learning of those dark ages: It was then taught, says Mr. Selden, in the monasteries, in the universities, and in the families of the principal nobility. The clergy in particular, as they then engrossed almost every other branch of learning, so, like their predecessors the British druids, they were peculiarly remarkable for their proficiency in the study of the law. *Nullus clericus nisi causidicus*, is the character given of them soon after the conquest by William of Malmesbury. The judges therefore were usually created out of the sacred order, as was likewise the case among the Normans; and all the inferior offices were supplied by the lower clergy, which has occasioned their successors to be denominated *clerks* to this day.

But the common law of England, being not committed to writing, but only handed down by tradition, use, and experience, was not so heartily relished by the foreign clergy; who came over hither in shoals during the reign of the Conqueror, and his two sons, and were utter strangers to our constitution as well as our language. And an accident, which soon after happened, had nearly completed its ruin. A copy of Justinian's pandects, being newly discovered at Amalfi, soon brought the civil law into vogue all over the west of Europe, where before it was quite laid aside, and in a manner forgotten; though some traces of its authority remained in Italy and the eastern provinces of the empire. This now became in

a particular manner the favourite of the popish clergy, who borrowed the method and many of the maxims of their canon law from this original. The study of it was introduced into several universities abroad, particularly that of Bologna; where exercises were performed, lectures read, and degrees conferred in this faculty, as in other branches of science: and many nations on the continent, just then beginning to recover from the convulsions consequent upon the overthrow of the Roman empire, and settling by degrees into peaceable forms of government, adopted the civil law (being the best written system then extant) as the basis of their several constitutions; blending and interweaving it among their own feudal customs, in some places with a more extensive, in others a more confined authority.

Nor was it long before the prevailing mode of the times reached England. For Theobald, a Norman abbot, being elected to the see of Canterbury, and extremely addicted to this new study, brought over with him in his retinue many learned proficients therein; and among the rest Roger, surnamed Vacarius, whom he placed in the university of Oxford, to teach it to the people of this country. But it did not meet with the same easy reception in England, where a mild and rational system of laws had long been established, as it did upon the continent; and, though the monkish clergy (devoted to the will of a foreign primate) received it with eagerness and zeal, yet the laity, who were more interested to preserve the old constitution, and had
already

already severely felt the effect of many Norman innovations, continued wedded to the use of the common law. King Stephen immediately published a proclamation, forbidding the study of the laws, then newly imported from Italy; which was treated by the monks as a piece of impiety, and though it might prevent the introduction of the civil law process into our courts of justice, yet did not hinder the clergy from reading and teaching it in their own schools and monasteries.

From this time the nation seems to have been divided into two parties; the bishops and clergy, many of them foreigners, who applied themselves wholly to the study of the civil and canon laws, which now came to be inseparably interwoven with each other: and the nobility and laity, who adhered with equal pertinacity to the old common law; both of them reciprocally jealous of what they were unacquainted with, and neither of them perhaps allowing the opposite system that real merit which is abundantly to be found in each. This appears on the one hand from the spleen with which the monastic writers speak of our municipal laws upon all occasions; and, on the other, from the firm temper which the nobility shewed at the famous parliament of Merton; when the prelates endeavoured to procure an act to declare all bastards legitimate in case the parents intermarried at any time afterwards; alledging this only reason, because holy church (that is, the canon law) declared such children legitimate: but, 'all the earls and 'barons (says the parliament roll) 'with one voice answered, that

'they would not change the laws
'of England, which have hitherto
'been used and approved.' And
we find the same jealousy prevailing above a century afterwards, when the nobility declared with a kind of prophetic spirit, 'that the
'realm of England hath never
'been unto this hour, neither by
'the consent of our lord the king
'and the lords of parliament shall
'it ever be, ruled or governed
'by the civil law.' And of this temper between the clergy and laity many more instances might be given.

While things were in this situation, the clergy finding it impossible to root out the municipal law, began to withdraw themselves by degrees from the temporal courts; and to that end, very early in the reign of King Henry the third, episcopal constitutions were published, forbidding all ecclesiastics to appear as advocates *in foro seculari*; nor did they long continue to act as judges there, not caring to take the oath of office which was then found necessary to be administered, that they should in all things determine according to the law and custom of this realm; though they still kept possession of the high office of chancellor, an office then of little juridical power; and afterwards, as its business increased by degrees, they modelled the process of the court at their own discretion.

But wherever they retired, and wherever their authority extended, they carried with them the same zeal to introduce the rules of the civil, in exclusion of the municipal law. This appears in a particular manner from the spiritual courts of all denominations,

tions, from the chancellor's courts in both our universities, and from the high court of chancery before mentioned; in all of which the proceedings are to this day in a course much conformed to the civil law: for which no tolerable reason can be assigned, unless that these courts were all under the immediate direction of the popish ecclesiastics, among whom it was a point of religion to exclude the municipal law; Pope Innocent the fourth having forbidden the very reading of it by the clergy, because its decisions were not founded on the imperial constitutions, but merely on the customs of the laity. And if it be considered, that our universities began about that period to receive their present form of scholastic discipline; that they were then, and continued to be till the time of the reformation, entirely under the influence of the popish clergy; (Sir John Mason the first Protestant, being also the first lay chancellor of Oxford) this will lead us to perceive the reason, why the study of the Roman laws was in those days of bigotry pursued with such alacrity in these seats of learning; and why the common law was entirely despised, and esteemed little better than heretical.

And, since the reformation, many causes have conspired to prevent its becoming a part of academical education. As, first, long usage and established custom; which, as in every thing else, so especially in the forms of scholastic exercise, have justly great weight and authority. Secondly, the real intrinsic merit of the civil law, considered upon the footing

of reason and not of obligation, which was well known to the instructors of our youth; and their total ignorance of the merit of the common law, though equal at least, and perhaps an improvement on the other. But the principal reason of all, that had hindered the introduction of that branch of learning, is, that the study of the common law, being banished from hence in the times of popery, has fallen into a quite different channel, and has hitherto been wholly cultivated in another place. But as this long usage and established custom, of ignorance of the laws of the land, begin now to be thought reasonable; and as by this means the merit of those laws will probably be more generally known; we may hope that the method of studying them will soon revert to its ancient course, and the foundation at least of that science will be laid in the two universities; without being exclusively confined to the channel which it fell into at the times I have been just describing.

For, being then entirely abandoned by the clergy, a few stragglers excepted, the study and practice of it devolved of course into the hands of laymen; who entertained upon their parts a most hearty aversion to the civil law, and made no scruple to profess their contempt, nay even their ignorance of it, in the most public manner. But still as the ballance of learning was greatly on the side of the clergy, and as the common law was no longer taught, as formerly, in any part of the kingdom, it must have been subjected to many inconveniences, and perhaps would have been gradually

gradually lost and over-run by the civil, (a suspicion well justified from the frequent transcripts of Justinian to be met with in Bracton and Fleta) had it not been for a peculiar incident, which happened at a very critical time, and contributed greatly to its support.

The incident I mean was the fixing the court of common pleas, the grand tribunal for disputes of property, to be held in one certain spot; that the seat of ordinary justice might be permanent and notorious to all the nation. Formerly that, in conjunction with all the other superior courts, was held before the king's capital justiciary of England, in the *aula regis*, or such of his palaces wherein his royal person resided, and removed with his household from one end of the kingdom to the other. This was found to occasion great inconvenience to the suitors; to remedy which it was made an article of the great charter of liberties, both that of King John and King Henry the third, that 'common pleas should no longer follow the king's court, but be held in some certain place:' in consequence of which they have ever since been held (a few necessary removals in times of the plague excepted) in the palace of Westminster only. This brought together the professors of the municipal law, who before were dispersed about the kingdom, and formed them into an aggregate body: whereby a society was established of persons, who (as Spelman observes) addicted themselves wholly to the study of the laws of the land, and no longer considering it as a mere subordinate science

for the amusement of leisure hours, soon raised those laws to that pitch of perfection, which they suddenly attained under the auspices of our English Justinian, King Edward the first.

In consequence of this lucky assemblage, they naturally fell into a kind of collegiate order; and being excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, found it necessary to establish a new university of their own. This they did by purchasing at various times certain houses, (now called the inns of court and of chancery) between the city of Westminster, the place of holding the king's courts, and the city of London; for advantage of ready access to the one, and plenty of provisions in the other. Here exercises were performed, lectures read, and degrees were at length conferred in the common laws, as at other universities in the canon and civil. The degrees were those of barristers (first styled apprentices, from *apprendre*, to learn) who answered to our bachelors; as the state and degree of a serjeant, *ser-vientis ad legem*, did to that of doctor."

The author has also the following most useful remarks on certain illiberal notions and practices with regard to a legal education.

"The evident want of some assistance in the rudiments of legal knowledge, has given birth to a practice which, if ever it had grown to be general, must have proved of extremely pernicious consequence: I mean the custom, by some very warmly recommended, to drop all liberal education, as of no use to lawyers; and to place them, in its stead, at the desk

desk of some skilful attorney; in order to initiate them early in all the depths of practice, and render them more dexterous in the mechanical part of business. A few instances of particular persons, (men of excellent learning and unblemished integrity) who, in spite of this method of education, have shone in the foremost ranks of the bar, have afforded some kind of sanction to this liberal path to the profession, and biased many parents of short-sighted judgment, in its favour: not considering, that there are some geniuses, formed to overcome all disadvantages, and that, from such particular instances no general rules can be formed; nor observing that those very persons have frequently recommended by the most forcible of all examples, the disposal of their own offspring, a very different foundation of legal studies, a regular academical education. Perhaps too, in return, I could now direct their eyes to our principal seats of justice, and suggest a few hints, in favour of universal learning:—but in these all who hear me, I know, have already prevented me.

Making therefore all due allowance for one or two shining exceptions, experience may teach us to foretel, that a lawyer thus educated to the bar, in subservience to attornies and solicitors, will find he has begun at the wrong end. If practice is the whole he is taught, practice must also be the whole he will ever know: if he be instructed in the elements and first principles upon which the rule of practice is founded, the least variation from established precedents will totally distract and bewilder him:

ita lex scripta est is the utmost his knowledge will arrive at; he must never aspire to form, and seldom expect to comprehend, any arguments drawn *a priori*, from the spirit of the laws and the natural foundation of justice.

Nor is this all; for (as few persons of birth, or fortune, or even of scholastic education, will submit to the drudgery of servitude, and the manual labour of copying the trash of an office) should this infatuation prevail to any considerable degree, we must rarely expect to see a gentleman of distinction or learning at the bar. And what the consequence may be, to have the interpretation and enforcement of the laws (which include the entire disposal of our properties, liberties, and lives) fall wholly into the hands of obscure or illiterate men, is a matter of very public concern."

The History of the Life and Reign of Philip King of Macedon, the Father of Alexander. By Tho. Leland, D. D. Fellow of Trinity-College, Dublin. Johniton, Paul's Church-yard. Two Vol. Quarto.

THE translation of the orations of Demosthenes by Dr. Leland, was so well executed, that the public expected to see the life of Philip, the illustrious antagonist of that great orator, handled with equal ability; and the actions of the one as well delivered as the eloquence of the other. Nor were the expectations of the public disappointed. From scattered passages in orators and historians, by the united efforts of great labour and

and great judgment, we have a well-connected, clear, and spirited history of one of the most extraordinary men whom Greece, or perhaps any other country, has ever produced; as well for the greatness of his talents, as the strength both of his virtues and his vices. The author has thoroughly studied the constitution of ancient Greece, with an account of which he very judiciously begins his work. We shall give it as a specimen of his style and manner of writing.

“Ancient Greece was inhabited by people, whose origin and language were the same; but their manners, customs, institutions, and forms of government, in many respects totally different. Yet, amidst this diversity, their general principles were also the same, an ardor for liberty, and a strict regard to the public good. . . .

“A number of neighbouring societies, thus formed and modelled, became gradually to be considered as one body or nation, composed of so many distinct members, all united and connected together by interest and affection. As the good of each individual was subservient to that of his community, so the good of each community was considered as subordinate to that of the whole nation. Hence arose a familiar species of *civility*, if it may be so called, which each society owes to the general assemblage. Even amidst those contests and disorders which unruly passions, or the accidental clashing of interests, might produce, war had its laws and limitations; the universal interest of Greece was professedly at least the first and greatest object of attention; the attempt of any state to extend its power beyond

the just and equitable bounds, was considered as an injury to Greece in general; justice, moderation, equality, were ever strenuously enforced, and all military contests carried among the Greeks in a manner somewhat similar to judicial controversies in private societies: and, while it was allowed thus to seek redress of peculiar injuries, the general rights of the contending parties were secured by national laws, and demanded a just and scrupulous attention, even amidst all the confusion and violence of arms. Thus the great Athenian orator describes the principles and sentiments of the Greeks, speaking of the ancient wars of Athens and Sparta. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως ἔρχον, πολλὸν δὲ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΣ, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ἀνεῖδαι παρ' ἑδῆος οὐδεν' ἀλλ' εἶναι ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ τινα καὶ προφανὲς τὸν πόλεμον. *Such was their simplicity, or rather their civility, (that is, their deference to the general laws of Greece, and their attention to the common good of that nation) that corruption was never made the instrument of their success: but they carried on a legal and open war.*

While these principles preserved their due vigour and influence, Greece continued a really united body, happy in itself, and formidable to its enemies. Many circumstances contributed to form this union: and many institutions were suggested, by the sagacity of statesmen and legislators, to secure and confirm it. Of these the famous *council of Amphibolyon* deserves particular regard; whose origin and constitution are here to be explained, that the reader may come duly prepared to understand the history now presented to him, in which this august body

body makes so considerable a figure.

The council of Amphictyons, like other institutions of the same kind, was at first but inconsiderable; nor did it arrive to its full strength and lustre but by gradual advances, and in a long series of years. Its first original we are to ascribe to Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, an ancient king of Thessaly, as the authority of the Arundelian Marbles warrants us to determine.

The intention of Amphictyon, in instituting this assembly, was, that the children of Deucalion, who at his decease divided the kingdom between them, should have a common tribunal, to which they might appeal in all private contests; and a council, in which they might concert all measures necessary for their defence against their foreign enemies. And for these purposes, besides those laws by which each particular city was governed, he enacted others of general force and obligation to all, which were called Amphictyonic laws. By means of these, faith Dionysius, the people thus united, continued in strict and mutual amity; regarded each other as real brethren and countrymen; and were enabled to annoy and strike terror into their barbarous enemies. Thermopylæ was the limit which divided the territories of Amphictyon and Hellen, the two brothers; here, therefore, they built a temple to Ceres, at the common charge, near the mouth of the river Æso-pus, in which the members of the Amphictyonic council assembled to offer their sacrifices, and to consult about their common interest, twice in every year, in spring and au-

tumn; and hence the names Πυλαία ἱερὴ καὶ μεσηπωρινή, the vernal and autumnal convention.

The assembly, thus formed, was at first but small, being wholly composed of those people whom Deucalion had commanded, and who from his son Hellen, were called ἙΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The Dorians and Ionians, who were descended from the posterity of this Hellen, as yet had no being; nor were any of the Peloponnesians now accounted Hellenes, but were called Pelasgi; nor were they disposed to unite with the sons of Deucalion, by whom they had been deprived of Thessaly, and all that part of Greece which lay beyond the isthmus. As Greece improved, and the Hellenes increased in number, new regulations became necessary: and accordingly we find, that in some time after the original institution, Acrisius, king of Argos, when through fear of Perseus, (who, as the oracle declared, was to kill him) he retired into Thessaly, observed the defects of the Amphictyonic council, and undertook to new-model and regulate it; extended its privileges; augmented the number of its members; enacted new laws, by which the collective body was to be governed; and assigned to each state one single deputy, and one single voice, to be enjoyed by some, in their own sole right; by others, in conjunction with one or more inferior states: and thus came to be considered as the founder of this famous representative of the Hellenic body.

From the time of Acrisius, the Amphictyons still continued to hold one of their annual councils at Thermopylæ, that of autumn. But it was now made a part of their function

function (and, in time of peace, became the most considerable part of it) to guard and protect the national religion. The vernal assembly therefore was held at Delphi, the great seat of the Grecian religion; the object of universal veneration; whether all people, Greeks and Barbarians, resorted to seek the advice and direction of the famous Pythian oracle. The immense quantity of wealth, the number of rich votive offerings, which the superstition of so many ages and nations had lavished on the temple, demanded the exactest care and most vigorous protection. The prodigious concourse which attended there, at particular seasons, naturally produced many contests, and required a well-regulated polity, and the frequent interposition of a respectable and powerful jurisdiction. The Delphians themselves were intrusted with the possession and general guardianship of the temple: they attended entirely on the service of the god, and were solely employed in the ceremonials of his religion: they were accounted in some sort sacred; the priests, the attendants, and as it were the family of Apollo. So they are called by Lucian (in Phalarid. 1.) *ἱεροὶ τε καὶ παῖδες τε Πυθιά, καὶ μοῖον συνέταιροι καὶ ὁμοφροῖνοι*. But although they enjoyed certain powers and privileges with respect to the temple, and could even grant some honours and favours to particular persons, such as that of the *Προμαχία*, or right of precedence in consulting the oracle, as appears from an imperfect inscription preserved by Spon and Wheeler, and quoted by Van Dale: yet still were they subject to the inspection

and jurisdiction of the Amphictyons, who were the great conservators and protectors of the shrine; and who, besides their general care, appointed certain of their members, either by lot or rotation, to preside over the temple; an honour which, according to Van Dale, was also called by the name *Προμαχία*. . . .

The whole nation of Greece was divided into twelve districts or provinces: each of these contained a certain number of Amphictyonic states, or cities, each of which enjoyed an equal right of voting and determining in all affairs relative to the general interest. Other inferior cities were dependent on some of these, and as members of their community, were also represented by the same deputies: and thus the assembly of the Amphictyons became really and properly the representative of the whole Hellenic body. . . .

Each of those cities, which had a right to assist in the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to send its deputies to every meeting; and the number of these deputies was usually and regularly two; the one entitled hieromnemon, to whom was particularly entrusted the care of religion and its rites. His office was annual, as appears from several decrees, in which his name is joined with that of the Athenian archon *ἐπαινέμενος*; and he was appointed by lot. The other deputy was called by the general name *pylagoras*, and was chosen by election each particular meeting. Each of these deputies, however, differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general interest. And thus

thus the cities which they represented, without any distinction or subordination, each gave two voices in the council of the Amphictyons, a privilege known by the name of the *double suffrage*; which term, so frequent in the ancient writings, is thus fully explained, without any refinement or difficulty.

When the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute their commission, they in the first place offered up their solemn sacrifices to the gods; to Ceres, when they assembled at Thermopylæ: when at Delphi, to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva: and, before they entered on their function, each deputy was obliged to take an oath, which Æschines hath preserved, or at least some part of it; and which was conceived in these terms:

‘ I swear that I will never subvert any Amphictyonic city; I will never stop the courses of their waters, either in war or peace. If any such outrages should be attempted, I will oppose them by force of arms, and destroy those cities who may be guilty of such attempts. If any devastations shall be committed in the territory of the god; if any shall be privy to such offence, or entertain any design against the temple; I will make use of my feet, my hands, my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign punishment.’

To render this oath still more solemn, the following awful imprecations were subjoined:

‘ If any one shall violate any part of this solemn engagement,

‘ whether city, private person, or country, may such violators be obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo; Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident. May their lands never produce their fruits; may their women never bring forth children of the same nature of their parents, but offsprings of an unnatural and monstrous kind: may they be for ever defeated in war, in judicial controversies, and in all civil transactions; and may they, their families, and their whole race, be utterly destroyed: may they never offer up an acceptable sacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident; but may all their sacred rites be for ever rejected.’

Such was the constitution of this famous Grecian council. As to the disputes of particular persons, it was accounted beneath the dignity of the Amphictyons to take the cognizance of them. Nor do we hear of any private man summoned to appear, or condemned in this assembly, except Ephialtes, who, when the Spartans possessed themselves of Thermopylæ, under the command of Leonidas, conducted the Persians over the Oetean mountains into Greece. But all offences against religion, all instances of impiety and profanation, all contests between the Grecian states and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impose fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war on those who presumed to rebel against their sovereign authority.

The Life of Erasmus. By Dr. Jortin.
Whifton and White, Fleet-street,
1758. Quarto.

THE life of no author is better calculated to interest our curiosity than that of Erasmus. He lived at the first dawn of literature, and was himself one of the principal lights which dispelled that gloom of ignorance and barbarism, which had overspread the world for so many ages. There is also some variety in the events of his life, which was more diversified than is common with the lives of literary men. And there is the same variety in his character, that is found in his fortune: a genius, as well as a profound scholar; and a man of wit and humour, as well as an able divine. The work before us is the joint produce of two very learned men, Le Clerc and Dr. Jortin. The latter of these writers has followed, but he has improved and enlarged the plan of the former. It is therefore not to be wondered, that this work is executed with uncommon diligence, skill, and accuracy. It not only contains an account of the life of Erasmus, but of all the eminent men, in whatever branch of literature, who adorned that period. Dr. Jortin has followed Le Clerc, in disposing his facts and observations by the years of the author's age, whose life they write. This, with deference to the learned author's judgment, we do not think the happiest method. Great affairs may be digested into the form of annals, because they engage by their own importance, and the time in which they happened is necessary

to be known: but in biography, especially of this kind, such an arrangement renders the narration broken and tedious. In short, as the work now stands, it may rather be considered as an excellent collection of materials for the life of Erasmus, than the history of his life. Such a history would prove a much more agreeable entertainment to the generality of readers, though it may not perhaps afford quite so much matter to the inquisitive and learned.

It were to be wished, that the learned author had been a little more attentive to his style, particularly that he had purged it of certain low familiar words and modes of expression, such as, 'The author of the paraphrase so *bedastled* by Gardner.' 'Like the candle's end burning in a socket, soon cease both to blaze and stink.' 'There was a *brace* of monks.' 'Seriously it is a disagreeable thing to be in the condition of Gil Blas, and connected with one who will take it in *dudgeon*, if you do not *smoke* him with as much incense as would satisfy three or *thrice three* goddesses.'

As a specimen of the author's general manner of writing we give the following passage; especially as it serves to illustrate the character and way of life of Erasmus, which was by no means so happy and independent, as his great parts and virtues deserved.

"Collet had told him, that he would give him a small matter, if he would beg with humility, and ask with modesty; had advised him to imitate Diogenes, and had hinted to him, that he was too querulous and greedy. It seems
they

they bantered him, because he was frequently importuning his friends. Erasmus in his answer tells him, that in the opinion of Seneca, favours were dearly purchased, which were extorted by begging. Socrates, talking once with some friends, said, I would have bought me a coat to-day, if I had had money. They, says Seneca, who gave him what he wanted, after he had made his speech, shewed their liberality too late. Another seeing a friend, who was poor and sick, and too modest to make his wants known, put some money under his pillow, whilst he was asleep.

When I used to read this in the days of my youth, says Erasmus, I was extremely struck with the modesty of the one, and the generosity of the other. But, since you talk of begging without shame, who, I beseech you, can be more submissive and more shameless than myself, who live in England upon the foot of a public beggar: I have received so much from the archbishop, that it would be scandalous to take any more of him, though he were to offer it. I asked N. with sufficient effrontery. And he refused me with still greater impudence. Even our good friend Linacer thinks me too bold, who knowing my poor state of health, and that I was going from London with hardly six angels in my pocket, and that the winter was coming on, yet exhorted me most pressingly to spare the archbishop and Lord Montjoy, and advised me to retrench, and learn to bear poverty, with patience. A most friendly counsel! For this reason above all, I hate my hard fortune, because she will not suffer me to be modest. Whilst I had health and strength,

I used to dissemble my poverty: now I cannot, unless I would risque my life. But I am not such a beggar neither, as to ask all things from all persons. To some I say nothing, because I would not be refused; and I have no pretence to solicit you, who do not superabound in wealth. But, since you seem to approve of impudence, I will end my letter in the most impudent manner I can. I have not assurance enough to ask you for any thing; and yet I am not so proud, as to reject a present, if a friend like you should offer it to one in my circumstances. Ep. 150.

One, who could talk at this rate, must be reduced to hard necessity. Unless he were a bad manager, it is scarcely to be conceived, how a single man, and a learned man, could have found it so difficult to maintain himself *at that time* in England, partly by his pupils, and partly by the presents which were made to him. However that be, there seems to be some reason to suspect that Erasmus understood not the important art of paying his court to the great; and that there was something in his manner, which disgusted some of those to whom he made his applications; so that he was more agreeable to them in his writings, than in his person: and this might spoil his fortunes. Perhaps also he talked too freely, as he confesses in the character which he hath given of himself, in the *Compendium* of his life.

Yet Erasmus, though open and facetious, was good tempered: and good temper is a natural politeness, which to reasonable persons is more acceptable, than that which is artificial: as, on the contrary,

trary, the politeness of an ill natured man is shocking, for it is hypocrisy superadded to malignity.

As, by being conversant with antiquity, he knew many things, which others knew not, and was disposed to jesting, he could hardly refrain from ridiculing, at one time or other, the follies of the age, and of a certain set of people. It is well known, that this temper fails not to give offence, especially to those who expect that their weaknesses or vices should be spared on account of their station and character; else the king, the courtiers, and the bishops, who often bestowed preferments upon drones void of all capacity and merit, and sometimes loaded them with pluralities, might easily have given him something in the church, without cure of souls, which would have afforded him leisure to study, and means to live. But perhaps he, who hated confinement on any account, did not care to be connected with monks and chapters of canons. As these people were excessively envious, they would have teased him with their chicaneries upon every occasion. He had long perceived, and declared to the world, that the religion of these ecclesiastics consisted entirely in minute observances and formal grimaces, with which the wicked can comply, as well as the good. He, on the contrary, made religion to consist in such things, as none, except worthy persons, ever observe; in the exercise of those christian virtues, which are formed in the mind, from a knowledge of our duty, and a persuasion of its importance. A man fixed in these sentiments, and continually occupied in learned studies, would have

found it very difficult to practise the rites and ceremonies with which religion was over-run and choked up in those days. This neglect in England, as in all other places, was accounted a far more heinous crime than the vilest immorality and debauchery. The monks, above all others, were inexorable upon this article, and doubtless opposed and harassed openly and secretly all who were not in their way of thinking and acting. So that to set Erasmus thoroughly at ease, Henry VIII. ought to have bestowed a handsome pension upon him, which would have exempted him from worldly cares and avocations, and furnished him with books, and leisure, and the conveniencies of life. But this the king would not do; and if he afterwards invited Erasmus again to his dominions, it was at a time when that learned man was not able to undertake the journey."

Towards the end of the work are some curious particulars concerning the character of Erasmus, and a very good defence of some parts of learning which he particularly cultivated.

" Bayle hath observed of Erasmus, that he had rather too much sensibility when he was attacked by malicious and inconsiderable adversaries, made too many complaints of them, and was too ready to answer them. It is true. He wanted some friend to over-rule him, and to say to him, *LET those men alone: they cannot live in their own writings; and why should they live in yours?* Yet thus much may be observed, by way of excuse, that he was fighting for his honour, and for his life, being often accused of nothing less than

heterodoxy, impiety, and blasphemy, by men whose forehead was a rock, and whose tongue was a razor. To be misrepresented, as a pedant and a dunce, this is no great matter; for time and truth put folly to flight: to be accused of heresy by bigots, hypocrites, politicians, and infidels, this is a serious affair; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it.

The celebrated Peter Ramus never replied to the invectives of his numerous adversaries: and the writer of his life mentions it as an instance of his uncommon patience and prudence. . . .

The style of Erasmus is that of a man who had a strong memory, a natural eloquence, lively fancy, and a ready invention, who composed with great facility and rapidity, and who did not care for the trouble of revising and correcting; who had spent all his days in reading, writing, and talking Latin; for he seems to have had no turn for modern languages, and perhaps he had almost forgotten his mother tongue. His style therefore is always unaffected, easy, copious, fluent, and clear; but not always perfectly pure and strictly classical. He hath been censured, as a dealer in barbarisms, by persons who not only had not half of his abilities and erudition, but who did not even write Latin half so well as he.

His verses are plainly the compositions of one, who had much learning and good sense, and who understood prosody, or the technical art of poetry; but who had not an equal elegance of taste, and an ear for poetical numbers. So that upon the whole he is rather a versifier than a poet, and is not to

be ranked amongst the Italian poets of those days, Sannazarius, Fracastorius, Vida, &c. many of whom write better than any of the ancients, except Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and a few more.

Erasmus used to dine late, that he might have a long morning to study in. After dinner he would converse cheerfully with his friends about all sorts of subjects, and deliver his opinions very freely upon men and things. So says Milichius, who was a student at Friburg, and there had the pleasure of being well acquainted with Erasmus.

Erasmus, in the earlier part of his life, carefully studied the Greek and Latin grammar, read lectures upon them, and translated Greek books into Latin. This was laying a right foundation for criticism and philology; and it is much to be wished, that our young students of promising abilities would, in some measure, follow his example. Be you ever so ingenious and industrious, yet if you neglect to cultivate and preserve this humble part of knowledge, you will be perpetually stumbling, when you tread on classic ground, when you attempt to explain, to translate, or to correct ancient authors, or to discuss any learned subject, or to compose a few pages in Latin in prose, or in verse. Then beware of blunders; and think not to make amends for them by insulting and ridiculing grammarians, scholiasts, commentators, lexicographers, verbal critics, word-catchers, syllable-mongers, and poachers in Stobæus and Suidas.

‘ It is a wonder that no book-seller could be found who would venture to print the commentary of Meziriac upon Apollodorus. ‘ The

The taste for this kind of erudition is entirely extinct; and if Meziriac were to return to life in these days, he might stay long enough at Bressé, before he would receive an invitation to be a member of the French academy. The same qualifications, which formerly procured him that honour, would now suffice to exclude him. It was not the politeness of his style, or the beauty of his verses, which made him accounted worthy of being an academicien, for in this respect he was inferior to most of the fraternity; but it was his reputation for learning, and the proofs which he had given of a vast erudition. Times are altered: no regard is paid to an author who perfectly understands mythology, Greek poets, and scholiasts, and by his knowledge can clear up difficulties in chronology, geography, grammar, &c. Not only compositions without the least tincture of literature are preferred to the works of such an author, but he is treated as a mere pedant: and this is the sure way to discourage all young men, who have talents for the study of humanities. There is something odious and contemptible in the very name of pedantry; and who would take pains to acquire nothing besides scorn and infamy by becoming very learned and appearing to be well versed in the works of the ancients? Nothing hath more contributed to bring literature into contempt, than the custom which the wits and the fine geniuses, real or pretended, have taken up to condemn, as school learning and pedantry, citations from Latin

and Greek authors, and philosophical remarks. They have been so unjust, as to deride even those scholars, who had, besides erudition, a politeness and a knowledge of the world; Costar, for example. Had they been contented to ridicule those who to make a parade of their reading, cite a Plato, a Varro, and an Aristotle, either to prove nothing at all, or to confirm something, which no man ever denied, and which every man knows, they had not done amiss: but with disdainful airs and insolent scoffs they had banished from the polite world all those who dared to shew that they had made collections from the ancients; they have laughed at the Costars, and even at those letters of Voiture which are sprinkled with Latin. These censures have had the more effect, because there is something plausible in them; and it is certainly true that men should be more careful to polish their mind, and to form their judgment, than to load their memory with the remarks and sayings of other people. The more truth there is in this maxim, the more it charms and seduces the conceited, and the superficial, and the lazy, and incites them to turn to ridicule every thing that is called erudition. Perhaps at the bottom, the principal motive is to depreciate the goods of their neighbours, with a view to enhance the value of their own: for if one was to say to them, You condemn such and such authors for citing Latin and Greek; lay your hands upon your heart, and tell me whether you would not do the same if you were

able; we should put their sincerity to hard trial. — Now things are come to such a pass (that is, A. 1700) that, as we are informed, the Bookseller at Paris, who designs to print madam Dacier's translation of Homer, dares not join the original to it, lest the very sight of Greek should discourage and disgust his customers. — Judge by this of the reigning taste, and conclude that the commentary upon Apollodorus would be hissed off the stage at Paris. It contains too much erudition.' Bayle *Meziriac*, not. c.

In Erasmus we behold a man, who in the days of his youth, lying under no small disadvantages of birth and education, depressed by poverty, friendless and unsupported, or very slenderly supported, made his way through all these obstacles, and, by the help of bright parts and constant application, became one of the most considerable scholars of the age, and acquired the favour and the protection of princes, nobles, and prelates of the greatest names in church and state.

Every man of letters must not indulge the vain hope, though he should be as learned, as ingenious, and as industrious as Erasmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was — But this is not a sufficient cause to deter any person from a studious life. Learning is in many respects its own reward: learning applied to useful purposes, and adorned with good manners. Without these, though it may be of some service to the public, it will be of small comfort to the professor.

After personal merit (says Bruyere) 'it must be confessed that

high stations and pompous titles, are the principal and the most splendid marks of distinction: and he who cannot be an Erasmus, must think of being a bishop.'

Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More, with his history of Utopia, translated into English by Ferdinando Warner, LL. D. London, printed for Davis and Reymers. Olarvo.

THERE are no sort of books more useful towards forming the mind and manners, than the lives of good and eminent men. The book before us, is one of those. The subject of it, Sir Thomas More, though a man addicted much to contemplative piety, lived much in the world, and filled with great credit for abilities and integrity the highest offices in the state; he resigned them too with a dignity no ways inferior to that in which he held them, and at length gave up his life, as he had his employments, rather than subject his conscience to the will of an arbitrary prince. We are obliged to Dr. Warner for a well-digested and satisfactory account of this great man. Nothing of the kind had been executed before. The learned historian before us is interesting in his narrative, makes a good choice, and apt distribution of his facts, and intersperses them with several pertinent and useful reflections. It were to be wished indeed, that he had entirely foreborn all those that might be considered as personal invectives; and that he had confined his thoughts to the times of which he wrote.

Sir T. More gave in the course of his studies, and at his entrance both into domestic and public life, strong marks of the character which distinguished him to the last.

“ At the time of his residing at Lincoln’s-Inn as a student, he read a public lecture in St. Austin *de civitate Dei*; to which almost all the learned men of the city of London resorted. The reputation which he acquired by these public lectures, procured him the place of reader at Furnival’s-Inn: in which he continued with the same reputation for some time: and then giving himself up to devotion in the Charter-house, he lived there as a religious about four years, though without any vow, abstracted entirely from the world, and from all science.—

It is wonderful how a man of his turn of mind, of such prodigious lively parts, and so much activity and facetiousness, could seclude himself so long from business and affairs to be shut up in a cloister. But in order to take off the surprise, we must recollect the piety that was then in fashion; to which he had likewise notwithstanding his pleasantry——supposed absurdly by the world to be incompatible——a strong and natural inclination. He was sated however at last with this inactive useless way of life: and having been often pressed by Mr. Colt, of New-Hall in Essex, who delighted much in his company, to live with him, our author left the Charter-house, and went to make him a visit. His friend had three daughters, who were all accomplished, handsome, and well-behaved young ladies; and giving him his choice of these for a wife, the

consequence of this visit was, that he married the eldest, merely for being such, that it might be no vexation or disgrace to her to be passed by; but his fancy led him to prefer the second. Upon his marriage with this lady, who lived with him about seven years, he took a house in Buckler’s-bury, and prosecuted his study and practice of the law at Lincoln’s Inn.

Whilst he was thus employed in fitting himself for his profession, he was elected a Burgess, before he was two and twenty years of age, in the reign of Henry VII. The design of the king in calling this parliament, was to demand a subsidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the King of Scotland: And when it was moved in the house of commons, though the majority were against the demand, yet many of the members being afraid of the king’s displeasure, and others having reasons not more justifiable nor important, they made no opposition to it. Here was therefore a fair occasion for Mr. More to shew his courage and integrity in defence of liberty and his country; and this occasion he took. He argued with such strength and clearness against this unjust and arbitrary imposition, though he was then so very young, that his majesty’s demand was in the end rejected. Upon this Mr. Tyler, one of the king’s privy council, who was present in the house of commons when this speech was made, went immediately to the king, and told him ‘ that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose.’

This was giving his country a very early pledge indeed of that patriotisim

patriotism and probity, from which nothing could ever seduce him whilst he lived. He had too much intrepidity to be deterred by power, and too great a contempt for the things of the world to be allured by the prospect of wealth or honour. But a prince so tyrannical and avaricious as Henry VII. could not fail to be much incensed at this vigorous opposition to a demand of money—the favourite measure of his reign—in a young man: and we are not to wonder that he should be determined to be revenged on him in some shape or other, that so the courage of this rising lawyer might give him no more disturbance. As our patriot, however, having nothing, could lose nothing, the king was obliged to pretend a quarrel without any cause, against Sir John More, his father; whom his majesty ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, till he had paid a fine of an hundred pounds. . . .

Soon after this offence had been given the king in the house of commons, Mr. More having some business with Fox, bishop of Winchester—the favourite minister of Henry VII.—his lordship took him aside; and pretending great kindness to him, assured him that if he would be ruled and take his advice, he would remove the king's resentment, and restore him to his majesty's favour: Intending, as it was conjectured—in a way not unusual with this prelate—to get him to confess some personal enmity to the king, that a punishment might be inflicted upon him not without some shew of reason. But he was not caught in the bishop's snare; and desired some time to consider what

he should do. When he had taken his leave with this answer, he went to his lordship's chaplain, who was his intimate friend, and asked his advice upon the proposal that had been made him. The chaplain, being a much honest and a much better man than his lordship, dissuaded him with great earnestness from following the bishop's counsel; 'For my lord my master,' says he, 'to serve his majesty's turn, will not stick to consent to his own father's death.' Upon this we may be sure he returned no more to this righteous bishop: and he was once on the point of going abroad, as thinking it would not be safe for him to live in England, thus exposed to the indignation of an arbitrary revengeful king. For during this time he was obliged to lay aside his practice, and to live in a retired manner at home; where he diverted himself with music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and studying French; and in this retirement he made himself a perfect master of history."

Of his resolute and prudent behaviour when speaker of the house of commons, besides others he gives the following remarkable instances.

"It happened, however, that a great subsidy having been demanded by the king, which Wolsey apprehended would meet with great opposition in the lower house, he was determined to be present when the motion should be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The house being apprized of his resolution, it was a great while under debate, whether it was best to receive him with a few of his Lords only, or with his whole train.

The

The majority of the house inclined to the first; upon which the speaker got up, and said, ‘——Gentlemen; forasmuch as my lord cardinal hath not long since, as you all know, laid to our charge, the lightness of our tongues for things spoken out of this house, it shall not in my judgment be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and his great seal too; that so, if he blames us hereafter, we may be the bolder to excuse ourselves, and lay it upon those his grace shall bring hither with him.’ The house being pleased with the humour, as well as the propriety, of the speaker’s motion, the cardinal was received accordingly: And having shewn in a solemn speech, how necessary it was for the king’s affairs that the subsidies moved for should be granted, and that a less sum would not answer his majesty’s purpose at that time; but finding that no member made any answer, nor shewed the least inclination to comply with what he asked, he said, with some emotion, ‘Gentlemen; you have many wife and learned men amongst you; and since I am sent hither immediately from the king, for the preservation of yourselves and all the realm, I think it meet that you give me a reasonable answer to my demand.’ But every body being still silent, he addressed himself particularly to Mr. Murray; who making no answer, he put the same question to several other members, that were esteemed the greatest men in the house; and none of these making any answer neither——it being before agreed, as the custom was,

to give him an answer by their speaker——the cardinal lost his temper at this contemptuous treatment, and with great indignation said to them further: ‘Gentlemen; unless it be the manner of your house, as perchance it may, to express your minds in such cases by your speaker only, whom you have chosen for trusty and wise, as indeed he is, here is without doubt, a surprising obstinate silence.’ He then required the speaker to give him an answer to the demand, which he had made in the king’s name, of the house. The speaker having first with great reverence, on his knees, excused their silence, as being abashed at the presence of so noble and extraordinary a personage, proceeded then to shew him by many arguments, that it was not expedient or agreeable to the ancient liberty of the house, to make an answer to his majesty’s message, by any other person, how great soever, than some of their own members: and in conclusion he told his eminence, ‘that though they had trusted him with their voices, yet except every one of them could put their several judgments into his head, he alone in so weighty a matter was not able to make a sufficient answer to his grace.’ The cardinal taking offence at the speaker for this evasive answer, and for not promoting the subsidy, rose up on a sudden, and departed in great displeasure with the whole house.

It is very certain that Sir Thomas More had seconded the motion for complying with the king’s demand, when it was first moved in the house, and thought it absolutely necessary for carrying on the war. But he had a mind absolutely

to distinguish between the reasonable demands of the king, and the insolence of his minister; and therefore played off this farce against him in the house of commons. Nor was this done perhaps with a view of mortifying the cardinal, but it might be also probably to let his majesty see, by this contumelious usage, that the person of his minister was not acceptable to the parliament. But be this as it might. The speaker in a few days after, being in Wolfey's gallery at Whitehall, his eminence complained to him of this ill treatment with great vehemence; and reproaching him for his ingratitude, said, 'Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you speaker.' To this Sir Thomas replied, 'Your grace not offended, so would I too, my lord.' And then to divert him from his ill humour, which would probably have vented itself in some indecent language, he began to commend the cardinal's gallery, and said that he liked it better than his other gallery at Hampton-court."

There are several instances of his disinterested conduct, and of the serenity and good humour with which he resigned the greatest employments.

"About the time of his resignation, died in extreme old age his father Sir John More; whom he often visited and comforted in his illness, and to whom he expressed the utmost tenderness and affection of filial piety in his expiring moments. This was an event, however, which brought him a very inconsiderable increase of fortune; because the greatest part of his father's estate, with his seat at Gubbins in Hertfordshire, was settled upon his second wife, who

outlived Sir Thomas many years; and therefore he enjoyed but little inheritance from his father. When he had delivered up the seal, he wrote an apology for himself; in which he declares to the public, 'that all the revenues and pensions which he had, by his father, by his wife, or by his own purchase, except the manors given him by the king of his mere liberality'—which from a king to such a servant are not worth the naming—'did not amount to the value of fifty pounds a year.'—Strange indeed it will appear in this age, that a privy counsellor, who had gone through so many great offices, as we have seen, for above twenty years, and who had been all his life an abstemious man, should not have been able to purchase an hundred pounds a year. But such was his great charity, and such his greater contempt of money!

The day after he had resigned the seal, which his own family knew nothing of, he went as usual, it being an holy-day, to Chelsea church with his wife and daughters: and after mass was over—it being customary for one of the gentlemen to go to his lady to tell her the chancellor was gone out of church—he went himself to the pew door; and making her a low bow, said, 'Madam, my lord is gone.' But she knowing his pleasantry, and apprehending this to be some joke, took little notice of it. However, as they were walking home, he assured her very seriously, that what he had said, was true; having resigned his office of lord-chancellor to the king the day before. When she found that he was in earnest, and as she was a worldly-minded woman, being much chagrined at it,

it; she replied in her accustomed manner, ‘ Tilly Vally, what will you do, Mr. More? Will you sit and make goslings in the ashes? What, is it not better to rule than to be ruled?’ But to divert the ill-humour which he saw she was in, he began to find fault with her dress; which she chiding her daughters for not seeing, and they affirming that there was no fault to be found, he replied with great mirth, ‘ Don’t you perceive your mother’s nose is somewhat awry?’ Upon which she went from him in a passion. It must be confessed that this is a trifling story to relate in the life of so great a man; But the reader must observe, that the characters of men are learnt best from trifles. It is related here however to shew, that his facetious humour was natural to him without any affectation; and that powers, honours, and great revenues, had not charms for him, who could part with them so freely, and with such a mirthful temper of mind. It will likewise shew, it was his opinion, that in his conduct as a statesman, his lady had no right to be consulted, or to intermeddle.

The first thing that he set about after the surrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and servants among the nobility and the bishops; that they might not suffer by any act of his. This being done to his satisfaction, he next called all his children and their husbands round him; and telling them that he could not now, as he was wont and still gladly would, bear all their expence himself, asked their advice what they should do that they might continue to live together, as he much desired: And

finding them all silent, he told them, that though he had been brought up from the lowest degree to the highest, yet he had now in yearly revenues left him but a very little above an hundred pounds a year; so that hereafter, if they lived together, they must be contented to become contributors. Notwithstanding the king had taken him from his profession, and employed him in the most important services to himself and the kingdom, during the best part of his life, yet he made so little advantage of his majesty’s service or that of the public, that all the land which ever he purchased, —and he purchased it all before he was Lord Chancellor— was not above the value of twenty marks a year: and after all his debts were paid when he resigned that office, he had not left in gold and silver, his chain excepted, the worth of one hundred pounds.”

The scene between him and his daughter, after his sentence, is extremely pathetic and well painted.

“ Having taken his leave of the court in this solemn manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the usual manner after condemnation: And when he came to the Tower wharfe, his favourite daughter Mrs. Roper, thinking this would be the last opportunity she should ever have, was waiting there to see him. As soon as he appeared in sight, she burst through the throng and guard that surrounded him; and having received his blessing upon her knees, she embraced him eagerly before them all; and amidst a flood of tears and a thousand kisses of tenderness and affection, her

her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that she could utter were, 'My father, oh my father!' If any thing could have shaken his fortitude, it must be this. But he only took her up in his arms, and told her, 'that whatsoever he should suffer, though he was innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, to whose blessed pleasure she should conform her own will; that she knew well enough all the secret steps of his heart, and that she must be patient for her loss.' Upon this she parted from him; but scarce was she turned aside, before her passion of grief and love became irresistible; and she again suddenly burst through the croud, ran eagerly upon him a second time, took him round the neck, and hung upon him with her embraces, ready to die with sorrow. This was rather too much for a man to bear: And though he did not speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his cheeks in great abundance; till she took her last kiss and left him. In this tender moment his heart may be said to fail him; and it was a scene which did him honour. Here was a favourite daughter of every extraordinary accomplishments, and by nature and education modest; who without care of her person, or any consideration of her sex, moved by the deepest sorrow and the most tender affection for him, surmounted every obstacle of fear, of danger, and of difficulty to see him; who when she had seen him, and taken her leave of him in the most passionate and heart-distracting situation, shook off all the regards

of modesty and peril a second time, and pouring out her soul into his bosom could not be separated from him without force. It was impossible for humanity to be more unmoved at such a scene than only to shed silent tears: The sensations of his heart must have been exquisite, how much soever his fortitude enabled him to suppress them, when he heard himself addressed with that pathetic eloquence which described all her agony at once, 'My father, oh my father!' If a few silent tears in this distressful scene, owing to the tenderness of nature in a parent's breast, were all the signs of dejection or dispiritedness which Sir Thomas More shewed at a fate which was so deplorable, and yet so unmerited ——— and it is uncertain that these were all, from the time of his commitment to the last minute of his life ——— then he instructed the world as well by this circumstance of his leaving it, as by the whole course of his living in it. This great example will teach us a lesson of fortitude, under sufferings for conscience sake; of contempt of a life of flesh which is in itself short and transitory; and of resignation to the will of heaven under the most trying afflictions of mortality."

It were useless to say any thing of the celebrated Utopia, which is annexed to his life. The translation was made by Bishop Burnet, and corrected by Doctor Warner, and is executed, as it might be expected, in a very masterly manner.

A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with Lists of their Works. In 2 vols. Duodecimo.
Doddley.

THERE never was a time in which anecdotes, especially literary anecdotes, were read with greater eagerness than they are now. Such reading suits extremely well with the spirit of indolent curiosity and learned loitering, which is so much the character of these times. The present work is certainly one of the best of that kind. By confining himself to these noble and royal personages who have applied their leisure to literature, he has certainly not given us the account of those authors whose works are the most valuable. But the large share which many of them have had in the transactions of public life, affords a greater variety of materials for agreeable biography, than could be expected from the lives of far better authors of lower rank. Very few writers, however, could have had the happy secret of making out of so dry a matter so agreeable an entertainment; and of uniting so much laborious industry in the compiling, with so much wit and spirit in the execution. It were to be wished that the author had indulged himself less in points and turns.

Some of the most remarkable lives which may serve to mark the most striking æras in literature, are

ANTHONY WIDVILLE Earl Rivers.

“ Though Caxton knew ‘ none
‘ like to the Erle of Worcester,’
and though the author last quoted
thinks that all learning in the
nobility perished with Tiptoft, yet

there flourished at the same period a noble gentleman, by no means inferior to him in learning and politeness, in birth his equal, by alliance his superior, greater in feats of arms, and in pilgrimages more abundant: this was Anthony Widville earl Rivers, Lord Scales, and Newfells, lord of the isle of Wight, ‘ defenseur and directeur of the ‘ causes Apostolique for our holy ‘ fader the Pope in his royame ‘ of Englonde, and uncle and go- ‘ vernour to my Lord Prince of ‘ Wales.’

He was son of Sir Richard Widville by Jaqueline of Luxemburgh duchess dowager of Bedford, and brother of the fair lady Gray, who captivated that monarch of pleasure Edward the fourth. When about seventeen years of age he was taken by force from Sandwich with his father, and carried to Calais by some of the opposite faction. The credit of his sister, the countenance and example of his prince, the boisterousness of the times, nothing softened, nothing roughened the mind of this amiable Lord, who was as gallant as his luxurious brother-in-law, without his weaknesses; as brave as the heroes of either rose, without their savageness; studious in the intervals of business, and devout after the manner of those whimsical times, when men challenged others whom they never saw, and went barefooted to visit shrines in countries of which they had scarce a map. In short, Lord Anthony was, as Sir Thomas More says, ‘ Vir haud facile discernas, manuve aut consilio promptior.’

He distinguished himself both as a warrior and a statesman: The Lancastrians making an insurrection
in

in Northumberland, he attended the king into those parts, and was a chief commander at the siege of Alnwick castle; soon after which he was elected into the order of the garter. In the tenth of the same reign he defeated the Dukes of Clarence and Warwick in a skirmish near Southampton, and prevented their seizing a great ship called the Trinity belonging to the latter. He attended the king into Holland on the change of the scene, returned with him, and had a great share in his victories, and was constituted governor of Calais, and captain-general of all the king's forces by sea and land. He had before been sent ambassador to negotiate a marriage between the king's sister and the Duke of Burgundy; and in the same character concluded a treaty between King Edward and the Duke of Bretagne. On Prince Edward being created Prince of Wales, he was appointed his governor, and had a grant of the office of chief butler of England; and was even on the point of attaining the high honour of espousing the Scottish princess, sister of King James the Third; the bishop of Rochester, lord privy seal, and Sir Edward Widville, being dispatched into Scotland to perfect that marriage*.

A remarkable event of this earl's life was a personal victory he gained in a tournament over Antony Count de la Roche, called the Bastard of Burgundy, natural son of Duke Philip the Good. This illustrious encounter was performed

in a solemn and magnificent tilt held for that purpose in Smithfield: Our earl was the challenger; and from the date of the year, and affinity of the person challenged, this ceremony was probably in honour of the afore-mentioned marriage of the lady Margaret the king's sister, with Charles the Hardy, last Duke of Burgundy. Nothing could be better adapted to the humour of the age, and to the union of that hero and virago, than a single combat between two of their near relations. In the *Biographia Britannica* is a long account, extracted from a curious manuscript, of this tournament, for which letters of safe conduct were granted by the king, as appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*; the title of which are, 'Pro bastardo Burgundiæ super punctis armorum perficiendis.' At these jousts the Earl of Worcester (before-mentioned) presided as lord high constable, and attested the queen's giving *The flower of Souvenance* to the Lord Scales, as a charge to undertake the enterprize, and his delivery of it to Chester-herald, that he might carry it over to be touched by the Bastard, in token of his accepting the challenge. This prize was a collar of gold with the rich flower of Souvenance enamelled, and was fastened above the earl's knee by some of the queen's ladies on the Wednesday after the feast of the Resurrection. The Bastard, attended by four hundred lords, knights, squires, and heralds, landed at Gravesend; and

* The queen had before projected to marry him to that great heiress Mary of Burgundy, who at the same time was sought by Clarence; a circumstance that must have heightened that prince's aversion to the queen and her family.

at Blackwall he was met by the lord high constable with seven barges, and a galley full of attendants, richly covered with cloth of gold and arras. The king proceeded to London; in Fleet-street the champions solemnly met in his presence: and the palaces of the Bishops of Salisbury and Ely were appointed to lodge these brave sons of holy church; as St. Paul's cathedral was for holding a chapter for the solution of certain doubts upon the articles of combat. The timber and workmanship of the lists cost above 200 marks. The pavilions, trappings, &c. were sumptuous in proportion. Yet, however weighty the expence, the queen could not but think it well bestowed, when she had the satisfaction of beholding her brother victorious in so sturdy an encounter; the spike in the front of the Lord Scales's horse having run into the nostril of the Bastard's horse, so that he reared an end and threw his rider to the ground. The generous conqueror disdained the advantage, and would have renewed the combat, but the Bastard refused to fight any more on horse-back. The next day they fought on foot, when Widville again prevailing, and the sport waxing warm, the King gave the signal to part them.

Earl Rivers had his share of his sister's afflictions as well as of her

triumphs; but making a right use of adversity, and understanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St. James's in Spain in 1473, he sailed from Southampton, and for some time was 'full
' virtuously occupied in going of
' pilgrimages to St. James in Galice, to Rome, and to Saint Nicholas de Bar in Puyle, and other diverse holy places. Also he procured and got of our holy father the Pope a greet and large indulgence, and grace unto the chapel of our lady of the Piewe by St. Stephen's at Westminster.'

The dismal catastrophe of this accomplished Lord, in the forty-sixth year of his age, is well known.

' — Rivers, Vaughan and Gray*,
' Ere this lie shorter by the heads at
Pomfret.'

The works of this gallant and learned person were;

I. ' The dittes and sayings of
' the philosophers; translated out
' of Latin into Frenshe by a
' worshipful man called Messire
' Jehan de Tconville, Provost of
' Paris;' and from thence rendered into English by our Lord Rivers, who sailing to the Spanish Jubilee, 'and layckyng syght of
' all londes, the wynde being good

* Queen Elizabeth Gray is deservedly pitied for losing her two sons, but the royalty of their birth has so engrossed the attention of historians, that they never reckon into the number of her misfortunes the murder of this her second son Sir Richard Gray. It is remarkable how slightly the death of our Earl Rivers is always mentioned, though a man invested with such high offices of trust and dignity; and how much we dwell on the execution of the lord chamberlain Hastings, a man in every light his inferior. In truth the generality draw their ideas of English story from the tragic rather than the historic authors.

' and

‘ and the weder fayr, thenne for
 ‘ a recreacyon and passyng of tyme,
 ‘ had delyte and axed to rede some
 ‘ good historye. A worshipful
 ‘ gentlyman called Lowys de Bre-
 ‘ taylies,’ lent him the abovementioned
 ‘ treatise, which when he had
 ‘ hieded and looked upon, as he
 ‘ had tyme and space, he gaaf
 ‘ thereto a veray affection; and
 ‘ in special by cause of the holfom
 ‘ and swete fanges of the Pay-
 ‘ nems, which is a glorious fair
 ‘ myrroure to all good Christen
 ‘ people to behold and under-
 ‘ stonde.’ And afterwards being
 appointed governor to the prince,
 he undertook this translation for
 the use and instruction of his royal
 pupil. The book is supposed
 to be the second ever printed
 in England by Caxton; at least
 the first which he printed at West-
 minster, being dated November
 18, 1477. A fair manuscript of
 this translation, with an illumina-
 tion representing the earl introduc-
 ing Caxton to Edward the fourth,
 his queen and the prince, is pre-
 served in the archbishop’s library
 at Lambeth.

The most remarkable circum-
 stance attending this book is the
 gallantry of the earl, who omitted
 to translate part of it, because it
 contained sarcasms of Socrates a-
 gainst the fair sex: And it is no
 less remarkable that his printer
 ventured to translate the satire, and
 added it to his lordship’s perform-
 ance; yet with an apology for his
 presumption.

II. ‘ The moral proverbs of
 ‘ Christina of Pyse;’ another trans-
 lation. The authoress Christina
 was daughter of Thomas of Pise,
 otherwise called of Boulogne,
 whither her father removed; and

though she stiled herself a woman
 Ytalien, yet she wrote in French,
 and flourished about the year 1400.
 In this translation the earl disco-
 vered new talents, turning the
 work into a poem of two hundred
 and three lines, the greatest part
 of which he contrived to make
 conclude with the letter *E*: an in-
 stance at once of his lordship’s ap-
 plication, and of the bad taste of
 an age, which had witticisms and
 whims to struggle with as well as
 ignorance. It concludes with two
 stanzas of seven lines each, begin-
 ning thus:

- ‘ The grete vertus of our elders not-
 able
- ‘ Ofte to remembre is thing profitable;
- ‘ An happy hous is, where dwelleth
 prudence,
- ‘ For where she is, reason is in presence,
 &c.

EXPLICIT.

- ‘ Of these sayynges Cristyne was the
 authoress;
- ‘ Which in makyn had such intelli-
 gence,
- ‘ That therefore she was mireur and
 maistresse;
- ‘ Her werkes testifie the experience;
- ‘ In Fiensh language was writen this
 sentence;
- ‘ And thus englished doth hit reheise
- ‘ Antoin Widevyll therle Ryvers.

Caxton, inspired by his patron’s
 muse, concludes the work thus;

- ‘ Go thou litil quayer and recommaund
 me
- ‘ Unto the good grace of my special
 Lorde
- ‘ Therle Ryveris, for I have emprinted
 the
- ‘ At his commandement, following
 evry worde
- ‘ His cople, as his secretery can re-
 corde

‘ At

‘ At Westmenster, of Feverer the xx day.

‘ And of King Edward the xvii yere vraye.

‘ Emprinted by CAXTON.’

‘ In Feverer the colde season.’

III. The book named ‘ Cordial, or Memorate novissima;’ a third translation from the French; the original author not named: begun to be printed by Caxton ‘ the morn after the purification of our blissid Lady in the yere 1478, which was the daye of Seint Bafe, bishop and martir: and finished on the even of thannunciation of our said blissid Lady in the xix yere of Kyng Edward the fourth, 1480.’ By which it seems that Caxton was above two years in printing this book. It does not appear that he published any other work in that period: yet he was generally more expeditious; but the new art did not, or could not multiply its productions, as it does now in its maturity.

These are all the remains of this illustrious Lord, though, as Caxton says, ‘ notwithstanding the greet labours and charges he had in the service of the King and of my said Lord Prince, which hath been to him no little thought and bisiness, yet over that, tenrich his vertuous disposition, he put him in devoyr at all tymes, when he might have a leyser, which was but starte mete, to translate diverse bookes out of French into English.’ He then mentions those I have recited, and adds,

‘ IV. Over that hath made di-

vers balade ayenst the seven dede-ly synnes.’

It is observable with what timidity and lowliness young Learning ventured to unfold her recent pinions, how little she dared to raise herself above the ground. We have seen that Earl Tiptoft and Earl Rivers, the restorers and patrons of science in this country, contented themselves with translating the works of others; the latter condescending even to translate a translation. But we must remember how scarce books were; how few of the classic standards were known, and how much less understood. Whoever considers the account which Caxton gives of his meeting ‘ with the lytyle book in Frenshe, translated out of Latyn by that noble Poete and grete Clerke Virgyle,’ will not wonder that invention did not exert itself. Whatever was translated was new, and a real present to the age. Invention operates only where there is no pattern, or where all patterns are exhausted. He, who in the dawn of science made a version of Christina of Pisa, in its vigorous maturity would translate Montefquieu — and, I trust, not in metre!

I have dwelled the longer on the articles of these two lords, as they are very slightly known, and as I think their country in a great measure indebted to them for the restoration of learning. The countenance, the example of men in their situation, must have operated more strongly than the attempts of an hundred professors, benedictines, and commentators. The similitude of their studies was terminated by too fatal a resemblance in their catastrophe!

HENRY HOWARD Earl of SURRY.

“ We now emerge from the twilight of learning to an almost classic author, that ornament of a boisterous, yet not unpolished court, the Earl of Surry, celebrated by Drayton, Dryden, Fenton, and Pope, illustrated by his own muse, and lamented for his unhappy and unmerited death: ‘ a man,’ as Sir Walter Raleigh says, ‘ no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes.’

He was son and grandson of two lord treasurers, dukes of Norfolk, and seemed to have promise of fortune as illustrious, by being the friend, and at length the brother-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, Henry’s natural son. — But the cement of that union proved the bane of her brother! He shone in all the accomplishments of that martial age; his name is renowned in its tournaments, and in his father’s battles: In an expedition of his own he was unfortunate, being defeated endeavouring to cut off a convoy to Boulogne: a disgrace he soon repaired, though he never recovered the king’s favour, in whose eyes a moment would cancel an age of services!

The unweildy king growing ditterpered and froward, and apprehensive for the tranquillity of his boy-succesor, easily conceived or admitted jealousies infused into him by the earl of Hertford and the Protestant party, though one of the last acts of his fickle life,

was to found a convent! Rapin says, he apprehended if the popish party should prevail, that his marriage with Catherine of Arragon would be declared good, and by consequence his son Edward bastardized. — A most inaccurate conclusion! It would have affected the legitimacy of Elizabeth, whose mother was married during the life of Catherine, but the latter was dead before the king married Jane Seymour: An odd circumstance is recorded, that Boleyn wore yellow for mourning for her predecessor.

It seems that the family of Howard were greatly at variance; the duke and his son had been but lately reconciled; the duchess was frantic with jealousy, had been parted four years from her husband, and now turned his accuser; as her daughter the duchess of Richmond, who inclined to the Protestants, and hated her brother, deposed against him. The duke’s mistress too, one Mrs. Holland, took care to provide for her own safety, by telling all she knew. That was little, yet equal to the charge, and coincided with it. The chief accusation against the earl was his quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor: The duke had foreborne them, but left a blank quarter. Mrs. Holland deposed, that the duke disapproved his son’s bearing them, and forbade her to work them on the furniture of his house. The Duchess of Richmond’s testimony was so trifling, that she deposed her brother’s giving a coronet*, which

* This shews that at that time there was no established rule for coronets. I cannot find when those of Dukes, Marquisses and Earls were settled: Sir Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, when viscount Cranborn, was the first of that degree that bore a coronet. Barons received theirs from Charles the Second.

to her judgment seemed a close crown, and a cypher which she took to be the king's: and that he dissuaded her from going too far in reading the scripture. Some swore that he loved to converse with foreigners; and, as if ridiculous charges, when multiplied, would amount to one real crime, Sir Richard Southwell affirmed, without specifying what, that he knew certain things, which touched the earl's fidelity to the king. The brave young lord vehemently affirmed himself a true man, and offered to fight his accuser in his shirt; and with great spirit and ready wit, defended himself against all the witnesses—to little purpose! When such accusations could be alledged, they were sure of being thought to be proved. Lord Herbert insinuates, that the earl would not have been condemned, if he had not been a commoner and tried by a jury. On what could he ground this

favourable opinion of the peers? What twelve tradesmen could be found more servile than almost every court of peers during that reign? Was the Duke of Buckingham, was Anne Boleyn condemned by a jury, or by great Lords?*

The duke, better acquainted with the humour of his master, or fonder of life as it grew nearer the dregs, signed a most abject confession, in which however the greatest crime he avowed was having concealed the manner in which his son bore his coat-armour—an offence by the way to which the king himself and all the court must long have been privy. As this is intended as a *treatise of curiosity*, it may not be amiss to mention, that the duke presented another petition to the Lords, desiring to have some books from Lambeth, without which he had not been able to recompose himself to sleep for a dozen of years. He desired leave too to buy St.

* The parliaments of that reign were not less obsequious than the peers distinctly: 'The Countess of Salisbury,' says Stowe, in his annals, p. 581. 'was condemned in parliament, though she was never arraigned nor tried before. Catharine Howard was attainted by parliament, and suffered without trial. Cromwell Earl of Essex, though a lord of parliament, was attainted without being heard.' The power granted to the king of regulating the succession by his will was an unheard-of abuse. If we pass from the peers to the house of commons, and from thence to the convocation, we shall find that juries by no means deserved to be stigmatized for peculiar servility. The commons besought the king to let his marriage with Anne Cleves be inquired into. The dissolution of that marriage for such absurd reasons as his majesty vouchsafed to give; *as her being no virgin*, which it seems he discovered by a peculiar secret of his own, without using the common method of knowing*; and his whimsical inability, which he pretended to have in vain attempted to remove by taking physic the more to enable him; that dissolution, I say, was an instance of the grossest complaisance; as Cranmer's having before pronounced the divorce from Anne Boleyn was an effect of the most wretched timidity.

* In the case of his next wife it proved how bad a judge he was of these matters; nay, so humble did he grow on that head, and consequently so uncertain did his conforming parliament immediately think that disquisition, that an act was passed to oblige any woman, before she should espouse a king, To declare whether she was a virgin or not.

Austin, Josephus and Sabellicus * ; and he begged for some sheets. — So hardly was treated a man, who had married a daughter † of Edward the Fourth, who had enjoyed such dignities, and what was still more, had gained such victories for his master !

The noble earl perished : the father escaped by the death of the tyrant.

We have a small volume of elegant and tender sonnets composed by Surry ; and with them ‡ some others of that age, particularly of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, a very accomplished gentleman, father of him who fell in a rebellion against Queen Mary. Francis the First had given a new air to literature, which he encouraged by mixing gallantry with it, and producing the ladies at his court along with the learned. Henry, who had at least as much taste for women as letters, and was fond of splendor and seats of arms, contributed to give a romantic turn to composition ; and Petrarch, the poet of the fair, was naturally a pattern to a court of that complexion. In imitation of Laura, our earl had his Geraldine. Who she was, we are not told directly : himself mentions several particulars relating to her, but not her name. The author of the last edition of his poems, says, in some short notes on his

life, that she was the greatest beauty of her time, and maid of honour to Queen Catharine ; to which of the three queens of that name he does not specify. I think I have very nearly discovered who this fair person was ; here is the earl's description :

‘ From Tuscan came my ladies worthy
‘ race,
‘ Fair Florence was sometime *her* ||
‘ auncient seate ;
‘ The western yle whose pleasant shore
‘ doth face
‘ Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her
‘ lyvely heate :
‘ Fostered she was with milke of Irishe
‘ brest :
‘ Her sire, an earl ; her dame, of princes
‘ blood ;
‘ From tender yeres in Britaine she
‘ doth rest
‘ With kinges childe, where she tasteth
‘ costly foode.
‘ Honson did first present her to myne
‘ yien ;
‘ Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine
‘ she hight,
‘ Hampton me taught to wish her first
‘ for mine,
‘ And Windsor alas ! doth chase me
‘ from her sight.
‘ Her beauty of kinde, her vertue from
‘ above,
‘ Happy is he, that can obtain her
‘ love.’

I am inclined to think that her poetical appellation was her real name, as every one of the circumstances tally. Gerald Fitz-

* The artful Duke, though a strong papist, pretended to ask for Sabellicus as the most vehement detector of the usurpations of the bishop of Rome.

† His first wife was the Lady Anne, who left no issue. His second was daughter of the Duke of Buckingham.

‡ The earl was intimate too with Sir Thomas More and Erasmus ; and built a magnificent house, called Mount Surry, on Lennard's Hill, near Norwich.

|| *I would read their.*

gerald Earl of Kildare, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, married to his second wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorset; by whom he had three daughters—Lady Margaret, who was born deaf and dumb, (probably not the fair Geraldine;) Elizabeth third wife of Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln, and the Lady Cicely.

Our genealogists say, that the family of Fitzgerald descended from the Dukes of Tuscany, who in the reign of King Alfred settled in England, and from thence transplanted themselves into Ireland. Thus,

‘From Tuscane came his Lady’s noble
‘race.’

Her sire an earl, and her being fostered with milk of Irish breast, follow of course. Her dame being of prince’s blood is as exact; Thomas Marquis of Dorset being son of Queen Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the Dukes of Bedford, of the princely house of Luxemburg. The only question is, whether the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, or her sister Lady Cicely, was the fair Geraldine: I should think the former, as it is evident that she was settled in England.

The circumstance of his first seeing her at Hunston, indifferent as it seems, leads to a strong confirmation of this conjecture; Sir Henry Chauncy says, that Hunston-house in Hertfordshire was built by Henry the Eighth, and destined to the education of his children. The Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was second cousin to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and it was very natural for her to be educated with them, as the sonnet expressly says the fair Geraldine was. The Earl of Surry was in like manner brought up with the Duke of Richmond at Windsor*; here the two circumstances clearly correspond to the earl’s account of his first seeing his mistress at Hunston†, and being deprived of her by Windsor; when he attended the young Duke to visit the Princesses, he got sight of their companion; when he followed him to Windsor, he lost that opportunity. If this assumption wanted any corroborating incidents, here is a strong one; the Lord Leonard Gray, uncle of the Fitzgeralds, was deputy of Ireland for the Duke of Richmond, and that connection alone would easily account for the earl’s acquaintance with a young lady bred up with the royal family.

* One of the most beautiful of Lord Surry’s compositions is a very tender elegy written by him when a prisoner at Windsor, lamenting the happier days he formerly passed there. His punishment was for eating flesh in Lent.

† Stowe has preserved a curious letter, relating to the maintenance of the Lady Elizabeth after the death of her mother. It is written from Hunston by Margaret Lady Bryan, governess to the Princess, and who, as she says herself, had been made a baroness on her former preterment to the same post about the Lady Mary; a creation which seems to have escaped all our writers on the peerage. The letter mentions *the untowardly and gentle conditions of her grace*. Vol. 1. No. lxx. In the same collection are letters of Prince Edward from Hunston.

R BERT DEVEREUX Earl of ESSEX.

To enter into all the particulars of this remarkable person's life, would be writing a history of the sixteen or eighteen last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth: yet I shall touch many passages of his story, and enter into a larger discussion of some circumstances relating to him, than may be agreeable to persons who are not curious about such minute facts as do not compose the history of illustrious men, though they in a great measure compose their character. It is essential to the plan of this work to examine many particulars of this lord's story, because it was not choice or private amusement, but the cast of his public life that converted him into an author. Having consulted a great variety of writers, who describe or mention him, I may perhaps be able to unfold some of the darker parts of his history: at least, some anecdotes, though of a trifling sort, will appear in a stronger light than I think they have hitherto done. These sheets are calculated for the closets of the *idle* and *inquisitive*: they do not look up to the shelves of what Voltaire so happily calls, 'La bibliotheque du monde.'

'The elegant perspicuity,' the conciseness, the quick strong reasonings, and the engaging good

breeding of his letters, carry great marks of genius.—Yet his youth gave no promise of parts: his father died with a mean opinion of him. The malicious subtleties of an able court were an over-match for his impetuous spirit: yet he was far from wanting art; but was so confident of the queen's partiality, that he did not bend to her as his enemies did, who had not the same hold on her tender passions: he trusted to being always able to master her by absenting himself: his enemies embraced those moments to ruin him. I am aware that it is become a mode to treat the queen's passion for him as a romance. Voltaire laughs at it, and observes, that when her struggle about him must have been the greatest (the time of his death) she was sixty-eight ——— had *he* been sixty-eight, it is probable she would *not* have been in love with him. As a great deal turns upon this point, and as there are the strongest presumptions of the reality of her majesty's inclination for him, I shall take leave to enter into the discussion.

I do not dare this passion from her first sight of him, nor impute his immediate rise to it, as some have done, who did not observe how nearly he was related to the queen, as appears by the following short table:

THOMAS BOLFEYN Earl of WILTSHIRE.

ANNE,	Mary,
HENRY VIII.	Wm. Ld. Hunfdon.
Q. ELIZABETH.	Katharine,
	Sir Francis Knolles.
	Lettice,
	Walter Earl of Effex,
	Robert Earl of Leiceſter.
	Robert Earl of Effex.

His mother being couſin to the queen, and wife of her great favourite Leiceſter, eaſily accounted for young Effex's ſudden promotion: it went on rapidly without theſe ſupports. At twenty he was made maſter of the horſe; the next year general of the horſe at the camp at Tilbury, and knight of the garter. On theſe dignities were afterwards heaped the great poſts of maſter of the ordnance, earl marſhal, chancellor of Cambridge, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. — Lofty diſtinctions from a princeſs ſo ſparing of her favours. — Of what ſhe was ſtill more ſparing, he obtained to the value of 300,000*l*. In one of her letters the reproached him with her great favours beſtowed without his deſert: in every inſtance but in his and Leiceſter's, ſhe was not wont to overpay ſervices.

His early marriage with the

widow of Sir Philip Sidney did not look as if he himſelf had any idea of her majeſty's inclination for him: perhaps he had learned from the example of his father-in-law, that her majeſty's paſſions never extended to matrimony. Yet before this he had inſulted Sir Charles Blount, on a * jealouſy of the queen's partiality. Inſtead of ſentimental ſoftneſs, the ſpirit of her father broke out on that occaſion, ſhe ſwore a round oath, ' That unleſs ſome one or other ' took him down, there would be ' no ruling him '.

Lord Clarendon, in his ſenſible answer to Sir Harry Wotton's parallel of the Earl of Effex and the Duke of Buckingham, obſerves, that the former endeavoured rather to maſter the queen's affection than to win it: if he was croſſed in a ſuit, he abſented himſelf from court, and made her purchaſe his return. A fond woman may be

* Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, a very comely young man, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf at tilt, her majeſty ſent him a cheſs-queen of gold enamelled, which he tied upon his arm with a crimſon ribbon. Effex perceiving it, ſaid with affected ſcorn, ' Now I perceive every fool muſt have a favour ! ' On this, Sir Charles challenged, fought him in Marybone park, diſarmed and wounded him in the thigh.

moulded thus; it is not the method practised on princes by mere favourites. When Charles the First on some jealousy restrained the Earl of Holland to his house, the queen would not cohabit with the king till the restraint was taken off. Whenever Essex acted a fit of sickness, not a day passed without the queen's sending often to see him; and once went so far as to sit long by him, *and order his broths and things*. It is recorded by a diligent observer of that court, that in one of his sick moods he took the liberty of going up to the queen in his night gown. In the height of these fret fooleries, there was a mask at Black-friars on the marriage of Lord Herbert and Mrs. Russell. Eight lady-masks chose eight more to dance the measures. Mrs. Fitton, who led them, went to the queen and wooed her to dance. Her majesty asked what she was?—*Affection*—she said.—*Affection!*—said the queen;—*Affection is false*.—Were there not the murmurs of a heart ill at ease?—Yet her majesty rose and *dawned*.—She was then sixty-eight—Sure it was as natural for her to be in love!

That her court and contemporaries had a uniform opinion of her passion, is evident from many passages. Sir Francis Bacon, in a letter of most sensible advice to the earl, in which he persuades him from popular causes, which the queen could not brook in her greatest favourites, says to him, 'Win the queen: I will not now speak of favour or affection, but of other correspondence and agreeableness.'—That is, do not be content with her pre-

possession in your favour, but humour and make yourself agreeable to her. 'How dangerous, adds he, 'to have her think you a man not to be ruled, that has her affection and knows it; that seeks a popular reputation and a military dependance!' He advises the earl not to play or stratagem with too long journeys from her; and bid him consult her taste in his very apparel and gestures. He concludes remarkably with advising the earl even to give way to any other inclination she may have, 'for whosoever shall tell me that you may not have singular use of a favourite at your devotion; I will say he understandeth not the queen's affection, nor your lordship's condition.' The queen herself Sir Francis advised, as knowing her inclination, to keep the earl about her for *Society*. Osborne ascribes Essex's presumption to the fond opinion which he entertained, that the queen would not rob her eyes of the dear delight she took in his person. But the most marked expression is one of Henry the Fourth of France to the queen's ambassador, Sir Antony Mildmay, 'Que sa majesté ne laisseroit jamais son cousin d'Essex s'effoigner de son couillon.' Sir Antony reporting this to the queen, she wrote four lines with her own hand to the king, which one may well believe were sharp enough, for he was near striking Sir Antony, and drove him out of his chamber.

When the earl had offended the queen so much by his abrupt return from Ireland, he was treated with a whimsical fond mixture of tenderness and severity. Though

he

he burst into her bed-chamber as she was rising, she talked to him long with coolness and kindness: when her other counsellors had represented his boldness, she resented it too. She suspended him from all his offices but the mastership of the horse; she gave him a keeper, but who was soon withdrawn. On hearing Essex was ill, she sent him word with tears in her eyes, 'That if she might with her honour, she would visit him'—These are more than symptoms of favour: royal favour is not romantic; it is extravagant, not gallant.

If these instances are problematic, are the following so? In one of the curious letters of Rowland White, he says, 'The Queen hath of late used the *fair Mrs. Bridges* with words and blows of anger.' In a subsequent letter he says, 'The earl is again fallen in love with his *fairest B.* it cannot chuse but come to the queen's ears, and then he is undone. The counsellors hears of it, or rather suspects it, and is greatly unquiet.' I think there can be no doubt but that the *fairest B.* and the *fair Mrs. Bridges* were the same: If so, it is evident why she felt the weight of her majesty's displeasure.

It is indeed a very trifling matter for what reason a prince chuses a favourite: nor is it meant as a reproach to this great woman, that she could not divest herself of all *sensibility*. Her *feeling* and *mastering* her passion adds to her character. The favourites of other princes never fail to infuse into them their own prejudices against

their enemies: that was not the case with Elizabeth; she was more jealous of the greatness she bestowed, than her subjects could be. How did she mortify Leicester, when the States heaped unusual honours on him! For Essex, it is evident from multiplied instances, that his very solicitation was prejudicial. Bacon says to his brother Antony, 'Against me she is never peremptory, but to my Lord of Essex.' Amongst the papers of the Bacons is a most extraordinary letter from Lord Treasurer Burleigh to Lord Essex, recounting unmeasured abuse that he had received from the queen, on her suspecting Burleigh of favouring the earl.—So quick was her nature to apprehend union where she loved to disunite; and with what refinement did old Cecil colour his inveteracy*! Her majesty was wont to accuse the earl of *opiniastrité*, and that he would not be ruled, but she would bridle and stay him. On another occasion she said, 'she observed such as followed Her: and those which accompanied such as were in her displeasure, and that they should know as much before it were long.' No wonder the earl complained, 'that he was as much dissatisfied with the glorious greatness of a favourite, as he was before with the supposed happiness of a courtier.' No wonder his mind was torn with so contradictory passions, when her soul, on whom he depended, was a composition of tenderness and haughtiness!—nay, when even æconomy combated her affection! He professes, 'that her

* It may be worth while to direct the reader to another curious letter, in which that wise man forgot himself most indecently, speaking of Henry the Fourth to his ambassador in the most illiberal terms, and with the greatest contempt for the person of the ambassador himself. *Bacon-papers*, vol. 1. p. 328.

‘fond parting with him, when he
‘set out for Ireland, pierced his
‘very soul.’ In a few weeks she
quarrelled with him for demanding
a poor supply of one thousand foot
and three hundred horse*.

Having pretty clearly ascertained
the existence of the sentiment, it
seems that the earl’s ruin was in
great measure owing to the little
homage he paid to a sovereign
jealous of his person and of her
own, and not accustomed to pardon
the want of a proper degree of
awe and adoration! Before his
voyage to Ireland, she had treated
him as she did the fair Mrs. Bridges
—— in short, had given him a
box on the ear, for turning his back
on her in contempt. What must
she have felt on hearing he had said
‘That she grew old and cankered,
‘and that her mind was become as
‘crooked as her carcase!’ What
provocation to a woman so dis-
posed to believe all the flattery of
her court! How did she torture
Melville to make him prefer her
beauty to his charming queen’s!
Elizabeth’s foible about her person
was so well known, that when she
was sixty-seven, Veriken the Dutch
embassador told her at his audience,
‘That he had longed to undertake
‘that voyage to see her majesty,
‘who for *beauty* and wisdom ex-
‘celled all other princes of the
‘world.’ The next year Lord
Essex’s sister, Lady Rich, inter-
ceding for him, tells her majesty,
‘Early did I hope this morning to
‘have had mine eyes blessed with

‘your Majesty’s *beauty*.—— That
‘her brother’s life, his love, his
‘services to her *beauties* did not de-
‘serve so hard a punishment.——
‘That he would be disabled from
‘ever serving again his sacred God-
‘dess! whose excellent *beauties*
‘and perfections ought to feel more
‘compassion.’ Whenever the wea-
ther would permit, she gave audi-
ence in the garden; her lines were
strong, and in open day-light the
shades had less force. Vertue the
engraver had a pocket-book of Isaac
Oliver, in which the latter had made
a memorandum that the queen would
not let him give any shade to her
features, telling him, ‘That shade
‘was an accident, and not natu-
‘rally-existing in a face.’ Her por-
traits are generally without any
shadow. I have in my possession
another strongly presumptive proof
of this weakness: It is a fragment
of one of her last broad pieces, re-
presenting her horridly old and de-
formed: An entire coin with this
image is not known: It is univer-
sally† supposed that the die was
broken by her command, and that
some workman of the mint cut out
this morsel, which contains barely
the face. As it has never been en-
graved, so singular a curiosity may
have its merit, in a work which has
no other kind of merit‡.

On whatever her favour was
founded, it was by no means plac-
ed undeservedly: The earl’s cou-
rage was impetuous and heroic;
To this was added great talents
for the state, great affection for

* She even mortified him so bitterly, as to oblige him to dispose of his dear
friend the Earl of Southampton of the generalship of the horse, which the earl
had conferred on him.

† This piece was purchased from the cabinet of the late Earl of Oxford.

‡ This engraving is in vol. 1. p. 142, of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble
Authors.

literature and protection of learned men, and the greatest zeal for the service and safety of his mistress. At nineteen he distinguished himself at the battle of Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney fell. At twenty-two he undertook as a volunteer to promote the reitoration of Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal, usurped by the queen's black enemy, Philip; and challenged the governor of Corunna by sound of trumpet, or any of equal quality, to single combat. He treated Villars *, the governor of Rouen, in the same style. In the expedition to Cadiz he threw his hat into the sea for joy, that the Lord Admiral consented to attack the Spanish fleet. Few royal favourites are so prodigal of life! His indignation against Philip rose to the dignity of a personal aversion: in his letters he used to say, 'I will teach that proud king to know.' As much reason as she had to hate Philip, the queen could not endure the earl's assuming such arrogance against a crowned head. So formidable an enemy he was, that when the greatest offers could not bribe him from his duty, the court

of Spain attempted to have him poisoned; ———luckily they addressed their poison to the arms of his great chair, which no more than the pommel † of a saddle are a mortal part. And as he supported the enemies of the Spaniard, he endeavoured to dispossess the Pope of the duchy of Ferrara, sending the famous Sir Antony Shirley thither, to promote the interests of a Bastard of the house of Este. There was as much policy and activity of enterprize in this, as in his Holiness sending a plume of Phoenix-feathers to Sir Oen. While the one island flourished with Cecils, Walsinghams, Bacons, the other was so buried in barbarism, that Rome ventured to reward its martyrs with the spoils of an imaginary fowl! The earl's intelligence, his spies, his pensioners in foreign courts, were as numerous as the boasted information of Walsingham. His munificence was unbounded ———What sums did the perjured house of Bacon obtain or extort from him! He buried Spenser; and, which was more remarkable, was heir to Sir Roger Williams ‡, a brave soldier, whom he

* In his letters to Villars, the earl said, 'Si vous voulez combattre vous même à cheval ou à pied, je maintiendrai que la querelle du Roi (Hen. IV.) est plus juste que celle de la ligue; que je suis meilleur que vous; & que ma Maitresse est plus belle que la votre.' &c. *Essais hist. sur Paris, par Saint-faix*, vol. 2. p. 82.

† Walpole, a Jesuit, was hanged for attempting to poison the queen's saddle.

‡ He had been one of the standing Council of Nine, appointed to provide for defence of the realm against the Spanish Armada. *Biograph.* vol. 4. p. 2287. He wrote a valuable history of the wars in the Low Countries, in which he had served with great reputation, and where he was one of the introducers of a new military discipline. *Camb. Epist.* p. 350. A Spanish captain having challenged the general Sir John Norris, Sir Roger fought him; afterwards assaulted the Prince of Parma's camp near Venlo, and penetrated to his very tent; and made a brave defence of Sluys. *Fuller in Monmouth*, p. 52. James the First lamented his death so much, that he wished rather to have lost five thousand of his own subjects; and intended to write his epitaph. *Bacon-papers*, vol. 1. pages 296, 355:

brought

brought to a religious and penitent death. But what deserved most, and must have drawn the queen's affection to him, was his extreme attention to the security of her person: each year he promoted some acts of parliament for the defence of it; and alone persisted in unravelling the mysterious treasons of her physician Lopez, who was screened and protected by the Councils——not merely by the son, whose base nature was capable of any ingratitude——It is melancholy that faction could make even Burleigh careless of the safety of his queen, when detection of the treason would reflect honour on the prosecutor: Yet this zealous Essex did she suffer her council to keep kneeling for eleven hours at his examination; for this man's liberty did she accept presents from his mother and sister, yet without vouchsafing to see them, or grant their suit——Indeed she did permit him to celebrate St. George's day alone: one should like to know how he played at this ceremony by himself. In short, this gallant, though rash man, she delivered over to the executioner, because his bitterest enemies had told her he had declared, 'That his life was inconsistent with her safe-

ty.——A tale so ridiculous, that it is amazing how most of our historians can give credit to it!——How was he dangerous, or could he be?——His wild attempt on the city had demonstrated his impotence. So far from this declaration, on receiving sentence he besought the lords, 'not to tell the queen that he neglected or slighted her mercy.' He died with devotion, yet undaunted. Marshal Biron derided his death, and died himself like a frantic coward. Raleigh imitated his death more worthily than he beheld it! *

The queen at first carried her resentment so far, as to have a sermon preached at St. Paul's cross to blacken his memory. Besides the ridicule thrown on her person, many passages in his behaviour had shocked her haughtiness, and combated her affection. His pretending to be head of the puritans, and to dislike monarchy, in order to flatter the Dutch; his speaking of the king of Spain in terms too familiar; his presuming to create knights in some of his Spanish expeditions; his blaming the queen's parsimony in the affairs of Ireland, which she had once near lost for the trifling sum of two thousand pounds; his treating with Tir †

Oen

* Sir Walter Raleigh was known to bear personal enmity to the earl, and endeavoured to excuse his appearing at the execution, by pretending it was to clear himself if the earl should tax him with any indirect dealings. One of their first quarrels was the earl's braving Sir Walter at a tilt, and appearing there in defiance of him with two thousand orange tawny feathers; an affront not very intelligible at present. *Vide Lord Clarendon's disparity. p. 190.* However, it is certain that Sir Walter bore great malice to the earl, and fell sick on the apprehension of his being restored to the queen's favour. *Bacon papers, vol. 2. p. 438; and Sidney papers, vol. 2. p. 139.*

† The earl's treaty with Tir Oen is a great blemish on his memory. Though the Irish general had an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and

Essex

Oen to abridge his own stay in that island; his threatening that he would make the earth tremble under him; his boasting of one hundred and twenty lords devoted to him; his popularity; his importunity for his friends; and his paying court to her successor, probably exaggerated to her by Sir Robert Cecil, who was ten times more guilty in that respect; all this had alienated her tenderness, and imprinted an asperity, which it seems even his death could not soften.

On a review of his character, it appears that if the queen's partiality had not inflated him, he would have made one of the bravest generals, one of the most active statesmen, and the brightest * *Mæcenæ*s of that accomplished age. With the zeal, though without the discretion of Burleigh, he had nothing of the dark soul of Leicester. Raleigh excelled him in abilities, but came not near him in generosity. It was no small merit to have insisted on giving Bacon to that orb, from which one of Bacon's first employments was to contribute

to expel his benefactor. The earl had a solemn tincture of religion, of which his enemies availed themselves to work him to the greatest blemish of his life, the discovery of the abettors of his rash design. He had scarce a fault besides which did not flow from the nobleness of his nature. Sir Henry Wotton says he was delicate in his baths; it was a slight luxury, and proceeded so little from any effeminacy in his person, that he read letters and attended to suitors the whole time he was dressing. Brutality of manners is not essentially necessary to courage: *Leodatus*, one of Alexander's generals, no unmanly school, in all the marches of the army, was followed by camels loaded with sand, which he got from Egypt, to rub his body for his gymnastic exercises. Essex was gallant, romantic, and ostentatious; his shooting matches in the eye of the city gained him great popularity; the ladies and the people never ceased to adore him. His genius for shows, and those pleasures that carry an image of war, was as re-

Essex but two thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse, yet Tir Oen had discovered evident marks of dreading the English; and as the earl had received such unusual powers in his commission, it behoved him to do a little more than patch up a treaty with the Irish. There even appeared on his trial some symptoms of too ambitious designs in his union with Tir Oen. Sir Christopher Blount, father-in-law of Essex, confessed that there had been some mention of transporting part of the Irish army into England, that they meditated no hurt to the queen, yet rather than miscarry, they would have drawn blood even from herself. *Bacon papers*, vol. 2. p. 493. I fear, no predictions of his enemies could justify Essex in such views! If it is true, that Sir Robert Cecil, to draw him into an unwarrantable and hasty journey to England, stopped all vessels but one, which was to spread a false report of the queen's death, Cecil's art was equal to his iniquity. The paltry account he gives of Essex's insurrection in a letter to Sir G. Carew, is by no means of a piece with such capacity. *ib.* p. 468.

* As an instance of his affection for learning, he gave to the university of Oxford his share of the library of the celebrated Bishop Olorius, which his lordship got at the plunder of Faro. *Bacon papers*, vol. 2. p. 53.

markable

markable as his spirit in the profession itself. His * impresses and inventions of entertainment were much admired. One of his masks is described by a † cotemporary; I shall give a little extract of it, to present the idea of the amusements of that age, and as it coincides with what I have already remarked of the queen's passion.

My Lord of Essex's device, says Rowland White, is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the queen, who returned with her majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he was met by an old hermit, a secretary of state, a brave foldier, and an esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before the earl's entry. In short, each of them endeavoured to win him over to their profession, and to persuade him to leave his vain following of love, and to betake himself to heavenly meditation. But the esquire answered them all, and told them plainly, 'That this knight would never forsake his Mistress's love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose ‡ beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies.' He pointed out all the defects of their several pursuits, and therefore

thought his own course of life to be best in serving his mistress. — The queen said, 'That if she had thought there would have been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night.' The part of the esquire was played by Sir Toby Matthews, who lived to be an admired wit in the court of Charles the First, and wrote an affected panegyric on that affected beauty the Countess of Carlisle.

The works of this Lord were,

'A memorial drawn up on the apprehension of an invasion from Spain.'

'A narrative of the expedition to Cadiz'

'To Mr. Antony Bacon, an apology of the Earl of Essex, against those which falsely and maliciously take him to be the only hindrance of the peace and quiet of his country.' Reprinted in 1729, under the title of, 'The Earl of Essex's vindication of the war with Spain.' Both these pieces were justifications of himself from the aspersions of his enemies. A very good judge commends both pieces much, and says of the latter particularly, 'that the earl resolved to deliver his own arguments with all the advantages that his own pathetic eloquence could give them, and which still remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilities.'

'Advice to the Earl of Rutland for his travels,' published at London in 1653, 8vo. in a book in-

* Sir H. Wootton, p. 174. His device was a diamond, with this motto, *NUM FORMAS MINUIS*, Camden's remains.

† Rowland White, in the Sidney papers, vol. i. p. 362.

‡ The queen was then sixty-three.

titled, 'Profitable instructions, describing what special observations are to be taken by travellers in all nations'

'Verses in his trouble,' likewise 'Meditations,' both preserved in the King's library.

'A letter of great energy, with a sonnet to the Queen.'

'Another sonnet,' sung before the Queen by one Hales, in whose voice she took some pleasure. It was occasioned by a discovery that Sir Fulk Greville, his seeming friend, had projected to plant the Lord Southampton in the Queen's favour in Essex's room, during one of his eclipses. 'This sonnet, methinks,' says Sir Harry Wotton, 'had as much of the Hermit as of the Poet.' It concluded thus,

And if thou should'st by her be now
foraken,
She made thy heart too strong for to
be shaken.

The same author mentions another of the earl's compositions, but unfortunately does not give any account what it was: he calls it

'His Darling piece of Love and Self-love.'

'A precious and most divine letter from that famous and ever to be renowned Earl of Essex [father to the now Lord General his Excellence] to the Earl of Southampton, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.' Printed in 1643. Reprinted in Cogan's

Collection of Tracts from Lord Somers's library, vol. 4. p. 132.

'A letter to the Lord Chamberlain.'

Some of his letters in beautiful Latin to the celebrated Antonio Perez are published among the Bacon-papers. But of all his compositions the most excellent, and in many respects equal to the performances of the greatest geniuses, is a long letter to the queen from Ireland*, stating the situation of that country in a most masterly manner, both as a general and statesman, and concluding with strains of the tenderest eloquence on finding himself so unhappily exposed to the artifices of his enemies during his absence. It cannot fail to excite admiration, that a man ravished from all improvement and reflection at the age of seventeen, to be nursed, perverted, fondled, dazzled in a court, should notwithstanding have snatched such opportunities of cultivating his mind and understanding! In another letter from Ireland he says movingly, 'I provided for this service a breast-plate, but not a cuirass; that is, I am armed on the breast, but not on the back.' Dr. Birch has a volume of letters, manuscript, containing some from the earl, and others addressed to him. Besides these, we have great variety in the Cabala and among Bacon's papers of the earl's occasional letters†, written in a style as nervous as the best compositions of

* It should be mentioned here, that formerly his dispatches were attributed to Bacon; of late to his secretary Cusse. The latter might have some hand in collecting the materials relative to business, but there runs through all the Earl's letters a peculiarity of style, so adapted to his situation and feelings, as could not have been felt for him, or dictated by any body else. See the letter mentioned in the text in the Bacon-papers, vol. 2. p. 415.

† Two little notes of his are in the introduction to the Sidney papers, vol. 1. p. 115.

that age, and as easy and flowing as those of the present. The vehement friend, the bold injured enemy, the statesman and the fine gentleman, are conspicuous in them. — He ceased to be all these by the age of thirty-four*.

EDWARD LORD HERBERT of
Cherbury,

One of the greatest ornaments of the learned peerage, was a man of a martial spirit and a profound understanding. He was made Knight of the Bath when Prince Henry was installed for the Garter; and being sent ambassador to France to interpose in behalf of the Protestants of that kingdom, he returned the insolence of the great constable Luynes with the spirit of a gentleman, without committing his dignity of ambassador. It occasioned a coolness between the courts, but the blame fell wholly on the constable. In 1625 Sir Edward was made a Baron of Ireland, in 1631 of England, but in the cause of his country sided with its representa-

tives†. He died in 1648, having written,

‘De Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, à falso. Cui operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus; primus de causis errorum; alter, de religione Laici. Una cum appendice ad Sacerdotes de religione Laici; & quibusdam poematibus.’ It was translated into French, and printed at Paris in quarto, in 1659. In this book the author asserts the doctrine of innate ideas. Mr. Locke, who has taken notice of this work, allows his Lordship to be *a man of great parts*. Gassendi answered it at the request of Pieresc and Diodati, but the answer was not published till after Gassendi’s death. Baxter made remarks on the treatise *De Veritate*, in his ‘More reasons for the Christian religion;’ and one Kortholt, a foolish German zealot, took such offence at it, that he wrote a treatise intitled, ‘De tribus Impostoribus magnis, Edwardo Herbert, Thomâ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinoza, liber 1.’

‘De

* I shall not dwell on the now almost authenticated story of Lady Nottingham, though that too long passed for part of the romantic history of this Lord. I mention it but to observe that the earl *had* given provocation to her husband—though no provocation is an excuse for murder. How much to be lamented that to black an act was committed by one of our greatest heroes, to whom Britain has signal obligations! This was Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the lord high Admiral, and destroyer of the Spanish Armada. It seems Essex had highly resented its being expressed in the Earl of Nottingham’s patent; that the latter had equal share in the taking of Cadiz. He was so unreasonable as to propose to have the patent cancelled, or offered to fight Nottingham or any of his sons. *Bacon-papers*, p. 365. Alas! that revenge, interest, and ingratitude, should have itated such services and abilities as those of Nottingham, Raleigh, and Bacon!

† In the Parliamentary History it is said, that Lord Herbert offended the House of Lords by a speech in behalf of the King, and that he attended his majesty at York. Yet the very next year, on a closer insight into the spirit of that party, he quitted them, and was a great sufferer in his fortune from their vengeance. *V. Parl. Hist. vol. xi. p. 3. 87.*

‡ Gen. Dict. vol. 6. p. 122. Wood, vol. 2. p. 118. In Leland’s view of Devotional writers, vol. 1. p. 24. it is said that there exists a manuscript life of this Lord,

'De religione gentilium, eorum-
'que apud eos causis.' The first
part was printed at London 1645,
8vo. and the whole in 1663,
quarto, and reprinted in 1700,
octavo. It was translated into
English by Mr. W. Lewis, 1705,
octavo.

'Expositio Buckinghami Ducis
'in Ream insulam.' Published
by Tim. Baldwin, LL. D. 1656,
Lond. octavo.

'Life and reign of Henry the
'Eighth.' Lond. 1659, 1672, and
1682. Reprinted in Kennett's com-
pleat History of England. The
original manuscript was deposited
by the author in 1643, in the ar-
chives of the Bodleian library. It
was undertaken by the command
of King James the First, and is
much esteemed: Yet one cannot
help regretting, that a man who
found it necessary to take up arms
against Charles the First, should
have palliated the enormities of
Henry the Eighth, in comparison
of whom King Charles was an ex-
cellent prince. It is strange that
writing a man's life should general-

ly make the biographer become
enamoured of his subject; whereas
one should think that the nicer dis-
quisition one makes into the life of
any man, the less reason one should
find to love or admire him.

'Occasional poems.' Lond. 1665,
octavo. Published by H. Herbert,
his younger son, and by him dedi-
cated to Edward Lord Herbert,
grandson of the author.

Others of his poems are disper-
sed among the works of other au-
thors, particularly in Joshua Syl-
vester's 'Lacrymæ lacrymarum, or
'the spirit of tears distilled for the
'untimely death of Prince Henry.'
Lond. 1613. quarto.

In the library of Jesus College,
Oxford, are preserved his Lord-
ship's historical collections.

He is buried in St. Giles's in the
fields, but had erected an allegoric
monument for himself in the church
of Montgomery, a description of
which is given by Loyd. His
Lordship had been indemnified by
the Parliament for his castle of
Montgomery, which they thought
proper to demolish.

Lord, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, in which is a most extraordi-
nary account of his Lordship putting up a solemn prayer for a sign to direct him
whether he should publish his treatise *De Veritate* or not; and that he interpreted
a sudden noise as an imprimatur. There is no stronger characteristic of human
nature, than its being open to the grossest contradictions: One of Lord Herbert's
chief arguments against revealed religion, is the improbability that Heaven should
reveal its will to only a portion of the earth, which he terms *particular religion*.
How could a man (supposing the anecdote genuine) who doubted of *partial*, be-
lieve *individual revelation*? What vanity, to think his book of such importance
to the cause of truth, that it could extort a declaration of the Divine Will, when
the interests of half mankind could not!



T H E

C O N T E N T S.



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